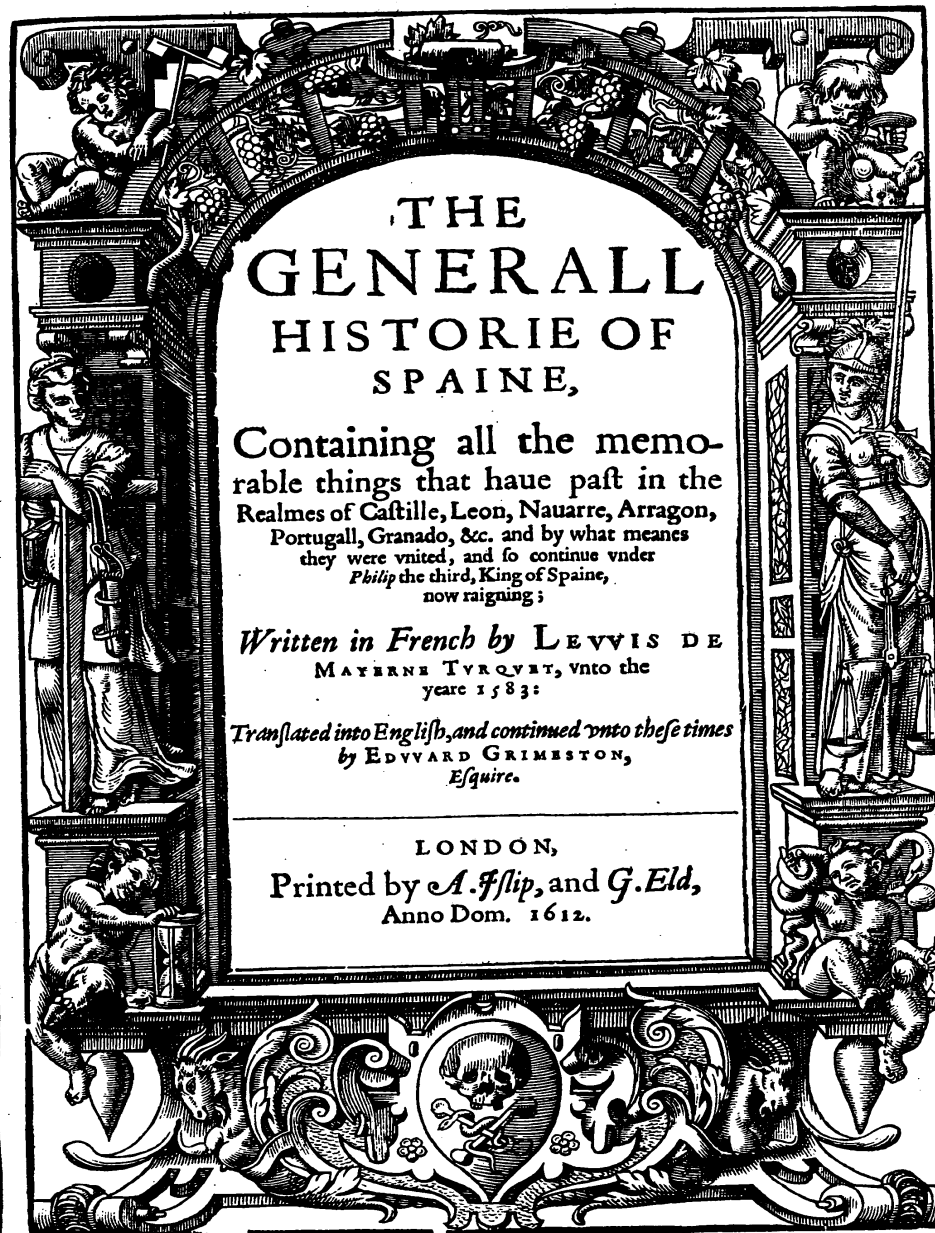


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TO THE RIGHT NOBLE,  
AND MOST WORTHY OF  
*ALL HONORS, AND*  
ALL TITLES,

ROBERT Earle of Salis-  
burie, Lord High Treasurer of  
*England; &c.*

THOMAS Earle of Suff-  
olke, Lord Chamberlaine to  
*his Maestie.*



Y most Honoured Lords, I might  
iustly feare, that my continuall de-  
sire to acknowledge my dutie vn-  
to your LL. by some acceptable  
kind of seruice, would be held im-  
portunitie, if your Noble disposi-  
tions, and mine owne experience  
in particular of your Honours  
gratefull acceptance of the mea-  
nest seruice that is well meant, had not freed me from that  
feare, and enabled my weake faculties to adde this vnto the  
rest of my oblations, which I consecrate vnto your LL. vp-  
on the Altar of my deuotion. I must confesse that your fa-  
uorable reception of my French and Netherland Histories  
hath added courage to my will, to passe the Pyrennee Moun-  
taines, and to take a suruey of this Historie of Spaine: the  
which I held (in my weake judgement) for many respects,  
as worthie the knowledge of our Nation, as any other. It is  
a generall Historie of all the Continent of Spaine, wherein  
the seuerall Histories of those seuerall Kingdomes, as they  
were in former times distinctly diuided and gouerned by

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

diuers Princes, are vnited; being collected out of all the best authors that haue written of that subiect. These considerations I say, were the inspiring meanes to moue me to vnder- take the traduction of this Historie of Spaine, and haue gi- uen me resolution, and constancie to finish it, and to send it forth to the view of the world. The worke I hope will giue good content, it being a faithful relation of so many variable and strange accidents as haue happened in those Countries, during the manie alterations and changes of that State, and the long and cruell wars betwixt the Moores & Spaniards. If I, in my plaine maner of translation, haue not giuen it that grace which a more eloquent penne might haue done, I most humbly craue pardon, and intreat that my desire to benefit others, may giue satisfaction for my disability and defects. I haue presumed to shroud the fruites of my poore endeours, vnder your LL. countenance and protection; desiring to leaue a testimonie to all posteritie how much I am

*Your LL. deuoted in all  
duetie and service,*

EDVVARD GRIMESTON.



To the Reader.

**G**entlemen, in the last edition of the Historie of France, I did willingly omit all matters acted by the Spaniards, wherein the French were not principally interessed, hauing then a resolution to make the Histories of those countries distinct and priuat. And for that I would not leaue you long in suspence, I promised within the yeare to publish this Historie of Spaine: wherein (notwithstanding my publique seruice, and many other difficulties) I haue forced my selfe to keepe my word, and to giue you satisfaction, though it be with some preiudice to my health. I will not vse many complements in the behalfe of the Author, his worke shall plead for himselfe: This Historie was written by a Frenchman, who is yet liuing, a man of grauitie and iudgement: It is no translation, but a collection out of the best writers that haue treated of that subiect. his chiefe Authors were Stephen Garebay, Ierome Surites, Mariana, Ambrose Morales, Iohn Vasee a Fleming, with many other Spanish, Italian & Latin writers: out of all which he hath compyled this worke, and as it were vnited and tyed together the discourse of all these realmes with a continued style, by reason of the warre, accords, marriages, and other treaties and alliances which they haue had common among them: yet hath he so distinguished them, as seeing them all, you may easily read any one seuerally by it selfe, by the direction of notes and inscriptions set in the margent at euerie section or breach, whereby you may choose what belongs to Nauarre, Portugall, Castille, or to any other of those realmes, and read the Historie apart from the beginning to the end.

The antiquitie of this Spanish Nation (whereof he hath breiefely made mention in the beginning of the first Booke) he confesseth to be obscure and vncertaine, and the writers thereof ignorant or negligent, so as it may be his discourse agreeth not with some authors which treat of the same men of whom he maketh mention, as of Hercules, Cacus, Gerion, Denis, and such like; but he pleads thus much for himselfe, that he could not contemne nor reiect the Spanish authors which haue so written of them, the which are to be receiued as obserued and produced by them. This Historie comes but to the winning of the Terceres, which was in the yeare 1583: he hath finished the rest vnto these times, I my selfe haue seene it in his studie at Paris, but he hath not yet put it to the Presse, so as I haue bene constrained, in the continuance thereof, to helpe my selfe out of the best that haue written of these later times, wherein I haue been assisted by some worthy gentlemen in the relation of some great actions, and haue continued the Historie,

rie, vnto my Lord Admirals returne out of Spaine. You must not hold it strange, if you find a great part of Philip the seconds raigne barren of any great actions done in Spaine: his chiefe designs were against foreine States, imploying his bravest men abroad, either against France, England, or the vnitied Prouinces, at the Indies, or at Sea; all which actions are either related here, or in their distinct Histories.

I must aduertise the Reader, that, from the yeare 1530, I haue not directly followed my Author, for I haue both inserted diuers things out of other Authors, whereof he makes no mention, and haue related some more at large then he hath done, for your better satisfaction, as I haue found them written in other approued Authors. My last suit must be for my selfe and the Printer, yet will I not vse any great circumstances to captiuate your fauors in mine owne behalfe: my stile (I confesse) is plaine and harsh; it were folly (nay madnesse) in me to seeke to conceale it, being so well knowne vnto you: yet let me intreat so much fauor at your hands, that as I haue spent my spirits to giue you content, so you will spare your spleenes, and censure fauorably, vntill you come to the like tryall: then shall you find, that either by your owne mistaking, or by the errors of the Presse you shall haue iust cause to sue for the like grace; which is to supply all escapes and errors with your iudicious reading. And so I rest

Yours,

E. G.

A



## B A GENERALL HISTORIE OF SPAINE:

Collected out of diuers Authors, as well  
antient as moderne.

### The Contents of the first Booke.

C

- 1 A discourse of the antient and first beginning of the Spaniards.
- 2 Their religion and language.
- 3 The antient and (may be) fabulous kings and captaines of vagabond troupes in Spaine, vnto Gerion, and so to Hercules the Great.
- 4 Many petie kings, or Italian pirats, spoyling Spaine.
- 5 Discourse of the absurdities of these antiquities.
- 6 Greekes spoyling Spaine.
- 7 Affricanes entring and wasting Spaine.
- 8 Confusion and medley of the people which vsurped the countrey of Spaine.
- 9 Phenicians and Gaditines, their offspring.
- 10 A Chorographicall description of the firme land of Spaine.
- 11 Islands about Spaine.
- 12 Distinction of the governments of Spaine, according to the Romans and Carthaginians, and others after them vnto the Arabians.
- 13 Distinction of the kingdomes of Spaine, which are now of fame.
- 14 The fertillitie of Spaine, both antient and moderne.
- 15 The manners of the antient Spaniards, and of those which now hold it: their armes and discipline.

E



He beginning and antiquitie of nations farre fetcht, is alwaies  
fabulous: for most of them that haue vndertaken to write hi-  
stories, either generall, or particular of some one nation, haue  
thought it expedient (for their reputations) to offer a perfect  
worke vnto the world; and not to passe any season without  
some memorie of them of whom they write: imagining that  
the studious Reader would hold it an argument of their sloth  
or negligence, to leaue any thing in blank. And therefore  
when as they wanted the testimonie of graue authors, they  
haue countenanced their owne imaginations; or haue imita-  
ted the fabulous inuentions of others, imploying their time,  
toyle, and eloquence in vaine things: wherein they may hap-  
pyly satisfie some curious heads, but not such as desire to leame. For as a lye cannot be so disgui-  
sed, but either the conference of ages doth discouer it; or a spirit knowing the force and effect  
of things created, doth reject it; or the religious condemne it, as it is fit; when it shal once ap-  
peare that the author of any historie hath supposed things doubtfull and vncertaine, for true,  
thereby to enlarge his volumes. He that is studious, and loth to loose his time, growes discon-  
tented,

F

B

tentent,

Truth the sub-  
iect of a History

tenred, and reads it with distast. Wherefore men of best judgement, hold, that the subject of a historie is truth, in serious matters, and worthy to be imparted to posteritie; giuing libertie to them that write, to season the examples with praise or blame: obseruing the rewards & punishments which haue followed, without respect of persons, or yielding to any passion, either of loue or hatred, but stirred vp by the merits of vertue, or the horror of vice; to the end that such as read their writings, may be encouraged by the worthy acts of some, to liue virtuously, and diuerted by the dishonour and vnsfortunat successe of others, from all bad affections: and the rather, for that they do therein find imitable steps of vertue. And for that the memorie of many things is buried in obliuion, or miscaried, they haue not been so strict, as to forbid them that find themselves ingaged in the desars and obscuritie of the antiquitie of nations, to obserue some steps, and go by probable conjectures, to a way passable. This is allowed them, so as they doe it by constraint, and with judgement; remembling, that a good huntsman can judge of a wolues footing from a dogs, which are something like.

Spaine unknown  
before the Car-  
thaginians.

The historie of Spaine, which we resolute to write, is herein defectiue, as in a manner all others be: for before the coming of the Carthaginians into that country, and the wars of the Romans, it cannot be directly said, by what people Spaine was held, nor at what time, nor by what policie it was gouerned, but by ill grounded conjectures. For of the acts of the first men which were dispersed vpon the face of the earth after the deluge, we haue no author but *Moy- ses*, who is careful to describe the estate and succession of the Hebrews, in that chiefly which concerns the establishing of the Church of God. Of other nations he speaks but by occasion, and as God would doe good vnto this nation by them, or punish it for their ingratitude. Wee must not then seeke for any mention of Spaine or Spaniards in him. The Grecians had so little care of other nations, & haue so much respected their own, as they haue scarce vouchsafed to speake of them, but with contempt; and to amplifie their own glorie, they haue sometimes fed the Latines with fables: who haue adorned and enriched their Rome and Italie, and haue had care to proclaim their gests, making vse (in regard of antiquitie) of Grecian fables, or of conjectures; as the moderne haue in like manner done. What can we then do in matters which are so doubtfull, but onely touch these conjectures as farre as they shall seeme receivable; passing that slightly ouer, which the Historians haue written of our first Spaine, to the end we busie not our selues in a vaine labour more than is fit.

The Grecians  
authors of fables.

Tubal,

Wherefore, according to *Iosephus* report, and vpon their consciences which haue supposed vnto vs a *Berosus*, we say after many others, that *Tubal*, one of the sonnes of *Iaphet*, otherwise called *Iubal*, or *Iobel*, is father to the Spaniards, although it be verie likely, that he neuer set foot in Spaine, being then a country without a name: but that from Armenia or the neighbour places, taking his way towards the North, he stayed in a region since called Iberia, situated vpon Mont Caucasus, which covers it from the North, betwixt the Caspian and Euxine seas: a country then inhabited by them which we call Georgians, whereas afterwards the Chaldees, or Alibes were, a name approaching to Iubales, as some would wrest it, changing some letters, as it happens in the corruption of tongues. These people were Smithes, handling yron, whereof the country abounds, and applying it by their art to many good uses. The descendants of *Iubal* in these places, were afterwards called Iberians, and the country Iberia, by some man of qualitie which caried that name, and whose memory they would preferue, as it is likely. From thence the most receivable authors doe maintaine, that the Iberians Spaniards parted some ages after *Tubal*, or *Iubal*, and that the people being so multiplied, as the country could not well feed them, nor containe them, a part of them were constrained either by force, or by casting of lots, to abandon the place, and seeke some new abode: the which hath beene ordinarie among all nations, and in all ages, but especially in the first age, when it was necessarie the world should be peopled and inhabited: and it is credible, that nature was at that time wonderfull fruitfull, God prouiding for the propagation of mankind. The common opinion is, that these Iberians hauing wandered much, being arriued vpon the frontiers of the region whereof we treat, staid in the vallies of those mountains, which were since called Pyrenee, and that they did liue long there, finding them fit to entertaine them in their first inclination and breeding: for that country abounds in yron mynes as much as any in Europe; and therefore they found means wherewith to imploy themselves, and to feed, for that these mountains were full of all things wherof these new come men, and ill provided, had need, that

is to

Pyrene mountains  
full of  
iron mynes.

A is to say, chestnuts, hazelnuts, pears, plummets, cherries, and all other wild fruites, with great store of acornes, especially towards the West parts.

2 That there was either good religion, knowledge, gouernment, or any thing else, but great simplicitie, ignorance, and pouertie, we can hardly beleue: and wee perswade our selues, that ciuilitie, industrie, experience and knowledge of valour and profit of things, was taught them by necessitie, the mistresse of Artes, and by strangers which came into their country from Phenicia, Egypt, Greece, Carthage, Gaule, and elsewhere; to whom they were for a long time a prey, and in the end they learned armes, and many other malicious practises, whereof they had the root in their hearts, but grossly planted. As for religion, wee shall find by this discourse, that it was most barbarous and infamous among them. And who doubts, but the successeurs of *Tubal* did suddenly forget the true God, and his pleasing seruice, seeing this corruption did so soone enter among the sonnes of *Sem*, and namely those of the family of *Heber*, of whom the Eternall did frame his chosen people and his church. I wil not busie my self to contradict them which beleue, that their first language was that of the Biscanes in those times; discoursing, that seeing it hath so long maintained it selfe in that proprietie, and that it cannot be discerned that this tongue hath taken any tearms from other auncients, nor from other nations which inhabit about their country, with whom notwithstanding they conuerse and traffique, wee must beleue that there is something verie remarkable in this language, and thereby conclude, that it was one of the first tongues which did confound the builders of Babel, and by consequence the whole world, God being pleased to haue preferred in Spaine this note of the first inhabitants thereof. Admit it be so, and that the Bascongade, which the Biscanes at that time did vse, a part of Nauarre, and they of Alaua, are the first, or of greatest antiquitie vpon the frontiers of Spaine.

The first Spani-  
ards were grosse,  
without arts or  
religion.

Biscane tongue  
verie auncient, &  
held the first the  
Spaniards used.

3 Lets vs be so lesse difficult to beleue the opinion of a certaine Spanish doctor, who maintaines, That one of the nephewes of *Sem*, or else of *Cham*, called *Sepharad*, came along the coast of Affricke to the strait, and hauing crost it with great troupes, he did people the bankes of the Ocean and the Mediterranean seas, whereas the riuer of Guadalquiber doth ingulph, grounded vpon that the Hebrews call the Spaniards Sepharadin, & that they may apply the beginning of many names of towns, riuers, illands, and mountains of the country, to the Hebrew, Caldee, and Syriake tongues; as Gaddir, Sepyla, Betis, Calpe, Auila, and the like. All this is not strange, although there were no danger to deriue these names from the Phenicians, who used the Syrian tongue, and had great affinitie with the Hebrew which was used among the Iewes, a nation also of Syria: and to beleue that they were brought into Spaine by the Tyrians and others which invaded those quarters, when they came to spoyle the treasures thereof. That Spaine hath alwayes from the beginning beene peopled in two seuerall parts, vpon the East and Pyrene mountains by the Iberians of Asia, and Caucasians descending from *Tubal*; and towards the South at the strait, by *Sepharad* and his troupes, which came out of Syria and Affricke: and that of either side, as the people multiplied, they advanced farther into the country: we may vndoubtedly beleue, that those of the Pyrene mountaines passing the vallies by little & little on the West side, did people such a part of the country as they gaue their name to the first nauigable riuer, and to the whole region, celebrating the memory of their natie country, and of this *Iberus*, of whom they were named, whatsoeuer he were.

Conjectures vpon  
that Sepharad  
did hold  
Spaine.

Iberians gaue  
the name vnto  
Spaine.

4 Among the most auncient captains or kings of this vagabond nation, they make mention of one *Idubeda*, of whom the mountaine of Iubalda, or Idubeda, might be named, whereof we will speake hereafter. Then they produce *Brigus* king or gouernor of these troupes, who began a ciuile gouernment, and built (as they say) many castles in Spaine, which carried the marks of his name, all in a manner ending in Briga, as Nemetobriga, Mitobriga, and such like, by reason whereof he carried painted in his standard a castle (although the skill to blaze Armes was not then well knowne): and the authors of the Spanish antiquities say, That of him the assemblies of people were called Brigies, and afterwards Brigues, and Brigades: the which did so multiplie vnder his gouernment and conduct, as they were forced to send whole armies out of the country, to seeke new habitations; wherof some of these Brigues coming into Thrace, and then into Asia, they brought the name of Brigie thither, the which since by corruption hath beene turned into Phrigia: and that Castille, now called Viegia, was in old time tearmed Briga, and that the new Spanish tongue hath since turned it into Biegia,

Idubeda.

Brigue.

B ij

cal

Consider that  
the Celtes were  
mingled with the  
Iberians from  
the beginning.

To rob was pra-  
ctised by the an-  
cients.  
Tagus.

Betus.

Gerion.

Strange prince  
tyrannize Spain

Osiris

A just cause of  
warre to deliver  
the oppressed.

Curetes.

Gadir and Tar-  
teje.

Nora the first  
habitation in  
Sardinia.

calling it Castille la Biegie, in stead of Brigia. For my part I beleue, that this word *Briga*, was brought into Spaine by the Celtes, which did hold a great part of that country, for that it is of the language of the old Gauls, by the which was signified people, town, or assembly. Moreover, there were many townes in France, which had their names deriued from it; as the lake Brigantin vpon the Alpes, which is that of Constance at this present; and Brigantium, which is Briançon in Dauphine; the Latobriges neere vnto the Suisses, and others, whereas the Celtes did in old time inhabit. And if there were a king so named, it is verie likely he was a Gaule, capitaine of some troupe of Celtes, in whose time there were great alterations of people, and by consequence ambitious thefts, the best exercise the noble men then gaue themselves vnto. This is what may be spoken of this *Briga*.

After whom *Tagus* was famous, from whom it may bee the riuer *Tayo* tooke her auntient name. Hce following the steps of his predeceffour, sent many superfluous and vnnecessarie troupes out of Spaine, to seeke new habitations, whereof some past into Asia.

*Betus* came after, who was also called *Turditanus*, hce gaue that name to the country which is betwene the holy Promontorie, now called Cape S. Vincent, and the riuer of Guadalquivir, the which was also called *Betis*: and in succession of time did communicat that name to a great part of the neighbour country, whereof they did afterwards name one of the chiefe provinces of Spaine. In regard of him that country vpon the strait towards the West and South, began to be famous, and knowne to strangers, especially to the Egyptians, and other Africanes, nations which were then mightie and warlike, and withall cunning and politique, good mariners, and abounding in ships, to whom the entrie into this part of Spaine did offer it selfe, and was more commodious than any other. And therefore the names of other inhabitants within the country, did for a long time after remaine obscured and vknowne. They doe attribute some lawes and policie vnto this *Betus*, and the bringing in of some learning into Spaine, but what it was, is vknowne.

To confirme that which is said, That in the raigne of *Betus* strangers began to tast the riches and commodities of Spaine: Authors report, that presently after his death, a capitaine, mightie in shipping and men, came out of Affricke, landed in Turditane, and seised thereon. Hce was a Libian, and was called *Gerion*, and by some *Deabus*, furnished by the Greekes *Chrysee*, as one would say, of gold, or gilt; by reason of the treasures he gathered by violence and tyrannic. For knowing that Spaine was full of mynes of all sorts of mettrals, he became curious to search for them, forcing the people to worke with such rigour, as if they had beene brute beasts; many fainting vnder their burthens, ended their miserable liues: so as the brute of his crueltie (an inseparable companion to couetousnesse) infected in a manner the whole earth, in places most remote, and was abhorred of all those that had any feeling of humanitie.

*Osiris Denis* then raigned in Egypt, who mooued with pitie, and of a generous spirit, came into Spaine with a great armie of Egyptians, Syrians, Arabians, and other neighbour nations, to ruine this detestable tyrant; whom he vanquished in battell, and slew: which is the first that was giuen in Spaine, that any mention is made of since the deluge. And for that he came neither to conquer, nor to enrich himselfe, being mooued with a zeale of justice, hauing settled the affaires of the country, he deliuered the seigniorie of the Turditaniens to three of his children, who had beene punished for his wickednesse, admonishing them not to follow the wretched auarice of their father, least their ends were like vnto his. Some Arabians Scenites of his troupe, would needs remaine in Spaine, to towhom he assigned the country about Cape Saint Vincent.

Neere vnto it (and where as the riuer *Anas* disgorgeth it selfe) dwelt the Curetes, descended from *Curis*, nephew (they say) to *Champ* among the Tercenian, or Tartessian forests, which did run along the shore vnto the island of Gadir, then called *Tarteje* (in our time *Calis*: ) in which island *Gerion* was interred, the first of any dead bodie that was put in the ground in Spaine; for before the custome was to cast dead carcases into the sea, or into riuers, or to hang them vpon trees, or else they left them in the fields.

*Osiris* left in this island a sister of his, called *Erythre*, who (it may be by one of these young Gerions) had a sonne called *Nora*, who (as some say) did build *Nora*, the first mansion in the island of Sardinia.

These

A These three young princes, who were called Lominians, were so like in face and manners, and did agree so well together, as the Poets haue fained, that they were but one king which had three bodies. They gouerned their subjects with more modestie than their father. Imagine that the feare of punishment kept them in awe, yet could they not so subdue their courages, but they sought all vnworthie meanes to reuenge their fathers death. Wherefore the seas being now open to the Turditanes, & commerce brought in from the West to the East, they had secret practises with *Tiphon*, whom they knew to be ambitious, and procured him to kill king *Osiris* his brother, and to seise vpon the kingdome of Egypt.

*Osiris* left many children, among the which was *Hercules* the Great, whom they surname *Hercules Oron*, the Egyptian *Apollo*, *Mars*, & *Oron*; by him the Gerions Lominians receiued a worthie reward for their ingratitude. For hauing gathered together a great armie of diuers nations, he past into Spaine, whereas these three brethren were readie to make head against him: yet *Hercules* grieuing that so much innocent blood should be spilt for the offence of three men, he offered to fight alone with them all three in single combats: which being accepted by the Gerions, they lost their liues. They say, that this passage of *Hercules*, was at the same time when as *Iacob* and his family went into Egypt, or a little before. By this victorie *Hercules* was receiued and honoured of the Turditanes, and other Spaniards: who after that he had settled their affairs, and planted two pillars vpon the straits, the one in Europe, and the other in Affricke; and two others in the island, since called *Gadir*: which some hold were towers, and not pillars, for a marke and testimonie of his conquests and toyles, he tooke his course towards Italie, leauing the gouernment of Spaine to one of his captaines called *Hispal*, which some will haue to bee his sonne. They say also, that he left in those islands, which are now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*, a Gouernour called *Balee*, of whom they since tooke the name of *Baleares*: although that most men beleue they were so named, for that the inhabitants were expert in slings.

*Hispal* remaining Gouernour of this part of Spaine, which is at the straits and thereabouts neere vnto the two seas (for as we haue said, those that liued within the country, had not felt much of these forraigne inuasions) he began a towne called by him *Hispalis*, since named *Sevilla*, and at this day *Seuille*.

*Hispal* succeeded him, a wife and an achiue man, and a louer of vertue, as they write of him: and we must beleue that he was some great personage (if there were euer any such in being) seeing the whole region whereof we treat hath retained his name, and preferred it in such sort as it hath not beene changed since. Others notwithstanding acknowledging in no sort this *Hispal* to be the author of the name which hath remained to Spaine, affirme, and it may bee not rashly, That it came of the people of Iberia in Asia, the which in old time was called *Pana*, of the name of one *Pan*, who gouerned there vnder his father *Liber*: and therefore this of Europe was indifferently called *Iberia* and *Pana*: but those that came after, corrupting the word, did adde some letters, and called it sometimes *Spana*, and sometimes *Spania*, as in truth the Latines did name it in the beginning, terming it *Spania*, and not *Hispania*. The Spaniards comming afterwards to imbrace the Roman tongue, added an *E*, and called it *Espania*, as they haue beene accustomed to do to all Latine words which begin with *S*; as *Escola*, *Escala*, *Escudo*, *Escriber*, and the like. These Iberians did also call themselves *Abasgi*, whereof it may bee came *Valco*, *Basco*, and *Bascongado*. Such as beleue that *Hispal* raigned in Spaine, say, That he was the first which tooke the royall diademe, and that he caused towers to bee built in the island of *Tarlesse*, and in *Galicia*, which they call *Phares*, or *Beacons*, for the helpe of saylers: yet others hold with more reason, that that in *Galicia*, which is yet standing, was the worke of *Oëtanus Cæsar*.

*Hercules* hauing done many great exploits in Italie, he left *Atlas Kitin* there to gouerne, carrying back his brother *Hesperus*, he returned into Spain, where he found *Hispal* deceased: wherefore he himselfe did gouerne it in person for many yeares, and dyed there, as they say. His bodie was buried in the island of *Tarlesse*, where at that time the kings court was, in a sumptuous and stately tombe.

After him raigned *Hesperus*, brother to *Atlas Kitin*, of whose name they say that Spaine and also Italie were called *Hesperies*; that is, Italie *Hesperia* the great, and Spaine the later *Hesperia*, for that he raigned sometime both in the one and the other. But *Atlas* enuious of his brothers greatnesse, came with an armie and dispossessed him of the kingdome, forcing him

B iij

to

The desire of re-  
uenge a brutall  
vice in man.

Great equitie of  
*Hercules* the  
Egyptian.

*Hispal* sonne to  
*Hercules*.

*Hispalis* or *Se-  
uille*.

*Hispal*.

*Spain* why so  
called.

*Hesperus*, of  
whom Italie and  
Spain are na-  
med.

*Atlas*.

to flie into Italie, from whence *Hercules* had brought him: where hee was well entertained, and reigned. The which *Atlas* vnderstanding, hee suffered him not long quiet, but returned into Italie with a good number of Spaniards, and chased him away; meaning to hold Italie as his royall seat, and Spaine as an accessarie, to draw gold, siluer, and all other commodities from thence.

*Oris*, *Sigro* fl. *Atlas* parting from Spaine, he left the gouernement to *Oris* his sonne, who was called *Sic Oris*, *Sic* seruing as a fore-name. Of him they say the riuier *Sicoris*, now called *Sigro*, was named: the which passeth by *Lerida*, and falls into *Ebro*. But no man can tell vpon what occasion he was so called, nor how hee extended his limits thither, being so farre from the straits, and isle of *Gadir*.

*Annus*. *Annus* succeeded *Oris*, whom they also called *Sicanus*, and of his name the riuier of *Guadiana* tooke the auncient denomination. Wee must conjecture, that his predecessour *Oris* did establish some estate and principallitie, or made some fort and retreat about the riuier of *Sigro*, whereof this that succeeded him had the first gouernement: seeing they place along the bankes thereof, the people which are called *Sicanians*, so named of this *Sicanus*, who it seemes were his souldiours, and the troupes which he commaunded. Some of those bands hauing past into Italie, to helpe their country-men, which had beene led thither by *Atlas* *Kitin*, and hauing inhabited the country of the Latines (which is the territorie of Rome) they were there encountred by the naturall Italians. Passing on, they carried the name of *Sicanians*, into the isle then called *Trinacria*, and since *Sicile*: into the which, they say, that *Sicanus* past in person, hauing in Italie fought with the *Ligurians*, *Oenotrians*, *Leſtrigons*, and others: and that he was there encountred by the *Cyclopes*, cruell and barbarous men, who would not suffer the *Sicanians* to come and dwell in their isle: but they were forced to yeeld.

*Sicile*, why called *Sicanus*. *Sicleus* the sonne of *Sicanus* reigned in Spaine, after his father, and passed in like manner into Italie and *Sicile*, where he changed the former name, calling it *Sicile*, the which it holds. The occasion of his passage, was the controuersie betwixt *Dardanus* and *Iafus*, his cousins, sonnes to *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*, for the rule of Italie; the which he reconciled. But *Dardanus* hauing afterwards slaine *Iafus* his brother treacherously, *Sicleus* pursued the reuenge so vehemently, as *Dardanus* was forced to abandon the country, and to go into *Samo-thracia*, and then into *Asia*, to seeke a new habitation. This mans raigne concures with the time that God sent plagues vpon the Egyptians, by *Moyſes* and *Aaron*.

*Sicleus* being dead, his sonne *Lufus* held the scepter of Spaine; of whose name some will haue *Lusitania* (a part therof) to be called. He past also into Italie, and at his returne brought many Italians into Spaine. Where, after him, *Plus*, or *Siculus*, his sonne, reigned: whom they called *Neptune*, for that he entertained many ships and gallies at sea. He past, as his predecessours had done, into Italy and *Sicile*, to succour the Spaniards which were feared in those regions, against whom the *Cyclopes* and others of the country renewed the wars. After him many stranger thrust into Spaine, vpon diuers occasions, but for one only cause, which was, for spoyle, being easie to take, by reason of the simplicitie of the Spanish people.

Hee that shall consider duely hereof, will not thinke it to agree with that which we haue said before, as in truth it doth not: For if these kings (of whom we haue made mention since *Atlas*) which haue reigned, according to Historians and Cronicles, for two hundred and fiftie yeares, haue not onely had the meanes to defend Spaine from strangers, but to lead forth many armies, and to subdue the people of Italie and *Sicile*; to make themselves vmpiers of kings quarels, to build townes there, and to commaund the seas: and that from Spaine to Italie, and from Italie to Spaine, the passage and commerce was ordinarie: How could it be, that so soone after the death of *Sicleus*, the Spaniards should grow so simple and vnwarlike, as if they had neuer seene armes? And that it was in the power of the first pyrat that came from Affricke, Phenicia, or Greece, to seise vpon it, and insult ouer them, without any resistance? Had they learned nothing? had they gotten no courage in so many warres which they had seene in Italie? What was become of those captaiues which these late kings had so happily employed? had they all cursed their country, or found some Lethe floud, to make them forget it, and to stay in Italie? Or if they were dead, did they leaue no discipline, nor any impression of vertue in their youth? It is not likely, and therefore

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A fore we must put all these discourses among idle tales, or find some meanes to vnfold this difficultie. Euery one hath free libertie to discourse: For my part I beleue, that these men which they say had reigned in Spaine since *Atlas*, haue beene Italians, acknowledging the Soueraignetie of Italie, and gouerning Spaine as a subdued Prouince: or else respecting onely their profit, they made voyages like vnto pyrats, shearing them to the bloud, and then carrying their spoyles into Italie, employing the lewdest people in the country to oppresse the rest; and in the meane time, through the fauour of some fort, which they did maintaine to assure their landing and their shipping, they caused themselves to be called Kings. Then seeing that the Spaniards (which had joynd with them to doe ill) did multiplie too fast, or grew more cunning than was fit for their purpose, they found meanes to embarke them, and to send them into Italie vpon some vaine hopes, whereas being once arriued, there was no more any meanes to returne into Spaine. Such in my opinion were the armies which those kings led out of Spaine into Italie, that is, troupes of theues, of whom they would be assured, that they should not conspire against them, nor take their practise from them, after they had instructed them in their trade. By these subtilie practises they did spoile Spaine both of men and treasure, holding the grosse and rude multitude in ignorance, and selling an opinion in them, that they were good men, and louers of justice; yea religious, for that they dealt in the pacifying of controuersies, which happened among the people, and sometimes they payed vowes, or made some superstitious dedication of a Temple or Chappell. I say moreover, That those which we haue before named were not alone, which made this worke in Spaine; but in their times, and whilst they were busie in one part, other nations did the like in some other quarter of the country. So as it is no maruell, seeing the Spaniards had yet no meanes to see a lawfull and settled Estate among them, and that those which did gouerne them, had alwayes this affected end, to entertaine them in their simplicitie; an assured marke of Tyrants. So as the race of these men sayling, this poore nation was presently made subiect to the first that did inuade them, the children prouing as vnable as their fathers.

6 They report, That about that time some Greekes of the Island of Zante, in old time called Zacynte, arriued vpon that coast whereas since the towne of Valencia was built, and there made a little fort, or store-houſe, for their traffique, the which they called Zacynthium; the which did since encrease in people and building, and became a good towne, from whence Sagunte had her beginning, renowned for the loyaltie of the citizens to the people of Rome, and for the occasion which ſhee gaue of the long and bloudie warres betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, which they called the second Punicke warre. These Zacynthians trafficking with them of Iberia, which dwelt within the country, and were neighbours to the mountaines, did receiue from them gold and siluer, little esteemed by these simple men, for that these mettals grew in their country, giuing them in exchange trifles of small value: so, as growing rich in a short time, they published among the other Grecians, and among the nations of Asia, the fame, happinesse, and abundance of treasure in Spaine, inciting many thereby to goe and discouer the country, and to attempt something. And for that (as we haue said before) religion hath alwaies beene a lure for cunning and malicious men to assure the simple, to whom they intend some mischief, these Zacynthians caused a goodly Temple to bee built to *Diana*, in the place which is now called Denia, according vnto some, but falsely, prouiding by that meanes and maske of religion, for their Zacynthium, which they had built vpon that coast, that by the reuerence of this Temple they might be assured from all violence.

7 In the meane time an Affrican called *Teſta* seized vpon *Gadir*, and of all the maine land thereabouts, calling himselfe king of Spaine. It may be that of his name they were called *Testans*, which did inhabit along the bankes of the Mediterranean sea, whereas Murcia and Carthagena are at this present.

F After him he left the gouernment to his sonne *Romus*, to whom they attribute the building of the towne of Valencia (yet *Titus Linius* doth not make it so auncient) the which was first called Rome, of his name, since by the Latines, holding this name to be Greeke, they turned it in their language to Valencia, which was all one; for Rome in Greeke, and Valencia in old Latine, is power and force.

In



False Denis.

Lebrissa, and  
the beginning.Phenicians  
spoyle Spaine.Palatuu,  
Palençe.

Cacus Licinius.

Gunpowder an  
auncient inuen-  
tion.

Erythree.

Gadir called  
Erythree.

Gargoris.

Hercules the  
Grecian.

In this kings time there came a pyrat into Spaine, well followed by men of his owne fort, who spoyled the whole countrey adjoyning vnto the sea, and then hee returned with his spoyle, leauing an opinion of him, that hee was the father *Liber Denis*, or *Bacchus*: for the custome of those obscure times was, That great pyrats and heads of vagabond people (whereof the world did then abound) did take vpon them the names of great personages and famous men, who had gone before them, and whom foolish superstition had deified; giuing the people where they came to vnderstand, That they were gods, which came to visit them, to deliuer them from tyrants, and to doe them good; so as they were often decciued. By such fained deuices these Harpies found lesse resistance in their enterprises. It may be this *Denis* was the sonne of *Semele*, and nephew or grand child to *Cadmus* king of Thebes in Beoce, but not that great *Denis*, Conqueror of the Indies, who was much more auncient. They say, that he built the towne of Lebrissa (the which he called Nebrissa) vpon one of the chanelles of the riuer Betis; the which in those dayes fell into the sea with two gulfes. Nebros in Greeke is a Hynds calfe, with the skins whereof they did attire those that did celebrate the Bacchanalia. It was at the same time when as the Phoenicians began to encroch much vpon the Spaniards, and to come with whole armies into their countrey, and to make their prey, as the Grecians, Egyptians, and others of Affricke did.

To *Remus* they make *Palatuu* his sonne to succeed him; who as they say was founder of the towne of Palenza: but there did rise a petie king or capitaine against him, out of the mountaines, neere vnto the riuer Ebro, called *Cacus Licinius*, who in the end became master thereof, and *Palatuu* was forced (being yet young) to flye out of the countrey, and to sue for succours in vaine, begging his bread in a manner for many yeares, of forraigne princes and potentates. This *Cacus* was industrious, and the author of many subtil inuentions; to purge and forge yron, and to fashion it to diuers instruments fit for the warre: for hee taught how to make breast-plates and other furniture for the defence of the bodie: and some beleue, that he had the art to make that infernall powder, which they vse for artillerie. For these inuentions, wherein he was very expert, he was celebrated by the Poets, as the sonne of *Vulcan*, the god of Forges. *Palatuu* after that he had long sued in vaine to princes and townes, whereas hee expected some succours, to recouer his estate, hee resolu'd in the end to returne into Spaine, and to obserue, if the inconstancie of humane things had not prepared him some meanes to recouer his dignitie, and to chase away his enemy: whereas he arriued so happily, as the Spaniards, whether moued with pitie of his calamitie, or wearie of the others commaund, they receiued *Palatuu*, and gaue him men and meanes to recouer his kingdome. So *Cacus* being dispossessed of that which he had held, fled into Italie, where they say that *Hercules* the Grecian slew him (whereof we will make mention) although that the author thereof doe not agree well vpon this point. There *Cacus* bred discord betwixt all the people and townes of Italie by his leud practises.

*Palatuu* being dead, the Tyrians of Phoenicia, who had now learned the way to Spaine, came with their king *Erythree*, and good store of ships, who giuing them to vnderstand, That he had bene commaunded by the Oracle to come and build a Temple to *Hercules Libique*, in the Island of Tarteffe, that is, Calis; they were not onely receiued, but *Erythree* was also chosen king of that part of Spaine; who built a stately Temple in the Island to *Hercules*, changing the name thereof, and causing it to be called *Erythree*, or else renewed that name, which it might haue had from the sister of *Oris* aboue mentioned, or of the Erythreans of the East, who followed *Hercules Orus*, which had dwelt there. To this Temple, which some hold was built vpon the maine land, where at this present *Medina Sydonia* stands, was due the tenths of all the thefts and spoyle of the West, by a perpetuall decree, the which was long obserued.

Of this king *Erythree* there is nothing more spoken: to whom they giue for successeur *Gargoris*, a Spaniard: he taught the people the vse of honey, and was therefore called *Miele*. The chiefe force of this kings estate and others his predecessors, were the Curetes, a brutish and sauage people, dwelling in the Forrests of Tarteffe, which contained a great part of the Ocean shore, from the holy Promontorie, or Cape *S. Vincent*, vnto the Island of Erythree.

In his time *Hercules* the Grecian, sonne to *Alcmena*, passed into Spaine, to whom the Greek Poets, and others that haue followed them, did attribute such prowesse, but falsely: for this

A this *Hercules* was but an insolent man, yet well beloued of the Grecian princes, by reason of his boldnesse and his strength of bodie fit to rob and steale, whereunto the nobilitie of that age was commonly addicted. The wealth of Spaine, which was so much spoken of in Greece and Asia, made him affect this voyage, after the first Trojan warre, against *Laomedon*. Hauing then gathered together all the pyrats and theues he could, as well in Europe as in Asia, hee set sayle, and coasting along Italie, he landed in the place of Tuscan, which since hath bene called Port *Hercules*. From thence he arriued in Sardinia, where he found some few inhabitants, where he left one *Sardus*, with some of the idle multitude that was in his armie. Of this *Sardus*, Sardinia tooke the name. Before he passed on, he made a great sacrifice vnto the gods,

B in a little Island, betwixt Corsica and Sardinia, the which for that cause doth still retaine the name of Isle *Hercules*. Then he directed his course towards the Islands of Baleares, then called Gymnasies, whereas the inhabitants made some weake resistance with their slings: in the least of which Islands he dedicated a Temple to *Ianus*, whereas since the towne of Ciuitella was built. Then continuing his voyage, he toucht the Islands of Pituyfes, and gaue the name of Ebusa to the greater. In the end he arriued vpon the maine of Spaine, whereas *Dianæ* Temple was built, the which he enriched with gifts, and did reuerence with sacrifices, for his prosperous voyage; and for that *Diana* was held to be the goddesse which had care of trauelers. Then sayling along the coast, hee came through the strait into the Ocean, and to the Island of Erythree, where he landed his armie vpon the firme land, and stayed there some few

C dayes to refresh his men; he in the meane time honouring his Temple (whose name he carried, and did challenge his acts) busied himselfe in making of playes and sacrifices. Hearing then that the Curetes and other Spaniards had put themselves in armes to fight with him, he went to meet them, gaue them battaile, and did easily defeat them, repulsing them into their Forrests, out of the which they durst not sally like enemies. This combat is supposed by the Poets for that of the Titanes against their gods, faining, that the Herculeans were gods, and the Curetes and Spaniards the Titanes.

After this victorie, the whole countrey was at *Hercules* deuotion: who imitating the auncient *Hercules* of Lybia, planted pillars in the straits; the one in Europe, the other in Affricke; enlarged the towne which was in the Island of Erythree, and left many Tyrians and Sydonians, which had followed him, there: and it may be it then tooke the name of Gadir, or Gades, which in the Phenician tongue signifieth a Terme, or Limit: and rearming himselfe a god, would haue all diuine honours done vnto him. And some hold, That it was he which made a law, to pay the tenth of the enemies spoyle, and to offer them to *Hercules* Temple: at the least he did exact it being in Spaine, that he might haue part of other mens spoyle, and know the greatest theues. This done, he marched towards the Pyrene mountains, spoyling the coast vpon the Mediterranean sea, and drawing after him a great traine of all nations, which came at the bruit and fame of this great theefe, and the treasures of Spaine: He passed into Gaule, and from thence into Italie, polluting all good families where he passed, as hee had bene accustomed to doe all his life time. The cause of his suddaine departure, was the news

E he heard of the great preparation which the Grecian princes made, to warre against the Trojans, for the rape of *Helen*, whither he was inuited by his friend *Telamon* of Salamine. Thus was Spaine in a short time beaten, and deliuered from a great scourge. Of this *Hercules* the Poets haue fained all that is written, of the conquests, prowesse, and trauels of many other *Hercules*, more auncient and better men than he: he was a Grecian, but not of Greece it selfe, but of that part of Italie which they call the great Greece, and of Tarentum, conceiued in adulterie by *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitrion*, a priuat man, and an vnknowne father, bred vp at Thebes in Beoce, and nourished in theft, fornication, and execrable murders: a companion and counsellor to *Iason*, in the voyage of Colchis, at the spoyle of the treasures of *Eete*, and the rape of his daughter *Medea*: the author and executioner of the ruine and death of *Laomedon* king of Troy; whose daughter *Hesione*, a noble and innocent virgine, he did prostitute to his companion *Telamon*, bold and hardie in all bad actions: so as hee purchased the name and reputation of a valiant capitaine, and was readily followed into Spaine by men of his owne fort, whereof there were store, and finding nothing left to steale in Asia.

As he carried away many bad persons when he went into Spaine, so he left others of diuers nations behind him, who built cities and townes, or finding some of their countrey men alreadie

Theues counte-  
nanced by prin-  
ces in old time.Baleares called  
Gymnasies.Hercules defeats  
the Curetes.Hercules Taren-  
tia a bastard.

Calpe.  
BarceloneAusonia.  
Lerida.

alreadie seated, planted themselves among them. Calpe, which was called Heraclea was then built. In this passage also, Barcino, so named of fishermens Cabbins, made of oyziers, which were first there, was enriched with a Temple, which this *Hercules* caused to be built to *Jupiter*. Turia so neere vnto Montcaio, was the Tyrians worke; Ausonia the Italians, it is now called Vic: Ilerda, now Lerida, the Illyrians, and others of other nations, whereof *Hercules* army was composed. To *Dianæ* Temple (which the Zacynthians had begun before his comming) there were (by him, or by the Zacynthians of his companie) great beames of Iuniper set; the which were spared by *Hannibal* when as he ruined those places, and continued vnto the time of the Roman Emperors. There remained many other marks of this passage long after in Spaine.

Crueltie of a  
grandfather.

As for *Gargoris*, who was king, he recovered his authoritie with great difficultie, and kept it with more paine; yet he reigned some yeares, and left the realme to his grand child, which his daughter had by stealth: wherewith *Gargoris* was so much offended, as he caused this child to be left in the fields, to be deuoured of wild beasts; the which, by the will of God, did not only leaue him vntoucht, but did also nourish him with their vrine: whereof the old man being aduertised, he commaunded him to be laid in the high wayes, that oxen, horses, hogs, and such like going and comming, might tread him vnder their feet: yea, he caused him to be presented to famished mastiues, which had bin kept hungry of purpose: but he was still preferred by the fauor of heauen; and the brute beasts (more kind than his grandfather) turned from the infant, and did not hurt him. In the end, this cruell man not content to put the poore child to an ordinarie death, he caused him to be carried far into the Ocean sea; yet could not his desire succeed: for the infant was cast by the waues vpon the sands, whereas a hynd hauing newly calued, was so farre in loue with it, as she forgat her own fruit, and nourished the child, vntill he grew great, and got his liuing in the woods and rocks, feeding vpon wild fruits; who in the end grew strong, and so actiue, as he ran as swiftly as any stagge. He was often scene, and pursued by the huntmen of the countrey, who could not conceiue what it was; yet they layd so many ambushes, as in the end they tooke him, and presented him vnto *Gargoris* their king: who hauing carefully considered and viewed the countenance of this sauage prisoner, he was of opinion, that it was his grand child: whereof he was the better assured by certaine marks which he had made vpon his bodie, and caused him to be attended on as his Estate required; then dying, he left him heire of his realme of Spaine: where he shewed himselfe wife, vertuous, and a louer of the good of men, notwithstanding that he had bin bred vp among wild beasts in his youth. For they say he made politicke lawes, and taught them to tyll the land; accustomed the barbarous people to a more ciuile life, and sought the meanes to better the fruits of the earth by manuring, remembring his hard and rough breeding in his younger yeares. Hee is called by some *Albius*, by others *Habidus*, or *Habis*. He appointed exercises for the Spaniards, and diuided the people into seuen townes or cantons.

Albius, Habidus,  
or Habis.The Celtes passe  
into Spaine.

Celtiberia.

8 After him there is no mention of any kings in Spaine for many ages: which giues some occasion to conjecture, that they erected many Commonweales; or that this region lay open to the inuasion of many strangers, which came from diuers parts; namely, after the destruction of Troy, which happened in the time of this *Habidus*; in whose life time certaine Celtes coming out of Gaule, came into Iberia, where they had long and sharpe warre against the inhabitants of the country, with whom they would share their lands; & in the end forced the Iberians to receiue them, and to contract alliances with them, giuing them their daughters in marriage: and so communicating both ayre, country, and names with them, they made of two nations one, which was called Celtiberian, and the countrey of Celtiberia; which is, all that lyes betwixt the Pyrenee mountaines and the riuer of Ebro. Other Celtes and Gaules had passed farther into Spaine, it may be, before the Iberians came there, and had run beyond the riuer of Ebro, vnto the West Ocean, where they had held a part of Portugal and Betica; in which prouinces they did also carry the names of Celtes, Celtiques, Galates, and Gallicians, and there did build townes. *Ephorus* (for that the Celtes did hold all that North part of Spaine, and part of Portugal) extended Gaule vnto the Island of Gades. *Habis* reigned yet, when Elna, a towne in the countie of Rossillon, was first founded; the which some haue ignorantly written, was named by *Helene*, mother to *Constantine* the Great, or built by her grand child *Constantine*.

Many Grecians in those times came into Spaine, among the which (as they say) was *Tenecer* the sonne of *Telamon*, who (hauing beene chased away by his father, and after his death excluded

A cluded from the succession) landed whereas new Carthage now stands, and so passed on into Galicia. They attribute vnto him the foundation of the towne of Salamanca; a name which commeth neere vnto that of Salamina, where *Tenecer* was borne: yet some affirme, That in auncient time it was called Elmantica, and more properly. *Diomedes* also came into Spaine with certain *Ætolians*, and they hold, that the towne of Tude vpon Myrio was his worke, for Tude, that this name hath some affinitie with *Tydeus*, the father of *Diomedes*. *Astur*, who was coachman to king *Memnon* (no small office in those dayes) being come with the Grecians into this Region, gaue the name vnto the Asturians, and to the towne and riuer of Astorga. Some *Asturias* maintaine, That Lisbon, Olyssippo or Vlyssippo, hath beene built by *Vlisses*, and in it a Temple to the goddesse *Pallas*. Of *Mnestheus* of Athens (to whom there were diuine honours conferred after his death) was named the port of Mnesthee, neere vnto Gades. Finally, infinit Grecians, which could not or would not returne into their country, after the destruction of Troy, came into Spaine, and erected many pettie Estates: and among them there were many other nations, who had some strength at sea, and were expert in nauigation, but at diuers seasons, and very vncertaine, as the Thracians, whereof the towne of Veta, or rather that of Almerie, giue some testimonie: for in old time it was called Abdera, as another which was in Thrace. The Rhodians did build the towne of Roses, now desart, at the foot of the Pyrenee mountains, whereas the Confull *Cato* first landed, when hee came to make warre in Spaine. These men taught the Spaniards the vse of hand-mylles, and to coyne money. The Phocians of Asia did

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C build Marseille, and founded the towne of Empurias, which in like manner is now ruined. It was in auncient time inhabited by three kinds of people, of diuers manners and languages, diuided by wals, and liuing in continuall jealousie one of another, which were naturall Spaniards. These Phocians, and afterwards Romans, which were added by *Julius Cesar*, who hauing reduced Spaine vnder his obedience, and chased away *Pompeyes* children, and their faction, made one bodie of these three nations, and a towne well vnited. The Milesians and the Carystians came also to inhabit there; and the Lesbians issued from the Massagetes, to whom they attribute the foundation of Concauo, Castulo, at this present Castlona, in old time a great towne, and the limit of two governments of Spaine: vnder the Romane Empire it was called Parnasia, which maketh some thinke, that they of Phocide in Europe were the founders, for that Parnassus hill is in their country. Then came the Phrygians, which were extra (as some say) of Spaine and the Egyptians, vnder the leading of a captaine called *Tarracon*, of whom the towne of Tarracone tooke the name. Hauing taken great spoyle along the Mediterranean shore, he went and payed the tenths of his thefts to *Hercules* temple at Calis, according to the auncient order. He had a nobleman of the country, whose name was *Teron*, that opposed himselfe, but he could not hinder him from spoyle of the countrey: For in truth the Spaniards, vntill the warres betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, had no commendation to be good warriors, in regard of other nations. When as the Egyptian was gone, *Teron* demanded of the Gaditanes the offerings which this theefe had made vnto their Temple, as taken away by violence and iniustice: whereunto the Gaditanes opposed themselves, and did so well defend the rites of their god, as they slew *Teron*, and defeated his men in a battaile at sea.

E Some Cipriots came also to dwell in Spaine, and moreover they beleene, that the towne of Biana, in old time Alba, and of Madrid, first called Mantua, be the worke of the first Latines and Italians.

The reason why so many nations came into Spaine, was the abundance of mynes, and the ignorance of the Spaniards, which made them lesse couetous, and by consequence lesse giuen to armes, and therefore they were a pray to all these theeuish nations: whom (as all things haue their changes and reuolutions) they haue in this last age not only imitated, but exceeded them farre in crueltie, couetousnesse, and insolencie, to simple rude nations discovered by them, as will appeare by the discourse of the Historie.

F About 880 yeares before the Natiuitie of Iesus Christ was that memorable fire in the Pyrenee mountaines (I speake it according vnto the Spanish Authors) the which discovered more plainly the treasures of Spaine: For the heardsmen hauing set fire of the woods (whereof the mountaines were full) and it continuing many dayes, the veins of the earth were so moued with this violent heat, as the siluer melting ran downe by streames: whereof pyrats and strangers which did traffique there, being aduertised, they came running to this booty.

The



The Phenicians among others, vnder a kind of traffique, and with the exchange of certaine trifles of small value, laded their ships about once, being conducted (as some write) by *Sichee*, husband to *Elifa Dido*; yea, in so great abundance, as they made the anchors of their ships of siluer; so as *Sichee* grew so rich, as his brother in law *Pigmalion* through enuie and couetousnesse slew him: who afterward bent his course for Spaine; but running vp and down the seas, he died: wherefore his companie wanting a head, came to Gades, to their brethren and countrymen, which were planted in this Island; who entertained them courteously, and the towne was better peopled by them: so as in the end it became a mightie Commonweale, inhabited first without all doubt by this nation of Tyr.

Tyrans did first  
people Cadiz.

Tyr was at that time, and long after, one of the most famous cities in the world, and and most abounding in people and wealth; which the townes that haue taken their beginning from her, in diuers parts of the earth, doe witness. And although it had in a manner no territories, and that it was often taken and spoyled by the kings and potentates of Asia, and by *Alexander* the Great, yet did they easily recouer their first happinesse, by reason of the industrie of the inhabitants, and the commoditie of the sea; the which they did frequent with more experience and knowledge than any other nation of that age. It was the mother citie of that mightie Commonweale of Carthage, which for so long a time did contend for Emperie with Rome; the first foundation whereof was layed by one *Carchedon* a Tyrian: it was afterwards enlarged by *Dido*, sister to *Pigmalion*, about 135 yeares before the foundation of Rome, and did encrease daily both in people and wealth. The citizens whereof some 562 yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ, bent their course for Spaine, to spoyle as others had done, by reason of them of Gades: who hauing gotten a great territorie in Spaine, which made them to bee feared and honoured of their neighbours, yet not contenting themselves with their owne, they sought to take from others: yea, being right merchants, and seeking to make their profit of all things, they tooke away men from the neighbour townes and villages, and caried them to sell as slaues in strange countries: a traffique which had bene alwayes vsed by the Phenicians of Syria, their progenitors, to the prejudice of the people of Palestina and Iudea, who bordered vpon them. These inhumane fashions did in the end stirre vp the other people of Spaine against the Gaditanes, whereof followed much warre of small fame, by reason of the weakenesse of the Commonweales and Potentates which did manage them, if wee will compare them with others of those times.

Tyrans great  
sea men.

Tyrans made  
profit of all  
things.

Arganthon.

Onely there is an honourable mention made of a noble man commanding vpon the coast of the Ocean, neere vnto this Island of Gades, called *Arganthon*, happie in wealth and long prosperitie of his affaires; for they say he liued 155 yeares, and reigned 80, and withall loued iustice: whose time is conferred with that of *Ancus Martius*, reigning in Rome about 150 yeares after the foundation thereof. The Gaditanes were kept somewhat in awe by him and others; yet not so subdued, but they tooke armes vpon all occasions; so as the people round about conspired against them: who finding not themselves strong ynough to oppose against so many enemies, they resolved to call the Carthaginians to their aid; who in the end became masters of Spaine, vntill the Romanes stayed the course of their victories and conquests: the which shall be related in the following Bookes with more delight, for that we are better assured than of these things.

Carthaginians  
called into Spaine  
by the Gaditanes.

Hitherto we haue discoursed of the beginning and antiquitie of those nations which came first to inhabit Spaine, following the obscure steps of those that haue left any thing in writing, or read or conjectured, hauing scarce obserued any order of times, being without any sure grounds: for euen the places, whereas euery one of the Gouernors, Captains, or Kings, whereof we haue made mention, did reigne, is not very certaine. Yet it is most apparent, that the Isle of Gades hath been the most famous place of all Spaine, and that the superstition of idolatrous people hath preferred it from the inuasions and spoyles of strangers, by reason of the famous Temple of *Hercules*, which was built there: and that the maine land which is about this Island, and the strait which is neere vnto it, haue bene sooner and more particularly knowne than other places within the heart of Spaine, by reason of the commodious landing for Armies, and the abound of merchants strangers, which came thither by sea. And it is credible, that within the country there were many petty kings, heads of people, without fame, and it may be without any good and lawfull policie; and it is not impertinent, that some townes,

Religion whereto  
they were bound, is  
naturally reuer-  
enced.

A townes, famous in after ages, and euen in our times, whose beginning is not known, haue had their first foundations from these vnkowne people.

Wee haue willingly omitted many discourses written by others, for that wee haue held them fabulous, or at the least very doubtfull: as the coming of *Noe* into Spaine, and the voyage and conquest thereof by *Nabuchodonozor*, and such like, which we may read in counterfeit *Berosus*, or in *Iosephus*, being deceived by the memorials of the Chaldeans, who put this last *Nabuchodonozor* about all the *Hercules* that euer were, to whose acts (the which in truth were great, as we may gather by the holy Scriptures) wee doe not any way derogate, by calling in question his coming into Spaine, for that Asia, Ægypt, and Africk, which were neere, might furnish him wherewith to erect his trophies.

The great drought (whereof some haue left remembrance) seemeth as incredible vnto vs; the which continued six and twentie yeares, and burnt all the trees and plants in Spaine, except some Oliue and Pomegranet trees, as they say; as if these trees could not be hurt by the extreame heat, as well as the rest: it dried vp all the riuers, except Ebro and Guadalquivir, which became small vnprofitable riuers; so as the people were forced to goe out in great troupes, to seeke for other dwellings. These things, for that they haue not bene written by any auncient and good Authors, who would not haue passed ouer so memorable an accident with silence, and for the absurdities which follow, they are with reason rejected.

A prodigious  
drought.

C And for as much as in that which we are hereafter to treat of, we shall find Spaine more manured, better peopled with men, townes, and burroughes, limited and distinguished by more apparent bounds, and hauing some better forme of gouernment and policie than it hath hitherto had, we haue thought it expedient (for the Readers ease) before we enter into the subject, to make a particular and briefe description thereof, making some mention of the fertilitie of the soyle, qualitie of the ayre, and nature and manners of the Spaniards, both auncient and moderne.

D To Spaine in general, and in regard of other countries, had from the beginning natural limits, as they are at this day; vnlesse they will say, that the continuall beating of the waues of the sea hath made some breaches, or hath diuided it from Africke, to the which some beleue it was joyned in the beginning, or that the forme hath bene changed by some other accident. There may well be some diminution: for in Islands, the which (for that they are little) are better comprehended and measured by the fences, we find without all question, that some at this present are much lesse than they were in former ages, and others that haue bene famous, are now perished, and are no more, hauing bene vndermined by the waues, and swallowed vp in the sea. But whatsoeuer hath happened since that Spaine had any fame vnto this day, it doth not appeare that there hath bene any great portion cut away, or that it is much altered or changed.

Description of  
Spaine.

E This Region hath bene very fitly compared by the Auncients to an Oxes hyde spread abroad: for beginning by the necke somewhat narrow (which is the passage of the Pyrence mountaines, by the which it is joyned vnto Fraunce) it extendeth it selfe to the right and to the left, going towards the West: so as making in a manner a square forme, the Promontories or heads which thrust into the sea, on the one side vpon the coast of Biscaye, and at Finis terræ, and on the other at Cap de Gates, and at the strait of Gibraltar, represent the legs; then the point of Cap S. Vincent, stretcht forth behind towards the West, makes the tayle.

Spaine like to an  
Oxes hyde.

F That which is taken for the East part of Spaine, runs along the Pyrence mountaines, beginning neere vnto the towne of Bayonne, vpon the limits of Fraunce, where was heretofore the Promontorie Easo, and runs vnto Cap de Cruix, whereas *Pennus* Temple was in old time; that is, from the Ocean to the Mediterranean sea; being 80 leagues, or thereabouts, taking the way by Fraunce: for these mountaines haue no strait course, but bend much towards Spaine, and hold a great part of that country: so as he that would goe from the Ocean to the Mediterranean sea within the country of Spaine, on that side of the mountaines, should find it much more than 80 leagues. Although that this coast of Spaine be called the East, yet all this passage of the Pyrence mountaines turnes much towards the North, and is subject to that wind which the Italians call Greco, and by our mariners Northeast.

The East part of  
Spaine.

C

From

The South coast  
of Spaine.

From Cap de Crux, or *Venus* Temple, along the Mediterranean sea, and passing by the strait G into the Atlantick Ocean, vnto the holy Promontorie, or Cap S. Vincent, is the South part of Spaine; the which notwithstanding turning towards the East, is for the most part subiect to the wind which the Italians call Siroco, and we Southeast, and contains about 275 leagues; that is, 202 leagues to Gibaltar, and 73 leagues from thence to Cap S. Vincent, the which are distinctly measured after this manner.

|  |            |                                      |            |
|--|------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| From Cap Crux to Barcelona                 | 30 Leagues | From Carthagea to Vera               | 18 Leagues |
| From thence to Tarracone                   | 16 L.      | From Vera to Almerie                 | 13 L.      |
| From Tarracone to Valence, by the mouth of |            | From Almerie to Malaga               | 20 L.      |
| the riuer of Ebro and Tortosa              | 30 L.      | From Malaga to Gibaltar              | 23 L. H    |
| From Valence to Denia                      | 17 L.      | From Gibaltar by the strait to Calis | 20 L.      |
| From Denia to Alicant                      | 18 L.      | From Calis to the mouth of Guadiana  | 26 L.      |
| From thence to Carthagea                   | 17 L.      | From thence to Cap S. Vincent        | 27 L.      |

All which together are 275 Leagues.

West part of  
Spaine.

The West part of Spaine is directly towards the Equinoctiall, and contains 126 leagues, or thereabouts, along the Ocean sea, from Cap S. Vincent, vnto that which the Ancients called Nereum, and we Finis terræ; whereof the distances are these.

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| From Cap S. Vincent to the mouth of Tagus or Tayo             | 38 Leagues |
| From thence to the riuer of Munda                             | 25 L.      |
| From Munda to Duero, a riuer, and where it falls into the sea | 25 L. I    |
| From thence to Pontenedra                                     | 19 L.      |
| From Pontenedra to Cap Finis terræ                            | 18 L.      |

All which together make 125 Leagues, whereof there are about 100 of the jurisdiction of Portugall.

The North part  
of Spaine.

From Cap Finis terræ vnto the Promontorie Easô, neere vnto which is Bayonne, a frontier towne of Fraunce against Spaine, is the North part thereof, running some fewen score Leagues along the Ocean, sometimes called Britannicum. For

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| From Cap Finis terræ vnto Ninerio, or S. Marthe, they number | 40 Leagues |
| From thence to Hianco or Cap. Stationes                      | 30 L.      |
| From thence to S. Ander                                      | 30 L. K    |
| From S. Ander to the last bounds of the Pyrenees             | 40 L.      |

All which makes 140 Leagues.

The circuit of all  
Spaine.

All the circuit then of Spaine shall be of 620 Leagues, counting foure Italian myles to a League, that is, 80 Leagues by land, and 540 by sea, sailing round about it, where it is washed with the two seas, which makes it almost an Island.

Provinces of  
Spaine vnder  
the jurisdiction  
thereof.

We are not ignorant, that in old times was comprehended vnder the jurisdiction of Spaine, on the one side the Prouince of Gaule Narbonoise, which is now called Languedocke, and on the other side a portion of Mauritania in Africa, beyond the strait, as well in the times of the Romane Emperours, as of the Gothes; but for that it was an accessorie onely for a time, and vpon extraordinarie occasions, and that it is most certaine that these people are by nature excluded out of the limits of Spaine, and haue alwaies had diuers humors and manners to the Spaniards, wee will containe our selues within the compasse which wee haue described and measured, in the whole course of this Historie; and if we be forced to goe out of it, wee will hold our selues there as strangers. Having turned round about Spaine, let vs see what mountaines and riuers are famous in the whole country, the better to distinguish euery nation, both auncient and moderne.

Pyrenee, why  
so called.

The Pyrenees, which haue taken their name either of the great fire, whereof mention hath bin made (for Pyr in Greeke, is fire) or from the ordinarie lightening which falls vpon the tops of the hills, or else (if we will receive fables) of the nymph *Pyrene*, daughter to *Bebrix*, whom *Hercules* did get with child as he passed that way, extend their greatest masse from *Venus* Temple, or Cap Crux, vnto Bayonne, that is to say, from the one vnto the other sea, stretching farre into Spaine, where they doe hold a great part of the countrey, which lyes betwixt them and the riuer of Ebro, casting moreover many branches along and crosse this Region, from whence doe fall many riuers and small streames, the which some haue numbered to be 150; meri-

A meriting the names of riuers. The front of these mountaines, which stretch vnto the Ocean neere vnto Bayonne, bending in that part, runs along the Cantabrians, Asturians, & Galicia, vnto the last Western limits, extending it selfe far into the country, and making almost halfe Spaine crooked and hilly, whereas the riuer of Duero doth passe, and further. These hills were heretofore called Cantabres and Vindius, and since they took diuers names, which were given them by the people which dwell thereabouts, and in the vallies thereof. At this present they be the mountains of Biscay, Nauarre, Sentillana, the mountains of Oca, Asturia, and Galicia. Out of them doth flow the riuer Ebro, in old time Iberus, neere vnto a place which they call

The spring of  
the riuer Ebro.

B ancient country of the Autrigones, Vardules, Valcons, Ilrgetes, Ederanes, and Illecaones, the which are in our time the Nauarrois, Arragonois, and Cattelaunians, and hauing run about 120 leagues through the country, it falls into the Mediterranean sea, beneath Tortose. Duero doth also take her beginning in these mountains, a great riuer, and the auncient limit betwixt Portugall and Tarraconese, two of the principall Prouinces of Spaine, neere vnto a Bourg called Aquilar, not farre from Soria, bending in the beginning towards the South, but afterwards she takes her course to the West Ocean, into the which it dischargeth it selfe neere vnto the towne of Porto Galego, hauing run about 120 leagues by the Arcuaces, and betwixt the vallies of the Galliques and Lusitanians, which in our time are those of Castille the old, Leon and Portugall, towards the North. Into it falls the riuer Auia, vpon the banks whereof they say

The course of  
Ebro.

The spring of  
the riuer Duero.

C that no tree that is pricking will grow; although that all the country thereabouts is full of Pomgranets, Oranges, Cytrons, and such like, the which it hath common with another riuer in Galicia, called Aleste.

Auia.

From the same Pyrenees, as from a common stemme, parts the mountain, called in old time Idubeda or Iubalda, the which thrusts forth into two other branches, the which diuides Spain from the East vnto the West, and passing by diuers people, gets also diuers names: for in the beginning they call it Sierra, or mountaine of Acienca, by reason of the auncient towne of Auca, the ruines whereof are yet to be seene, about the towne of Bourgos: then it is called Sumo Sierra, Puerto de Tablada, of Palomera, of Abilo, Pico, of Tornauacas, & in the end enters into Portugall, making a great front neere vnto the Ocean, the which they call the mount

Mountaine of  
Idubeda.

D of Strella, vpon the top of which is an admirable lake: for they doe often find in it pieces of ships which haue suffered shipwracke vpon that coast, notwithstanding that the mountaine is very high, and a good way from the sea: and they say moreover, that when the sea is troubled with tempests, they doe heare the waues beat, and all that lake and mountaine make a noyse, with the horrible sound of the winds and tempest, as if they were in full sea.

The mountaine  
of Strella in  
Portugall, and  
the wonders  
thereof.

This course of the mountains running betwixt the riuers Duero and Tayo, doth now cause a distinction of the people of the Prouinces of Spain; for which reason they are called, on this side, or beyond the mountains. The other branch of this mount Idubeda runs towards the South, neere vnto the towne of Sigüenza and Cuenca, keeping in the riuer Ebro, that it bend not towards the West, the which in our time hath also gotten diuers names, that is, Solorio, Sierra

Distinction of  
Spaine within  
the country.

E Molina, Sierra d'Alcarras & Sigura, in old times, Mons Argentum; and sometimes rising high, and sometimes falling and opening in some places, it is in a manner plain neere vnto Valence: then it riseth againe, and passeth to Carthagea, and to Cap de Palos, in former times called Scombraria, the auncient limit of two governments of Spaine, at what time this mountain was called Orospeda or Ortopeda. Passing on by the sea shore riseth the mountaine, in old time called Illipula, and now Sierra Vermeia, Sierra de Rondas, and other hills of the kingdome of Granada, which extend vnto the strait whereas they make Mont Calpe, called at this time Gibaltar; the which should properly be called Gibal Tarifa, a name gotten by the descent of a captain Moore, called *Tarif*, who landed in this place with the first armie of Moores that came out of Africke into Spaine, when as the Gothes kingdome went to ruine. Other mountaines diuiding themselves from this, and going far from the sea, run about Cordoue and Seuille, the which in old time were called Mariani Montes, and Castulonensis Salus, now Sierra Morena.

Orospeda. Mo.  
called Illipula. M.

Calpe. M. which  
is Gibaltar.

Mariani. M.

F Out of these above named mountaines, which keepe in the riuer Ebro, bending from the North to the South, there flowe three great flouds or riuers, Tagus, Anas, and Betis, according to the ancients, but now called Tayo, Guadiana, and Guadalquivir, besides many others of lesse fame, which these doe receiue and carrie into the Ocean.

Tayo, Tagus,  
Guadiana, Anas,  
Guadalquivir, or Betis.

The course of  
Tagus.

Tayo hath his spring at a place which is now called Sierra Molina, neere vnto the towne of Cuenca and Toralba, the which passing almost through two parts of Spaine, runneth by Toledo, the country of Estrema Dura and Portugal, towards the West Ocean, where it enters by a large and spacious channell beneath the royall citie of Lisbon. This riuer was famous among the Auncients, by reason of the little graines, and as it were scrapings of pure gold, which they did often find in the grauell and sand, which the torrent and streames of water had brought from the mountaines.

The beginning  
and course of  
Guadiana.

Guadiana cometh out of the country which in old time they called Campus Laminitanus, and now Campo de Montiel, a place which is otherwise drie and wanting water. This riuer directeth her course in the beginning towards the West, neere vnto the towne which was called Pax or Pezaugusta, but now Badaios: turning there to the South, it dischargeth it selfe into the Atlantick sea, bounding in at this day the kingdome of Portugal on the South side, as in old time it diuided the prouince of Betica from Lusitania. Towards the Spring they call it Rodiera, and from thence (which is admirable) hauing run some leagues in the country, it hides it selfe vnder the ground, neere vnto a place called Argamassilla, and runneth so hidden aboue eight great leagues: then it comes forth againe into certaine moores, continuing her course in that manner, neere vnto the auncient townes of Cecilia, Gemela, Emerita, and Pezaugusta, towards the sea; by reason whereof the Spaniards breed admiration in strangers, bragging, that they haue a bridge in their country, vpon the which aboue ten thousand cattell feed daily.

A singularitie of  
Guadiana.

Guadalquivir,  
the name, spring  
and course.

As for Guadalquivir, so named by the Moores, which is as much to say, as a great floud, and in old time Betis, her beginning is vpon Mont Argent, called now Sierra d'Alcarras, and runneth towards the West into the Atlantick sea, beneath Seuille, by a large channell; although in old time it had two: whereof the one passed along the wals of Nebrissa, which at that time was Lebrissa; the which is at this day aboue two leagues off, for that the channell is filled vp: vpon the which Asta did also stand, which in those times was also called Zeres de la Frontera.

Cayo.  
Two  
The ladders of  
Hanniball.

There are other mountaines in Spaine of lesse fame, as Mont Cayo, neere to Tarrassone in Arragon, in old time Caunus; M. Iui or Mons Iouis, neere to Barcelone; the ladders of Hanniball, called in that time the coast of Garaph, and others. Moreouer, there are many riuers besides those which we haue described, giuing the names or bounds to Prouinces: as the riuer of Rusino, whereof the towne and country was named; of the ruines whereof Perpignan was built: Astorga, which seemeth to giue the name vnto the Asturians: the riuer of Calybs, which passeth according vnto some, neere vnto Tarrassone, and in his name carrieth the marks of the beginning of the Spaniards, the water whereof is excellent to steepe yron: Sicoris, or Sigro, which passeth at Lerida; about the which were the Sicanians, which passed into Sicilie, Cinpa or Senga, and the greater and lesse Arragon; flouds whereof the kingdome of Arragon is named, with others which are obserued by the curious. But it shall be easie for vs, among these great mountaines and riuers which we haue described, to find out euery people and prouince, and the particular places of Spaine, as well according to the distinctions of the Auncient, as their limits and diuisions, since the euerfion of the Romane Empire.

Turdulans.

Beginning then with the Westerne point, we say, That from Cape S. Vincent vnto the Island of Gades or Calis, did dwell the auncient Turditanes, vpon the sea, and within the land, holding both banks of the riuer Anas, and the country which lieth betwixt it and Betis, beyond the which they did occupie some leagues of the country towards the South. This Region was in the beginning full of woods and forrests, which they called Tercenians and Tartessians, but being cut downe, it hath bene alwaies very fertile and abounding in all things. The towne of Hisspalis, called after Sepila, and since Seuille, was of this nation, being also called Romulensis Colonia, situated vpon the banks of Betis, a great and navigable riuer, and lower towards the sea, Nebrissa, and Asta Colonia, and within the country Italica, whereas the Emperours Traian, Adrian, and Theodosius were borne, with the Poet Silius, and Carmon retaining still the name, Pax Iulia and Beia, at this present Portugall.

Turdulans.  
Cordoue.

Neere vnto them towards the East were the Turdules, whose country is also bathed by Betis, and vpon this riuer is the towne of Cordoue, called Colonia Patricia, built by the

Consull

A Consull M. Claud. Marcellus, about the yeare of the foundation of Rome 602. Which country of the Turdules did extend to the Turditanes and the Bastules, from the Ile of Gades, vpon the Ocean, vnto the Mediterranean sea, neere vnto the Promontorie Charidemum, or Cap de Gates. The places which the Turdules did hold lying vpon the Ocean shoare, towards the strait, were the port of Mnesthec, the Temple of Iuno built by Hercules, and the citie of Belon, on which side there are at this day S. Marie, Trafalgar, and Tarriffe: and within the country the mountaine Ilipula, and Ilipula Magna, at this present Ilpa; Illiberis, or Liberia, which some thinke was Granado in those times; and Astigi, one of the iudiciall seats of Spaine, which may be Eccia at this day, although there were another of that name vpon the sea shoare. Among this nation it may well be the Melessians were, and their towne Oringe, taken by L. Scipio, which they say was Aryona.

After were the Bastules, within the straits, and along the Mediterranean sea, who were surnamed Poeni, continuing vnto the Promontorie of Charidemum, or Cap de Gates, and to Balaria, now Bara, or Vera, next vnto the Turdules, of which nation Calpe was, otherwise called Heraclee, the which at this day they name Gibraltar, neere vnto the which in old time was the towne of Carteia, called also Tartesse, the which was a common name in old time for the riuer Betis, the Island of Gades, and all the neighbour country. It is likely, that this towne of Carteia was situated whereas Algezire now standeth. Titus Livius setteth it without the strait, vpon the Ocean. Then Malaga, a port which retayneth his name; and Abdera, which is Almerie, vpon the Mediterranean sea, belonging vnto the Bastules; and it may be Munda, whereas Pompeyes eldest sonne was defeated, if it be that Ronde which is at this day, as some will haue it. The countries inhabited by these three nations, are at this day comprehended in Granado, Andaluzia, and a part of Portugall, and made the Betique Prouince one of the chiefe members of the kingdome of Spaine.

Next vnto them, and continuing along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, were the Bastitanes and Contestanes, whereas in our time lyeth Murcia and Valence, seperated by the mountaine Orospea. The towne of Basa was in old time the chiefe mansion of the Bastitanes, otherwise called Bastitanes, to whom Acci did belong, now called Guadix, and vnto Beiar and Origuela, in old time called Bigerra and Orcelis. But Murcia, then called Menlaria, Sætabis, which is Xatiua, and towards the Promontorie Scombaria, now called Cap de Palos, new Carthage, Alone, which at this day is Alicante, Illici, it may be Elches in our time, and the citie of Valence, were belonging vnto the Contestanes, among the which it may be Illiturge was, lying farre from the sea, or else among the aboue named Bastitanes.

Then followed the Editanes and Ilercaones, from Valence vnto the mouth of the riuer Ebro. The townes and places renowned among the Editanes, or, as others tearme them, Seditanes, were Dianium vpon the sea, and Sagunt higher, destroyed by Hanniball, whereas now Moruedro standeth, Cæsar Augusta, farre off from the sea, is Saragossa, in old time Salduba.

Among the Ilercaones were Dertosa, in these times Tortosa, and old Carthage, ruined by the two Scipios brethren.

Ioyning vnto them, and still coasting along the sea shoare, and on this side the riuer of Ebro, were the Acetanians, Laetanians, Castellanes, and Indigetes, all which are comprehended at this day in Catelogne, vpon the sea. To these Acetanians (who were also called Cofetanians) belonged Terraco; of the which, the greatest part of Spaine was named; a towne peopled by the two brethren Scipios, to oppose it against new Carthage.

F Barcelone growne great of a small beginning, by the ruines of Rubicata, a Colonie of the Africanus, situated vpon the riuer Rubricatus, at this present Lobregat, was of the Laetanians or Laetanians.

The Castellans (who, according vnto some, haue left their name to our Catelogne) were Castellans, whereas it may be the Duchie of Cardone now is.

C iij

Vpon

Indigetes.

Vpon the declining of the Pyrennee mountaines, were the Indigetes, or Endigetes, where-  
as the towne of Empurias or Emporium now is, and Rhoda, or Rosas, now ruined, and in old  
time the Temple of *Venus*, whereas now Coelibre stands, a name taken from Illiberis, which  
was at the foot of the Pyrennees, as some suppose.

Ruscino  
Rusillon.

For a frontier to Spaine on that side, we will place Ruscino, which is the Countie of  
Rosillon, although it were in old time of the Prouince of Gaule, but it hath of long time  
beene annexed vnto Spaine: there was Elna, which hath not changed her name, and Rusci-  
no, both riuer and towne, of whose ruines Parnpignan was built. Neere vnto it is a small  
riuer, called Illeris, and since Tetrum, that is to say, slithie, for that the water thereof  
is blacke, by reason that it passeth among the mynes of metall, whereof those moun-  
taines are full. In this countrey there was also a towne called Illiberis, as that of Gre-  
nade, whereas the first Councell of Spaine was held: but at this day there remaineth no  
marke of it.

Celtiques.

Comming now to the holy Promontorie, or Cape S. Vincent, from whence wee are  
parted, we will describe the people dwelling along the Westerne and Northerne Ocean,  
vnto the other end of the Pyrennees, neere vnto Bayonne; whereof the first were called Cel-  
tiques, who came without all doubt from Gaule, after that the Celtes and Iberians were  
mingled together, comprehended partly vnder the Lusitanians, who held a great Continent  
of the countrey, as well by the sea side, as within the land, and gaue the name vnto one of  
the chiefe members of Spaine, containing the Vergons, of whom wee will make mention  
hereafter.

Lusitanians.

These Celtiques and Lusitanians comprehended a great part of our Portugall, of E-  
strema Dura, and Castille the new, and entred as farre as Andelouzia into the Celtiques  
countrey. The auncient townes which they had, and the places most renowned, were  
Vlyssippo or Olyssippo, now Lisbonne, at the mouth of Tayo, the mouthes of the riuers  
of Monda and Duero, and within the countrey Scalabis, or Turris Iulia, now Trugil-  
lo, Talabriga, Talauera now, Eburna, Norba Cæsarea, at this time Alcantara, Augusta  
Emerita, now Merida. These two last were betwixt Tayo and Guadiana, and Norba Cæ-  
sarea was ruined by *Pompey's* faction, for that they had beene two faithfull vnto *Cæsar*: of  
the ruines whereof, and the remainders of which people, Emerita was afterwards built, in  
*Augustus* his time. There were also Euandria, Cecilia Gemellina, now called S. *Marie* of  
Guadalupe: Aronda among the Celtique Betiques, called also Munda, not that whereas  
*Pompey's* eldest sonne was defeated. Beside these townes, there were vpon the marches of the  
Lusitanians, Illipa, which it may be is Niebla at this day; Ostraca, Carmel, Ituca, and others,  
whereof there remaine no markes.

Callaiques or  
Gallegos.

Beyond the riuer of Duero were the people called Callaiques or Galliques, now Gal-  
legos, so named of the Gaules, Galates, or Celtes, holding a great countrey, which was  
barren and hillie, for the most part, but where it joyneth vpon the Lusitanians; which is  
that which is contained betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, belonging at this pre-  
sent to the realme of Portugall; the which hath taken this name since the coming of the  
Moores, of the towne of Porto, right against the which, they or the Gaules pyrats built  
a fort, which was called Gal: it may be it is that which is called the tower of Gaya, the  
which is in this countrey, whereas Duero falleth into the sea. These people of Callaiques  
were diuided into two; those which were called Brecaires, by reason of the towne of Bre-  
car Augusta, which was among them (the which is now Braga, Metropolitane of Por-  
tugal,) and the Callaiques Lucenses, by reason of the towne called Lucus Augusti, now  
Lugo. Of the Brecaires was the riuer Lemia, called Lethes, for that the Celtes inhabi-  
ting about the riuer of Guadiana, comming with other of their neighbours into this coun-  
tre, after some tumults, and the losse of their capitaine, being vagabonds, and without  
counsell, they wandered vp and downe without conduct, and without any care to returne  
from whence they came, as if they had forgotten their first abode. The Brecaires and their  
towne Brekar tooke their name from certaine souldiours of Affricke, which were leuiued about  
the riuer of Bragada, in the Prouince of Carthage, and then mingled with the Celtes, or  
Gaules, were called Callaiques, or Galliques Brecaires.

Among

Portugall  
whence it was  
so named.

Brecaires.

**A** Among the Lucenses were the Artabres, about the Promontorie Nereum, which is now  
Finis terræ: there were the altars of the Sunne, and Flauium Brigantium, it may be Compo-  
stella at this day, or Betauzos, or rather Corunna, and Trileucum, a Promontorie, and Iria  
Flauia, at this day S. *Marie* of Finis terræ, or Padron, and Aque Calidæ, now Orense.

Asturia joyned to these Callaiques, at that time diuided into many iurisdiccions: there was  
Lancia the chiefe towne, taken by *Augustus* captaines, Legio Germanica, or Gemina, at this  
time Leon, a royall towne: Bregetium, called since (according vnto some) Ouedo, an as-  
sured refuge for Christians, when as the Moores did ouerrun Spaine: Asturica Augusta, at  
this day Astorga: Forum Egurrorum, Medina of Riosecco, and towards the sea Flauionauia,

**B** neere vnto the which began the Cantabrians, which are now the Biscanes, those of Guipus-  
coa, and part of Nauarre. Their sea townes were Flauio brigā, now Bilbao, Easo, S. Sebastian,  
neere Fonterabie, the furthest limit of Spaine, where as in old time was the Promontorie O-  
larro, or Oeoso. Among them was the towne of Segisama, taken by *Octavianus Cæsar*. They  
did comprehend the Antrigones, Caristes, Bardules, and Vascons, the which extended them-  
selues farre from the sea into the countrey, on this side the riuer of Ebro, and coasted the Py-  
rennee mountaines. The neere vnto Asturia were properly called Cantabrians, to whom Vel-  
lica did belong, about the place where as now Victoria stands, the chiefe towne of the Pro-  
uince of Alaua, Iuliobriga, at this day Logroño. The riuer of Ebro did run through the  
middest of the Autrigons. Alba was among the Vardules, since called Viana: and to the Vas-  
cons belonged Pompelon Martua, which is now called Pampelone Iacca, which according  
to *Ptolome* hath held the old name: Calagorina, now called Calahorra, or Calahorra: Balcon-  
ton, of the name of Basco, or Vasco: Sueffa, which may be Sanguessa, and others.

**C** Hitherto we haue briefly described the people and prouinces of Spaine, which ioyned vp-  
on the seas, and obserued the chiefe places thereof, applying them as neere as might bee to  
thesetimes: Let vs now enter into the countrey, beginning with the confines of the Callai-  
ques, Asturians, and Cantabrians, towards the North, and coming to the South.

The Vacces did ioyned vnto the Gallicians Brecaires of the West, to whom the Murbo-  
ges, Areuaces, those which were called Belli and Titthi, confining with the Celtiberians, the  
Pelendones, and Berones were neighbours, approaching neere vnto the riuer of Ebro, which  
was to the East of them, and that of Duero vpon the South. All this compasse is comprehen-  
ded in our time within Castille the old, and the realme of Leon.

The townes of Viminacium, Auia, or Liuia, which is now Villalon, Segisama Iulia, at  
this present called Tordeillas, which they call otherwise Turris Sillana; Palantia, which hath  
preferred the name of *Palencia*; Pincia, which is Vailledolit, Septimance, or Simanca; Sen-  
tica, or Sarabris, at this day Zamora, and Cauca, whereas *Lucullus* committed great cruel-  
tie, and Intercatia. These townes I say were among the Vacces: But Branum, or Auca, of  
whose ruines the towne of Burgos hath beene built, belonged to the Murboges.

**E** Among the Areuaces, whose country is washt with the riuer Duero, running through the  
middest thereof, were the townes of Clunia Colonia, Segortia Laeta, at this present Sepul-  
ueda, Ocilis, Segobia, which keeps his name, Termantia, and the old Numancé, whereas at  
this day Soria stands.

Vnder the said nation were the Vergones or Vectons, confining vpon the Lusitanians, and  
making a part of that prouince: which countrey is now comprehended betwixt the frontier  
of Portugall, towards Cite Roderigo, the kingdome of Leon, Castille the new, and Tole-  
do. To these people Elmantica did belong, now called Salamanca, a famous Vniuersitie. On  
the East side were the Carpetanians, there stood Toledo, which retains the name, called al-  
so Serezola, Eburna, Hippo, Complutum, now called Alcala Enares, Mantua, now Madril:  
and it may be among them were the Olcades, and their townes Althea.

**F** Towards the South were the Oretanes, confining on the East with the Celtiberians, and  
on the West with the Beturians, neighbours to the Lusitanians, which are those of Estre-  
ma Dura. The countrey of the Oretanes makes at this day a part of the realme of Toledo; it  
comprehends the fields of Calatraua, the passage called the fields of Alcoer, and part of  
the mountaines Marianes, at this present Sierra Morena, vnto Iden, and to the frontiers of  
Granado. Oretan of the Germanes, which some thinke to bee Calatraua, Castulo, then a  
great and mightie towne, and now a small burrough, called Caslona, vpon the riuer Guadi-  
ana,

Artabres.

Asturians.

Cantabrians.

Vardules.

Vacces.

Arenaces.

Vergones and  
Vectons.

Carpetanians.

Oretanes.

ana, where *Himila* the wife of *Hannibal* was borne, issued from the race of *Milicm*, who built it: *Mentifa*, which is *Iaen*, according vnto some, and *Aftapa*, a famous retreat of desperat theeuers; *Nobilia*, *Cusibis* and *Illusia*, were of the *Oretanes*.

*Celtiberians*. Among the *Celtiberians* were *Ergauica*, *Alce*, *Turiasso*, (that is *Tarassone*) *Bilbilis*, at this present *Calataiub* (whereas the Poet *Martiall* was borne) *Saguntia*, now *Siguenza*, *Contrebia* and *Valeria*, which is *Concha*.

*Lobetanes*. Betwixt the *Celtiberians* and the riuer *Ebro*, were the *Lobetanes*, and on this side *Ebro*, vnder the *Vascons* and mount *Eduius*, dwelt the *Ilergetes*, and towards the *Pyrence* mountaines, and at the foot of them, the *Suesfetan*, *Lacetanes*, *Authetanes*, or *Aufetanes*, and *Cerretanes*, being all contained partly in *Nauarre* and *Arragon*, and part in *Caralogne* at this present. *Suesfa* the chiefe towne of the *Suesfetan*, may be *Sanguessa* in *Nauarre*: and *Iacca* at that time was of the auntient *Lacetanes*. The towne of *Ilerda*, which is *Lerida*, gaue the name to the *Ilergetes*: to them there also belonged *Oica*, *Huesca* at this day, and *Bergidum*, which is *Vrgel*, and *Anitorgis*, or *Athanasia*.

As for the towne of *Iliturgis*, it is obscurely limited by the auntients. Some of the later will haue it among the *Ilergetes*, others place it in the *Oretanes* countrey, and others in the *Betique* prouinces, places farre distant one from another.

The *Authetanes*, or *Aufetanes*, did possesse *Geroñda*, in our time *Giron*: and among the *Cerretanes*, were *Aufonia* the auntient, and *Iulia Libica*, which some hold to be *Linca*.

This is all which I haue thought fit to gather of the people inhabiting the firme land of Spaine, the which were found there, and augmented by the *Carthaginians* and *Romanes*, when as they contended for the possession thereof, whereof some markes appeared at that time, and that they had immutable limits, the which doe now assure vs of their habitations.

*Islands about Spaine*. There is mention made by some authors, of many islands about Spaine, whereof some are no more, others are yet famous. The *Cassiterides*, fertile in tinne, were placed by the *Cosmographers* neere vnto *Cap Finis terræ*: but there is no more any mention of them; whereby it seemes they haue been swallowed vp in the sea, vnlesse they will say, they be those of the *Axores*, which are too far from Spaine.

*Cassiterides, last islands*. The islands of the gods in the West Ocean, may be those of *Bayone*, neere vnto *Ponteuedra* in *Gallicia*.

*Islands of the gods*. The island of *Gades* was in old time called *Tartesse Erythrea*, or according vnto some *Erythie*, *Cotynusia*, *Aphrodisia*, *Gadira*, *Gadir*, and *Gaddir* (although that *Gaddir* in the opinion of some, is a common name to the island, and to other places of *Betique* Spaine, neere vnto it, as well as *Tartesse*) and now they haue named it *Gadiz* or *Galis*. It hath beene the most famous of all others about Spaine, and is yet renowned and rich, but much more in auntient times. For although that in the *Romanes* time they had scarce any territorie, yet was it one of the greatest, the richest, and best peopled townes in Europe. It appears by the description of *Censures* at one time, That there were fise hundred heads of families, of the order of *Knights*, among the inhabitants thereof. One *Balbus* a *Gaditane* enlarged the towne almost halfe bigger than it was, and called his new worke *Neapolis*.

In this island there was a founaine flowing and ebbing daily with the sea. Ioyning vnto it there were two other small islands, whereof the one was called *Didima*. They write, That in old time the island of *Gadis* was much greater than it is now. It hath in length from the South to the North, sometwen or twelue miles, and is seperated from the maine land by a narrow channell, and distant from the strait of *Gibaltar* some threescore miles, or fiftie leagues.

*Islands Balceares, Maiorca, Minorca*. In the *Iberique*, or *Mediterranean* sea, are the two islands *Balceares*, called in these times *Majorca*, and *Minorca*; for that the one is bigger than the other. Their first name was *Gymnases*, for that the inhabitants thereof went all naked: *Gymnos* in *Greece*, is naked in our language. But for that the men of this island were good Archers, they were called *Balceares*, vnlesse wee will beleue that this name was giuen them by one *Balee*, whom *Hercules* gaue them for their *Gouernour*, as some write. In those dayes great *Commonweales* drew good souldiours from thence, who did commonly vse slings, and

A and did euer carie three; with the one he did bind his head, with another he did girt himselfe, and the third he held in his hand: and with these armes they wrought great effects, and did much amaze their enemies; for they were practised in it from their youth by their mothers, who set their breakfast bread vpon the top of a post, the which they must beat down with their slings, or else they fasted. These islanders were long before they would vse either gold or siluer, remembering the great calamities which Spaine had suffered, by reason of these mettals: wherefore they held themselves to be well assured in forbidding the vse of it. They did sometimes capitulate with the *Carthaginians*, who often employed their souldiours in their warres, that they should giue them wiues and wine for their pay, and no siluer.

B These are two fertile islands, hauing this benefit moreouer, that they doe not breed any hurtfull beast, although the warre which they had with the conies be no fable; but they were brought from other places, and of one bucke conie and a doe, they did multiplie in such great numbers, as with the working of their holes and burroes vnder ground, they vnrooted trees, and vndermined the foundations of houses, so as the inhabitants sent embassadours to *Rome*, to demand helpe and succour of the Senat against these beasts (a certaine argument of their simplicitie) but afterwards they learned to take them. The greatest of these islands is about fiftene leagues long, and verie narrow. The lesser yeelds nothing to the other in bountie and fruitfulness. About them are the little islands of *Cabrera* and *Dragonera*. Neerer vnto the maine land, and more Westerly, are the two *Pityufes*, whereof the greater was called *Ebusus*, which hath about twentie miles circuit of hard acceffe, hauing a port vpon the South side: It is now called *Yuica*, the which they say hath no serpents, and, if they bee brought from any other place, they die. But the other, *Ophiusa* in old time, and now *Fromentaria*, is so full of them, as the island hath remained desart and not inhabited. In *Yuica* they make excellent salt. These islands are right against the shore betwixt *Barcelone* and *Valence*.

C The islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* were in old time giuen by the Popes in fee to the kings of *Arragon*, who haue contended by armes for the right thereof, against the *Genetois* and *Pisans*, for many yeares, till that in the end the *Arragonois* got the quiet possession of *Sardinia*; of which conquest we shall speake often; wherefore wee will describe it briefly, without making any particular mention of that of *Corfica*, which the *Geneuois* hold.

D The isle of *Sardinia* lies in the *Mediterranean* sea, hauing that of *Corfica* neere vnto it vpon the North. It runs out in length from North to South, neere threescore leagues, accounting foure miles to a league. It is held to be about an hundred and fiftie leagues in circuit: It is fise and thirtie leagues from *Africke*, the neere place vnto it is *Tunes* or *Bizerte*. Betwixt it and *Corfica* are but foure leagues, and in some places but three: in the which there are many smal islands, which they cal *Buinares*. This island was in old time called *Ico*, *Ichnusa*, and *Sandaliotis*, for that it hath the forme of a sole, or of a mans foot. The first inhabitants were *Tuscanes*, and then *Grecians*, led by *Iolans* and *Sardus*, companions to *Hercules*. After which there arriued some *Troianes*, and then *Athenians*. After them the *Carthaginians* seised vpon this island, who were dispossessed by the *Romanes*, which was the cause of the third warre betwixt them.

E Hauing beene long vnder that commonweale, and consequently vnder the *Romane* empire, the *Saracens* got footing there, against whom the *Geneuois* and *Pisans*, then mightie commonweales, did arme, by the Popes persuation; conquered it, and planted themselves there. But for that it was a subject of their warre and quarels, and withall the Popes bearing a spleene against the *Pisans*, it was giuen in fee to the kings of *Arragon*. It was heretofore a spleene against the *Romanes*, it was so fertile, and would be so still, if the people were industrious; much better for tillage than *Corfica*, especially that part which lies towards *Africke*, which is a plaine, and lyes lower than the other towards *Corfica*, which is hilly. In it there grow vines and all sorts of fruites, as in *Corfica*, except oyle, by reason of the negligence of the *Sardinians*: for nature bringing forth in the woods and mountaines, infinit store of wild oliues, shewes it is their owne fault if this plant be not made good. The island abounds in cattell of all sorts, as it appears by the great quantitie of hides and cheefe which they transport into *Italie* and other places. There are great store of wild goats, called by the countrey men *Mufines*, or *Mufes*, which haue their haire like staggas, and their heads like rammes, but their homes bending backwards: they are verie light and nimble, and liue in the mountains, where-

*Malacquin ex-  
part in slings.*

*Gold and siluer  
forbidden by the  
auntient Maiora  
quins.*

*Cabrera and  
Dragonera.  
Pityufes.*

*Description of  
Sardinia.*

*Fertile of  
Sardinia.*



of the Sardinians (who are better huntmen than the Corsicans) take three or foure thousand at a time, the which they flea to sell their skinnies, whereof the Cordeuan leather is made, leaving the carkasses in the fields, notwithstanding that the flesh be reasonable good to eat; wherewith it may be the ayre is impaired, the which doth naturally infect that countrey, by reason of certaine South winde which blow in Summer. The horses of Sardinia are hot, strong headed, and hard to be broken, but they last long; and there are many wild. Among their tame cattell there are certaine small bullockes, which amble naturally, which the countrey men vse like Asles and Mules, to goe from one place to another. Heretofore there haue beene mynes of sulphur or brimstone, alume, silver, and salt; and it is but the negligence of the people, that they are not found at this day, and with good profit. Neither doth it want bathes which are good for many infirmities, especially betwixt Montreal and Saint Iohn. In Sardinia (as some maintaine) there are no volues, nor any venomous nor hurtfull beasts, the which they haue common with many other islands: yet they haue verie great foxes, fierce and cruell, which easily kill a sheepe or a goat. There growes the hearbe Sardonique, which causeth death, with such a contraction of the sinewes, as they seeme to smile when they are dead.

This island hath in former times beene better inhabited than it is at this day, and they haue beene more warlike than now they are. When as the Geneuois and Pisans did hold it, they distinguisht it into two prouinces, that of Cap Caillery which looks towards Africke, the which was the Pisans part, and the greater; and Cap of Lugodori, joyning vpon Corfica, which the Geneuois held for them. Then the Sardinians had their rulers and Gouernours, whom they call Iudges, diuided into foure iurisdiccions or prouinces; one at Caillery, another at Arborea, since called Oristagny; one at Turruta, or Torre, and the fourth at Galluri. This kind of gouernement was entertained vntill the conquest of the island by the Arragonis, and the Spaniards rule. At this day there is a Viceroy resident at Caillery, with absolute authoritie, who of necessitie must bee a Spaniard, and is assisted by a Councell, or royall audience, consisting of a President, and a certaine number of Counsellours. The two prouinces aboue mentioned, into the which the island is diuided, haue either of them a Gouernour, who is a Spaniard, or of the island indifferently, which doe gouerne and haue authoritie in the absence of the Viceroy, but hee beeing present, it ceaseth.

The townes and chiefe places of this island, bee Caillery, commonly called Calger, a towne seated vpon the side of a hill towards Africke, hauing a goodly port, haunted by merchants and saylers from all parts: it is well built, and enriched with diuers towers, and a stately temple, built by the Pisans, and an Archbishops seat. This citie hath by priuiledge a iurisdiction apart, besides the Viceroyes authoritie, and is gouerned by the citizens themselves. Next is Oristagny, in old time called Arborea, the which is also a bishopricke, and was sometimes a marquissate with a particular lord: but one of them rebelling, the kings of Arragon haue vnited it vnto their demaines. There is a port also towards the West. Arghero, or Alguero, followes on the same West part, the which hath no port, but onely a road. Rossa vpon the Sea, the tower in old time was called Libisson, a Colonie of the Romanes, and afterwards called Torre, or Turruta, the which is now ruined. Saffari, ten or twelue miles from the sea, where there is an auncient conduit of water, the which continues about twelue miles, vnto Saint Gaminis temple. Then castle Arragonois towards Corfica.

There are many other burroughes and castles in the island, of small fame. The ruines of old buildings which are to bee seene in many parts of the island, shew that in auncient time there were many cities and great buildings. In places not inhabited there, yet are many towers to bee seene of a round forme, built of a verie hard stone, hauing the doores and entries narrow, and the stayres in the maine walls. Those buildings are called by the inhabitants Noracs, a marke of great antiquitie, some thinking that *Norac* sonne to *Erit* three did first inhabit this island, by whom the buildings were so called. The islands which are about Corfica and Sardinia, are few, and of no fame. Asinara and Tolaro, are towards Cap Logudori, the one of the East side, the other of the West, the rest are rather shelves than islands.

The

The aire in Sardinia corrupted by nature and by accident.

Mynes.

Bathes.

Indges in foure iurisdiccions.

Chiefe townes in Sardinia.

A The Sardinians had in old time a proper language, but the often change of their lords, and the access of diuers nations, hath corrupted their speech: The most ciuile at this day speake Spanish Cattelan: the vulgar sort haue a language mixt of the Cattelans, Italians, Moors, and other strange and barbarous words. Among the ruder sort, there is not in a manner any religion, and not much in townes; for in all Christendome you shall not find Churchmen more ignorant than in Sardinia. Their religious exercises are to heare masse on Sundayes, and on some Saints daies, and then they feast and daunce euen in their Churches, men and women together, with immodest songs and jestures.

In townes their apparell is verie stately, especially of the women; but the countrey peoples is simple and grosse. The men are of a small stature, but strong and rough, and great huntmen with crossebowes: quiet and peaceable among themselves, and courteous to strangers.

Spaine, as wee haue described it by the prouinces and particular people, was diuided into three principall members, or three great prouinces; that is, Betica, Lusitania and Tarraconoise. Betica was so named of the riuier Betis, that is, Guadalquiber, which passeth through the midst of it. It did containe that which is inclosed by the riuier Anas, or Guadiana, on the one side, and by the Ocean sea, from the mouth thereof stretching towards the strait, and then running along the coast of the Mediterranean sea vnto Carthage, or the Promontorie Charidemum, called Cap de Gates: From whence going by land to Castulo, or Castlona the old, it was bounded in on that side by the mountaine Idubeda, which is at this day called Sierra of Alcarra, and others, as if they would draw a direct line from Muxacra, which is neere vnto Cap de Gates, vnto Almagra. This prouince was the best and most fertile of Spaine, and the first affected and vsurped by the Phenicians, Africans, and other strangers.

From the riuier Anas, or Guadiana, and his entrie into the sea, mourning to the place whereas Duero falls into it, was the West part of Lusitania, the second member of Spaine, the which did lye betwixt those two riuers, on the North and South sides, and within it had for the Easterne limits, the Carpetanes and Oretanes, going from Castulo, or Castlona, vpon Guadiana, vnto Septimania, at this present Simanca, in Castille. The riuier Tayo passeth through the midst of this region, where in some places there are store of all sorts of fruits.

All the rest of Spaine, from the mouth of Duero along the shore vnto Fonterabie, or Easo, and from the Promontorie Charidemum, or Cap de Gates, or else Bara, or Vera, or Muxacra on the Mediterranean sea, vnto Venus Temple, or Cap de Crux, and all the people which are betwixt the Pyrenees and the limits which wee haue giuen to the prouinces of Betica and Lusitania, made the third member of Spaine: yet if wee shall beleene Mela, the Calaiques, that is, the inhabitants of Gallicia, were comprehended among the Lusitanians; and that others haue made a fourth prouince of them during the emperours: accounting also the Carthagenoise for a fift, and adding the sixt in Africke: for as much as all that which the Romane Emperours did possesse beyond the strait in Mauritania, was subject to the justice of Spaine. But this tripartite diuision of Spaine, is the most auncient, and is not entertained by the Romanes, during their great exploits of armes, and conquests thereof; especially for the gouernement of justice among those nations, hauing wholly subdued them: for they erected Courts, which they called Conuents, appointing to euery prouince his iurisdiction. In Betica there were foure established, at Gades, Corduba, Astigi, and Seuille. In Lusitania three, at Emerita, Pax, or Pezaugusta, and at Scalabita, or Sjren. And in Tarraconoise feuen, at Carthage, Tarracone, Caesar Augusta, Clunia, Astorga, at Lugo, and at Bracar.

12 As for the diuision of Spaine into the hither and further, that happened in the beginning when as the Romans came to make war against the Carthaginians, who held it in a manner all, or at the least had reduced it vnder their obedience. The riuier of Ebro made this separation, and the Romans called that part of Spaine where they first entred, the hither part, and the other beyond Ebro, the further: for they came first by sea vpon the coast of Cartellogne, to Roses, or Empurias, or to Turracon, notwithstanding after they had enlarged their command on the other side Ebro, they did also extend the limits of Spain by little & little on that side, so

as

The Sardinians language.

Their habit.

Diuision of Spaine according to the auncients.

The confines of Betique.

Lusitania and the confines.

Tarraconoise & the limits.

Gallicia the fourth member.

Carthage the fift. Mauritania the sixt member.

Another diuision of Spaine: in regard of the war.

Spaine reduced  
to one govern-  
ment.

Five seats of  
iustice establishd  
in Spaine by  
Constantine the  
Great.

Many kingdome  
erected in Spain  
by the Arabians  
and Christians.

Cattellogne and  
his limits.

Valence.

Murcia & Car-  
thagena.

Andalusia.

Portugal.

Gallicia.

Asturie and  
Ourede.

Nauarre.

as in the end it was bounded by the Promontorie of Scombraria, or Cap de Palos, neere to Carthage, and the descent of the mountaine Idubeda, and so through Castille, by the townes of Cuenca and Seguenza, vnto the Cantabres, or Biscanes. And this distinction continued in two principall governments, for matters of warre and state, till *Augustus Caesar*; the Romanes sending sometimes Consuls, sometimes Proconsuls, or Pretors, euerie one to gouerne in his iurisdiction. Afterwards *Augustus* reduced Spaine into one prouince, the which was entertained by his successours in the empire, at the least vnto *Constantine* the Great, who changed the Courts of iustice into another forme, making fiue chiefe towns, and as many prouinces, that is, Tarracone, Carthagene, Seuille, Merida, and Bracara; the which was afterwards entertained by the Gothes, vpon the declining of the empire, who notwithstanding made it but one kingdome while they enjoyed it.

13 But after that the power of the Arabian Mahometists, who had subdued the empire of the Persians, and extinguished the name of other Potentates in the East, had extended it selfe vnto the farthest bounds of Africke, and into the prouinces of Europe, which lay neere vnto it; Spain which was not without vices and defects in the chief members thereof, being suddenly inuaded & ouerrun by this nation, being euer an enemy to peace and good gouernment, was dismembred, & diuided again into diuers principalities, the names whereof we retaine vnto this day; that is, Ouiedo and Leon, Nauarre, Arragon, Cattellogne, Valence, Murcia, Granada, Toledo, Castillia, Gallicia, and Portugal, which for the most part had distinct titles of kingdomes, some being held by the Moores, and others defended by the Gothes and them of the country. Of euerie of which kingdomes we meane to make mention in this historie, and to continue it, with the helpe of God, vntill that all Spaine was reduced vnder the command of one king, although it hold till the former diuisions, and their limits, as they were set downe in the time of the Arabians and Moores.

For Cattellogne, which comprehends the auncient Indigetes, Castellans, Leetanes, and Acetanes, runnes along the Mediterranean shore, from Cap de Crux, vnto Alfaques, to the mountaine of Moncia, and *S. Peters* fountaine, where there is a little brooke called Cinia, which makes the limits.

Having past this riuier, the Bourg of Vimero is the beginning of Valence, which holds on to Alicante, and in this realme in old time were comprehended the Ederanes, Ilercaones, and Contestanes.

Then they enter vpon the borders of Murcia and Carthagene, which extend as farre as Almerie, by the Contestanes, Bastitanes, and some part of the Bastules.

From Gibraltar to the mouth of Guadiana, are the banks of Andelouzia, which some say was so called, for that it is before Lusitania, as if they would say, Ante-Lusitania. Others deriue the name from the Vandales, which haue held it, and call it Vandalusia: There did the Turditanes, and a part of the Celtique people dwell.

After which they enter into Portugall, which runs on vnto the riuier Minio, where it falls into the sea, the auncient limits of the Lusitanians, and of the Gallique Brecaires. This realme according to the suruey which king *Sebastian* caused to be made in our time, contains 260 leagues in circuit, whereof there is an hundred and twentie towards the sea, and an hundred and fortie to the land.

Gallicia follows from Minio, Bagone, and Pontuedra, vnto Ribadeo; they were in old time the Lucenses.

Then they come to the Asturians of Ouiedo; from Castropol to Llamas, from Llamas to Castro Deordiales, are the banks of the Asturians of Sentillana. These people alone haue retained their auncient name. After which followes the coast of Biscaye, where is Portugallere and Bilbao, and stretcheth vnto Ondarroa. Then they come to Guipuscoa at Montrico, which ends at Pontarabie. These were auncient Cantabrians, and part Autrigones, Caristians, Vardules, and Vascons vpon the sea.

Nauarre lies for the most part vpon the sides and vallies of the Pyrenées, which enter into the country of Spaine by Ronsual, by the valley of Salefar, and the valley Roncal, vnto Hisana, which is the limit of Arragon, and passeth vnto Logroño, where it confines with Castillia the old. It was the country of the Vascons, Vardules, Caristians, and other their neighbours.

Atta-

A Arragon of a small beginning hath imbraced part of the Vascons and Illegeres, on this side Ebro, and on the other side a part of the Celtiberians country. And it was determined in the time of king *Iaques* the first, from the riuier Cinga at Farifa, and of *S. Christine*, to the top of the Pyrenées at Aluentosa.

Leon was in old time part of Asturia.

Castillia the old and new, comprehended all the middle countries of Spaine, betwixt the nations aboue named.

As for the passage of the Pyrenées, if these hills went in a direct line, the passage would bee short betwixt the two seas, for they say, that both the one and the other may be easily scene in a cleere day from the tops of some of them, yea from that of *S. Adrian*.

B Spaine is then both in generall and in particular, as we haue described it: and if we consider well the situation of this region, we may rightly say, that it is rampared and defended by nature against all the attempts and enterprises of strangers, as much as any country in the world, being compassed in with the dangerous gulfes of the two seas, and walled vp behind with the hard passages of the Pyrenée mountaines: being moreover of a temperat and wholesome ayre, and hauing a soyle fit to nourish all things. For there are neither violent winds, nor thicke foggie vapours, nor any insupportable heat of the Sunne: but the aire is sweet and calme, being continually refreishd with the North and Westerne winds which come from the sea.

C 14 Of the fertilitie of Spaine, and the great diuersitie of good things which it produceth, the auncients haue left vs ample and true testimonies, whereof the most autentique are, That the Romanes hauing made warre in the heart thereof, both against the Carthaginians and them of the country for about two hundred yeares, it did in a manner continually feed these great armies on either side, with that which it did bring forth, and did not onely supplie them with victuals, but also with treasure to entertaine their souldiours, and to satisfie the greedie desire and couetousnesse of their commaunders and capitaines; and moreover hath filled their treasuries full of spoiles both at Rome and Carthage, as shall appeare by the particularities in the progresse of the Historie.

It was Spaine which gaue courage to the Carthaginians to attempt those high enterprises which wee read of them, and did furnish them with meanes to entertaine so many mercinarie souldiours, wherewith for so many yeares they did trouble and annoy the Romane empire, and other nations, without cost or daunger to their owne citizens, who in all these wars did hunt after nothing but honour and profit, to the prejudice of Spaine, and with the bloud of other people.

Wee haue before made some mention how rich it was in mynes of gold, siluer, and all other kinds of mettall: let vs now say boldly, that nature had heapt vp mountaines of treasure there, and that the auncients did rightly say in tearmes besitting their Idolatrie, That *Pluto* dwelt vnder the couering of this earth: the which was the cause of infinit calamities to the Spaniards. For these greedie robbers came from all parts, being drawne thither with the desire of gaine: so as the best aduised were forced to forbid the vse of gold and siluer among them by an expresse law. Among others the Betrique prouince, which now hath the name of Andalusia, Granada, and thereabouts, was exceeding rich of mines of gold and siluer, and yet the soyle was verie fertile in fruits, the which seemes to be against naturall reason.

When as the Carthaginians came first into Spaine, vnder the conduct of *Amilcar Barca*, they found among the Turditanes, the verie mangers for their horses, and hoggeheads, made of pure siluer. Then they began to digge new mynes, and did cruellly toyle the people in those workes; and it is said, that out of one onely myne or pit called Bebelo, of his name that found it neere vnto the frontier of Aquitaine, *Hannibal* did draw about three thousand crownes profit euerie day. The Romanes discovered others neere vnto Carthage, where they had foure hundred daily at worke, and did receiue euerie day fiue and twentie thousand Drachmes, amounting in a manner to two thousand and fiue hundred French crownes. Yea the plough-men many times in their tillage, raised vp with their ploughshares crusts of gold: and many times vpon the sands the fisher-men did find great store of graines

Arragon.

Leon.

Castillia.

Spaine rampared by nature.

Spaine a temperat ayre.

Fertilitie of Spaine.

Riches of Spaine.

Babelo a rich myne.

Rich mynes neere vnto Carthage.

graines of this mettall, verie pure, which had bene brought from the mountaines with the floods: yea if they carried water into a drie ground, and watered the earth, the gold would presently shine: so as there were more found in Spaine gathering vp of gold, than in digging it out of their mynes and pits. There was as great aboundance of copper, yron, tinne, and all other sorts of mynes, and exceeding good.

Copper, yron, and  
tinne.

Their large and spacious plaines and mountaines did feed infinit troupes of all sorts of cattell: the forests were full of red deere, wild boares, and other wild beasts, and all sorts of foule. They say, that in South Spaine there was oftentimes such aboundance of conies, as they were a great ruine vnto their fruits, spoyling the roots vnder the ground, with their working, so as they were much annoyed with them, being ignorant by what meanes to take them, vntill they were taught to vse ferrets, the which were brought them out of Africke.

Conies spoyled  
their fruits.

The sea fruitfull

If the land did so abound in all things, what shall wee thinke of the sea? The shore (saith *Strabo*) is full of oysters, and of all other shell-fish: yea in the Ocean, whereas all things exceed in greatnesse and multitude those which are in the other sea, by reason of the flowing and ebbing thereof. There are to be seene huge VWhales, Grampasses, and other such monsters of the sea, which spout out water, the which seemes a farre off, to bee great pillars or towers of cloudes. How much shall we say that the Congres and Mullers of that Ocean doe exceed ours? About Cartea the Pourcelaines are of ten pounds weight, but without the strait the smaller Mullers and Congres weigh commonly fourescore pounds, the Poulpe or many feet, threescore, the fish called the Cuttle, are two cubits long: the Thon comes thither in great aboundance, delighting in the acomes which fall into the sea, from a certaine kind of small oake which growes along the shore, yeelding such aboundance of this fruit, as being afterwards cast vp by the waues of the sea, the bankes both within and without the straits, are exceeding full, but especially the Ocean, wherewith this fish (which is verie common in that sea) is much delighted, and growes verie fat with it. Many other commendations are given by the auntients to Spaine, whereof they might well judge, that neuer went out of Italie, by the number of great shipping laden with merchandise and prouision of victuals, which came daily out of that countrey, to the ports of Ostia, Puzzol, and others of Italie, wherein *Strabo*, *Plinie*, *Mela*, and other authors, may satisfie the curious. So as it hath not bene impertinent, if the Poets haue placed the delightful Elisian fields in this part of the world.

Wee cannot with reason doubt of that which they haue written: for although that the mountaines of Galicia, Asturia, Biscaie, Nauarre, and Arragon, which containe a great countrey, seeme rather to bewray a defect than any great aboundance of fruits; and that in Castille, and part of Portugall, the drought is not fit to bring forth corne: yet considering Spaine in generall, and the whole circuit, wee shall find daily by experience, that it is rich and plentifull of all those things, wherewith it was in old times furnished. For if at that time they did feed whole armies, so doe they at this day great and well peopled cities and townes, better frequented and inhabited than in those times.

Spaine fertile as  
this day.

As for rich mettals, we must confesse, that it yeelds now to antiquitie, and no wonder, for how could the earth supplie the greedie couetousnesse of men, who haue not ceased for many yeares, and with great toyle to digge into the bowels of the earth? Wee see at this day the pits and caues, out of the which the Romanes drew their siluer, neere vnto Carthagen, with great heapes of drosse like vnto mountaines. But yet this countrey is not so bare and wasted, but that they haue found in our age, at Guadalcanal, a myne as rich as any at the Indies, which our elders doe witnesse: and there is no doubt, but that gold, siluer, and copper, are to be found in other places.

Iron and Steele  
abounds there.

Biscaye and Guepuscoa alone can furnish yron and Steele ynough for a world, and with workes which are made of this mettall, namely with Armes, beeing the verie storehouse of Spaine. Vitriol, Brimstone, Alum, Orpiment, minerall salt, and such other things, are found in Spaine, both for their owne vse and their neighbours. What wanteth it of the fertilitie and diuersitie of all sorts of good fruits in a good part of Portugall, Andalusia, and almost all alongst the Mediterranean sea? But who can condemne

euen

A euen the montaines of this region, of barrennesse, which beare so good wines, and so many sorts of fruits?

To conclude, Fraunce, England, and Flanders, are familiar witnesse of the fruitfulness and delights of Spaine: and if they will not serue, wee will appeale to Asia it selfe. Their raisins, oliues, figges, oranges, limons, dates, cytrons, pomegranets, sugar, saffron, and such things, are dispersed into all countries, and are better, and more sauorie than in any other place.

In what place of the world doe you find more sorts of good hearbs, or more pleasant gardens, than in the prouince of Valence? From thence wee haue the best filkes in the world, cotton of Murcia, scarlet, crimfon, and other precious colours, with sweeter and pleasant perfumes. Finally, all the fences of man are wonderfully pleased with that which comes from thence, and growes in that happie region.

B And as for the hilly countrey, which they hold to be barren, and the plaines to be drie, euerie one knowes what commoditie those places doe yeeld: and wee find it by experience in Spaine. There they feed infinit troupes of sheepe, whose wooll is admired throughout the world: and yeeld vs also infinit store of Spanish leather, necessarie for many vses, and verie profitable for their neighbours.

C They haue timber to serue them as well for the building of houses, as for shipping, whereof they haue great store. And who can denie, that in Nauarre, Asturia, and Galicia, there are goodly and fruitfull vallies? Can wee desire a countrey more abounding in all good things, than that which is betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, at this time belonging vnto the Realme of Portugall? the which being scarce a day and a halfe journey in length, and much lesse in breadth, hath an Archbishopsricke, which is that of Braga, Porto Gallego, a bishopsricke, and containes in it aboute one thousand and foure hundred parishes, fise hundred Colledges of Canons, and one hundred and thirtie Conuents: it hath six ports of the sea, aboute two hundred bridges of stone, and two thousand and fise hundred fountaines.

D But who doth not admire the Genets of Spaine, which I had almost forgotten, their beaurie, swiftnesse, and easinesse to breake, especially of those of Andalusia, which drinke of the water of Guadalquivir, whereby, according to the Spaniards opinion, they are made more nimble and swift? Of this race was the horse which *Iulius Caesar* esteemed so much, as when hee was dead, hee caused his image to be set vp in *Venus* Temple at Rome. Of them and of the Lusitanians their neighbours, the auntients would make vs beleue, that they were conceiued by the winds which the mares did receiue when they were desirous of the horse, blowing from the West, namely from the places where the horses feed; the which some thinke not impossible. Of all these things no man that hath any knowledge of the world can doubt.

The horses of  
Spaine,  
Mariscels  
using by the  
wind.

E And if any one would object, That Spaine cannot bee so fertile as wee make it, for that they are supplied with corne from Fraunce, England, Sicile, and Germanie: and that they carrie great store of linnen cloth, and other merchandise, out of Brittain, Normandie, Flanders, Holland, and elsewhere, without the which the Spaniards must of necessitie perish: Let him consider the great regions discovered by the Spaniards, within these hundred and twentie yeares: what great fleets Spaine hath continually entertained, rigged, and victualed, as well for the East as Westerne voiaiges; and what need they haue to furnish those countries with such things as they borrow, whereof without doubt they should haue sufficient for themselves; but not to furnish a new world: the which doth also wast their men daily to people these discovered countries: And withall let him adde the haughtie and couetous disposition of the Spanish nation, who doe willingly leaue their labour, to goe vnto the mynes, or to goe to the warres, and neuer follow any worke, but when they are forced by necessitie.

The nature of  
the Spaniards.

F Having hitherto discoursed of the situation and fertilitie of Spaine, let vs speake something of the manners and kind of life, which the Spaniards haue from time to time obserued, that being entred into our discourse, wee may not bee interrupted therewith. When as the Carthaginians came into Spaine, and long after the Romanes had got some

footing,

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footing, there were few walled townes in the countrey, but many great burroughes and villages. The most ciuile were they of the Betique prouince, and the worst souldiours of them all, giuing themselves to trade of merchandise by sea, and somewhat to letters, and in a manner like vnto those that liue vpon the coast of the Mediterranean sea. But as for the rest, they were all rustick and barbarous, namely the Mountainers, and aboue all the Gallicians, Asturians, and Cantabrians, whose ordinarie trade was to rob and steale, contemning labour, vntill that the Romanes taught them to liue more ciuilly and peaceably, ruining their forts and retreats. They were traitors, spies, and readie vpon all occasions to steale. They carried targuets two foot long, & a dagger at their sides, clothed in a doublet of linnen cloth stified and quilted: and these were their armes. For there were no cuirasses nor head-peeeces among them, but on their heads they carried high hats made of sinewes, and on their legges boots of haire, and in their hands many darts: some of them carried jaelins whereof the heads were of copper. They wore long haire like women. Their exercises were fencing and running both on foot and horsebacke, and their combates by troupes: They loued libertie aboue all things, which made the Romanes to see many examples of crueltie, euen in the weakest sex: for there were many mothers among the Cantabrians, which slue their own children, many daughters who for the like cause murdered their parents: so deere libertie was vnto this nation; to maintaine the which, and fearing they might be forced in any thing, they did vsually carrie poyson about them: and if they were surprised and made slaues, they fought by some notable villanie to giue their masters occasion to kill them. It was often scene, that when they were tyed to the crosse to be executed, they did sing for joy of their approaching death: but some haue shewed this resolution vpon good and commendable occasions, as to conceal the secrets of their masters and friends, or after they had reuenged their death, or the wrong which had bene done them.

Their religion was infamous, for they sacrificed humane creatures vnto their gods, euen their prisoners, cutting off their right hands, to offer them vp: Their Priests and Diuines tooke their conjectures from the intrals both of men and beasts; but aboue all they tooke their diuination from their countenances, when as they received the deadly blow, and fell to the ground.

As for their manner of living, it was simple and rude: they dranke water, lay vpon the ground, and did eat the flesh of goats which they did sacrifice vnto Mars: they made cakes of dried acornes, the which they did eat warme. They did willingly banquet with their parents, and had tables and seats of stone, against the wall, where they did appoint the most honourable places according to their ages and dignities. They had no vse of siluer coined, but did exchange ware for ware. They had a beaulty and filthie manner of washing and perfuming themselves, with vrine which had stood long stinking, with the which both men and women did rub their bodies and faces, yea euen their teeth, imagining that it was a preferuatiue against many infirmities; the which is not disallowed by the Physitians. This filthie obseruation was common then in Spaine among them all.

They did seuerely punish malefactors, and especially parricides, whom they did stone without their confines. If any one were sicke, they carried him into the highwayes, and corners of the streets, after the manner of the Egyptians, to take counsell and helpe of such as had bene troubled with the like diseases. Vntill the time of the Romane emperours, they had vied boats made of beasts skins; afterwards they began to make them of wood, taking the bodies of great trees, and making them hollow like vnto troughes.

In this simplicitie and rudenesse did the auncient Spaniards of the mountaines liue, which were those of Galicia, Asturia, and Cantabria, and the inhabitants of the Pyrenes, whose countrey was full of wood and water, but otherwise verie barren, by reason whereof they enjoyed their libertie long, and were last of all subdued by the Romanes; so as in the time of the emperour *Tiberius Nero*, there was yet some contention. The Iberians, and Celtiberians were somewhat more ciuile, for that they had more commerce with strangers, and were neere vnto the Mediterranean sea, which was more frequented than the Ocean. In the war they carried round targuets, fortified with sinewes, short swords, darts, and slings; in their battails they did mingle some light horsemen with their footmen: they did accustome their

*The qualities of the mountain Spaniards.*

*Armes of the auncient Spaniards.*

*Libertie deere to the Spaniards.*

*The Spaniards religion infamous.*

*The Spaniards living simple and rude.*

*Their manner of iustice.*

*Their manner of boats.*

*Pauertie assures the peoples libertie.*

*The discipline of the Celtiberians.*

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A horses to hills and vallies, and by that meanes kept them in breath, and made them swift, yea they did teach them to kneele when they made a certaine signe. They attired themselves of blacke wooll and short. They prepared yron to forge their armes and harnais, druiuing it out into plates, the which they buried in the ground for certaine dayes, vntill the rust had eaten away that which was vnprofitable, & then they made their swords and other cutting weapons. They did commonly carie two swords, and did fight more willingly on foot than on horsebacke: for when as they found themselves to haue any aduantage vpon the enemy, they left their horses, to ioynewith their footmen, pursuing them that fled with great agilitie, the which was naturall to all Spaniards. They were reasonably courteous to strangers; but they did punish them that had done them any wrong verie cruelly. They did liue of flesh and fruits, and did drinke water with honic, whereof their countrey did abound; and sometimes they had wine, which they bought from strangers comming from the neighbour coasts. Their neighbours with whom they had the greatest amitie and commerce, were the Vacces, and Arcuaces, at that time a part of Castillia the old: they agreed well with them in all sorts of traffique. Euerie yeare they made a diuision of their lands, and assigned them by portions and lots to certaine particular persons, who did till and sow for the rest, whilest that others were employed in the warres, or about some other affaires: then they diuided the fruits which they gathered. And if any one were conuicted, that he had embeslised any thing, he was punished with death. In time of peace they did banquet and daunce, leaping and frisking with great agilitie: and they went to the warre according to the measure of instruments, singing rusticke and militarie songs.

Such in a manner were the Lusitanians, with whom the Celtes were mingled, and feared in their countrey, leading their liues for the most part as theues, which they learned from them of Galicia and Asturia, their neighbours. Generally all the most barbarous Spaniards were nimble and actiue, so as they could easily escape from their enemies, or pursue them when they had the better; neither were their spirits lesse actiue than their bodies: great vndertakers: of few words: patient and hardie in trauell, enduring hunger, thirst, and other discommodities. Their women were nothing daintie, but did exercise themselves like vnto the men; and if they were deliuered of child, they lay not long, but fell soone to their worke: they wash their children as soone as they were borne in the neereft brooke, and then they wrapt them vp in their swathing clothes. But after that the Romans were entred, and somewhat settled in Spain, these people were forced by litle and litle to learne another discipline, and to frame themselves to a more ciuile kind of life, being gouerned by more politike lawes, they of Betica and the Turditanes exceeding the rest alwaies in mildnesse and humanitie: for these were presently changed to the Romans manners and discipline, forgetting their owne language, to imbrace the other. Many townes were also built and peopled in diuers parts of Spaine, and the Romans and Latines mixt with the Originaries of the countrey, who accustomed themselves so well to the Latine tongue, as it since continued in Spaine: for the Castillian tongue at this day is nothing in a manner but a corrupted Latine. And the Spaniards grew such, as many among them did make their fame equall with the most esteemed among the Romans: the two *Senecas* were Spaniards, with *Silius*, *Martial*, *Lucan*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Portius Latro* the Orator, *Quintillian*, *Columella*, and the good emperors *Traian* and *Theodosius*, were Spaniards.

The Romans by the experience which they had, and the more to augment their owne glorie, giue great titles of honor and commendation to this nation, whom they found somewhat instructed in armes, and some discipline, by the Carthaginians. They call it rich in souldiours, and a seminary of the enemies armies, which had fashioned that great captain *Hannibal*, and in all they speak highly of Spaine, & not without reason: for the great courage and resolution of them of Numantia, was memorable, a towne without walls, without towers, and without defences, seated only vpon a litle hill, and couered on the one side with a riuer, and defended by a few souldiours, who notwithstanding withstood the force of mightie Roman armies for the space of 14 yeres, & not only made head against them, but also repulst them off to their great losse. In the end being besieged by aboue 40000 men, or, as some say, 60000, being prest by famine, and forced to demaund a peace, finding no grace with their enemies, who had compassed them in with forts and trenches, being resolved vpon the last refuge, which was death, they

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made

*Preparation for warre.*

*Manners of the Spaniards in general.*

*The women haile men.*

*The tractableness of the Spaniards of Andalusia.*

*The Spanish tongue a corrupted Latine.*

*Great personages Spaniards.*

*The magnanimie of the Numantians.*

made so furious a fallie vpon the Romanes, as an infinit number of them were slaine vpon the place, which was a deere purchase vnto the enimie. This happened during the Celtiberique warre, which continued twentie yeares. This magnanimitie, courage, adresse and militarie discipline, were thus begun, and by little and little augmented in this nation by the Carthaginians and Romanes, in making warre against them: whom without doubt they might haue bin able to haue resisted, if they had knowne their owne force and wealth, and if they had sooner learned good lawes and policie, which maintaine people in amitie and concord. This was the first prouince which the Romanes did assaile vpon the firme land, and the last which they subdued. The strength of *Pompeys* armie when he encountered *Cesar* in Macedonia, were the Spanish bands, which were in his armie, if he could haue vsed them.

Faith and constancie in the end tooke place among this nation, whereof *Hannibal* had often made triall. But what example can we find more memorable, than the fidelitie of the Saguntines to the people of Rome, for the which they lost wiues, children, citie, and liues?

By little and little they also left that diuelish superstition of sacrificing of men, accustoming themselues to more mildnesse and humanitie, and practising daily better discipline vnder the Romans commaund; as if God would reforme them by their meanes, and prepare them to receiue the true and wholesome doctrine of Iesus Christ: the which this nation did embrace happily in the beginning, with great fruit and notable examples in the Church of God. But after that the barbarous nations were disperfed ouer all Europe, hauing troden vnder foot the Majestie of the Romane empire, and inuaded the chiefe prouinces thereof, chased away all learning, and good discipline, and infected the earth with heresies and superstitious ceremonies, the ignorance of God and of his seruice, entred into Spaine, which our age doth yet fee. Then was a time when as they kept publike schooles of Magicke arts and conjuring, to the which they had made subiect Philosophie, Astrologie, Phisicke, yea and Diuinitie it selfe.

But leauing these things which belong to other discourses, let vs say, That the Spaniards in those dayes were of diuers conuersations, as they were a mixture of diuers nations. They are apt to receiue discipline in all things, according to the disposition of princes and lords, whom they serue, they are faithfull and constant vnto them, desiring to be in perpetuall action, by reason of the agitation of their spirits, which is like vnto the agilitie of their bodies, who for the most part are leane and drie. They are sober and vigilant, but verie couetous, patient of heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and all other discommodities, especially if there be any hope of profit or honour, for the which they hazard themselues resolutely to all dangers: they desire to bee well apparelled, and esteeme armes and horses aboue all things: they are impudent braggers of their owne actions, vertue, and nobilitie: ciuile to conuerse withall, louing good townes, copious in their language, much giuen to women; for the most part vnlearned, shewing little art in that they do, disdaining labour, & a country life. The women are sober, louing their husbands or their friends deere, but wonderfull delicat, and curious of painting and perfumes, retaining therein nothing of the auncient Spaniards: they nor their children drinke nor any wine. The countrey language at this day, is for the most part Roman or Latine corrupted and mingled with some other words of such nations as haue held it in these last ages. The Biscane tongue is preserved in Biscaye, and part of Nauarre, and other their neighbours: but in Granada, Andalusia, Murcia, and Valence, especially among the rusticke multitude, the Moorish and the Arabian tongue is in great vse: and in all ages almost, the people of Spaine haue vsed diuers languages, and were different one from another. Making an end of this booke, we will relate in the following, by what meanes and titles euerie nation hath from time to time held it.

THE

Ignorance makes  
people subiect.

The true religion  
received with  
great affliction  
by the Spaniards

Damnable arts  
in Spaine.

Manners of the  
Spaniards in  
these times.

Language in  
vse among the  
Spaniards  
at this day.



## B THE SECOND BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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- 19 *Other acts done by the Pro-consull Scipio: the last attempts of the Carthaginians in Spaine, and the retreat of Asdrubal, sonne to Gilgo.*
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- F** 24 *Reuolt of Indibilis and Mandonius captaines, and of the Roman souldiors wintering neere vnto the riuer of Sucro, and of their punishment.*
- 25 *Masiniissa wooen by the Romanes.*
- 26 *Departure of Mago Barcin out of Spaine: his fruitlesse enterprize against new Carthage: his crueltie against the Gaditanes: their reuolt vnto the Romanes: Mago his passage into Italie.*
- 27 *P. Cornelius Scipio his returne to Rome, hauing gotten an absolute victorie of the Carthaginians in Spaine.*

Some



The Tyrians of  
the race of slaves

The Gaditanes  
call the Cartha-  
ginians into  
Spaine.

Carthaginians  
desire more to be  
great than soft.

Some ages before the first warre betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, which grew by reason of the Isle of Sicile, the Gaditanes extracted from the citie of Tyr, couetous and malicious according to the nature of slaves, from whence it may be they were issued (for we read, that the bondmen of the Tyrians on a time slew all their masters, and made themselves Lords of the towne; the which they held vntill Alexander the Great, who did root out the race of them) began to torment the Spaniards their neighbours, chasing them out of their lands and possessions, making them slaves, and entreating them in the vilest manner they could; which was the cause of great warre and diuision in that quarter of Spaine: so as injuries on either part encreasing daily, the naturall borne disdain of these strangers, and enuying their greatnesse, made a generall league of many Communalities against them: whereupon they of Gades finding themselves too weake to make head against so great a multitude, they resolved to call in to their succour, and to the spoyle of Spaine, the Carthaginians of Africke, their brethren, coming from the same race and towne. The citie of Carthage was then a great Commonweale, the which had a great iurisdiction among the Africanes, and fought onely to enlarge their Empire; so as they were readie to run into Spaine, with this honest and religious pretext, to succour the oppressed: whereas they not onely freed the Gaditanes from all feare of the Spaniards, but did also subdue the people of Spaine, sedled themselves there, and gouerned it as their Prouince: from whence they drew afterwards so great treasure and other commodities, as they presumed to assaile the greatest Potentates in the world.

The name of Spaniards, before this warre, had beene great among other nations, onely in regard that they serued as a prey to all strangers: which were they only which held the lower country, and the coast of the Mediterranean sea, and part of the Ocean, South and West: among the which, some nations of Europe and Asia had built and peopled some townes. As for those which liued in the heart of the countrey, and in the mountains, their fame was more obscure, being for the most part rough and barbarous, hauing scarce any commerce with strangers, but to rob and steale, which was their best practise: and therefore vntill the coming of the Carthaginians, they had beene as it were free, and assured both from inuasion and trade, doing wrong rather than taking any: but afterwards they did all in generall leame to manage armes with discipline, they vnderooke parties, contracted alliances among themselves, and with other nations, growing by little and little more politicke, ciuile, and courteous. The Celtes were already mingled with the Iberians about the riuer of Ebro; and passing on, they obtained lands and habitations in Lusitania, and in a corner of Betica, which was neere vnto them: then passing the riuer of Duero, they planted themselves betwixt it and Minio; and consequently to the mountains, in the countrey, which from them tooke the name of Galicia, and doth still hold it; whereas they built the towne of Porto, vpon the confines of the Lusitanians, which is at this time a Bishopricke, retaining the name of Portugall, and so goes on to the Westerne sea.

The Celtes, Iberians, and other Spaniards farre from the sea, as they were almost like in manners, had (as is sayd) maintained their reputation free and vnited, vntill this descent of the Carthaginians: who hauing resolved to settle themselves in Spaine, seized first vpon the Island of Iuifa, and fortified it, *Mase* being Generall of this Armie. This was five hundred sixtie two yeares before the coming of Christ, and an hundred eightie nine yeares after the foundation of Rome. After which time, watching their opportunitie, eight and fortie yeares after, they sent a great fleet of shippes into Spaine, led by one *Mabibal*, vnder colour to relieue the Gaditanes, who had beene vanquished by *Bautius Capis*, then reigning ouer the Turditanians, their neighbours. The name of the protection and support of this puissant Commonweale of Carthage, purchased the Gaditanes a peace and free trade; the which drew so manie families from Carthage into the Island and Citie, as exceeding the rest, they got the absolute commaund thereof, *Mabibal* yet liuing.

The Carthaginians continued for a time without any care of the affaires of Spaine, beeing very much afflicted with drought and other discommodities, they hauing great warre

Mase the first  
Generall of the  
Carthaginian  
armie in Spaine  
562 yeares before  
Christ.

A warre in Sicile and Sardinia, but about the yeare 255 they vnderooke againe the conquest of Spaine, whither they sent *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, sonnes to *Mago*. Passing by Sardinia, *Asdrubal* was slaine there, leauing three children, *Hannibal* the eldest, *Asdrubal*, and *Psappho*. *Amilcar* was diuerted from Spaine by the warres of Sicile, where he was also slaine, and had three sonnes in like manner, *Himilco*, *Hanno*, and *Gisgo*. The yeare 272 after the foundation of Rome, they sent a small supplie of nine hundred souldiors into Spaine, whom they would haue land in the Islands of the Baleares; but they were repulled: and soon after *Psappho*, sonne to *Asdrubal*, had charge to keepe the Spaniards in awe (who were solicited by the Africane Moores their neighbours, to joyne with them against the Carthaginians) who by his wife-dome restrained them; and moreouer, got sufficient forces from them to force the Moores to sue for peace, and to giue ouer their enterprises against the citie of Carthage. In this warre the vertue of *Sarac* of Barce (a towne neere vnto Carthage) author of the *Barcinian* faction, was very famous. *Psappho* liued in great reputation, who after his death was by opinion receiued into the number of the gods; the which he had procured during his life. For he had caused certaine birds to be taught to speake, and made them leame to say, That *Psappho* was a great god. Which birds being let flye, they chattered out those words in the fields, to the great admiration of the people. After his decease the Prouince of Spaine was committed to *Himilco* and *Hanno* (the sonnes of *Amilcar*) his cousins, who tried by faire and plausible means to draw the inhabitants of the Baleares to liue in amitie with their Commonweale.

C *Hanno* being arriued at Gades, and desiring to discouer the country, and the coast of Spaine without the strait, he sayled vnto the holy Promontorie, or Cap S. Vincent: and hauing giuen aduice vnto the Senat of that which he had seene and vnderstood, he obtained leaue to continue his discouerie as well vpon the coast of Spaine, as Africke, in the Ocean sea: whereupon he prepared two fleets; the one for the coast of Europe, and to passe vnto the Gaules, and farther if he might; the charge whereof he gaue vnto his brother *Himilco*, and of the other he would be captaine and conductor himselfe, and sayle towards Africke: so in the beginning of the yeare 307 of the foundation of Rome they set sayle, either of them taking his course. *Himilco* parting from the port of Heraclee, which was in the strait, coasted the Mesenians and Selbitians, passed the Promontorie of *Iuno*, and the mouth of the riuer Cylibis, which runneth betwixt Barbarie and Huelua, neere vnto the which in old time was the Island of Erythrea, which is not to be seene at this day, vnlesse it be that of Gades it selfe: and then he discouered the Tartessian forrests, and did see the Turditanes coast, whereas the riuer Betis fell into the sea at that time by foure mouthes, afterwards reduced to two, but now there is but one. Passing on, there came into his sight Mont Cassius, rich in veines of Tynne, from whence it is likely it tooke his name: beyond the which, the riuer, which they now call Tinte, (whose water is excellent good to dye blacke) falls into the sea, neere vnto Palos of Moguer. This riuer was in old time called Iberus, as that which passeth and looeth it selfe at Tarracone. From thence *Himilco* passed neere vnto *Proserpinas* Temple, built vpon a point which runneth farre into the sea; vnto which place come the Marian hills: and a little more forward riseth Mont Zephirus, whose top is alwaies hidden in the clouds: about the which for a good distance the shoare is full of rockes vnto Mont *Saturne*, the which is among the Cenits, by the which the riuer Anas or Guadiana doth run; at the mouth whereof were two Islands, whereof the greatest was called Agone. Passing on by a long course towards the holy Promontorie, and hauing doubled it, this Carthaginian armie came to the port of Cenit, neere vnto the Islands which they now call *Perfequeres*. Not farre from thence dwelt the Dragans, a people of Lusitania, compassed in by the mountaines Cephis and Sempis, right against the Islands of Stremnie, the which stands farre into the sea: but neerer vnto these Dragans was another Island called *Acala*, about the which the waters were blew and wonderfull cleere, but very stinking, whereof there are at this day no markes. Aboue *Alcala* was the mountaine *Cyprilian*. *Himilco* hauing sayled along the coast, hee discouered the Island *Pelagic*, full of greene trees, the which he durst not touch, being consecrated to *Saturne*, hearing, that if any saylers would land there, the sea was troubled. The shoare which goes vnto the mouth of Tayo was inhabited by the Saries, a cruell and a barbarous people, whose Promontorie was for that cause called *Barbarelique*. There notwithstanding was planted the Greeke Colonie *Olysspo*, which is *Lisbone* at this day. These Nauigators came to the Promontorie *Nerium*, which

which is Finis terræ, and to the neighbour Islands called also Stremnies, for that the inhabitants of the Island of Stremnie about mentioned, being forced to leaue it for the multitude of Serpents which were there, they retired into these Islands. There is no further mention made of *Himilcos* nauigation.

*Hanno's voyage upon the coast of Africke.*

As for *Hanno*, he made a longer voyage: his armie consisted of many vessels, carrying about thirtie thousand persons of both sexes: hee planted a Colonie vpon the sea coast of Africke (the which is now Azamor) the which he called Thimateria: he passed on beyond the foot of Mont Atlas, towards Numidia and Lybia: he discovered the fortunat Islands, which are the Canaries, and those of Cap Verd, which is the point of the Hesperides; the Island of Argin, in old time Cerne; and the Gorgones, so named by him; the mouths of the great riuier Niger, the which hath Crocodiles in it, and sea horses as well as Nil, vntill he came vnto the Island named at this day S. Thome, vnder the Equinoctiall. Some say, that hee doubled the point of Africke, or Cap bonne Esperance, and passed as farre as the Arabicke sea, and from thence returned to Carthage by Egypt, reporting, That he had seene men all couered with haire; which it may be were Apes, for there are very great and dangerous ones in some part of Africke; and other wonders. He returned to Carthage five yeares after his departure.

It was in the yeare 312 of the foundation of Rome, when these two capitaines vndertooke their voyages; *Gifgo* their brother gouerned Spaine in their absence: and thinking to returne to Carthage, to be partaker of the feasts and joy which were made in regard of their prosperous voyages, he perished with all his ships at sea.

*Hannibal sent into Spaine.*

*Hannibal* brother to *Pappho*, and cousin to these, surnamed the ancient, was sent into Spaine, and with him *Mago* his kinsman. *Mago* stayed at the Baleares, and he passed to Calis: and some hold, that he built a fort at the place which is called Lagos, the which was named Port *Hannibal*: there was also built in his time, at the mouth of the riuier of Betis, *Lucifers* Temple, dedicated to the goddesse *Venus*, whose starre was called Phosphoros, or Lucifer: it is S. Lucar of Barraneda at this present. During their time and gouernment there grew great warre betwixt the Spaniards of Betica and the Lusitanians, dwelling by the riuier Anas, the which was nourished by the Carthaginians and their capitaines *Hannibal* and *Mago*.

*Warre in Sicile by the Carthaginians.*

The Commonweale of Carthage had then great warres in the Island of Sicile, kindled about the yeare 346 of the foundation of Rome, by the Agrigentines, who did murder the Carthaginian garrisons, being busie at their sacrifices: wherefore by decree of the Senat there were leuies of men made in Spaine, and in the Islands of the Baleares. But the Agrigentines were defeated in battaile, and then besieged for the space of two yeares, who in the end were forced to yeeld to their mercie, who entreated them very roughly: whereupon they had recourse vnto *Denis* the old, by whose aduice they freed themselves of those that did oppresse them, and tooke from the Carthaginians the townes of Camerine and Gele. *Denis* although he dissembled, seeming to be a neuter, found himselfe so ingaged, as he was forced to take armes against the Carthaginians, by whom hee was vanquished, but with great losse of their men: the rest of the Carthaginian armie, where *Himilco* was, had the leading of tenne thousand Spaniards, was consumed by the plague: whereat *Himilco* was so grieved, as being returned to Carthage, refusing to see either children or friends, he slew himselfe in his house. After these ruins, by the industrie of *Denis* a peace was concluded betwixt the Carthaginians & the Sicilians, or rather a truce for 30 yeares. This was in the yere 356 of the foundation of Rome.

About that time some ships of Carthage, dispersed by tempest, or else of set purpose following *Hannos* discovery, or imitating his designs, came vnto a great Island, which we may thinke to be that of S. Dominique at this day: which made them of Carthage to affect these voyages with such vehemencie, as to diuert them, the Senat resolved to cause them to be slaine which were returned, and had brought the newes, fearing least their citie and countrey should be vnpeopled.

*New warres in Sicile.*

The truce being expired, the Carthaginians prepared againe to warre in Sicile; during the which truce, they had aduanced their authoritie and credit among the Spaniards, entreaining diuisions among them, and taking parties: so as they had means at one time to bring to the warres of Sicile 20000 foot and 1000 horse of that nation, making them by this means weak against their own designs: to which forces they added 300 Majorquins, which vsed slings, and 10000 Africanes, making *Hanno* chiefe of this armie, who should suddenly invade the Island, whilst

A whilst that *Denis* made warre in Italie. But *Sumiat* a Carthaginian enuying *Hannos* charge, aduertised *Denis* of this preparation; and as he continued in this trecherie, he was discovered by the taking of a ship in the strait by them of Carthage, in the which were found his letters and aduertisements to *Denis*, written in Greeke; whereupon he was taken and punished: and it was decreed at Carthage, That no Carthaginian should learne the Greeke tongue: but *Denis* his armie at sea was defeated, whereby the Carthaginians affaires prospered in Sicile.

*Denis* being dead, and his sonne of the same name succeeding him, vnder the gouernment of *Dion* his kinsman, the warre ended by a long truce betwixt the Carthaginians & Sicilians, and *Hanno* returned with great treasure which he had gotté of those spoiles. He was presently sent

*Truce with the Sicilians.*

B to Calis, and *Bostar* to Majorca, and to that part of Spaine which is opposit: *Hanno* tyrannizing ouer the people in his gouernment, prouoked them to rebell; so as to subdue & punish them, he called the Moores into Spaine, who afflicted them cruelly. The complaints being come vnto Carthage, *Hanno* was called home and discharged of his gouernment, who in disdain thereof attempted to poyson the whole Senat in a banquet which he prepared for his daughters marriage. This trecherie being discovered and dissembled, they presently made Sumptruarie law, limiting the number of persons, and the sorts of meats at such feasts. But hauing escaped punishment, yet fearing it, he sought notwithstanding to trie his force, with a multitude of slaues which he, his kinsmen, and friends had: wherewith the people being incensed, they besieged him, & tooke him in his house, and then deliuered him to the Iudges; by whose decree his eies were put out, his lims broken, his body torne with whips, and then hung vpon a crosse: his children and all his kinsfolkes were also put to death, that they should haue no desire of reuenge.

*Hannos trecherie against the Senat of Carthage.*

C A cruell example, but excusable in the Africans, for the foulness of the offence and the interest of their countrey. The Carthaginians affecting much the conquest of Spaine, pursued it without any disturbance, sending good Gouernors and wise captains: wherein they prospered daily in such sort, as they might terme themselves masters thereof, and so did enjoy it for about 350 yeares, all the people of Spaine being their subjects or allies; vntill that the Romanes began to make some practises, seeking to draw the people vnto them, and to be assured of them, when any occasion should be offered. So either of these Commonweales made way for their great designs, yet not entering into any ouert action: but the Island of Sicile assailed by the

*The Carthaginians continue in the conquest of Spaine.*

*The Romanes seek to get footing in Spaine by emulation.*

D Carthaginians, and especially the towne of Messina, did so engage them, as it could not be appeased but with the ruine of the one party. For the space of 115 yeares there was either open war, preparations for war, or a counterfeit peace betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians. They entred into this hostilitie 489 yeares after the foundation of Rome, and about 262 yeares before Christ. This first warre was decided in Sicile, and in the Mediterranean sea, during 24 yeares; in which time the people of Spaine did adhere sometimes to one partie, sometimes to another, as their affaires succeeded: the Carthaginians being in the end forced to demand a peace of the Romanes, the rest of their hatred and spleen continued yet in Spaine for a time: for those which had rebelled against the Carthaginians, sought to maintaine their liberties by the fauour of the Romanes, who encouraged and assisted them vnder hand: yet *Amilcar*, surnamed

*Messina the cause of the first Punick warres.*

E *Barca*, father to *Hannibal*, being appointed Gouernor and Lieutenant generall for the Carthaginians in Spaine, subjected vnder their obedience almost all the nations and townes which had beene distracted, and did shake the allies of the contrarie faction. He was an irreconcilable enemy to the Romanes, and would that his sonne *Hannibal* should succeed him in the like affection, and (as we say) should sucke it from his mothers breasts; binding him thereunto in his youth by othes and religious ceremonies. For as he prepared to passe into Spaine with the armie, offering the accustomed sacrifices vnto their gods, to haue a prosperous voiage, he caused his sonne *Hannibal* (being then scarce nine yeares old) to approach vnto the altar, and hauing commaunded him to lay his hand vpon the sacrifice, he made him sweare, That as soone as he should be able to beare armes, he should employ them to annoy the Romanes, and declare himselfe their enemy. Whilst that *Amilcar* relies too much on his good fortune, and pursues the rebels in Spaine inconsiderately, he was slaine, hauing done great exploits in nine yeares space. They attribute the restoring and enlarging of Barcelona vnto him, and according vnto some, the naming of it.

*Spain nourisheth the hatred betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians.*

*Private passion in Amilcar was the ruine of his countrey.*

*Amilcar slaine by the Spaniards.*

*Adruba* his sonne in law succeeded him, a wife and a valiant man, vnder whom *Hannibal* learned his first precepts of warre. And as the troubles did not onely continue, but also encrease

The Carthaginians tyrannic ad-  
vanced the Ro-  
mans credit in  
Spaine.

A new accord  
betwixt the Ro-  
manes and Car-  
thaginians.

The great resolu-  
tion of a ser-  
uant loving his  
master.

Factions in the  
Senat at Car-  
thage.

The ambitious  
envie all men.

Hanniball made  
Governour of  
Spaine.

His disposition  
and vertues.

His vices.

increase in Spaine, new rebellions growing daily, by reason of the Carthaginians crueltie and tyrannie, the Romanes were sollicit by many to take them into their protection, whereunto they did willingly giue care. Whereupon these two Commonweales were vpon tearmes to enter into a more cruell warre than euer: to auoid the which, it was aduised by the Senate of Rome to send *Quintus Lutatius* into Spaine, to treat with the Carthaginians, and to settle some good course for the affaires of that countrey. So as betwixt *Lutatius* for the Romans, and *Asdrubal* for the Carthaginians, there was a peace renewed and confirmed betwixt those two Estates, and the friends and allies of either part in Spaine; appointing the riuer of Ebro for a limit and barre betwixt them, beyond the which they might not lead any armie. And for that the towne of Saguntum being then rich and populous, held them long in debate, either desiring to haue it on his faction, in the end (not able to agree) it was concluded, That it should remaine neuter, vfe her owne lawes, and be maintained in her libertie, and that neither partie should attempt any thing to the preiudice thereof.

The Estate of Spaine being thus ordered, the peace (which was not well assured betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians) continued three and twentie yeres, or thereabouts, accounting from the day that it was concluded in Sicile. *Asdrubal* gouerned Spaine beyond Ebro eight yeres, and aduanced the affaires of his Commonweale more by mildnesse than by armes; whom they make the founder of new Carthage: but returning to a rigorous course, his crueltie incited a Gaule, who serued him, to murder him, reuenging the death of a Lord of Lusitania his master, whom *Asdrubal* had caused to be slain, whose head he caused to be carried through the countrey vpon a lance, after that he had hanged the bodie vpon a crosse. This seruant being taken, died in the extremitie of his torments, singing and laughing for joy that he had done the deed.

4 Before the death of *Asdrubal* it was propounded in the Senat of Carthage, If it were expedient to send *Hannibal* into Spaine, vnder the discipline of his brother in law, who demaunded him? Among the Senators there was one of great esteeme, called *Hanno*, being of a contrarie faction to the familie of the *Barciniens*, which also was great and rich, either hauing their partisans. These pleaded vehemently, letting the Senat vnderstand on the one side, that *Hannibal* was bred vp in armes, and by that meanes did imitate his fathers vertues: the others to hinder this resolution, feared least the hatred which *Hannibal* bare vnto the Romans, and whereof he made publicke profession, would ingage and draw their Commonweale into new troubles and calamities: For although the Carthaginians were exceeding ambitious, and in that regard enemies to all mankind, yet did they feare the magnanimitie and constancie of the Romanes, and their valour, which they had tried. Besides, the forepassed warres as well against them, as against others, yea, against their owne mercinarie souldiours, had wasted their treasure, vn furnisht them of ships, and consumed their best captaines; so as it behoued them to liue many yeres in peace, before they vnderooke any difficult warre. But their miserie, and that of Italie, would haue the *Barciniens* preuaile; and so *Hannibal* was sent into Spaine to his brother in law *Asdrubal*, vnder whom he liued some three yeres: after whose decease, he was demaunded for head and Generall by the men of warre, and by their fauour obtained of the Senat and people of Carthage the gouernment of Spaine, being then about two and twentie yeres old. There was not in any age a more remarkable man than this, as well for his great vertues as vices: for he was of a generous spirit for great attempts, and inuincible in all dangers: bloudie combates were his delights, neither did he want judgement nor counsell: in the warre few men had better practised the knowledge how to obey, and how to command, than he: he was neuer tyred with any toyle: he endured heat and cold indifferently: he gouerned his feeding as nature required: he hated rest, and slept onely when hee found himselfe idle, not vpon a soft and delicate bed, but most commonly vpon the ground, in a *Corps de guard*, among the souldiours: he was not curious in his habits, but delighted much in faire Armes and good horses; being alwayes the first in fight, and the last at a retreat. So many vertues had for companions in the same subiect, a brutish crueltie, damnable infidelitie, sacriledge, and contempt of all religion. When as he found himselfe possessed of these forces, he sought all meanes to breake the peace with the Romanes; propounding within himselfe, not onely to chafe them out of Spaine, but also to assaile them in Italie within their owne strength, and in the very seat of their Empire. He began to make warre against the Ol-

cades,

A cades, a people beyond the riuer of Ebro, who were in good termes with the Carthaginians, but not their subjects, and tooke Althee their chiefe towne, and sackt it; the which did very much terrifie their neighbours. Then he quarrelled with the Vaccees, sometimes pretending a right, as being subiect to the iurisdiction of Carthage; sometimes doing them iniurie, or pretending that he had receiued some wrong from them, hee so prouoked them, as among many acts of hostilitie, after the taking of Hermandica and Arbocala, townes of the Vaccees, and a great defeat which he gaue vnto the Carpetanians and the rest of the Olcades and Vaccees, and in the end the conquest of all those Prouinces, he came vnto that which he had propounded vnto himselfe; which was, to besiege Sagunt. The complaints of his excesse came daily to Rome; yet the Senat being busied with the warres of Gaule, and against the Illyrians, were not much moued, vntill that the Saguntines seeing a siege comming before their towne, quickened the Romanes by their embassadours, letting them vnderstand, That if they made any account of Spaine, it was now high time to oppose themselues against the violence of *Hannibal*; who hauing broken their treaties and accords in a thousand sorts, might be at that instant about their walls with an hundred and fiftie thousand fighting men. This did moue the Senat of Rome not to neglect their allies, and to apprehend the dangers which did threaten themselues, if they suffered the Carthaginians their enemies to prosper. Wherefore they sent two embassadours to Carthage, which were, *Publius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Bebius Tanophilus*, with charge to passe to *Hannibal*, and to summon him to retire, and to leaue their allies in peace; otherwise to let both him and the citie of Carthage vnderstand, that they would not endure the wrongs and injuries which had beene done them. But Sagunt was besieged vnder colour of some controuersies and quarrels which they had with their neighbours. *Hannibal* being entred into their territorie, abandoned it to the spoyle of the souldiours, and then assailed the towne in three places. There was one part plainer and more accessible than the rest, where he intended to begin his batterie: but hauing made his approaches with great toyle and difficultie, the successe was not answerable to his designe: for there hee found a strong tower, and the wall rayfed higher; besides, the place where there was most danger was manned with their most valiant souldiours; who at the first repulsed their enemies with their arrowes: but in the end not contented to shoot from their towers and defences, they made sallies, and came to fight with them hand to hand: in which skirmishes there was no great aduantage on either side. *Hannibal* himselfe approaching too venturously neere the wals, was wounded with a iaueline in the thigh, and ouerthrowne; the which did much amaze them that were about him, so as they fled; and it did so trouble the rest, as they abandoned all their workes. Then had the Saguntines some leysure to breath, and the towne was for a time rather besieged than assaulted, whilest that *Hannibal* was vnder cure; yet they ceased not to make all sorts of engines to batter the towne: the which was done afterwards, and more violently than before, and in so many places, as the besieged were scarce able to make their defence: and there were three towers with their courtines betwixt them alreadie ruined, so as the towne was discovered, and seemed to lye open; which made both assaiylants and defendants to run thither: where they did fight with such obstinacie, in an open champaine, animated by two seuerall passions, the one hauing hope to vanquish, and the other no hope of merie in their enemies. In the end, the Carthaginians were forced to retire; and soone after the Romane embassadours arriued in the rode of Saguntum: but *Hannibal* would not heare them, but let them vnderstand, That a man busied with so many affaires as he was, could not spend his time in words, and that he saw no great safetie for them, if they landed among so many souldiours, of diuers barbarous nations: Whereupon they passed into Africke, and hauing deliuered their charge vnto the Senat of Carthage, and demaunded in vaine, That *Hannibal* (the author of the warre) should be deliuered vnto them, after many protestations, they returned with bare words: For after much contention among the factions in the Councell of Carthage (whereas *Hannibal* had manie kinsmen and friends) answer was made vnto the embassadours, That the warre had beene begun by the Saguntines, and that the Senat and people of Rome should not embrace their quarrell against the Carthaginians, with whom they had liued in peace and amitie for so many yeres.

E

Whilest

A friend doth  
not often flure  
for his friends  
harme, vntill  
himselfe be in-  
teressed.

Sagunt besieged.

Hannibal wound-  
ed.

Hope & despaire  
breed like effects  
at this siege.



The simplicitie  
of the Romans,

Whilest the Romans were thus busied to resolute and to send embassadours, *Hannibal* pursues his siege, and preffeth *Sagunt* by all means possible: He builds new engines, animates his souldiours, and promifeth them the spoile of a rich towne: the *Saguntines* rampar vp their breaches, and labour day and night: the batterie begins afresh, and they haue many assaults giuen, and with greater furie than before. In the end, being tyred with the multitude of assaillants, who had fresh supplies continually, they could not keepe the *Carthaginians* from entering by their breaches, their walls being newly repaired with earth, after their accustomed manner, and therefore easie to pierce: so as they seized vpon an high place within the precinct of the towne, whereas they planted many of their great crosse-bowes and artillerie after their manner, and casting a wall about it, they made as it were a citadell; against the which the *Saguntines* did presently make a trench, diuiding it from the rest of the towne, which was not yet taken. And as it happened diuers times, that the one getting the other, must needs retyre, the towne was reduced to a small compasse, and withall they had great want of victuals, and of all other necessities, by reason of the long siege, *Hannibal* was then forced to march into *Oretania* and *Carpetania*, where there was some likelihood of a tumult, for that those which he had sent to enroll souldiours, were retained by them of the countrey, by reason of the great rigour which they vsed. As his absence from the campe gaue some rest vnto the *Saguntines*, so his coming among those people caused peace, and reduced them to obedience. In the meane time *Maharbal*, sonne to *Himilco*, who had the charge to continue the siege, vsed such diligence, as there was no shew of *Hannibals* absence. To conclude, hee wrought so well, as at his returne he shewed him large breaches, sufficient to giue a generall assault, which were made on the side of the castle, the which the *Carthaginians* did win. The miserable *Saguntines* being thus prest, and out of all hope of succours, which could not come vnto them but from *Rome*, which was farre from them, *Alco* one of their citizens cast himselfe from the rampar, and went to *Hannibal*, without the priuie of the Senat, that he might moue him to some reasonable conditions: but *Hannibal* offered them their liues onely, and that they should depart the town with one robe onely, and to go and dwell where they should be appointed: whereupon *Alco* durst no more returne vnto *Sagunt*, beseeching him to giue him leaue to remaine within the campe: then there was a Spanishe souldiour named *Alorco*, who offered himselfe to carrie these conditions vnto the *Saguntines*, and to persuaide them to accept thereof. But he preuailed as little as the other: for being heard in their Senat, they were so farre from yeelding in that manner, as by a common consent they resolute to bring all their gold, siluer, and other goods into the market place, where they set it on fire, and consumed it: and there were some so desperat, as they cast themselues into the fire, to be consumed with their goods. In the meane time there was a great noise heard from a tower which fell suddainely, hauing bene long battered, the which gaue free entrie vnto the enemies: a band of souldiours then being entred by that breach, they made a signe vnto the campe: whereupon *Hannibal* being vigilant to embrace all occasions, marched thither with the whole bodie of the armie, and tooke the towne, hauing giuen charge to his souldiours, to kill all that had past the age of foureteene yeares: a cruell sentence, but he held it necessarie, seeing hee had to deale with such obstinat enemies, who being in fight, neuer yeelded but by death, and being shut vp within their towne, with their wiues and children, would rather burne themselues in their houses, than yeeld. And although that many things were spoyled and consumed by the fire, yet the bootie was great. Thus *Sagunt* fell into *Hannibals* hands, eight moneths after the beginning of the siege. And during this siege, his wife *Himilce* was deliuered of a sonne called *Aspar*, which doubled his joy. Then did the *Romanes* resolute to proclaim warre against *Carthage*, moued partly with the vnworthie calamitie of their friends and allies, and partly with the feare of their owne estate: the which happened 536 yeares after the foundation of *Rome*, *Pub. Cornelius Scipio* and *Titus Sempronius Longus* being created Consuls.

*Hannibal* was so farre from any remorse to haue drawne these two Commonweales into armes, as contrariwise, when hee had brought backe his armie to new *Carthage*, and diuided the spoyle among his souldiours, he began to make preparations to march into *Italic*, from whence he meant to chase the *Romanes*, and to driue them (if it were possible) out of the world. Hauing therefore disposed of the affaires of that Prouince, and well fortified and

manned

Friends a farre  
off are slow to  
succour.

Sagunt taken by  
assault.

The Romans  
resolute to warre  
against the  
Carthaginians.

Good fortune  
transpires  
Hannibal to ouer-  
great enterprises

A manned the townes, he left the gouernment generall thereof to *Asdrubal* his brother, and taking his way by the Mediterranean shore to *Empurias*, he entred into *Gaule*, and came vnto the *Alpes* without any opposition of the *Gaules*, although they were much prest thereunto by the *Romanes*; leading an armie which consisted of *Numidians*, *Africanes*, *Spaniards*, some *Gaules*, and other nations, the which he entertained and supplied often with the same manions, as well with the reuenues of the mynes of *Spaine*, as that which he tooke from the enemy, but most of all by his onely authoritie, and the reuerence of his name, so long as he continued the warres in *Italic*, which was 16 yeares.

6 Whilest that the Consul *P. Scipio* attended him at the entrie of *Italic*, at the foot of the mountaines, *Cn. Scipio* his brother (sent by him into *Spaine*) parted from the mouth of *Rosne*, with a good number of gallies and other vessels, well manned with souldiours, and coasting along the *Gaulishe* shore, he came to *Empurias* without any encounter: where hauing landed, he gouerned himselfe so discretely in all his enterprises, and with so great humanitie towards the *Spaniards*, as in a short time hee reduced to the deuotion of the *Romanes* those which had bene drawne away either by force or feare, assured himselfe of the old allies, and got new, not onely among the people which lay neere vnto the sea, but also of those which dwelt farre into the countrey, and euen of the mountainers, although they were very rude and barbarous; wherewith he encreased his armie, and had willingly from them, without any constraint, victuals, and all other necessities. *Hanno* appointed Gouernor of the countrey on this side *Ebro*, for the *Carthaginians*, went to field to make head against the *Romanes*, whilest that *Asdrubal*, Gouernour generall of the Prouince, made hast to joyne with him with a great armie. But *Scipio* went speedily to charge *Hanno*, and did easily defeat him, where he slew 6000 of his souldiours, tooke 2000, forced his campe, and not onely spoyled the baggage of his armie, but also that which *Hannibal* had appointed for *Italic*, wherewith *Scipios* souldiours were made rich. In the meane time *Asdrubal* arriues, hauing had no certaine intelligence of the defeat of *Hanno*: whereof being aduertised, he marched towards the sea, where he found many *Romanes* souldiours and mariners stragling after some spoyle; of whom he slew many, giuing them a worthie reward of their negligence; the which happened neere vnto *Tarracone*: yet hee made no long abode there, but presently repassed the riuier of *Ebro*. *Scipio* hauing rested his armie foure dayes, resolute to pursue him, but he would first assure himselfe of *Tarracone*, the which was not very well furnished. *Asdrubal* seeing him retire, aduanced againe, and did sollicite the *Ilergetes* to rebell, who notwithstanding had giuen hostages to the *Romanes*, making them to spoyle some of their allies countrey; whereupon *Scipio* went to field, and *Asdrubal* retyred. *Scipio* meaning to punish these *Ilergetes*, besieged *Athanasia*, their chiefe towne, and forced them to redeme themselues with mony, and to giue new hostages: then he went to the *Ausetanians*, allied to the *Carthaginians*, neere vnto the riuier of *Ebro*, whom he besieged, and defeated the *Laceranes* who came to succour them, whereof there remained 12000 vpon the place, and the rest were disperfed, returning disarmed to their houses. This siege continued 30 daies in the heart of winter, the snow being almost foure foot deepe, E wherewith their engines of batterie were in a manner couered, the which did preserue them from the fire which was cast by the enemy. In the end, *Amusite* their capitaine hauing abandoned them, and being retyred to *Asdrubal*, the towne yeelded to *Scipio*, redeeming it selfe from spoyle for 20 talents, amounting to 12000 French crownes: from whence *Scipio* led his armie backe to *Tarracone*.

The second yeare of the second Punicke warre, *Asdrubal* Generall of the *Carthaginians* resolute to charge the enemy wheresoeuer he should encounter him, either by sea or land, hauing armed our thirtie gallies which *Hannibal* had left him, and tenne others which he had; of all which, he gaue the charge to *Himilcon*, commaunding him to sayle along the coast in view of his land armie, with the which he parted from *Carthage*, keeping still neere the shoare: whereof *Scipio* being aduertised, he resolute also to fight with *Asdrubal*, if any opportunity were offered. Yet hauing intelligence, that he had bene reinforced with some fresh troupes, he resolute not to hazard a battaile by land, but to set vpon them at sea. Hauing to that end embarked the flower of his armie, hee parted from *Tarracone* with fise and thirtie ships of warre, and came within foure or fise leagues of the mouth of the riuier of *Ebro*: there he was aduertised by two galliots of *Marseilles*, that the enemies gallies were at anchor in the

E ij

mouth

He marcheth to  
wards Italy.

Cn. Scipio sent  
into Spaine.

He winneth the  
Spaniards by mid-  
dlesse.

The Spaniards  
inquisant.

The simplicity  
of the Romans.

Whilest the Romans were thus busied to resolute and to send embassadours, *Hannibal* pursues his siege, and presseth *Sagunt* by all means possible: He builds new engines, animates his souldiours, and promisseth them the spoile of a rich towne: the *Saguntines* rampar vp their breaches, and labour day and night: the batterie begins afresh, and they haue many assaults giuen, and with greater furie than before. In the end, being tyred with the multitude of assaillants, who had fresh supplies continually, they could not keepe the *Carthaginians* from entering by their breaches, their walls being newly repaired with earth, after their accustomed manner, and therefore easie to pierce: so as they seized vpon an high place within the precinct of the towne, whereas they planted many of their great crosse-bowes and artilerie after their manner, and casting a wall about it, they made as it were a citadell; against the which the *Saguntines* did presently make a trench, diuiding it from the rest of the towne, which was not yet taken. And as it happened diuers times, that the one getting the other, must needs retyre, the towne was reduced to a small compasse, and withall they had great want of victuals, and of all other necessities, by reason of the long siege. *Hannibal* was then forced to march into *Oretania* and *Carpetania*; where there was some likelihood of a tumult, for that those which he had sent to enroll souldiours, were retained by them of the country, by reason of the great rigour which they vsed. As his absence from the campe gaue some rest vnto the *Saguntines*, so his coming among those people caused peace, and reduced them to obedience. In the meane time *Maharbal*, sonne to *Himilco*, who had the charge to continue the siege, vsed such diligence, as there was no shew of *Hannibals* absence. To conclude, hee wrought so well, as at his returne he shewed him large breaches, sufficient to giue a generall assault, which were made on the side of the castle, the which the *Carthaginians* did win. The miserable *Saguntines* being thus prest, and out of all hope of succours, which could not come vnto them but from *Rome*, which was farre from them, *Alco* one of their citizens cast himselfe from the rampar, and went to *Hannibal*, without the priuie of the Senat, that he might moue him to some reasonable conditions: but *Hannibal* offered them their liues onely, and that they should depart the town with one robe onely, and to go and dwell where they should be appointed: whereupon *Alco* durst no more returne vnto *Sagunt*, beseeching him to giue him leaue to remaine within the campe: then there was a Spanish souldior named *Alorco*, who offered himselfe to carrie these conditions vnto the *Saguntines*, and to persuaide them to accept thereof. But he preuailed as little as the other: for being heard in their Senat, they were so farre from yeelding in that manner, as by a common consent they resolved to bring all their gold, siluer, and other goods into the market place, where they set it on fire, and consumed it: and there were some so desperat, as they cast themselues into the fire, to be consumed with their goods. In the meane time there was a great noise heard from a tower which fell suddainly, hauing bene long battered, the which gaue free entrie vnto the enemies: a band of souldiours then being entred by that breach, they made a signe vnto the campe: whereupon *Hannibal* being vigilant to embrace all occasions, marched thither with the whole bodie of the armie, and tooke the towne, hauing giuen charge to his souldiours, to kill all that had past the age of foureteene yeares: a cruell sentence, but he held it necessarie, seeing hee had to deale with such obstinat enemies, who being in fight, neuer yeelded but by death, and being shut vp within their towne, with their wiues and children, would rather burne themselves in their houses, than yeeld. And although that many things were spoiled and consumed by the fire, yet the bootie was great. Thus *Sagunt* fell into *Hannibals* hands, eight moneths after the beginning of the siege. And during this siege, his wife *Himilce* was deliuered of a sonne called *Aspar*, which doubled his joy. Then did the Romans resolute to proclaim warre against *Carthage*, moued partly with the vnworthie calamitie of their friends and allies, and partly with the feare of their owne estate: the which happened 536 yeares after the foundation of *Rome*, *Pub. Cornelius Scipio* and *Titus Sempronius Longus* being created Consuls.

The Romans  
resolute to warre  
against the  
Carthaginians.

Good fortune  
transports *Hannibal* to  
great enterprises

*Hannibal* was so farre from any remorse to haue drawne these two Commonweales into armes, as contrariwise, when hee had brought backe his armie to new *Carthage*, and diuided the spoyle among his souldiours, he began to make preparations to march into *Italie*, from whence he meant to chase the Romans, and to driue them (if it were possible) out of the world. Hauing therefore disposed of the affaires of that Prouince, and well fortified and manned

A manned the townes, he left the gouernment generall thereof to *Asdrubal* his brother, and taking his way by the Mediterranean shore to *Empurias*, he entred into *Gaule*, and came vnto the *Alpes* without any opposition of the *Gaules*, although they were much prest thereunto by the Romans; leading an armie which consisted of *Numidians*, *Africanes*, *Spaniards*, some *Gaules*, and other nations, the which he entertained and supplied often with the same victuals, as well with the reuenues of the myries of *Spaine*, as that which he tooke from the enemy, but most of all by his onely authoritie, and the reuerence of his name, so long as he continued the warres in *Italie*, which was 16 yeares.

He marched into  
Italy.

6. Whilest that the Consul *P. Scipio* attended him at the entrie of *Italie*, at the foot of the mountaines, *Cn. Scipio* his brother (sent by him into *Spaine*) parted from the mouth of *Rosne*, with a good number of gallies and other vessels, well manned with souldiours, and coasting along the *Gaulish* shore, he came to *Empurias* without any encounter: where hauing landed, he gouerned himselfe so discretely in all his enterprises, and with so great humanitie towards the *Spaniards*, as in a short time hee reduced to the deuotion of the Romans those which had bene drawne away either by force or feare, assured himselfe of the old allies, and got new, not onely among the people which lay neere vnto the sea, but also of those which dwelt farre into the country, and euen of the mountainers, although they were very rude and barbarous; wherewith he increased his armie, and had willingly from them, without any constraint, victuals, and all other necessities. *Hanno* appointed Gouernor of the country on this side *Ebro*, for the *Carthaginians*, went to field to make head against the Romans, whilest that *Asdrubal*, Gouernour generall of the Prouince, made hast to joyne with him with a great armie. But *Scipio* went speedily to charge *Hanno*, and did easily defeat him, where he slew 6000 of his souldiours, tooke 2000, forced his campe, and not onely spoiled the baggage of his armie, but also that which *Hannibal* had appointed for *Italie*, wherewith *Scipios* souldiours were made rich. In the meane time *Asdrubal* arriues, hauing had no certaine intelligence of the defeat of *Hanno*: whereof being aduertised, he marched towards the sea, where he found many *Romane* souldiours and mariners stragling after some spoyle; of whom he slew many, giuing them a worthie reward of their negligence; the which happened neere vnto *Tarracone*: yet hee made no long abode there, but presently repassed the riuer of *Ebro*. *Scipio* hauing refitted his armie foure dayes, resolved to pursue him, but he would first assure himselfe of *Tarracone*, the which was not very well furnished. *Asdrubal* seeing him retire, aduanced againe, and did sollicite the *Ilergetes* to rebell, who notwithstanding had giuen hostages to the *Romans*, making them to spoyle some of their allies country; whereupon *Scipio* went to field, and *Asdrubal* retyred. *Scipio* meaning to punish these *Ilergetes*, besieged *Athanasia*, their chiefe towne, and forced them to redeeme themselves with money, and to giue new hostages: then he went to the *Ausetanians*, allied to the *Carthaginians*, neere vnto the riuer of *Ebro*, whom he besieged, and defeated the *Laceranes* who came to succour them, whereof there remained 12000 vpon the place, and the rest were disperfed, returning disarmed to their houses. This siege continued 30 daies in the heart of winter, the snow being almost foure foot deepe, wherewith their engines of batterie were in a manner couered, the which did preserve them from the fire which was cast by the enemy. In the end, *Amusite* their captaine hauing abandoned them, and being retyred to *Asdrubal*, the towne yeelded to *Scipio*, redeeming it selfe from spoyle for 20 talents, amounting to 12000 French crownes: from whence *Scipio* led his armie backe to *Tarracone*.

Cn. Scipio sent  
into Spaine.

He wins the  
Spaniards by  
mildness.

Hanno defeated  
by Scipio.

The Spaniards  
inconstant.

The second yeare of the second Punicke warre, *Asdrubal* Generall of the *Carthaginians* resolved to charge the enemy wherefoeuer he should encounter him, either by sea or land, hauing armed out thirtie gallies which *Hannibal* had left him, and tenne others which he had; of all which, he gaue the charge to *Himilcon*, commaunding him to sayle along the coast in view of his land armie, with the which he parted from *Carthage*, keeping still neere the shore: whereof *Scipio* being aduertised, he resolved also to fight with *Asdrubal*, if any opportunitie were offered. Yet hauing intelligence, that he had bene reinforced with some fresh troupes, he resolved not to hazard a battaile by land, but to set vpon them at sea. Hauing to that end embarked the flower of his armie, hee parted from *Tarracone* with fixe and thirtie ships of warre, and came within foure or fixe leagues of the mouth of the riuer of *Ebro*: there he was aduertised by two galliots of *Marceilles*, that the enemies gallies were at anchor in the

mouth of the riuer, and their land armie camped neere vnto them: wherefore *Scipio* desiring to surprize them, commaunded his gallies to set forward, making great speed towards them. Spaine had then many watch-towers vpon the coast, set vpon high hills, for the saterie of passengers against pyrats. The Roman army was discovered by them, and an alarme giuen to the Carthaginians, being sooner discovered by the army at land, than by the gallies. *Asdrubal* dispatching many horsemen, gaue charge, That euery one should retire presently to his gally, and prepare to fight, for the enemy had bin discovered. Most of the fouldiors and mariners were at land, dispersed here and there in the tents and villages, making good cheere with their companions, fearing nothing lesse than the comming of the Romans that day, who were hidden by the high clyffes which run into the sea, for that they could neither heare the beating of their oares, nor any noise of their fleet. And as all was full of disorder and tumult among the Carthaginians, *Asdrubal* put his armie in battaile neere vnto his fleet, whilest the fleet embarked, who ran without order or discipline, as if they had bin chased from the land, and would haue saued themselves in the sea. The confusion was so great, that hindering one another, the fouldiors could not vse their armes, nor the mariners launch out, nor doe their duties, so as they were forced to cut their cables, and doing all things in hast, they were defeated more by their owne disorder than by the Romanes, who aduancing, tooke two gallies at their first joyning, and sunke foure: the rest of the Carthaginian fleet being dispersed, and not able to hold together, they ran aground willingly, so as the men saued themselves, and fled to their army which stood in battaile: who being spectators of this combat, saw their gallies pursued and taken, carrying all away that were not run on ground, or broken vpon the coast, so as the Romans drew 25 out with them to sea. This victorie did not only disarm the Carthaginians of their sea forces, but also made them forsake all that coast. Wherefore the Romans being landed at Onusta or Honosca, became masters thereof without any resistance, spoyling the countrey vnto the gates of new Carthage, whereas they burnt the suburbs. Returning from thence laden with spoyle to Longuntica (which at this present is Guardamar) they found great store of a kind of broome, wherewith they did vse to make cables for ships, the which *Asdrubal* had caused to be gathered together, whereof they tooke what they pleased, and fet fire on the rest. Then returning to their ships, they passed into the Island of Ebusus or Iuisa, and battered the fort that was in it, from the which they were repulsed. So as after they had spoiled and burnt the country, they embarked againe, and being ready to weigh anchor, embassadors came to them from the Islands of the Balears, to demaund peace and friendship with the Romans.

*Scipio* being returned into Spaine, he gaue audience to the embassadours of all the people that dwell about the riuer Ebro, and not onely to them, but to others of farther regions, desiring to enter into league with the Romans. They hold, that he receiued hostages at that time of about 120 Townes or Communalities. *Scipio* being fortified by this means, and thinking he should be able from that time to keepe the field against his enemy, he led his armie towards Castulo, & the mountaines which are now called Puerto Muladar, *Asdrubal* being retired into Lusitania, towards the limits of our Portugal, vpon the Ocean, so as there was no great shew of any warres that Summer. But the turbulent spirits of the Spaniards prouided worke for *Scipio*: for a nobleman of the Illegetes (the which is now a part of Catalogne) called *Mardonius*, when as the Romans retired towards the sea, had solicited many of the neighbor people to armes, and seeing the Romans otherwise busied, he went with his troups, and spoiled the country of their allies: against whom, *Scipio* sent 3000 men, with the helpe of some of his friends, who defeated these spoylers, slew many, tooke some, and made the rest glad to quit their armes. This made *Asdrubal* to leaue the sea coast, and to march vp into the countrey, to assure his confederats which dwell on this side Ebro, and to succour them if need were: he came and lodged in the countrey of the Illecaones, which are of the country of the Illegetes: but a tumult arising, drew the war elsewhere: for the chiefe men among the Celtiberians, which make now a part of new Castille, and of Arragon beyond Ebro, being entred into alliance with the Romanes, and had giuen them hostages, hauing taken armes at *Scipios* perswasion, were entred into the Carthaginians territorie, spoyling, burning, and putting all to the sword: they tooke three townes from them, and in two encounters slew 15000 men, and tooke 4000, carrying away many of their enemies ensignes. At the same time *P. Scipio* arrived in Spaine, in qualitie of Pro-consul; in whose absence *Cn. Scipio* his brother had vntill that time gouerned the warres: for

The Carthaginians  
defeated at  
sea by Cn. Scipio.

Mardonius and  
the Illegetes  
held the Car-  
thaginian party.

The Celtiberians  
take armes for  
the Romanes.

Pub. Scipio Pro-  
consul in Spaine.

A for it was the Prouince which had fallen vnto him the yeare before, being Consul.

7 His gouernment then being continued, he arrived at Tarracone with 30 ships of warre, and many of burthen, carrying 8000 fouldiors, and great store of victuals and other prouision: where hauing landed his men, he went and joynd with his brother; and from that time the affaires were gouerned by two captaines well vnited, and agreeing in all things: who whilest that *Hannibal* was in action against the Celtiberians, resolved to goe directly to Sagunt; in which towne they knew, that all the hostages which *Hannibal* had drawne from the townes and people of Spaine, were kept with a small guard; which was the onely gage which the Carthaginians had to assure them of the Spaniards fidelitie, and the onely bond wherewith they tyed them: but one man brake it. He was a gentleman, who was then in garrison at Sagunt, a Spaniard by nation, called *Acedux*, who had alwaies before shewed himselfe very faithfull to the Carthaginians, but then (according to the manner of the Barbarians) he applied himselfe according to the time and euents. This man hauing a desire to follow the Romans partie, and imagining, that such as reuolt, are commonly esteemed but base and infamous creatures, if withall they doe not bring some notable commoditie to them that doe receiue them, he bethought himselfe of an occasion, whereby he might purchase the grace and fauour of the Romanes, by one of the greatest aduantages they might haue, if he could find meanes to deliuer all these hostages into their hands: but for that they were straitly guarded by men that were appointed by *Bostares*, Gouernour of the Prouince, there was great difficultie in the execution of this enterprife. He came therefore vnto the Gouernour, who lay in campe without the towne, to defend the landing vpon the sea shoare, being somewhat farre off, and letting him vnderstand the dangerous estate of the Carthaginians affaires, after so many defeats, and how little faith and constancie there was in the townes and confederat people of Spaine, seeing so great a power of the Romanes neere them, fortified by so many people which had taken their partie, and the goodly succours which the Pro-consul *Scipio* had brought out of Italie, he aduised him to make the Spaniards more bound vnto the Carthaginians by an honourable bountie, than they were by the gages which he had from them, in sending backe to euery Towne and Communitie their hostages. And to the end hee should assure himselfe he would be readie to put in practise all that he should hold fit for the good of the Carthaginians, he offered to conduct these hostages to their parents, and to goe from towne to towne, confirming and encouraging his countrey men to be loyall to the Carthaginians, and that thereby they should find they had so good an opinion of them, as without any necessitie they had freely sent home their hostages vnto them. To conclude, he could so well perswade this Gouernour, as (notwithstanding it seemed hard vnto him at the first) he consented, appointing a conuenient time to send the hostages to their houses, vnder conduct of this traitour: who in the meane time found meanes to slip vnto the Romanes campe, and hauing met with some Spaniards in the armie, he caused them to bring him vnto the Pro-consul as secretly as might be; to whom he imparted this businesse as he had designed it; and a fit conclusion was taken betwixt them for this enterprife. This merchant being returned againe to Sagunt, and hauing againe conferred with *Bostares* the Gouernour vpon this restitution at the time appointed, the hostages were in the night sent out of the towne with a good guard, as it seemed: but they went not farre, before they fell into an ambush which the Romanes had layed for them, where they were all taken, and led vnto the campe. The same counsell which this Spaniard had giuen to *Bostares*, was by him propounded to the Romanes, who made good vse thereof, and restored the hostages to their parents and friends, and by that meanes made a wonderfull breach in the Carthaginians Estate in Spaine: For the people and townes did soone find what an aduantage it was to change their master; for that in stead of the Carthaginians command, which was impetuous and proud, the Romanes were entred with bountie and mildnesse. So euery one commending the wisdome of this *Acedux*, sought some fit opportunitie to reuolt as he had done. And if Winter had not forced them to surcease, the effects had followed with out delay. *Asdrubal* finding himselfe too weake, was rettyred into places of strength, farre from the Romanes. The two *Scipios* hauing diuided their charges, *Publius* conducted the armie at sea, and *Cneus* that at land. *Asdrubal* durst not oppose himselfe neyther against the one nor the other, but hauing after many petitions and much solliciting obtained from

The resolution  
of the two Sci-  
pios of great  
consequence.

A notable trea-  
cherie of a Span-  
iard.

Treason of a  
Spaniard, lea-  
ding to the  
stronger party.

The indiscretion  
and rashnesse of  
Bostares in yeel-  
ding the hostages  
deliuered him  
by his Generall.



the Carthaginians a supplie of foure thousand foot and fiue hundred horse: as soone as they G  
arrived, he went to field with his armie, approched neer vnto the enemye, began to repayre  
his shippes, and to make a fleet for the defence of the coast and Islands. Being busie about  
these things, the reuolt of the sea captaines, which had bene defeated the Summer before,  
troubled him much. These after the battaile hauing bene much blamed by *Asdrubal*, did  
neuer afterwards shew themselves neither faithfull to their Generall, nor well affected to  
the affaires of the Carthaginians: so as by practises there were some townes yeilded to  
the Romanes in the countrey of the Carpesians, where the Realme of Toledo is at this day;  
and had taken one by force: so as all the warre was drawne by the Romanes into this coun-  
trei. Wherefore *Asdrubal* entring the countrey in hostile manner, affronted a captaine of H  
this nation called *Galbus*, who lay in campe neere vnto the towne which had bene taken.  
Hauing sent some souldiours lightly armed to the enemies trenches, to draw them forth  
to skirmish, and some others against them that were gone to forrage, there was at one in-  
stant a great tumult in their campe, and slaughter and flying without it, so as manie sa-  
ued themselves within their fort: yet in the end they were so well assured, as they not one-  
ly defended their rampiers, but also sallied forth, and presented themselves in battaile a-  
gainst the Carthaginians, going resolutely to the charge, leaping and skipping after their  
accustomed manner, the which struck terror into the enemye, who retired as hee could  
with credit. *Asdrubal* hauing recouered a hill flanked with a riuer, he brought his armie I  
thither, thinking it needfull to fortifie himselfe there. So these two armies giuing feare for  
feare, there were some skirmishes among the souldiours on either side, whereas to speake  
truth, the Numidian horseman was not equall to the Spaniard, nor the Moores darts able  
to pierce their aduersaries targuets, who were as nimble and aduise as they, and had more  
force and courage. The Spaniards seeing that by running about the Carthaginians campe  
they could not draw them forth to battaile, and that it was not easie to force, they went  
to besiege a towne called *Asena*, whereas *Asdrubal* comming into that Prouince, had made  
his store-houise for victuals and munition; they tooke it by force, and spoyled all the coun-  
trei about it: but after it there was neither order, obedience, nor conduct among them,  
as it happeneth often after a good successe. *Asdrubal* seeing their disorder and negligence,  
thought good to embrace this occasion: Wherefore hauing aduertised his souldiers there-  
of, he left his place of strength, and led his armie in good order against these Spaniards, who K  
were dispersed here and there in disorder, and without ensignes. Being discovered by them  
that were in sentinell, every one runs to armes, and so went to encounter the enemye disor-  
dered, without ensignes and without commaundement. Some began the fight, whilst that other  
arrived in troups, the greater part being not yet come out of their campe: yet they encoun-  
tered them with such furie, as they stayed the first charge of the Carthaginians: but finding  
themselves few in number, faint, and not well vnited, against many in good order, they were  
soone broken, and forced to seeke their companions; and in the end they were so prest, being  
on a heape, and nor able to vse their arms, as they were for the most part slaine; some making  
way by force through their enemies, saued themselves in the mountains and Forrests neere ad-  
joining. Their campe was in this amazement abandoned, and the whole Prouince was in one  
day reduced vnder the obedience of the Carthaginians.

Contempt of mi-  
litarie discipline  
followes a victo-  
rie.

*Asdrubal* takes  
advantage of his  
enemies negli-  
gence.

The Council of  
Carthage thin-  
king to get Ita-  
ly, neglect Spain.

During these actions, *Asdrubal* receiued commaundement from his superiours at Car-  
thage, That hee should march with all speed with his armie into Italie: the which being  
knowne in Spaine, all the people in generall began to wauer, and to follow the Roman par-  
tie: whereof *Asdrubal* did aduertise the Senat, letting them vnderstand what prejudice this  
bruit did bring vnto the affaires of the Commonweale of Carthage; and that it was appa-  
rent, if he parted from thence, before he should passe the riuer of Ebro, all Spaine would fall  
into the Romanes power: for besides that he neither had men, nor a sufficient captaine to  
leauie in his place, to guard that Prouince, the Roman captaines were such, as they could  
hardly be resisted with equall numbers: wherefore he aduised them (if they had any care of M  
Spaine) to send a good Commaunder and a strong Armie in the place of that which he  
should lead away: and although that all things should succeed as they desired, yet should  
they euer find some alteration among the people of that countrey. *Asdrubal* his letters  
did somewhat moue the Senate, but for that they did more affect the affaires of Italie,  
they

A they did not alter any thing that had bene decreed touching his departure with his army, but  
they onely sent *Himilcon* with some bands, and did arme some ships, which they held suffici-  
ent to keepe the people of Spaine in awe, as well vpon the sea coasts, as within the countrey.  
This captaine hauing past the sea with his forces, layed vp his ships in safetie, and fortified his  
campe, he tooke some of his best horsemen, and past through friends and enemies countries,  
vntill he came to *Asdrubal*, to whom he presented this decree of the Senat: and hauing con-  
ferred with him, and vnderstood the course that he was to hold in the warres of Spaine, he re-  
turned to his troups, hauing nothing that did assure him more from encounter vpon the way,  
than his diligence and speed: For before they could haue meanes to assemble their forces,  
B they had news of his returne. *Asdrubal* seeing that he must needs go, he exacted great summes  
of money from all the townes and people that were vnder the Carthaginians iurisdiction, be-  
ing well aduertised, that he must purchase the passage and fauour of the Gaules with readie  
money, as *Hannibal* his brother had done. This done, hee tooke his way towards the riuer  
of Ebro.

The Roman captaines being aduertised of all these things, and knowing of what conse-  
quence *Asdrubal*'s passage into Italie was, whereas *Hannibal* alone did much trouble the Ro-  
mane state, they employed all their wits and meanes to stop him. Wherefore leauing all other  
affaires, they joyned all their forces in one body, and passing the riuer of Ebro, towards which  
*Asdrubal* approached, being doubtful whether they should fight, or by assailing some towne  
or countrey that was confederat to the Carthaginians, seeke onely to stay and diuert him. In  
the end they made a shew to besiege *Ibera*, a towne which was rich and mightie in those  
quarters: But *Asdrubal* to diuert them, and to succour his allies, marched with his armie to-  
wards another towne, which a little before was yeilded to the Romanes: wherefore they  
left the towne, and went directly towards *Asdrubal*. The armies were some dayes within a  
league and a halfe one of another, before they came to battell, making light sallies one vpon  
another. In the end, as if it had bene agreed vpon, they put their armies in battell. The Ro-  
manes diuided their troups into three; some of their footmen were placed before, and some  
behind their ensignes, and the horsemen vpon the wings on either side. *Asdrubal* set the Spa-  
nish footmen in the midst of the battell, the Carthaginians on the right hand, and the A-  
fricans on the left. To the Carthaginians he added the Numidian horsemen that were mer-  
cenaries, and the other Africans in the head of the battell; yet he put no Numidians on the  
left hand, but such as had bene accustomed to go with two horses together to the warre, and  
when they had wearied one, they leapt nimbly on the other, which was fresh, being armed, in  
the hottest of the fight: so active and nimble they were, and their horses so gentle and tracta-  
ble. Being thus in battell, the Generals had equall hopes, for there was no great difference  
betwixt their forces, either in number, or qualitie of men of warre: but among the souldiours  
it was not so. The Romanes were perswaded, that the safetie of Rome and Italie, and their re-  
turne to their houses, depended vpon this battell; and therefore they were resolute to van-  
quish or die. But the Spaniards (whereof the most part of the other armie did consist) had  
not that resolution, desiring rather to be beaten in Spaine, than to be drawne into Italie, con-  
querours: Wherefore at the first charge their battalions in the midst were forced, and tur-  
ned their backs, the fight was more furious on either hand, for the Romans were furiously  
charged on the one hand by the Carthaginians, and on the other by the Africans, and in a  
manner compassed in, when as their whole armie (being joyned together in one bodie) easily  
repulsed them. So fighting in two parts, the Romans had the aduantage every where, and  
were masters of the field. The slaughter was great, and had bene greater, if the Spaniards  
had not fled so fast in the beginning. The horsemen did not in a manner fight: for when as the  
Moors and Numidians did see their squadron in the midst wauer, they began to flie, leauing  
their wings naked, and leading the Elephants away with them. *Asdrubal* hauing continued  
F vntill the end of the fight, retired out of the prease with some few that followed him. The ene-  
mies campe, and all their baggage, was spoyled by the Romans. Through this victory, if there  
remained any people in Spaine which were not firme and constant to the Romans, they were  
now confirmed. On the other side, *Asdrubal* saw himselfe not onely out of hope to lead an  
armie into Italie, but also in some doubt where he should find a place of assurance in Spaine.  
These newes being aduertised to Rome by the two *Scipios*, were verie pleasing; not so much  
for

*Asdrubal* pre-  
pares to goe into  
Italie.

The pollicie of  
the Roman and  
Carthaginian  
captaines.

The order of the  
two armies.

Agilitie of the  
Numidian  
horsemen.

A victory of  
great conse-  
quence for the  
Romans.

*Asdrubals passage into Italy broken.*

for the victorie which they had obtained, as for that *Asdrubals* passage was broken. This Summer was prosperous for the Romanes affaires, but they began to want victuall, and the seamen, both mariners and souldiours, were in a manner naked. Wherefore the capitaines gaue the Senat to vnderstand, That they must of necessitie provide for these wants, else they should not be able to entertaine neither the armie, nor the countrey. For the which the Senat gaue order, by the good husbandrie of the magistrats, and the willingnesse of priuat persons; so as there were some found which did vnderstand to furnish the armies in Spaine, of all things necessarie for three yeares.

*Illiturgis besieged by the Carthaginians, relieved by the Romans.*

*Asdrubal* accompanied by *Mago*, and *Amilcar* sonne to *Bomilcar*, Carthaginian capitaines, were come to besiege the towne of *Illiturgis*, which had revolted from them to the Romane party: about the which they had made three camps, through which the *Scipios*, two brethren, past by force, with great slaughter of their enemies, and put victualls into the towne, whereof they had great need: and hauing encouraged the inhabitants to carrie themselves valiantly in the defence of their walls, as they had seene them do which came to succour them, they resolved to make a furious sallie vpon the enemies fort, in *Asdrubals* quarter. Which *Mago* and *Amilcar* seeing, they ran thither with all their forces, so as that day the Carthaginians had 60000 men in battell without their campe, against 26000 Romans, or thereabouts; who notwithstanding had the victorie, without any doubt, hauing slaine more of their enemies than they were themselves, taken about 3000 prisoners, woon about 1000 good horses of seruice, caried away 59 ensignes, slaine siue Elephants in fight, made the enemies to raise their camps, and (which was their chiefe designe) freed the towne of *Illiturgis* from siege. The Carthaginians to recouer their honour, went to besiege *Incibile*, another place allied to the Romans, hauing filled their bands, and made new supplies in the country, who demanded nothing more than warre, so as there were any hope of spoyle: for at that time Spaine did abound in youth. There they did rather increase their shame: for being assailed by the Romans, they lost 13000 souldiours more, which were slaine vpon the place, 3000 prisoners, two and fortie ensignes, and nine Elephants. Then in a manner all Spaine did adhere vnto the Romans, to whom this Summer was verie successefull.

*Spain fit to supplye armies.*

*Another victory by the Romans.*

The yeare following, when as *Q. Fabius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were Consuls, and the sif of the second Punicke warre, had diuers euents: for *Asdrubal* and *Mago* defeated great armies of Spaniards, which were allied to the Romanes, before they had left their garrisons, where they had wintered, to passe the riuer of *Ebro*: and in a manner all that part of Spaine was recovered by the Carthaginians: but the diligence of *P. Scipio*, who marched thither with his armie, kept them play, and assured the countrey. Hee came first and camped at a place called *Haut-Chasteau*, or High-Castle, famous by the death of that great *Amilcar*; the which was strong, and well furnished with come which they had brought thither a little before: but the countrey round about was full of enemies, and some of the Romans, which had taried scattered behind from the bodie of the armie, had bene charged by the enemies horse, who slew two thousand, and retired without any losse. This made *P. Scipio* retire into a countrey of more safetie: who fortified his campe, and entrenched it neere vnto the mount of *Victorie*, whither *Cn. Scipio* his brother came with all his forces. And in a manner at the same instant, *Asdrubal*, sonne to *Gisgo* the third, a Carthaginian capitaine, presented himselfe with a compleat armie, in view of the Romanes, and planted his campe right against them, hauing a riuer betwixt them. There *P. Scipio* hauing taken certaine men at armes with him, parted secretly to discover the enemy and the countrey: but being himselfe discovered by the enemy, hee was in daunger to be defeated, had hee not recovered a little hill neere adjoyning, whereby hee had meanes to defend himselfe, and to make head against them that did enuiron him, vntill that his brother *Cn. Scipio* came to vngage him. The towne of *Castulo* which was so great a friend, and so strictly allied vnto the Carthaginians, as *Hannibal* had taken a wife there, yeilded vnto the Romanes. The Carthaginians returned vnto the siege of *Illiturgis*, in the which there was some garrison of Romane souldiours, hoping to take it by famine. *Cn. Scipio* to releue both the garrison and the inhabitants allied to the Romanes, marched that way, past valiantly betwixt two armies, and put a legion of resolute souldiours into the towne, with great slaughter of the enemy.

*A castle where great Amilcar was slaine.*

*Romans defeated.*

*Castulo yeilded to the Romanes.*

*Illiturgis releued againe by the Romans.*

The next day was no lesse happy vnto him, in a braue fally which he made, where there were slaine

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A slaine in these two encounters twelue thousand Carthaginians, and about ten thousand prisoners, with siue and thirtie ensignes, so as *Illiturgis* was againe freed from siege. The enemy being chased from thence, they went to besiege *Bigerre*, another towne allied to the Romanes; but they retired presently vpon the brute of *Scipios* approach, and marched towards *Munda*, where they were also pursued by the Romanes. There they had a sharpe encounter, which continued foure houres; but as the Romanes had the victorie, they founded a retreat, for that *Cneus Scipio*, Generall of the armie, had bene thrust into the thigh with a Numidian lance: which wound his souldiours that were fighting about him feared to haue been mortal; without which accident it is certaine the Carthaginians campe had been taken that day, and the victorie absolute. For the souldiours with their Elephants had been repulst vnto their palisadoes and rampars, vpon the which there were nine and thirtie slaine with darts: Yet they say, that in this fight the Romanes slew about twelue thousand of their enemies, and carried away seuen and fiftie ensignes. The Carthaginians being defeated, retired to *Auringe*, where they were pursued and prest by the Romanes, during this amazement; and were againe charged before they had leasure to assure themselves, and to recouer their spirits, *Scipio* causing himselfe to be carried through the battailons in a litter. Here he had an absolute victorie, but with much lesse slaughter by the halfe, for the enemies were reduced to a smaller number. But as those people were prompt by nature, to renew the warres, and presently to supplye their armies, the countrey being fertile of souldiours, their bands were presently filled by the diligence of *Mago*, brother to *Asdrubal*, being sent to make new leuies, so as they durst hazard another battell: the euent whereof was like vnto the former, most of the Carthaginian souldiours coming faintly to fight, as for a partie which had bene often beaten, and in few dayes. They lost in this conflict eight thousand men slaine vpon the place, and almost one thousand prisoners, with eight and fiftie ensignes, and great store of baggage, rings, chaines, and bracelets of gold: two great noblemen of Gaul were also slaine, the one called *Marnicaptus*, the other *Cinifmarus*: eight Elephants were taken, and three slaine. Thus the Romans affaires prospered in Spaine, who in the end were ashamed, that the rownes of *Sagunt*, for the which this war was begun, had continued siue yeares in their enemies power. Wherefore they approached neere vnto it, and by fauour of the battels which they had woon, did easily chase away the garrison that was within it: and hauing conquered the place, they called home all the old inhabitants, and restored them to the possession of their goods, raised the Turditans towne, which had bene the motiue of their desolation, and sold the inhabitants thereof for slaues, to them that would giue most.

*Cn. Scipio lures.*

*The Carthaginians put to rout.*

*Another defeat of them.*

*Carthaginians againe defeated.*

*Saguntinians forced to their goods.*

*The Romans fire vpon enemies rather Carthaginians in Asdruba.*

*Gala father to Mafinissa.*

The Romanes to haue the better meanes, not onely to repress the injuries of the Carthaginians, but also to assaile and annoy them, did stirre vp new enemies against them neere vnto their towne, and drew vnto their alliance *Siphax*, king of a part of *Numidia*, who was already somewhat discontented with them: so as they were forced to haue their recourse vnto *Gala*, another king of the same nation, and to incense him against *Siphax*. This *Gala* was father to *Mafinissa*, from whom the Romans did afterwards draw many good seruices: but at that time he shewed himselfe a bitter enemy to *Siphax*, and did often defeat him. In the meane time nothing was done worthie of memorie in Spaine; only the Celtiberians which were in pay with the Carthaginians, were drawne away by the Romanes, whom they entertained with the same conditions: and these were the first mercinarie souldiours which the Romanes vsed, to their great prejudice. Moreouer, the two *Scipios* sent about 300 Spanish gentlemen into Italy, to sollicit them of their nation, which were in *Hannibals* armie, to leaue his partie, and to joyne with the Romanes.

After this, there were two yeres spent before there was any memorable act done in Spaine, both parties encountering one another rather by counsell and practises, than by open hostilitie. The seuenth yeare of this warre, the Romane capitaines assembled their forces, and it was resolved in counsell, That they must not content themselves onely to haue stopped *Asdrubals* passage into Italy, but they must seeke some meanes to end all the warre in Spaine: presuming they had forces ynow to doe it, hauing this Winter drawne vnto them, and armed 30 thousand Celtiberians. The enemies had three camps, two whereof were commaunded by *Asdrubal* sonne to *Gisgo*, & by *Mago*, being both joyned together. They were distant from the Romanes some siue dayes journey: But that which *Asdrubal*, sonne to *Amilcar*, the auntient

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Gouernour of Spaine, led, was neerer, being lodged neere vnto Anitorge. The Generall G of the Roman armie would first giue him a charge, hoping to defeat him easily. One onely difficultie troubled them, which was, how they should hinder the other two armies (after the defeat of this *Asdrubal*) from retiring into some place of aduantage among the mountaines and forests; and by that meanes should draw the warre in length. Having then a conceit to make warre against all Spaine at one instant, they resolved to diuide their forces betwixt them: so as *P. Scipio* with two third parts of the Roman armie, and the bands of their allies, should goe and affront *Asdrubal* sonne to *Gisgo*, and *Mago*; and that *Cneus Scipio* should lead the rest of the old legions and the allies against *Asdrubal* Barcin.

This being concluded, these two armies with their commanders parted at one instant: the Celtiberians marching before, came and encamped neere vnto Anitorge; in view of the enemy, being seperated the one from the other by a riuer. There did *Cneus Scipio* stay with his troupes, and *P. Scipio* marched on where he was to make warre. But when as *Asdrubal* saw them diuided, and one farre from the other, being a wise and politique captaine, considering that the finewes and strength of the Roman armie consisted of their allies, and in mercinarie souldiours, and knowing the treacherous and inconstant disposition of the barbarous, euen of the Spaniards in those times, by the experience he had had in that long warre, hee resolved to trie all means possible, to corrupt the Celtiberians, which were vnder the Romans pay, being 30000: the which he did happily effect, by the meanes of some of the same nation which were in his camp; who vsing the same language, and hauing means to haue secret conferences

The mercinarie Spaniards make no account to abandon the Romans as need.

The force of an armie ought to be of naturall subjects, and not of strangers.

The infidelity of the Celtiberians.

Two Roman armies do pay to the enemy.

*Masini* a fierce aduersarie to the Romans.

one with another, they concluded with the captaines of the Celtiberians, that for a good summe of money they should retire with their men, and returne to their houses. It seemed a matter of small moment to them: for they were not prest to turne their armes against the Romans, but onely to retire, and not to make warre: besides, most of the souldiours were glad to rest, and desired to see their kinsfolkes and friends, goods and possessions. Wherefore it was easie for the captaines who were corrupted, to perswade them to dislodge, being without feare to be staied, or forced by the Romans, who were but few in number. Let this be an example to all estates that make warre, neuer to fortifie themselves so with mercenaries and strangers, as they may prescribe them a law; but let their greatest strength be of their own nation. These Celtiberians then hauing taken vp their ensignes, and trust vp their baggage, departed suddenly: neither could any intreatie nor prayers preuaile to stay them, pretending, that they had warre at home, and that they must goe and defend their owne houses. *Cneus Scipio* seeing himselfe thus abandoned, and not able to prevent it neither by intreatie, force, nor any good counsell, finding himselfe too weake to hold the field against so great and mightie an armie, hauing also no meanes to joyne with his brother *P. Scipio*, he meant to trie if he might retire safely and with his honour, and flie all occasions to be forced to fight. But *Asdrubal* holding him vanquished, would giue him no rest, but followed him continually at the heeles. The like terrour, but a farre greater daunger, did at the same time presse *P. Scipio*, being freshly charged by a new and a valiant enemy: it was *Masini* a young prince, then allied to the Carthaginians; who afterwards was famous, and made mightie by the amitie of the Romanes. *P. Scipio* at his first arriuall found him in front, with goodly troupes of Numidian horsemen, comming continually day and night to his trenches, keeping his armie in perpetuall alarme, so as nor any one durst goe farre out, either for forrage or for wood, dislodging their sentinels oftentimes, and pursuing them euen within their gards, and to the ports and rampars of their campe, whereas the Romanes were shut vp as if they had bene besieged, and in want of all things, wherewith they were likely to be daily more and more oppressed, if a Spaniard called *Indibilis* should come and joyne with the Carthaginians, where he was expected with seuen thousand and five hundred Suesetanians. For so graue and wise a commander as *P. Scipio* was, he tooke a bad and rash resolution: for hauing left his campe to the gard of a few men, vnder the commaund of *T. Fonteius* his lieutenant, hee parted about midnight to goe and encounter *Indibilis*, and to fight with him: the which he did, and had easily defeated him, if the Moors and Numidian horsemen (who had watched *Scipio*s departure) had not come and charged the Romanes in flanke, the which caused a great terrour among them, and besides they were charged in the reeward with all the Carthaginian armie, which had followed them. Being thus enuironed of all sides, doubtfull where they should make head, or

which

A which way they should force through the enemies, and escape that daunger, their Generall *P. Scipio* fighting and encouraging the souldiours, and going to all places where his presence was needfull, was thrust through the right flanke with a launce, so as he fell downe dead from his horse. Then the enemies which had charged that troupe, leaping for joy, and crying out seeing him on the ground, went running throughout the armie, leaping for joy, and crying out that the enemies Generall was slaine. This accident gaue the Carthaginians an assured victorie, the Romanes (being destitute of a head) thinking onely how they should flie and saue themselves. It was easie for them to make way through the Numidians, who were but lightly armed, but to saue themselves by flying against so many horsemen, and footmen who did run in a manner as swift as horses, there was no meanes: so as the slaughter of the Romanes was very great, both in the fight and in the flight, and hardly had any one escaped, if the darkenesse of the night had not fauoured them. The happinesse of so great and important a victorie of the Carthaginians, was no whit impaired by the negligence of their captaines, but making good vse thereof, presently after the conflict, hauing giuen some little rest vnto their souldiours, the armie dislodged, and marched with all speed to *Asdrubal* Barcin's campe: being assured, that all their forces vnited together, they should easily vanquish the other Roman armie which remained, and by that meanes end the warre in Spaine. Being arriued, the joy was great among the captaines and armies, rejoycing at this late obtained victorie, whereas so great and redoubted a captaine of the enemies had bene slaine, and all his armie defeated: C wherefore being full of hope, they assured themselves to doe as much vnto the others.

The victorious Carthaginians pursue the victorie.

Theirnesse in Scipio's armie without any apparent cause.

There was yet no newes of this lamentable defeat in *Cneus Scipio*s armie, but there was seene a sad mouefull silence, as if they had had some secret presage, as it happens often to such as doe diuine of an approaching mischiefe. The Generall of the armie, besides that he found himselfe weakened, and abandoned by his allies, hearing that *Asdrubal*s armie was so much reinforced, was much perplexed, and could not by any conjecture and reason of warre imagine other, than what had happened: For what reason were it to thinke, that *Asdrubal* and *Mago* could passe without fighting, if his brother had bene liuing? Why did he not hinder them? or at the least coast them and follow them, to come and joyne with his brother, if he could not keep the enemies armies from joyning? Being in this perplexitie, seeing no other meanes to assure himselfe, but by a retreat, hee parted secretly in the night, vnknewen to the enemy, causing his armie to make a long march: But the day hauing discovered his departure, the Numidian horsemen were presently sent after; who ouertooke the Roman armie toward the evening, and skirmishing, stayed them much, charging them sometimes behind, and sometimes vpon the flanks. *Scipio* gaue order, that in fighting the armie should still aduance, fearing the enemies battailons of foot, which marched with all speed after their horse. In the end night approached, and yet the Romanes had not much aduanced, being forced to make often stands against the Moors, who did continually annoy them. Wherefore *Cneus Scipio* retired with all his troupes to a little hill, a place of small aduantage for them that were alreadye wauering; yet the seat was somewhat higher than the fields about it: There he lodgeth, and puts his horsemen and all his baggage in the midst, and his footmen make a circle round about, and so did easily resist the attempts of the Moors. But when as the Generals with their complete armies were joyned together, hee saw there was no meanes to make it good by fighting, if he did not intrench himselfe after the accustomed manner: Wherefore he began to aduise by what meanes he might make his palisadoes, but he was come into a bare, barren, and drie soyle, where there was neither trees nor bushes, nor any ground fit to make flagges; neither could they digge into it, nor make it hard for the enemy to approach, for the ascent was easie on all sides: yet to make a kind of rampar, hee caused them to take their packe-saddles and dorsets, and to tye them together, wherewith the souldiours made as it were a wall of a conuenient height round about them, filling vp the places which wanted, with such baggage as they had.

F The Carthaginians being arriued, put themselves in order to assaile this little hill, but discovering a new kind of rampar, and not accustomed, they were somewhat amazed: but their commanders began to crie; How now souldiours, why stay you? why doe you not speedily pull vp and scatter this baggage which doth amaze you, and is not fit to stop women nor children? The enemy is ours, wee hold him fast, being hidden behind those cofers

The Roman army forced and defeated.

Cm. Scipio slain.

Anno 542 of Rome.

The courage of L. Martius rewinnes the Romans from despair.

L. Martius chosen General of the Roman army.

The Carthaginians proud of their great victory, were defeated by the Romans.

L. Martius restrains the fury of the Romans.

cofers and burthens. Thus contemptuously did the captaines speake, yet was it not so easie to make a breach, nor to passe over them: but in the end they forced them, and the souldiours found passage in diuers places, so as they made a great slaughter of the Romans; yet the greatest part of the vanquished saued themselves by flight, who finding woods and forests, a good number of them, after a long and tedious journey, came vnto P. Scipios campe, commaunded by T. Fonteius, the lieutenant. Cm. Scipio was also slaine in this assault at the hill, as some say, in the beginning of the fight: others notwithstanding affirme, That he thought to saue himselfe with some few men, in a tower, which was there adjoyning, the which being enuironed by the enemy, and the gates set on fire, they were all taken and slaine. Behold two great captaines, brethren, dead, and their armies defeated, in lesse than a moneth, leauing the Romans affaires in Spaine so troubled, and in such despaire, as they might well say, all was lost: But humane things are gouerned by a higher power, who doth not alwaies impart his decrees to our discourses.

9 There was a Roman knight called L. Martius, sonne to Septimius, a yong man, active, hardie, and of greater courage than could be expected in a man of his condition; who assured the remainders of the legions, and the faithfull allies of the Roman state, and reuiued Spaine from their sorrow and mourning, for the losse of two such great personages, and of so many good men, and from the calamitie and daunger they were then in: and in the end recovered the honour and fame of the Romanes, which was growne contemptible. Hee had with his generous disposition learned good discipline vnder Cm. Scipio. And hauing gathered many of them together which had fled from the defeat, and drawne a good number of souldiours out of the garrisons and vnited townes, he made a little armie, and came and joyned with T. Fonteius, P. Scipios lieutenant. This armie being on this side Ebro, in a campe well fortified, it was resolu'd to chuse a head that should command ouer all, and that they should take their voyces therein, as the bands should enter into gard one after another. L. Martius being but a knight, was so gracious, as all in generall gaue him their voyces, and he was chosen Captaine General of the Roman armie. After which time hee was verie carefull to fortifie himselfe in places of strength, and to provide store of victuals and munition; finding the souldiours readie to execute whatsoever hee commaunded. But it was not long before there came newes vnto the campe, That Asdrubal the sonne of Gisgo marched towards them, to make an end of the warre, and to free the countrey of those few Romanes which were yet remaining in Spaine. Then the souldiours remembering their old captaines, began to faint at their new captaines commands; so as the centeniers and other officers and bands, yea and L. Martius himselfe had much adoe to reuiue them, reproaching them, that they behaued themselves faintly like women, making fruitlesse lamentations, which was not the meanes to reuenge the deaths of their Generals, nor to recover their lost honour. The enemies were not far off, and it was time to preach to them; when as suddenly there was scene a strange alteration throughout all the Romane campe: Their mourning was conuerted into furie, euery man fell to his armes, and they cried out, that they should bring them to the enemy. They sallied forth of their gates, and with great courage receiue the Carthaginians, who came disordered, and in a manner contemning them whom they had already vanquished. This resolution of the Romanes amazed them, wondering at the number and order of these men, who had gathered them together, or what captains they had remaining after the death of the two Scipios. But in the end they were forced to flie, and were hotly pursued that day, vntill that Martius thinking the souldiours did abandon themselves too much, caused a retreat to be sounded, and himselfe standing before their ensignes, stayed their rashnesse, which might haue drawne them into some disorder, and so (desiring nothing but reuenge and bloud) hee brought them backe to the campe. The Carthaginians being thus roughly repulld from the Romane trenches, seeing they were no more pursued, they presumed it had bene feare, and therefore they retired softly, and without care. Being in their campe they vsed the like negligence in their gards and watches: for notwithstanding they did see the enemy nere them, yet they did esteeme them to be but the reliques of two armies which they had beate and defeated some few dayes before.

Martius being aduertised by good spies, what was done in the enemies campe, hee vnder-tooke rather a rash than hardy attempt, but the issue was fortunat. Knowing that he had the ar-

mic

A mie of Asdrubal Gisgo now in front, the which was followed by the two others, hee thought it lesse daunger to aduenture to fight with that alone, than to attend and bee beaten by all three together: If he vanquished, he should restore their affaires, which were almost ruined, and if he were beate, at the least he should haue the honour to bee the assailant. Hauing therefore assembled the captaines, centeniers, and chiefe souldiours, he deliuered vnto them the pitifull estate of their affaires, and how that for the honour and reputation of their countrey, for the loue they bare to the deceased Scipios, and for the interest of their owne liues, they were to carrie themselves valiantly and courageously against their cruell enemies which pursued them; whose negligence and contempt did inuite them to goe and assaile them, and did promise them a certaine and easie victorie, especially if they made hast before all their forces were vnited: the which afterwards they could not withstand, concluding, that there was no other meanes to make warre, than to issue forth the next night, and to goe and force the Carthaginians in their trenches. He found the souldiours well disposed at this motion, wherefore he commaunded them to prepare their armes, and to be readie to depart when he should command. The Carthaginian armie made two lodgings, about a league and a halfe one from the other: betwixt both was a great valley couered with trees. In this forest was an am-bush of Romane souldiours layed, with some horsemen, to stop the passage for such as would runne from one campe to the other: the rest of the Romane armie was led with great silence against the enemies, where finding neither gards nor sentinels, nor any thing else to stop their passage, they entred farre, as if they had bene within their owne campe: then suddenly the trumpets sounded, and making great cries they fell to the execution, killing all they met, without mercie, and setting fire of the enemies lodgings and tents; but aboue all they seised vpon the ports and issues; that not any one might escape. The amazement, fire, cries, and slaughter, did so trouble the Carthaginians, as they could not heare one another, nor giue any order for any thing. They found themselves among troupes of armed men: thinking to flie, they were slaine at the gates, if any leapt ouer the rampars, they fell into the ambushes, so as the enemies which were in the other lodging, could haue no intelligence of this surpris, but by death, which was presented vnto them at the Romanes coming, who with great celeritie (boying with furie, and implacable desire of reuenge) came thither, and D there found greater negligence than they had done in the first campe: For these were farther rettyred from the enemy, and vpon the breake of day many were gone forth for forrage and wood. There were armes at the ports, but no souldiours, some here, some there, some asleepe, and some walking in their gownes in the trenches. The Romans fell vpon these careless people, hauing no resistance made at the ports: they entred within the campe, and in the midst thereof began a bloudie fight; the enemies running from all parts at the first crye and tumult, striving vertuously to repulse the Romanes. Which conflict was likely to continue long: but when as the Carthaginians discovered their enemies targuets all polluted with bloud, they fainted, hauing thereby an assured argument of the defeat of their companions. This feare put them in rout, and to a miserable flight, euery one sauing himselfe where he found any way open to escape, and abandoning the campe. So in one night and the day following, there were two camps taken, vnder the conduct of L. Martius. The number of the dead, according vnto some, was seuen and thirtie thousand, and aboue eight hundred prisoners. The spoyle was verie rich; and among other things, there was found a great targuet of silver, weighing one hundred thirtie and eight pounds, on the which was grauen the picture of Asdrubal Baris, the which was afterwards set in the temple of the Capitoll, and it was called Martius targuet, remaining for a memorie of the victorie which hee had gotten against the Carthaginians, where it continued vntill the Capitoll was burnt.

This action restored the Romans power and authoritie in Spaine, and was the cause that sometime was spent without any enterprises of either side, either feare to hazard anything after so great losses.

10 These diuers and contrarie accidents teach vs how little wee should relye vpon the euents of war, and that it is not in the power of man to maintaine himselfe one day: wherefore if modestie be necessarie in humane things, yea in greatest prosperitie, and to beare a re-

spect

The ouer great boldnesse of Martius, which proved his esult by the enemies negligence.

A great defeat of the Carthaginians.

A targuet of silver a monument of Martius victorie.

spect to the diuine power, presuming little vpon our owne judgments, wisedomes, happinesse, and fame; it is chiefly in the conduct of warre. There wanted no qualities in the two *Scipios*, to make them great and famous captaines; yet they tooke bad counsell, both together, and diuided and ruined themselves by their ouerweening, and by too much attempting at one instant. The Carthaginians by the victorie which they had gotten, had made the way open to ouerrun all Spaine at their pleasures: and moreover, considering the cruell warres which the Romanes their aduersaries endured with much difficultie in Italie; they had now time, and a wished opportunitie to ruine them quite, drawing all their forces into those parts: but being growne insolent and carelesse in this great prosperitie, they are suddenly staied by a souldiour of no fame, without qualitie, and almost vnknowne, whom the diuine providence would make an instrument to shew that it is he, and not the wisdome of man that doth raise or ruine estates. The griefe which they had conceiued at Rome, for the defeat of their armies, and the death of such excellent captaines as the two *Scipios*, was somewhat appeased by the successe of *Martius* enterprises: and consulting in the Senat touching that which hee had written, there was not any one but did allow his actions to be high and generous, and did much commend him: But as for the title which he gaue himselfe, of Propretor, or Lieutenant to the people of Rome, the gouernement being vacant, that seemed vnto them all arrogant and ambitious, yea a verie bad example, and of worse consequence. For that (said they) if they should suffer the souldiours to chuse captaines at their pleasure, it would blemish and ouerthrow the authoritie of the Senat, of the people, the lawes and magistrats. Some were of opinion, they should treat of that in Councell before all other things: but it was thought fitter to deferre it for a time, and to send backe those knights which had brought these letters to Rome, with a good answer. Wherefore they did write vnto *L. Martius* (without giuing him any other title) touching the prouision of victuals, apparell, and other things belonging vnto the armie.

These men being dispatched, it was first of all resolued by the Consuls and Tribunes, to propound vnto the people, to name some one to be sent into Spaine, to commaund the army whereof *Cn. Scipio* had had the charge. But this was deferred vpon some new accident, so as by way of prouision they sent *C. Nero* with twelue thousand foot, halfe chosen out of the Romanes legions, and halfe of their allies, three hundred Roman knights, and eight hundred of the confederat townes. With which forces he past into Spaine, and landed at Tarracone, whereas he presently went to field, hauing armed all the mariners, to make the greater shew. To him, as Propretor, and lieutenant generall for the people of Rome, *T. Fonticius*, and *L. Martius*, deliuered vp the legions, and all the forces which they had preferred, and happily employed after the defeat of the two *Scipios*. With this armie *Nero* went to seeke out the enemy, who was camped at a place called *Pierres noires*, or Blacke stones, in the country of the Oretanes, betwixt the townes of *Illiturgis* and *Mentisa*. *Nero* had seized vpon the straits, and so prest the enemy, as *Asdrubal* for feare of a worse accident, sent a herald vnto him, to offer and promise him, That if he would suffer him to goe out of those passages, hee would breake vp his campe, and send his souldiours out of Spaine. This was pleasing vnto *Nero*, wherefore a day was appointed to confere and capitulate betwixt the heads of the armies. At their first meeting there was propounded by the Romanes, That the Carthaginians should deliuer vp their citadels, and at a certaine day draw their garrisons out of the townes which they held, and that they should haue libertie to carrie away all that was theirs. All this being granted them, *Asdrubal* gaue order in the night (whilest that the Romanes were fed with a hope of peace) that they should begin to packe away their baggage secretly, and to draw away that which was most troublesome in the army, which way they could: yet he prouided, that few men should goe out of the campe, least the enemy should discouer his fraud. The day following they entred againe into conference, where as many frivolous things were propounded, to passe away the day: and at night the Carthaginians did as they had done before, spending many dayes after this manner, in disputes and difficulties, and still discharging that at night which hindered them most. After that they had drawne all their footmen and baggage into a place of safetie, there remained nothing but the horsemen and Elephants.

*Asdrubal,*

*God onely doth raise and ruine states.*

*A commendable seruice in the ancient Romans.*

*Anno Rome 543  
C. Nero sent  
Propretor into  
Spaine.*

*Asdrubal a politique captaine, circumspect  
Nero.*

*Asdrubal*, as his feare decreased, so did his faith diminish, hauing no care to keepe that which hee had promised: Yet they were to meet againe one morning, when as a thicke foggie mist had couered all the earth. *Asdrubal* making vse of this occasion, sent to intreat *Nero* to excuse him, if he camenot to the parley, for that it was a festiuall day with the Carthaginians; and therefore he could not with a good conscience treat of any businesse. This was well taken by *Nero*. In the meane time *Asdrubal* through the fauour of this mist, escaped with all his horses and Elephants. The third part of the day being spent, the Sunne dispersed this fog, and then the Romanes found that they were deceiued, and that the enemy was escaped: whereat *Claudius* being much grieved, began to follow him, but hee could not force him to fight, there were onely some light skirmishes made betwixt the forerunners of the Roman armie, and the Carthaginians reuerward.

All things standing in this estate, Spaine remained quiet: such as had forsooke the Romans after the aboue mentioned defeats, returned not; and such as had continued constant vntill that time, revolted not. At Rome the Senat and people were troubled to send a commaunder into Spaine, that were of such authoritie and vertue, as he might deserue to succeed the two brethren, the *Scipios*. Euerie one was carefull to whom he should giue his voice: and as there was much dissenting in such a choice, in the end it was decreed, that the election of him which should be sent Gouernour into Spaine, should be made in a generall assemblie of the people, by the voyces and suffrages of the companies: For the which a day was appointed by the Consuls. They supposed this charge would haue bene affected and sued for, like vnto other dignities; and that some would present themselves, and desire to be admitted: but no man appeared: for euerie one feared to go thither, where as two of the greatest souldiours that were among the Roman captaines, had bene defeated and slaine in lesse than thirtie daies, one after another.

The people being assembled at the appointed day, in great care and amazement, to see the magistrats and prime men of Rome gazing one on another, without a word speaking, euerie one apprehended the ruine of their commonweale: but *P. Corn. Scipio*, sonne to him that had bene slaine in Spaine, shewes himselfe in a place somewhat higher than the rest, and declares openly, That he demanded the gouernement. Euerie one then began to crie out for joy, and to shew him some signes of fauour, as presaging vnto him a happie and prosperous successe in that charge. The voyces being gathered, he was by a general consent chosen head and Gouernour of Spaine for the people of Rome. *Scipio* was not then foure and twentie yeares old: wherefore after this election made, the people repented them to haue been so inconsiderat, as to giue so great a charge to so young a man, euerie one calling to mind the late misfortune of that house, and euen with horrore of his name, who was so neere allyed to two such desolate families, who went to make warre in a place where both his father and vnckle had bene slaine, and euen among their sepulchres. But *Scipio* finding this suddaine alteration, spake vnto them, of his age, and of the charge hee vnderooke, with so great an assurance, as hee purchased a good opinion with the people, and filled them all with great hope.

If there were euer any one among the Romans indued with singular vertue, and that could put it in practise, and make good vse of it, from his youth, it was this *Scipio*, so as wee may rightly say, that he had both the apparence and effect of vertue. He was I say, both vertuous and an hypocrite both together, making vse especially of religion to win the peoples fauour, and the obedience of such as he commanded; an vsuall policie which hath bene practised by the great and wise men of this world in all ages, saying, that they must keepe the people in awe with the terrour of religion: the which were commendable, if they would adde vnto it, the title of True: and that in stead of making men religious, they would nor draw them to superstition. *Scipio* did neuer begin day, but by prayers vnto his gods, fasting often, that hee had visions in the night, and receiued diuine commandements; and finally, that he had secret conference with the gods, which in his time they did worship at Rome. Such was the peoples opinion of his vertue, as they held him to be somewhat more than an ordinarie man, and they told a fable of his birth, somewhat like vnto that of *Alexander* the great: which was, That he had been ingendred of some god, who in the forme of a great serpent came & lay with his mother, and that oftentimes such as entred into her chamber, had seen this apparition, but it vanished presently.

F ij

He

*Asdrubal makes no conscience how to deceiue his enemies.*

*All affect honors but euerie man flies the danger.*

*Great confidence of P. Corn. Scipio son to P. Scipio slaine in Spaine.*

*People inconsiderate do often repent.*

*Scipio vertuous and hypocritical*

*The ancient used religion to keepe the people in awe.*

*A fable of Scipio's birth.*



He maintained himself in this reputation with such art, as neuer any one complained that he had been deceived by his reuelations or myracles, finding means to breed an impression thereof in the hearts of men, without affirming or denying them directly. The people of Rome referred to the direction of a man thus qualified, and so young, one of the most important governments, and of the greatest charge in their whole estate. At the same time when as he laboured for the government of Spaine, *Marcellus* returned out of Sicile, where hee had taken Siracuse, by the treason of *Meris*, a Spanish capitaine, entertained by the Siracusans. There were appointed for *Scipio* (besides the forces that were in Spaine) 10000 foot, and 1000 horse; and there was giuen him for his lieutenant and assistant, *M. Iunius Sillanus*: who parting out of the mouth of Tiber with 30 galleasses, hauing five oares on a side, and coasting along the shore of Tuscanie and Gaule, they arrived at Empurias, at the foot of the Pyrene hills, a Grecian towne, founded by the Phocians, where *Scipio* landed with his armie, the which hee led along the shore to Tarracone, causing his fleet to follow close by the shore.

*M. Iulius Sillanus* lieutenant and counsellor to *Scipio*.

Being at Tarracone, he held a generall assemblie of all the confederat townes of Spaine, who sent their deputies and embassadours vpon the brute of his arriual. He laied his ships on ground, according to the auncient manner, and sent backe foure Marilian galliots, which had come to doe him honour. There hee heard the embassadours of the countrey, which wauered, and were amazed at the accidents past. And although he had a great presumption of himselfe, and of his vertue, yet did hee neuer let slip any proud speech, or that was ill taken by any: but carried such a maiestie in his words, as they were forced to beleue what he said.

*Maliste* iayned with modestie in *P. Scipio*.

Parting from Tarracone, he went to visit the confederat townes, and came vnto the place where as the old armie did winter; whereas he did commend the souldiours, that after two such great defeats, they had vertuously defended and preserved the prouince, not suffering the enemy to enjoy the fruits of his victorie, but hauing chased him out of the countrey on this side Ebro, had assured, and faithfully defended the friends and confederats of the people of Rome. Hee did greatly honour *L. Martius*, yet so, as he would haue the world know, that his owne glorie could not be eclipsed by another mans. *Syllanus* tooke the place of *C. Nero*: and lodgings were appointed for the new come souldiours to winter in. *Scipio* hauing thus disposed of all things, and visited all places where his presence was required, hee returned to Tarracone. His fame was no lesse among his enemies than friends, and euen now their hearts were seised with some feare, but could giue no reason for it: which was as a preface vnto them of that which should happen. The Carthaginian armies were retired into diuers places to winter. *Asdrubal* sonne to *Gisgo*, was lodged farr off, about Calis, neere the Ocean; *Mago* more into the land, about Castulo, in the straits and neere forests: and *Asdrubal* son to *Amilcar*, about Sagunt, somewhat neere vnto the riuer of Ebro.

*Scipio* honors *L. Martius*, yet without disparaging himselfe.

13 In the beginning of the Spring, *P. Scipio* hauing put his gallies to sea, and called the succours of his allies to Tarracone, he commanded that both the ships of war and of burthen, should bend their course towards the mouth of Ebro: thither the legions were appointed also to come from the places where they had wintered. Then he himselfe parting, with 5000 of the associates, from Tarracone, came vnto the armie. There he spake much in commendation of the old souldiours, which had bene in so many vnfortunate encounters, incouraging them to better hopes vnder his commaund, not forgetting his fained reuelations. Hee layed before their eyes the diuision of the Carthaginian captaines, who kept their forces dispersed: which was the cause of the defeat and ruine of his father and vncl. Finding the armie willing and resolute, he left *M. Syllanus* to gard that which lies on this side Ebro, with 3000 foot, and 300 horse, and he himselfe past on with the rest of the armie, the which consisted of 25000 foot and 2500 horse. Some were of opinion, that the enemies armies lying farr distant one from another, he should goe and fight with the neerest: But he thought otherwise; for he doubted, that whilst he should spend his time to draw the enemy to fight, and to seeke his vntantages, the others would make hast to come into those parts: so all three armies being vnted together, he should not be able to make head against them. Wherefore he resolved to go and suddenly to besiege new Carthage, a towne verie rich of it selfe, and abounding with all sorts of prouision, of victuals, armes, and treasure, which the enemies had laid vp there for the warre, and in the which the hostages of all the good townes and prouinces of Spaine were kept:

*Scipio* begins his charge with a great enterprise.

A kept: situated in a commodious place to passe into Africke, hauing an ample port, and capable of any great fleet, and the best of all that coast of Spaine. Yet hee did not acquaint any man liuing with this his resolution, but only *C. Lelius*, who commanded the armie at sea, hauing giuen him charge so to direct his course, as at one instant they should come before the towne with both armies. The seventh day of their departure from the riuer of Ebro, Carthage was besieged both by sea and land. The campe was plantd on the North side, and fortified with a palisadoe. The situation of Carthage was after this manner. In the middelt of that coast of Spaine, is a gulfe, which runnes five hundred paces into the land, and hath not much lesse in breadth. The mouth of this gulfe is covered with a little island, which defends it from all winds, except that which carries the name of Africke, of the place from whence it comes, which we may call Southeast, or Libecchio, according to the Italians. With in this gulfe there riseth a peece of ground, almost like an island, on the which the towne is built: Which peece of ground is enuironed with the sea on the East and South sides, hauing towards the West a marsh, which doth couer some part of the North, the which is not verie safe, being in some places deeper than in others, as the sea doth rise and fall. A little hill joynes the towne vnto the firme land, being some two hundred and fiftie paces. This part was left open by *Scipio*, without any fortification: whether hee did it to braue the enemy, or leaue this passage open to make continuall courses, and attempts vpon the towne, and then to haue his retreat easie. Hee also planted his gallies within the port, seeming as if hee would also besiege the towne by sea: giuing charge vnto the captaines to be watchfull, and to stand vpon their gards: For in the beginning of a siege, he that is shut vp doth most commonly make greatest fallies.

Silence required in great actions. *C. Lelius* General of the gallies.

The situation of new Carthage.

Hauing therefore provided for all things necessarie for a siege, he then resolved to impart his designe vnto his souldiours, and to shew them the reasons which had mooued him to begin warre by a siege: and to persuaide them, that it was easie to take it suddenly, whilst their forces were farr off. Hee shewed them, That new Carthage was of such consequence, as the taking thereof would conquer all Spaine for the Romanes: by reason of the hostages of the princes, potentates, townes, and commonweales of the countrey, which were kept there: the which being taken, the enemy, who had not any but mercinarie souldiours (which must alwayes haue money) would soone bee abandoned by their men: for that the money appointed for their pay, was within the towne, in the which the Carthaginians made their treasure, the magazine for their victuals, and for all sorts of munitions and engines: All which things, laid hee, the towne being taken, will come into our hands, and the enemy shall bee left naked of all meanes to make warre. Vpon the other side, shall be furnished of all things necessarie, but about all, wee shall get a good towne, and commodious port, to receiue all things whereof wee shall haue need, as well by sea as land: yea we shall haue an easie passage into Africke, if it be needfull to go thither.

He made so liuely an impression of the opportunitie, profit, and easinesse of the siege and enterprise, as they began to crie, that he should lead them to the assault, the which he did presently. *Mago* commanded within the towne, who seeing that they prepared to come vnto an assault, gaue order on his side to withstand their furie. He assured himselfe of the castle for his retreat, putting five hundred souldiours into it, and as many vpon a high ground within the towne, on the East side. He appointed two thousand souldiours to make a furious fallie vpon the enemy, and the rest of the multitude were put in conuenient places to succor where need should require. These Carthaginians opening their gates, issued out vpon the Romans, comming to the assault, and staied them, wher as the fight was long doubtfull: but the Romanes hauing still fresh supplies, the Carthaginians were in the end forced to turne their backs, in such feare and disorder, as, if they had bene eagerly pursued, they had entred pell mell with them into the towne, in the which the tumult and confusion was no lesse, than in the fight: for many of them left their gards for feare, as if the towne had bene taken. *Scipio* obseruing what was done, and watching all occasions from an eminent place, seeing the walles abandoned in some places, hee put all his armie in bataille, commanding them to march towards the towne with their ladders. He himselfe being covered with some souldiours that were well armed, goes among the troups, to encourage them, and to be an eye witnesse of the valor & cowardise of euery one. The wals were again furnished with souldiours by the

diligence of *Mago*, wherefore the souldiours comming to the assault, were entertained with a shower of darts and arrowes which fell vpon them, more vpon their flanks than in afront: besides the wall towards the firme land, was very high. Notwithstanding the souldiours animated by their Generals presence, and with a desire to vanquish and spoile, planted their ladders of fall sides, and mounted courageously, striving who should get first to the top of the wal. But many of the ladders, being ouer-laden with the multitude, brake, and they fell into the ditch; besides most of them were too short. They gaue an assault in like manner towards the sea, but with more amazement than danger, and of euerie side there was more brute than effect: so as for this time the Romans were repulst, which gaue courage vnto the enemies, and hope they should be able to keepe the towne; perswading themselves, they were out of scale, and that their armies should haue time ynough to come and succour them. But *Scipio*, who was resolu'd to take this towne, did not suffer them to continue long in this error: for as soone as he had caused them which had giuen the first assault to retire, being wearie and wounded, he made other fresh souldiours to aduance against the towne, to renew the assault, taking the ladders from their companions. He had bene aduertised by fishermen of *Tarracone*, which were in his campe, and who had waded through the marishes on the West side of the towne, That there was no great store of water along the wall, when the tyde was spent, and that it was easie to goe to the foot of it: and withall had obserued, that on that side the wall was but low, ill rampared and fortified, and without gards, for that they assured themselves of this stil water. Wherefore vpon the ebbe, and a strong Northerly wind, which draue out the water, it was easie to wade through: he embraced this occasion, and sent some troupes thither, shewing them the easie access; saying, That the gods did inuite them, and assure their passage, causing the sea to retire, whereby they might take the towne, as it fell out: For finding no man to resist them, whilst that all were busie in other places, where as they feared most, they entred into the towne, and marched directly towards the port where as the combat was hottest, where they were sooner felt than heard; and the enemies were charged both in front and in flanke, before they knew that the towne was taken: so as the number increasing still, one helping another ouer the wall, euerie one sought to saue himselfe, and not any one made any more resistance. Wherefore the gate being broken, and an entrie made for the armie, they entred in battaile into the towne, with their commanders and ensignes, and seized vpon the chiefe places. Those which had past ouer the walls, made a great slaughter of the inhabitants. The Carthaginian souldiours retired themselves into two forts, the one was to that high peece of ground aboue mentioned, on the East part of the towne, garded by five hundred souldiours, and the other was the castle, which *Mago* had referu'd. The mount being assailed by a part of the Romane armie, was presently forced: Soone after *Mago* seeing there was no more hope, hauing made some resistance, yeelded the fort also, and all that was within it. Vntill that time the Romanes slew all they met about foureene yeares of age: but the castle being yeelded, they were commaunded to cease from killing: then they began to fall to the spoile, which was verie great, where they had ten thousand prisoners, all men of free condition. Those that were naturall citizens were set free, and the towne restored vnto them, and all that was found belonging vnto them. There were also found about two thousand artificers, whom *Scipio* adjudged to the publike of the people of Rome, giuing them hope of speedie libertie, if they carried themselves like good men, and did imploy themselves valiantly in the warres. With the rest of the youth which was able and strong, he furnished his gallies: and increased his armie at sea, with eight gallies taken from the enemy. Besides this multitude, there was found within the fort the Spanish hostages, whom hee treated as honourably as if they had bene allyed to the people of Rome. Thus this wise Generall by his mildnesse and humanitie woun the hearts of the people, with more honor, and much lesse paine and daunger, than if he would haue forced them by armes, the which notwithstanding he could well employ as need. The engines to batter and defend townes and forts, were infinite: there were threescore and foureene ensignes taken: the gold and siluer was carried to the Generall: there were two hundred threescore and sixteen cups of gold, euery one weighing a pound; and in siluer coined eightene thousand and three hundred pounds weight, with great store of siluer plate. All which things were deliuered by weight to *C. Flaminius* the treasurer. Besides, there was found 40000 bushels of wheat, and 37000 of barley. There were taken

New Carthage taken.

The number of the prisoners taken at Carthage

Scipio treats the Spanish hostages kindly.

A taken within the port an hundred and thirteene shippes of burthen, whereof many were still laden with armes, come, siluer, yron, cloth, stufte to make ropes, and other things for the vse of shippes: so as in regard of the spoyle, the towne of Carthage was esteemed of least value.

14 The heat and furie of the souldiours being past, and *Scipio* in quiet possession of the towne, without any contradiction, the same day leauing the towne in gard to *Caius Lelius*, with the souldiours of his gallies and mariners, he brought backe the Armie and Legions to their campe, very much tyred with so many exploits of warre which they had done in one day: for they had fought hand to hand in field, had giuen an assault, and taken the towne with day: for they had been still forced to fight with great extreame paine and danger, and that being taken, they had been still forced to fight with great disadvantage against them that held the castle: wherefore he suffered them to rest vntill the next day, when as he caused the whole armie both of sea and land to assemble, thanking first of all the gods, who not onely had deliuered into their hands the richest towne of all Spaine, but had gathered together in it as it were a spoyle of all that was precious in Spaine and Africa; so as their enemies were left naked of all things, and they were abundantly furnished with superfluitie. Then did he publicly acknowledge the valour of his souldiours, commending such as had done their duties, according to euery mans vertue and resolution, where-with they had repulst the enemies, who had sallied out so furiously against them; and notwithstanding the height of their wals, the dangers of vnknown passages in the moores, and the munition of their forts and citadels, they had past all, and surmounted all obstacles. Wherefore although he knew that all deserued much, yet it was expedient to haue an especial regard to those that had first mounted vp the wals, and therefore he commaunded they should shew themselves. There were two souldiours which pretended this honour to be due vnto them: it was a crowne of gold made with battlements, which the custome and auncient militarie order of the Romanes did giue vnto him that mounted first vp the enemies wals. One of these was *Q. Trebellius*, a Centenier of the first Legion; and the other, *Sextus Digitius*, a souldior of the sea armie; who (as it happeneth often) had put the whole armie into faction, either being supported by them of his ranke. *C. Lelius* maintained them of the fleet, but *M. Sempronius Turditanus* the Legionaries; which contention had almost bred a mutinie, but *Scipio* gaue them arbitrators, which were the two abouenamed, and *P. Cornelius Caudinus* for a third, who should examine the cause, and informe him. Notwithstanding, after they had taken from them these men of respect, who should be iudges in stead of supporters, the disorder grew greater: for although they seemed partiall, yet they did restrain the violent passions of both parties, rather than maintaine them: which *C. Lelius* perceiuing, leauing the assembly, he went and informed *Scipio*, that this businesse was handled without modestie, order, or reason, and that they were like to fall to armes: and although they proceeded not so farre, yet was it dishonest and a very bad example, that honour due to vertue should be sought in that manner by corruption and false witnesses: for on the one side the Legionaries, and on the other the mariners, offered to sweare what they would haue them, not knowing the truth, nor considering that in so doing they made themselves guiltie of perjurie, and did draw the punishment of that crime not onely vpon their owne heads, but vpon the whole armie, and on the Romane Ensignes and Eagles, violating and contemning in this manner the reuerence of an oath: Hee aduertised him of these things by the aduice of *Cornelius* and *Sempronius*, the two other arbitrators. *Scipio* gaue him thanks, and did much commend him for it: wherefore hauing called the souldiours together, he let them vnderstand, That he was duly informed, how that *Q. Trebellius* and *Sext. Digitius* were the first that mounted vp the wals of Carthage, and the one as soone as the other, and therefore in witness of their vertues he did honour either of them with a mural crowne. And thus he wisely pacified a great sedition among the souldiours, and did auoid a detestable profanation of all religion; the which was of great consequence among the Romanes, who were no lesse desirous, that the world should be as well conceited of their pietie and justice, as of their valour. He afterwards rewarded euery one according to his merits, and among others, *Lelius* Generall of the armie at sea, to whom he did as great honor as he would haue done vnto himselfe, giuing him a crowne of gold, and thirtie oxen: Hee caused all the hostages of Spaine to be brought before him, which were found in new Carthage, to whom he spake courteously, giuing them good hope,

Scipio doth first giue thanks to the gods for his victories.

He commends the souldiours valour.

A mural crowne.

Emulation for honour.

The reward of vertue must not be sought by vicious means.

Romanes religious.

Scipio doth cunningly pacifie a great tumult.

*Scipio seeks to win the Spaniards hearts by his great bounty.*

*A Spanish Ladie having honor in recommendation.*

*Scipio honours the vertue of ladies prisoners.*

*Scipio overrules his owne desire, to honour himselfe and his country.*

and letting them vnderstand, That they were fallen into the hands of a Nation, which desired more to win the hearts of men, and to tye them vnto them by their good deeds, than to constrain them by feare or force; and had rather haue other nations for their faithfull companions, than to subdue by an odious seruitude. He caused the names of the Townes and Communalities of Spaine to bee giuen him in a List, and enquired of the number of prisoners of either of them, to whom he sent messengers, willing them to come and receiue their owne. If at that time there were any embassadours of any of those places within his campe, hee presently caused theirs to be deliuered vnto him. *C. Flaminius* Treasurer generall had the charge of the rest, with commaundement to entreat them well. Whilest these things were in hand, a Spanish Ladie, who was very old, stept out of the troupe of hostages, and callt her selfe at *Scipios* feet: shee was wife to *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, Lord of the Ilorgetes: beseeching him to giue especiall charge vnto the gards, to entreat the women well and honestly: To whom *Scipio* answered, That they should not want any thing: But (sayth she) *it is not the feare of any want that maketh me thus careful: for what doth not suffice them that are in our estate? I feare another thing; it is the youth of those that are about me, whom I see in danger to receive disgrace: as for me, my age doth free me from that misfortune.* There were about her the daughters of *Indibilis*, and manie others of great houses, very faire, and in the flower of their ages, which honoured this Ladie as their mother. Then *Scipio* with a noble and vertuous courage answered thus: *Truely, the discipline which I haue learned among the Romanes, and which I obserue, doth admonish me, that whatsoeuer is held worthie of respect in any part of the world, should not bee violated or corrupted by vs: but about all this, your vertue and modestie inciteth mee to be more careful to preserve you, seeing you shew that you haue not any way forgotten that which doth most honour and adorne women.* He therefore gaue them in gard vnto one, whose modestie and continencie was well knowne vnto him, commanding him to keepe them with as much honest respect, as if they were the wiues and mothers of their owne allies. Then they brought vnto him a young virgine a prisoner, fit to be married, and so exceeding faire, as she drew vnto her the eyes of all that beheld her. *Scipio* enquired of whence, and what parents she was of? Among other things he vnderstood, That she was promised to a young Nobleman of the Celiberians, called *Allucius*: He caused her to be carefully kept; and sent vnto the virgines parents, and to her future husband, that they should come vnto him: who being arriued, he spake vnto this yong man (whom he knew to be exceedingly passioned with loue) vsing a more artificiall speech vnto him than hee did vnto the virgines parents.

*I am (sayd hee) young, and so are you, wherefore my desire is, that wee conserue more freely together: Your Spouse being brought before mee by our souldiours, and vnderstanding that you loued her with great affection, I did easily beleene it, seeing her beantie: for if it were lawfull for me to seeke the pleasures which youth demaunds, and that my mind and thoughts were not wholly employed for the affaires of the Commonweale, I would willingly be excused, if I did abandon my selfe to the passions of loue, being so iust and lawfull, as of her that should bee my wife: wherefore I fauour yours as much as I may. Your Spouse hath bene kept here with mee with such honour and respect, as if shee had bene with her father and mother, and hath bene garded to make a pure and absolute present vnto you, worthie of my qualitie and yours. I demaund onely in recompence of this gift, that you will be a friend to the people of Rome, and if you thinke me thereby to be an honest and a good man, such as they of this countrey haue heretofore knowne my deceased father and vncle to haue bene, know that there are many such in the citie of Rome; and remember, that there is not any nation vpon the earth, whose hatred you and yours should more seeke to auoid, and to seeke their friendship, than ours.*

This vnexpected fauor, the which could not be comprehended nor equalled by any recompence or thanks, held this Spaniard seized with joy and shame: who taking *Scipio* by the right hand, prayed all the gods to requite the great fauour he had done him, seeing he found himselfe insufficient to make any satisfaction as he desired. Then were the virgins parents called, who seeing their daughter already freed without any ranfome, entreated *Scipio* very earnestly to receiue the gold which they had brought to redeeme her, which was of a good quantitie, saying, they would hold it for a great grace, that he had preserved their daughter vndischd.

*Scipio*

*A* *Scipio* being much importuned by them, was content to please them: whereby hee caused these presents to be brought before him, and hauing called for *Allucius*, hee sayd vnto him: Besides that which you are to receiue of your father in law in dowrie with your wife, take this present from me, commanding him to carrie this gold away with him. *Allucius* hauing receiued these honours and presents from *Scipio*, he returned joyfull and content to his house, filling the whole countrey with his prayse and merits: and in truth it was an act as generous, liberall, chaste, and religious, as hath bene in the memorie of any age done by a Pagan in his youth and vigour, and who had commaundement and soueraigne power in that behalfe ouer the enemy; but it may be it was not without ambition, nor humane considerations.

*B* There was a bruit throughout all Spaine, That there was a young man come like vnto a god, who surmounted all things, as well by force of armes, as by his courtesie and bounty: wherefore *Allucius* hauing made a leuie of his friends and vassales, came within few dayes vnto *Scipio*, being accompanied with foureteene hundred horse, to doe him and the people of Rome seruice.

*C* *Scipio* after hee had stayed *C. Lelius* with him some dayes, to dispose of the hostages, the spoyle, and all other things with his aduice and counsell, he sent him to Rome with a galeasse, and *Mago* with him, who was late Gouverneur of new Carthage, and about fiftene Senators prisoners, to bee messengers and assured witnesses of his victorie. During his abode at Carthage, he exercised his souldiours in all exercises fit for the warres, as well by land as sea. The first day he caused the Legions to run armed foure myles together, which makes a league: the next day he made them to scoure their armes before their tents: the third day they fought in forme of battaile with poles and darts blunted: the fourth day they rested, and the fifth they ran againe with their armes. Thus he did employ his souldiours during his abode at Carthage. The mariners did exercise themselves in rowing vp and downe in their gallies, and made sea fights to trie the swiftnesse of their gallies. These things were done without the wals of the towne, to fashion their minds and bodies to all warlike exercises: but within Carthage there was nothing but preparation to armes, the Generall being careful to see all things himselfe in person. Sometimes he went aboard the gallies, sometimes he ran with the Legionaries, sometimes he went to visit the workmen in the Port and Arsenall, vying incredible care and diligence. Hauing thus provided for all things necessarie, repaired the breaches of the towne, and manned it with good souldiours, he went to Tarracone. In the end the deputies of many townes of Spaine came vnto him, where he had assigned an assembly for all the allies of the people of Rome, as well old as new, whither came many deputies on this side Ebro, and some beyond it.

The Captaines and Commanders of the Carthaginians did what they could to conceale the losse of Carthage; and when as they found it was generally knowne, they fought with good words to repaire their losse, saying, it was but a towne lost, surprised by a young man, who perswaded himselfe, that he had thereby woon all: but when he should see three great captaines and three victorious armies approach, he would abate his pride, and remember the miserable end of his house. This they bruited among the people, yet knew they that the losse of Carthage had much weakened their forces.

The 34 day after that *Lelius* was parted from Carthage, he arriued at Rome with his prisoners, to the great contentment of the people. The next day hee deliuered vnto the Senate what had bene done in Spaine; the towne of new Carthage (the chiefe of the whole countrey) taken in one day, and many townes which were reuolted, returned againe to the Romans, and many others receiued into a new league; the which was verified by the prisoners answers. The Romans aboute all things feared *Asdrubals* passage: for they had worke ynough to resist *Hannibal* alone. *Lelius* was sent backe into Spaine in the same vessell which had brought him.

The year following, when as *Qu. Fab. Max.* for the fifth time, and *Qu. Fulv. Flacc.* for the fourth time were Consuls of Rome. *Scipio* hauing spent all the Winter to win the hearts of this barbarous nation, some by presents, others in deliuering them their hostages and prisoners, *Edeso* a famous captaine among the Spaniards came vnto him: His wife and children were with the Romanes, the which was partly the cause of his reuolt: and withall, he found

all

*Scipio adds liberallitie to his continuance.*

*Vertue giues to every one his due reward.*

*Military exercises done by Scipio.*

*The care and diligence of a good Generall.*

*The Carthaginians dissemble their losse.*

*Ann. Roma 544.*



all the Spaniards to affect the Romanes, and to abandon the Carthaginians, as *Indibilis* G and *Mandonius* did, who were then the greatest noblemen in Spaine, and were diuided from *Asdrubal* campe, lodging with their troupes on the sides of certaine hills, from whence their passage was safe and easie vnto the Romanes. *Asdrubal* finding this disfaour in the Carthaginians affaires, resolved to hazard a battaile, before they were quite abandoned by their allies; and *Scipio* on the other side demanded nothing more: for besides the happy successe of his enterprises, which puffed him vp, he thought it more expedient to fight, thinking it more safe to charge *Asdrubal* alone, than to stay vntill the other two Commanders and armies were joyned with him. Notwithstanding all this, he had prouided for all euent, if he should be forced to fight with many: for seeing that all the coast of Spaine H was cleere from the Carthaginian gallies, and therefore hauing no vse of his, hee disarmed them at Tarracone, and put both the souldiors and mariners among his Legions, and thereby did much encrease his armie: for he had found wherewithall to arme them within Carthage, besides the armes which hee caused to be daily made. With this resolution he departed from Tarracone, after the returne of *Caius Lelium*, without whose aduice *Scipio* did not attempt any matter of consequence, and crossing a great cuntry, hee found all things quiet and fauourable for his armie: vpon the way he encountered *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who came to meet him with their troupes. *Indibilis* spake vnto *Scipio* for them all, not rashly or foolishly, after the manner of the Barbarians, but with great grauitie, modestie, and pertinent reasons, rather excusing than glorifying themselves, that they were come vnto him, leauing the Carthaginians partie; letting him vnderstand, That they did it not lightly, or vpon the first occasion: for they knew well, that the name of reuolt was execrable among old allies, and alwaies suspect vnto new, by the generall custome of all nations, the which (sayd he) I doe not disallow, so as the hatred which is borne vnto such men, be grounded vpon the cause, and not merely vpon the name of reuolt. Afterwards he made a discourse of that which they had done for the Carthaginians, and of the pride, couetousnesse, ingratitude, and wrongs which had bene done vnto them by their souldiors; protesting, that for these considerations they had long before resolved to adresse themselves vnto the Romanes, with whom they thought that iustice and respect had place, although their persons were in the Carthaginians armies. Moreouer he sayd, That they had recourse vnto the gods by prayers, who neuer suffer the violences and insolencies of men unpunished; and they entreated *Scipio* not to esteeme them lesse for their retreat vnto him, nor to value them more, but that he should hereafter vse them according to their merits, and according to the zeale and affection hee should find in them. *Scipio* answered, That he would doe so, and that he did not esteeme them rebels, which held not themselves tied to any alliances made with men, which make no account of any diuine or humane lawes; commanding, that their wiues and children should be presently deliuered vnto them: which was a pleasing and acceptable gift vnto these Spaniards. The next day *Scipio* hauing taken their oathes, and contracted with them, he sent them into their countries, to make new leuiues of men: afterwards, by the direction of these noblemen of Spaine, the Romane armie went to meet with the enemy.

*Asdrubal* was come to lodge his campe neere vnto Becula, a towne or riuier (for in this point the Authors are doubtfull, it may be it was both) beyond the riuier of Ebro, and had set gards and sentinels on horsebacke vpon the approaches; the which were at the first charged by the fore-runners, and by them of the Romane foreward; who made so small resistance, as they might easily iudge, how much the two parties did differ in courage. These horsemen made a speedie retreat towards their campe, being pursued by the Romanes, who carried their colours euen vnto the enemies trenches and rampiers; and hauing that day only quickened their courages a little, they planted their campe. In the night *Asdrubal* remoued his armie vnto the side of a hill, where there was a large plaine, hauing a riuier behind him, and on either side steepe craggie rocks. This place commanded another plaine, the which had also a steepe descent round about it, the which was hard to mount vnto. *Asdrubal* seeing the Romane armie in battaile in this lower plaine, he sent downe the Numidian horsemen, the souldiors of Maiorca, which were lightly armed, and the Africanes. *Scipio* went from ranke to ranke to encourage his men, telling them, That the enemy fled the fight, and

*Asdrubal* thinks to repaire their losses by a late saile.

*Mandonius* and *Indibilis* reuolt vnto the Romanes.

In reuolt the cause and not the name is to be regarded.

It is no rebellion to leave them which despoile God and nature.

*Asdrubal* comes towards the Romanes.

*Scipio* encourageth his armie to fight.

A and durst not come downe to battaile; but sought places of strength, as one that had no confidence in his vertue, nor armes: wherefore they should remember, that the walls of Carthage (which were much higher than those rampiers) could not hinder their entrie, and that there was no obstacle could repulse the vertue of the Romanes. To what end shall those high cliffes where they are lodged, serue? but to make them haue the greater fall when you shall chase them, and they flye to saue themselves; but I will stop that passage: and thus he encouraged his souldiors. Hee then sent two companies, the one to seize vpon the strait of the valley by the diours. Hee then sent two companies, the one to keepe the way, by the which they came from the which the riuier did run, and the other to keepe the way, by the which they came from the town by the vallies and passages of those hills into the open field. Then he led the most active and light souldiors, which had the day before broken the enemies gards, directly to them which were vpon the edge of the first plaine. When they began to mount, they found no other hinderance but the roughnesse of the way, but when they came to approach within the reach of their darts, they were presently entertained with a shower of arrowes, darts, and stones, whereof the souldiors and horse-boyes had abundance in that place. Although the place were hard to ascend, and the Romanes much galled with their darts, yet those which had bene accustomed to the assaults of townes, growing obstinate against all opposition, in the end got vp; then was the chance turned: for as soone as the Romanes could get any sure footing, and come to handie blowes with the enemy (where they were not so expert as in running and leaping) they were soone dislodged, and chased with great slaughter vpon their owne battaile, which stood in order vpon the hill. Then *Scipio* hauing commanded his victorious souldiors to pursue and to charge this battaillon in the middelt courageously, he diuided the rest of his troupes betwixt himselfe and *Lelium*, whom he commanded to compassse in that little hill on the right side, and to seeke some easie way to get vp vnto it, and he in the meane time went and charged the enemies vpon the flanke, who were much amazed and troubled, thinking to turne the head of their battaile against the Romanes, whose cries they heard on euery side, when as suddainely *Lelium* came vpon them: so, as being prest on all sides, they were soone disordered, they themselves opening their ranks, to giue passage to their companions which fled, hauing no meanes to retire in good order, in a place which was so strait and of such disadvantage. Here there was a great slaughter made, and it preuailed little to flye: for the gards which were set by *Scipio* vpon the passages, stayed them; yea, the multitude was partly stayed by the Captaines and Commanders, to saue the baggage, whilest the rest did fight: besides, their Elephants being terrified, were as hurtfull to them as to the Romanes. There died eight thousand of the Carthaginian armie. *Asdrubal* stayed not to the end of the battaile, but hauing sent some of the Elephants before with his souldiors, he retired almost in the beginning of the fight, following the riuier of Tayo, vntill hee got vnto the mountaines, where hee gathered them together that fled. *Scipio* seized vpon the enemies campe, and gaue all the spoyle vnto the souldiors, except the prisoners of free condition, whereof there were ten thousand foot and two thousand horse; among the which, as were Spaniards were set free without ranfon, and sent home to their houses: the such as were Africanes were deliuered to the Treasurer to be sold. The Spaniards which were in the Romane armie, as well those that were before yielded, as prisoners, running about *Scipio*'s lodging, began to salute him with the title of King; but he let them vnderstand, that he was not pleased therewith: wherefore hauing enjoyned them to silence by a trumpet, he sayd vnto them: That he held himselfe sufficiently honoured to be called by his souldiors by that name which the Romanes in their tongue gaue vnto their Generall; which was, Imperator, as one would say, he that commands an Armie, which was a great title for him. As for the name of a King, it may be it was esteemed among other Nations, but the Romanes could not endure it: yet hee had a royall heart, and if they found such a disposition to be worthy of respect, they should be content to thinke so, and vse no more that word of King. The Barbarians did obserue an admirable greameffe of courage in *Scipio*, that being seated in so high a degree, yet hee contemned the title which all of their men doe so highly esteeme. After this, he bestowed presents vpon the noblemen of Spaine, and gaue three hundred horses to *Indibilis*, such as he would chuse of those which had bene taken.

As

He chargeth the enemies.

*Asdrubal* and the Carthaginians armie defeated by *Scipio*.

*Scipio* seeks to win the Spaniards by his bounty.

*Scipio* as a Roman deserts the title of a King.

As they were selling of the Africane prisoners, by the Generals command, there was a G  
 goodly young stripling, whom the Treasurer (hearing that he was royally descended) sent to  
 Scipio: being demanded by Scipio, What he was, and of whence, and why he followed armes  
 being so young? he answered with teares, That he was a Numidian, and that his name was Mas-  
 sinissa, who being left an Orphan, retired to Gala king of the Numidians, his grandfather by the mo-  
 thers side, and there had bene bred up, and had followed his uncle Massinissa, who came lately into  
 Spaine to succour the Carthaginians with some bands of horse: That before that time hee had neuer  
 bene in any combat, for that his uncle restrained him, by reason of his tender age: but the day of  
 the last charge he had stolne from him, and hauing found meanes to recouer horse and armes, he had  
 thrust himselfe into the battaile with the rest, where he had bene ouerthrowne by the default of his  
 horse, and was taken by the Romanes. Scipio commaunded, that this Numidian should be kept,  
 vntill hee had finished that which concerned the publicke. Being afterwards retired to his  
 tent, he sent for him againe, and asked him if he would returne to his vncl; who answered  
 with great signes of joy, That he would be very glad. Then Scipio hauing giuen him a gold  
 ring, a rich embroidered robe, a cassocke after the Spanish fashion, with a claipe of gold; and  
 hauing mounted him vpon a good horse, with rich furniture, he sent him away, giuing him  
 certaine knights to conduct him where hee pleased. These things being thus past, as they  
 consulted among the Romanes touching the affaires of the warre, many were of opinion,  
 That he should pursue Asdrubal; yet Scipio was content to place a garrison in the straits  
 and passages of the mountaines, employing all the rest of the Summer to win the Spani-  
 ards by gifts and other fauours, receiuing many into the alliance and protection of the peo-  
 ple of Rome.

17 In the meane time the two other captaines Mago and Asdrubal sonne to Gisgo came  
 into base Spaine, to joynewith Asdrubal Barcinien, somewhat too late after his defeat, but  
 very fitly to consult of their affaires. They saw the Spaniards were daily practised to reuolt,  
 and that the Carthaginians should not be able to hold any one place in Spaine, if they did  
 not speedily preuent it. Asdrubal of Gisgo relied much vpon the Spaniards which dwelt a-  
 long the Ocean, and about Gadiz, whereas the Romanes had not yet bene: but the other  
 two did foresee that the Romanes bountie would corrupt them as well as the rest, assuring  
 themselves, that there was not any Communalitie, nor priuat man in Spaine, which began K  
 not to wauer, and would neuer cease to reuolt, if they did not vse one meanes to preuent it:  
 which was, That Asdrubal Barcinien should gather together all the Spaniards he could, and  
 lead them into Italie, as it had bene formerly concluded: and by this means Spaine should  
 be disarmed of her owne forces, and more easily kept in awe by feare; and as for their armies,  
 they would supply them with other souldiours: and therefore they were of opinion, That Ma-  
 go should leaue his troupes to Asdrubal Gisgo, and passe speedily into the Islands of Maiorca  
 and Minorca, with store of treasure, to make good leuies of that nation: In the meane time  
 Asdrubal of Gisgo should retire into the farthest bounds of the Lusitanians, to auoid all oc-  
 casion of fighting with the enemy: That Massinissa with three thousand horse chosen out  
 of all the bands, should spoyle the enemies country on this side the riuer of Ebro, and succour L  
 their friends and faithfull allies. These things being concluded by the Carthaginian captains,  
 were presently put in execution.

In the eleuenth yeare of the second Punicke warre, M. Marcellus and T. Quintius Crispinus  
 being created Consuls at Rome, the gouernments of Spaine were confirmed for another  
 yeare to P. Cor. Scipio and to M. Sillanus. The sea Armie in Spaine being eightie gallyes,  
 as well of those which came out of Italie, as were taken at Carthage, were reduced vnto thirtie  
 by a decree of the Senate, commaunding Scipio to send fiftie into Sardinia, as well for the de-  
 fence of that Island, as of Italie, by reason of the great preparation which was made in A-  
 fricke, whereas they said the Carthaginians did arme two hundred sayle, to come vpon the  
 coast of Italie. This yeare Spaine was somewhat quiet, Asdrubal thinking onely of his voy-  
 age into Italie, and to prepare his armie, wherein he vsed exceeding great diligence, vntill he  
 had passed the Pyrenes. Being entred into Gaule with great store of treasure, hee leuied  
 souldiours of that nation, and assured his passage by the Alpes; the which did much trouble  
 the Romanes: for they had then worke ynough to make head against Hannibal; but the wide-  
 dome

Massinissa nephew  
 to Scipio  
 prisoner to the  
 Romanes.

The Carthagini-  
 ans resolve to  
 carry all the  
 Spanish souldiours  
 out of Spaine, to  
 preuent reuolts.

Asdrubal Barci-  
 nien passeth into  
 Italy.

A dome of C. Nero and M. Linius, the new Consuls for the yeare following, freed them of that  
 care: who by an aduenturous, but a necessarie stratageme of warre, whilst they kept Ham-  
 bal play in Apulia, defeated and slew Asdrubal, neere vnto Senegaille, with almost all the  
 Spaniards, Gaules, and Ligurians, whereof his army consisted: a defeat which did recompence  
 that of Canes, yet was it not without great effusion of bloud on the Romanes side, who lost  
 about 8000 men. Yet this did assure their estate, which vntill that time had bene in great  
 danger; and Hannibal vpon the newes of his brothers death, began to distrust his owne good  
 successe and his countries.

Spaine during Asdrubals preparation, and a while after his passage into Italie, had some rest  
 from warre, but they fell soone againe to armes. At that time Asdrubal, sonne to Gisgo, kept  
 about the Island of Gades, and in the West marches, neere vnto the Ocean. The Romanes  
 commaunded all along the Mediterranean sea, and held all that part of Spaine which lies to-  
 wards the East. In the place of Asdrubal Barcinien they had sent Hanno from Carthage, with  
 a new armie; who hauing passed the sea, joynewith Mago. These two had leuied among the  
 Celtiberians (which is in the midst of Spaine) great troupes of souldiours, in a short space.  
 Scipio sent M. Syllanus against this armie with 10000 foot and 500 horse; who making great  
 marches, by difficult and strait passages, which are ordinarie in Spaine, he approached by the  
 meanes of certaine Celtiberian guides (who had changed their partie) neere vnto the enemy,  
 before they had any newes of him, being also aduertised by the same Celtiberians, when hee

C came within two leagues of them, that vpon the way hee should encounter two of their  
 camps; that of Celtiberians, newly leuied, on the left hand, being some 9000 men; and the  
 other of Carthaginians, on the right hand. As for these, they obserued good discipline, kept  
 their gards, and had their sentinels placed in good order; but the others regarded it not, but  
 were secure and carelesse, like new souldiours: who thinking themselves at home, apprehen-  
 ded nothing that was to be feared. Wherefore Syllanus marched first towards them, causing  
 his troupes to goe on the left hand, as closely as they could, least the Carthaginians in the o-  
 ther lodging should discouer him. Then he sent forth some to discouer the enemies counte-  
 nance, and marched speedily after them. He was now within lesse than halfe a league, before  
 the enemy had any notice of his coming: for he went by broken wayes and deepe vallies  
 full of trees, where he fed his armie: there they returned vnto him, whom he had sent forth  
 to discouer, who confirmed that which the reuolted Spaniards had deliuered vnto him. Then  
 the Romanes (leauing their baggage vpon the place) put themselves in battaile, and mar-  
 ched against the enemies, whom they found in great amazement, seeing the Romane armie  
 so neere. Mago, who was in the other campe, posted thither vpon the first bruit, to put them  
 in defence. There were some 4000 good souldiours among the Celtiberians, carrying tar-  
 guets, and 200 horse, the which were set in the front, and the rest to second them were light-  
 ly armed; and in this manner they came to fight. They were scarce come without their ram-  
 piers, when as the Romanes cast their darts at them, but the Spaniards stooped to auoid  
 them: then rising suddainly againe, they cast theirs against the Romanes, who standing  
 close, and covered with their targuets, defended themselves from any harme; but appo-  
 ching neerer, they came to the sword. The place where they did fight was of great aduan-  
 tage for the Celtiberians, by reason of the vneuenesse, whose custome was to skirmish with  
 leapes and jumpes; contrarie to the Romanes, who fight close, and stand firme: and there-  
 fore this vneuen ground did not much trouble them, but that they were sometimes con-  
 strained to breake their ranks, by reason of the straits and lirtle groues, wherewith the  
 country is full, fighting sometimes one to one, and two to two; the which did also hinder  
 the enemies from flying, and exposed them to the slaughter. All those of the fore-ward  
 which carried targuets, were in a manner slaine, and they continued killing and ouerthrow-  
 ing those that were lightly armed, and the Carthaginians which were come to their suc-  
 cours, led by another Hanno, who was taken aliue: but Mago retired in the beginning of the  
 battaile with about 3000 foot and all the horse, and the tenth day after came vnto Asdru-  
 bals campe. The Celtiberian souldiours which remained, got home into their country  
 through the woods and forrests. This victorie was very pleasing vnto Scipio, who did great-  
 ly extoll Syllanus his vertue, and was in hope to end the warre, if he did speedily set vpon As-  
 drubal, who remained in the remotest part of Spaine, in the Betique Prouince, which now

Asdrubal and  
 his armie deſcend  
 ed into Italie.

Hanno sent  
 from Carthage  
 into Spain with  
 a new armie.

M. Syllanus sur-  
 prized and de-  
 feates the Car-  
 thaginians.

*Asdrubal breaks  
up his army, and  
leaves the field  
to the Romans.*

is Andaloufie. He hauing intelligence, that *Scipio* marched towards him, dislodged from the place where hee encamped, and retired in great disorder towards the Island of Gades, then thinking, that whilst he had an armie in field, they would not cease to pursue him, he resolved to breake vp his campe, and to put his souldiours into garison, as well for their safetie, as the townes, and he himselfe went into the Island.

*Scipio* being aduertised, that the enemy had no armie in field, and seeing that he must make warre in diuers parts of the countrey, and besiege one towne after another, a matter of some difficultie, and of more toile than profit, he turned head again: yet for that he would not wholly abandon that part of Spain to the enemy, he left *L. Scipio* his brother with an army of 10000 foot and 1000 horse, to trie if he could take *Auringe*, the chiefe place of the country, situated in a fertile soyle, vpon the marches of the Mellefians, the inhabitants whereof were naturall Spaniards. There were certain mynes of siluer found, & it was *Asdrubals* retreat, from whence he made his courses into the countrey. *L. Scipio* being come neere the towne, before he did wholly besiege it, he sent some to parle with the inhabitants, to know their minds, and to persuade them rather to trie the Romans friendship than their armes. Preuailing nothing, he besieged it, and cast a trench about it, with a double pallisado, diuiding his armie into 3 troupes, the which should keepe the towne in continuall alarme. The first assault giuen by one of the three troupes was valiantly maintained, and their ladders, with the souldiours which mounted, throwne into the ditch, and the assailants were often in danger to be drawne vp with hooks of yron, which the besieged cast downe from the wals and towers, so as the Romans were forced to retire. *L. Scipio* finding that the small number which he had sent to the assault made the partie vnequall, hauing therefore caused the first to retire, he sent all the rest of his armie to giue a new assault: the which did so amaze the besieged, being tyred with the first assault, as the inhabitants abandoned the wals; and the garrison of Carthaginians thinking that the towne had bin yeilded, left their gards where they had bin set, and put themselves into one body. The inhabitants fearing, that if the enemy forced the towne, they should be all put indifferently to the sword, resolved to prevent this danger by yeelding: and hauing opened a gate, they went forth in troupes, carying only their targuets, to defend themselves from the Romans darts, and holding vp their right hands naked in sign of peace, they let the Romans vnderstand that they yeilded. It is doubtfull whether they did vnderstand their meaning, seeing them come a far off, or whether the Romans did doubt some fraud; but they charged these poore Spaniards, and cut them all in peeces, and by the same port entred the towne with their colours flying, killing all they met without exception, & in the meane time some of their troupes forced the other gates, and made way vnto their companions. The horsemen being entred, seized vp on the chiefe places, as they were commaunded, being followed by them which they called *Triares*, which are footmen, fighting alwaies in the rereward, to second where need required. The rest of the le-gionaries dispersed themselves throughout the towne, putting all to the sword. In the end the Carthaginians were taken prisoners, and some 300 of the inhabitants: the rest which remained after the furie were pardoned, and their houses and libertie yeilded them. There died at the taking of this towne 2000 of the enemies, and some 90 of the Romans. It was a pleasing exploit to them that did execute it, but especially to *P. Scipio*, who commended *Lucius* his brother with all the honorable tearmes he could, equalling the taking of *Auringe* to that of Carthage: and seeing winter approached, & that there was little reason to pursue *Asdrubal*, & lesse to undertake the siege of *Calis*, he retired with his campe on this side *Ebro*, & sent his souldiours to winter. He sent *L. Scipio* to Rome, with newes of that which had bin done, and with him he sent *Hanno*, one of the enemies captains, and many other great prisoners: this done, he retired to *Tarracoe*.

*The Romans  
besiege Auringe.*

*Auringe taken  
by L. Scipio.*

19 The Romans after this good successe were in hope to chase their enemies out of Spain: for hauing defeated one of their armies, taken one of their chiefe commanders, the rest of their forces being disbanded, and forced to liue within their forts and garisons, in the farthest parts of the countrey, *Scipio* thought there was now no cause of any present feare, but that he might dispose of his affaires at leysure: yet he was deceived: for Spaine by reason of their stirring spirits, and the opportunitie of places, was in that respect as fit as any Region in the world (after such defeats) to leuie new armies, and to reuiuie the warre. *Asdrubal* then, sonne to *Gisgo* (who did second the *Barcins* in wisdome and valour worthie of a great Commander) being assisted by *Mago*, sonne to *Amilcar*, did so deale with the Spaniards,

as

A as he leuied 50000 foot and 4500 horse of that nation, beyond the riuier of *Ebro*: he mustered them neere vnto the towne of *Sylpia*, and there did the two Carthaginian captains encampe, being resolved to accept of a battaile if it were offered. *Scipio* aduertised of this great vnexpected preparation, drew his Legions to field, although he held them not sufficient to oppose against so mightie an armie. As for the succours of Spanish allies, his meaning was to make some shew vnto the enemy: yet would he not fortifie himselfe with so great troupes, as he should haue cause to feare his ruine by their trecherie, as had happened vnto his father and vnckle: wherefore he sent *Syllanus* to *Colca*, who commaunded ouer 28 townes, to demand the succours of horse and foot, which he had promised to enroll during the *Winter*: and he himselfe going from *Tarracoe*, as he passed by the townes of his allies, tooke vp such souldiours as he thought good, and came to *Castulo*, whereas *Syllanus* met him with 3000 foot and 500 horse. From thence he marched beyond *Becula*, hauing in his armie, as well of citizens of Rome, as of allies, of foot and horse about 45000 fighting men. As they made their lodging, and did rampier it after the accustomed manner, behold *Mago* and *Masinissa* come with all their horsemen, and charge them that were busie at worke; whom they had put to rout, if *Scipio* had not caused certaine bands of horsemen to gard them, being in battaile behind a little hill, who aduanced against the first that were approached neere the rampiers, forcing them to retire in the beginning without any great difficultie. The fight was long, and somewhat doubtfull against them which came afterwards close and in good order, but when as the Romane bands which were dispersed here and there approached, and that the souldiours which laboured at the rampiers, left their worke and fell to armes (being so commaunded) the wearied refreshed with new supplies, and greater numbers coming still from the campe, then the Numidians and Carthaginians finding the charge hote, retired in the beginning in good order, but being ouerpressed by multitudes, they could no longer make head, but were put to rout, every man sauing himselfe as he could. This encounter did puffe vp the hearts of the one, and abate the courage of the others, yet there were daily skirmishes betwixt the horsemen and them that were lightly armed. In the end *Asdrubal* put his army into battaile, the which *Scipio* did also on his part: but either armie continued in that manner neere his fort, vntill the euening: whereupon first the Carthaginians and then the Romanes retired into their campes, and thus they continued for certaine dayes together, *Asdrubal* comming first to field, and making his retreat first, without any attempt one against another. The Romans held the middle part in their battaile, and the Carthaginians did the like in theirs, being mixt with Africans: vpon the wings in either armie were their allies, all Spaniards: before the Carthaginians battaile were their Elephants, which a farre off shewed like cattles, and it was giuen out, That the armies should fight in that manner, and that the Romanes and Carthaginians (betwixt whom the quarrell was, holding the middest of the battailes) should encounter with like armes and courage. *Scipio* hearing that this opinion was generally beleueed, changed the order of his battaile: wherefore at night hee caused warning to bee giuen secretly throughout the campe, That every one should be readie for the breake of day, that both men and horse should refresh themselves, the horsemen should be armed, and the horses saddled and bridled: And when as day began to appeare, he sent all his horsemen, and the footmen that were lightly armed, against the *Corps de gard*, which were vpon the approaches of the enemies campe, and then he marched himselfe with the whole armie, hauing against the expectation both of his own souldiours and of the enemy set the Romans vpon either wing, and the troupes of their allies in the midst. *Asdrubal* moued at the noyse which his horsemen made, goes out of his tent, and seeing the tumult which was before the trenches and palisadoes of his campe, the final assurance of his souldiours, the enemies colours glistering a far off, and all the fields couered with their troupes, he presently sends forth his horsemen against the Roman horse, and he himselfe hauing put his footmen in battell, goes out of his campe, without changing any thing of his former order. The horsemens encounter continued long, without any aduantage: for whe as any one was forced to giue back (the which was ordinarie on either side) they had a safe retreat to their squadrons of foot: but after that the bodies of both armies were neere one vnto another, *Scipio* giuing a signe, caused his horse to retire, & opening the ranks of foot, received them within the battell: then he placed them in two squadrons behind the points of it, to reinforce and support his foot; and when he saw it was time to charge, he commanded the battaillon in

*Scipio trusts not  
his men, and  
sends his father  
had done.*

*Mago and Mas-  
sinissa charge  
the Romans.*

*The two armies  
in battaile re-  
sist so long.*

G ij

The Romanes  
and the Cartha-  
ginians were in  
bataille.

the middest (which were all Spaniards) to march softly: he himselfe leading the right point, had giuen charge to *Syllanus* and *Martius* (who had charge on the other side) that as they should see him aduance, they should doe the like, and begin the battaile with the enemy, with the most resolute of their horse and foot, before the two squadrons in the middest should come to joyne. Wherefore stretching forth in this manner both the wings, either of them with three companies of foot and as many horse, and some forlorne hopes lightly armed, went with all speed to affront the enemy, whilst the others followed. Betwixt both wings there was a void place, for that the Spaniards marched more slowly; and they had already begun the charge on either side, when as the chiefe strength of the enemy (which consisted in the Carthaginians and old African souldiours) was yet a crosse-bow shot off, and durst not turne towards the wings to succour their companions, least they should leaue the battaile naked and open to the enemy, who came against them. The horsemen and Roman souldiours did wonderfully gale the enemies wings vpon the flanks, the companies of foot which made the point, prest them in front, and sought to cut off the wings from the rest of the battaile, and euen now the partie was not equall in any part: for besides that the points of the Carthaginians armie were furnished with horse-boyes and Spaniards newly leuied, who had to deale with Romanes and braue Latine souldiours, the day being far spent, *Asdrubals* armie grew weake, for that they had beene surpris'd by the alarme in the morning, and were forced to put themselves in battaile without feeding; the which *Scipio* had done of purpose, and to that end had delayed the fight for many houres, beginning it as late as he could. It was past noone before the foot companies which were in the wings began to charge, and much later before the battaillons in the middest did joyne, so as before that all their forces came to fight, the heat of the Sunne, the toyle being so long on foot, laden with armes, hunger, and thirst, had so tyred the Carthaginians and young Africans, as they were forced to support themselves vpon their targuets, they were so faint. Besides the Elephants (terrified with the furious combat which was vpon either wing) had run through their middle battaillon. Wherefore the Carthaginians tyred in bodie, and fainting in courage, began to recoyle, but without disorder, euen as if they had retired by their Generals commaund. But the victorious Romanes charging them with great resolution on all sides, when as they found them to shrink, notwithstanding all the persuasions of *Asdrubal* to keepe their ranks vnto the next hils, where they had a safe retreat (being not able to withstand the enemies force) they all turned their backs and fled, feare being of more force than shame. Being come vnto the foot of those hils, they would haue stayed their ensignes, and rallied themselves to make head against the Romanes, who had made a stand to put themselves in order to assaile them: but when they saw they were eagerly pursued, they fled into the fortification of their campe, with great amazement, being chased so neere by the Romanes, as they had almost entred pell-mell with them. There fell so great a shower after the heat of the Sunne, as they which pursued, were forced to stand still, and to retyre with great toyle vnto their campe: yea, there were some which did superstitiously beleue, That it was not good to proceed any farther that day. Although the night and the raine did inuite the Carthaginians (who were tyred and wounded) to take some rest; yet feare and danger made them to fortifie their campe with all expedition, which they presumed would be assailed by the enemy at the breake of day: and seeing they could not conquer by armes, they rayed their rampiers with stones, gathered out of the neere valleys. Hereupon they did see themselves abandoned by their allies: wherefore they thought it best to be gone, holding flight more safe for them than any force. The beginning of the Spaniards reuolt was by *Atanes* Lord of the Turditanes, who passed vnto the Romans campe vnto the Romanes by such as had them in gard. *Asdrubal* fearing this mischief would grow greater, trussed vp his baggage and dislodged. *Scipio* being aduertised in the morning, that the enemy was gone, sent his horsemen after them, and then marched after with the Legions and the rest of the armie with all speed: who if they had followed them the right way, they had soone overtaken them: but they trusted to their guides, who assured them of another way, which conducted them to the riuier of Betis, where they might cut off their passage. *Asdrubal* hearing that way was stopped, was once in mind to haue retired towards the Ocean: but

Scipios policie  
deceiues *Asdrubal*.

Feare is of more  
force than shame

Treacherie of the  
Spaniards to the  
Carthaginians,  
their allies.

A but his souldiours (observing no kind of discipline) marched like men that fled, so as they got some ground of the Roman Legions; yet the horsemen and souldiours which were lightly armed, pursued them still, and did not abandon them; but charging them sometimes in the rere, and sometimes in the flanke, did stay them and force them to fight, vntill the Legions arrived: then was there no more any combat, but a slaughter, as of sheepe, vntill that their Generall (the author of their flight) saved himselfe with about seuen thousand men, most without armes; the rest were in a manner all slaine or taken. The Carthaginians which escaped with their captaine, entrenched themselves suddainly vpon a mount, and there defended themselves easily against the Romanes, who did strue to get vp; yet being in a naked and desart place, and vnto to endure a siege of few dayes; many disbanded and went to the Romanes campe: the which *Asdrubal* perceiving, he abandoned his souldiours, embarked himselfe, and passed into the Iles of Calis. *Scipio* aduertised of his flight, left *Syllanus* with tenne thousand foot and a thousand horse to besiege their campe, and he with the rest of the armie returned in 70 daies to Tarracone, where he should dispose of the affaires of the princes and noblemen of Spaine; and giue rewards according to euery ones merit.

An absolute de-  
feat of the Car-  
thaginians.

After his departure, *Syllanus* had secret conference with *Masimissa*, who hauing new designes in his head, passed into Africke with a small traine, that he might draw his people to his owne humor. The cause of his suddaine change did not then appeare, the which he did afterwards iustifie by a long and constant loyaltie, wherein hee did persist vntill his death. C *Mago* did also passe into the Island of Gades, *Asdrubal* hauing sent backe the vessels: so as the armie (being abandoned by the Commanders) was disperfed, some sauing themselves by flight in the neighbour townes, and some yeelding to the Romanes. In this manner were the Carthaginians chased out of Spaine, about the twelfth yeare of the second Punick warre, by the conduct and happinesse of *Publius Scipio*, five yeares after that he had had the charge of the armies and government of Spaine. Within few daies after *Syllanus* came to *Scipio*, being at Tarracone, bringing him newes, that the warre was ended. L. *Scipio* was sent from thence to Rome, with many prisoners of marke to carrie newes of the absolute victorie obtained of the Carthaginians in Spaine. But *Scipio* not content to haue effected so great matters in that countrey, had a greater designe, so great was his mind, and so desirous of glorie. D Wherefore knowing, that there was not any one man to make head against him in Spaine, he embraced all Africke, whither he passed to make factions, and to trouble the Carthaginians Estate: the which succeeded happily, but it may be with greater hazard than was fit for his ranke.

The Carthagini-  
ans chased out of  
Spaine.

Great dangers  
accompany great  
enterprizes.

Pub. *Cornelius Scipio* being returned out of Africke, where he had withdrawne from the alliance of the Carthaginians king *Siphax* their neighbour, and although hee did now see Spaine quiet in respect of the Africans; yet he knew, that some townes did containe themselves more for feare than for any loue, as those which had greatly incensed the Romanes during the precedent warres: the first and chiefe, either in greatnesse or offence, were *Castulo* and *Illiturgis*: Those of *Castulo* had shewed themselves friends during the prosperitie of the Romanes; but after the defeat and death of the two *Scipios*, they had reuolted to the Carthaginians. The *Illiturgis* had done worse: for besides their reuolt, they had deliuered such as had saved themselves there after these defeats, to the slaughter. These crimes were wisely dissembled by *Scipio*, when hee came first into the Prouince, and that matters were yet doubtfull: for if he should then haue punished them, he should haue respected iustice more than profit. All things being now assured and quiet, hee thought it a fit time to punish them. Wherefore hauing called *Lu. Martius* to Tarracone, he sent him to besiege *Castulo*, with the third part of his forces; and hee himselfe departing from Carthage, led the rest of his armie before *Illiturgis*, whither he came in five dayes march. The inhabitants doubting, that they would not leaue their trecheries unpunished, had fortified their towne, and furnished themselves with all things necessarie to endure a siege. *Scipio* let his souldiours vnderstand, That these Spaniards did rightly feare that which they had merited, exhorting them to goe against them with greater furie than against the Carthaginians themselves. For (sayd he) the quarrell which wee haue had against them of Carthage, was onely for glorie and desire of rule, but wee take armes against these men, to punish them for their wickednesse and cruell treason. The time is now come, when wee shall reuenge the murders done

*Castulo* and *Illiturgis* reuolted  
and rebellious  
townes.

Not expedient  
at all times to  
be iust.

*Scipio* besiegeth  
*Illiturgis*.

vnto any companions, and the trecherie which they had prepared for you: if you had fallen into  
 their hands after the defeat: and therefore let vs deale so, as neuer any Nation shall hereafter  
 dare to wrong the souldiers or citizens of Rome in any disgrace whatsoever. Having animated  
 his souldiers with these words, hee commaunded ladders should be brought, and distribu-  
 ted to the most assured companies: then diuiding his armie into two, he commaunded, That  
*Leilius* his Lieutenant should assaile the towne on the one side, and he would lead the rest  
 into diuers places; the which was executed with great courage and resolution. The towne-  
 men had no need of any captain to encourage them in their defence: for euery one know-  
 ing his danger, was both a spurre to himselfe and his companion, saying, That it was not  
 the honour of a victorie which they fought of them, but their punishment: That they must  
 make an account to die, but it was more honest and safe to hazard it fighting (whereas  
 euery one giueth as well as taketh, and oftentimes the vanquished suffer, and the victor  
 faileth) rather than to be led bound and manacled (after that wee shall haue scene our towne  
 burnt to ashes) to end our liues with torment, and all ignominie, in the sight of our wiues  
 and children, who shall be made slaues. Wherefore they came resolutely to the walls, not  
 onely such as were able to carrie armes, but old men, women, and children, which made resi-  
 stance about their forces; they brought stones, and gaue armes to those that did fight. It  
 was not onely a question of libertie which giueth courage to valiant men, but they did ap-  
 prehend the horror of punishments, and the vild and ignominious death which they should  
 suffer: euery one tooke courage, seeing his companions valour: Wherefore if it was well  
 assailed, it was better defended: so as this Romane armie, which had subdued all Spaine,  
 being often repulsed by the inhabitants, did shamefully wauer. Which *Scipio* perceiuing,  
 he feared least his men should faint after so many vaine attempts, and the enemies should  
 grow more hardie, wherefore hee thought it needfull to hazard his owne person, and to bee  
 partaker of the danger: whereupon he commaunded them to make ready their ladders againe,  
 and reproching the souldiers of cowardise, he aduanced to mount himselfe (if he had found  
 them slacke) and came neere vnto the wals, not without great danger: but the souldiers be-  
 ing very carefull of their Generall, began all to crie out, and carried ladders to all parts. *Le-  
 lius* did also presse them on his side: so as then the valour of the defendants was forced to  
 giue place, and they abandoned the rampiers. It happened, that during this tumult, the  
 fort which was held impregnable was surpris'd: for certaine souldiers of Africke reuolted,  
 which were in the Romane armie, seeing that they of the towne were busied to withstand  
 an assault in the most dangerous places, and the Romanes as busie to get an entrie into  
 the towne, they obserued the highest part of the towne, couered with a steepe rocke, which  
 had neither rampier, gard, nor defence. These men being active and nimble, began to  
 creepe vp this rocke, with the helpe of certaine pykes of yron, which they did strike into  
 the stones, and made steps of them, the first helping vp their companions which followed;  
 so as in the end they got vp to the top of the rocke, from whence they began to run with  
 horrible cries towards the towne, which was already woon by the Romanes. Then shewed  
 they the fruits of their choler and hatred: none were spared, but all put to the sword,  
 men, and women, of all ages and sexes; yea, and poore infants: no man cared for spoyle,  
 the fire deuoured what might be consumed, and the rest was ruined, for that the Romanes  
 would not leave the marks of a towne, nor the memorie of any habitation of such e-  
 nemies.

From thence *Scipio* led his armie to Castulo. This towne was not onely kept by Spaniards, which were come thither from diuers places, but also by the remainder of the Carthaginians, which were brought thither to garrison after the retreat of their armie. But before that *Scipio* arrived, they had newes of the taking of Illiturgis, which stricke a great terror among them, and made them almost to despair: and as euery mans guilt was not alike, so euery one sought to provide for his owne safetie. Wherefore they began to distrust one another, and in the end fell to an open diuision, the Spaniards separating themselves from the Carthaginians: *Cordubelus* commaunded the Spaniards, who spake openly, That they must yeeld vnto the Romans: *Himilco* was chiefe of the Carthaginians, whom *Cordubelus* deliuered vp with the towne vnto the Romans. By this voluntarie reddition, being also not so culpable as they of Illiturgis, the victorie was vsed with lesse rigor.

22. From

*The remem-  
brance of great  
crimes make  
men desparat.*

Honor and li-  
 bertie animate  
 valiant men.

Scipio obstinate  
so vanquish or  
die.

Miturgis taken,  
and the execution  
on cruel,

And quite ruined.

*Cordubelmus yeeli  
deth vp Castulo,  
and the Cartha-  
ginian Garrison.*

Lib. 2. The Generall Historie of the world. 1.

A 22. From thence *Martius* was sent against them of that nation, which plaid the rebels, to subject them to the Romane yoke; and *Scipio* returned to new Carthage, to performe the vowes which he had made vnto his gods, and to represent the games of fencing which he had prepared in honour of his defeated father and vncle. These fencers which were brought forth, were none of his slaves, nor such as had bene made free, which the master fencers were wont to present vnto the people, which sell their blood, and are hired for money: but all those that did fight, came willingly without any fee: for some were sent by the noblemen of the countrey, to shew the valour and dexteritie of the nation, others presented themselves vnto the combat, for the loue they bare vnto their Generall; others thrust forth with glorie, defied, or being challenged, accepted the combat willingly. Some there were, which not able to end their suites by pleading, resolved erie it by the sword, who were of no base condition, but gentlemen of noble families. Among others *Corbis* and *Orsua*, two cousin germes, who contended for the principalltie of the towne of Ibis, would end their controuersie by armes. *Corbis* was the elder. The father of *Orsua* had lately ruled in that towne, having succeeded to that seigniorie by the death of his brother. *Scipio* would haue reconciled them by justice, and knowledge of the cause; but they both answered, That it was not the custome among kinsfolkes, and that they would not haue any gods nor men to be their judges, but *Mars*. *Corbis* was the stronger, and *Orsua* the more courageous, by reason of his youth, both resolute to die, rather than to submit himselfe vnto his aduerser partie. With this resolution they shewed themselves to the whole armie. The eldest also had more experience in his weapon, and was more cunning, so as he did easily vanquish the foolish presumption of the younger. To these fights of fencers were added funerall plaies, according to the manner of the Pagans, with preparation fit for the countrey, and as at the warre.

C

23. When the day was come, the Romanes lost no time, *Scipioes* lieutenants being seriously

23 During these shewes, the Romanes loſt no time, *Scipioes* lieutenants being ſeriously employed about their affairs. *Martius* hauing paſt the riuer *Betis* (called *Circe* by them of the country) tooke two good and rich townes, without ſtriking ſtroke. There was another town called *Aſtapa*, the which had alwayes held the *Carthaginians* partie, and made profeſſion to hate the Romanes deadly, yea when there was not any neceſſitie of warre: and yet their town was neither ſtrong by nature, nor art, whereby they ſhould grow proud: but the nature of theſe men (who had no delight but in theeuery) had cauſed them to ſpoile the countries of the Romanes allies, and to ſtrip their victuals, ſouldiours, or merchants, if they found them ſcattered; yea they had layd an ambuſh for a great troupe of men paſſing through their country, and hauing ſurpriſed them in a ſtrait, had ſlaine them. When as the armie came before the town, the inhabitants prickt with the feeling of their faults, expected no mercie of their enemies, and ſeeking no meanes to hold againſt a ſiege, they tooke a cruell and deteſtable reſolution: for they brought into the miſſet of their market place all that was good and precious within the town, and laied it on a heape, vpon the which they ſet their wiues and children; then they planted great ſtore of ſagots and other wood round about it: this being done, they appointed ſiftie yong men well armed, for the gard thereof, enioying them, that whileſt the euent of the fight betwixt them and the Romanes was doubtfull, they ſhould remaine there, and be faithfull guardians of their goods, and of thoſe perſons whom they held deereſt: but if they ſaw it ſucceeded ill, and that the town was in daunger to bee loſt, they might then be aſſured, that all they which had fallied out vpon the enemies were ſlaine in the fight: wherefore they did conjure them by all the celeſtiall and infernall gods, to remember their liberties, which that day ſhould end by an honeſt death, or by an infamous ſeruitude: and therefore they ſhould not leaue any thing that belonged vnto them, wherewith the enemy in his furie might glut his crueltie: to which end they had both fire and ſwords in their hands; and that therefore ſuch things as were to periſh, ſhould be deſtroyed by the hands of their faithfull friends, rather than be expoſed to the ſceme and infolenzie of the enemy. This ſpoken, they added an execrable curſe vpon thoſe that ſhould ſuffer themſelues to be moued; with any pittie or tenderneſſe of heart, and forbore to execute that which they had decreed; then hauing opened the gate, they marched directly to the Romanes trenches, with more than a brutiſh furie. The Romanes had no conceit they ſhould fall ſo forth vpon them, wherefore they found the paſſages vnto the campe but ill garded. Some troupes of horſe and foot

1- *Combats upon  
furious ambitions*

Q. A suit decided  
by armes.

fes- Астава.

und *Astapians despe-*  
 rati shoenes.

number *A barbarous &*  
 rude: *detestable reser-*  
 vation of the  
 ene- *Asians.*



lightly armed, were suddenly sent out against them, where they came to fight with more furie than good order: Wherefore the horsemen which came first to charge the enemy (being repulsed) amazed the footmen, so as the Astapians had come vnto the Romanes campe, if the legions (hauing some little leasure) had not put themselves into battell. There the enemies like madde men, ran desperately vpon their weapons: but the old souldiours keeping their ground, and ouerthrowing the foremost, slayed them that followed: then seeking to beat them backe, finding them obstinately resolu'd to dye where they stood, they opened their battailon, compassing them in with the multitude, and slew them all. This was done like fouldiours, against incensed enemies, that were armed: but within the towne there was a barbarous slaughter, where as the citizens themselves murdered the weake vnarmed multitude of their wiues and little children, casting their bodies yet breathing into the fire, whose bloud did in a manner quench the flames. In the end being tyred with this pitifull slaughter of their owne, they leapt armed as they were into the midst of the fire. Thereupon the victorious Romanes entred, who beholding this cruell spectacle, stood amazed for a season: then seeing the gold and siluer shine through the fire (thrust on with greedinesse) they went in to gather it vp; but many of them were roasted in the fire, being kept in by the prease that followed them.

Thus ended the siege of Astapa, being consumed by fire, with all her treasure, whereas the Romans got no spoile. After this exploit *Martius* tooke in many other places of the country, which yielded to his mercie, and then returned with his victorious armie to new Carthage.

About this time there came certaine deputies secretly out of the island of Gades, who promised to yeeld vp the towne with the Gouvernour, into the Romans hands, and all the Carthaginians which were there in garrison. *Mago* was retired thither, after the dissolution of the campe, when as he was forced to flie, who hauing gathered together certaine ships, assembled some troups out of Spaine and Africke, neere vnto the strait. These citizens being heard, and hauing plighted their faith one vnto another, to obserue what had bene promised, they were sent backe. *Scipio* sent *Martius* thither by land with his ablest troups (and *Lelius* by sea) with seven gallies and a galleasse; to the end, that with a mutual consent they should mannage this enterprize both by sea and land.

24. Whilest they are busie to surprise Gades, *Scipio* fell verie sick, but it was made greater, according to the common custome of men: the which did much trouble the whole countrie, and euen those that were farthest off: and it seemed by the discord which grew of this false brute, that if it had bene true, it would haue bred a great alteration of the affaires in Spaine; for neither the allies, nor the Romanes armie, could containe themselves in their duties. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* being sorie that the effect was not answerable to their conceptions, which was, to make themselves kings, as soone as the Carthaginians were expelled, mooued the Lacetanes of their countrey to armes, with many Celtiberians, foraging and spoiling the fields of the Suesitanes and Sederanes, who were allied to the Romanes. Besides, there grew a mutinie in the Romanes campe, neere vnto the riuer of Sucro, or Xucar, where as there lay eight thousand men in garrison, to keepe the people in awe on this side the riuer of Ebro. These troups had begun to grow disordered, before the vncertaine brute of *Scipios* death: which grew through idleness, the which doth commonly fall out, when as souldiours want employment. Then they grew licentious, and discontented, for that being accustomed to take spoiles, and to riot at their enemies charges, during the warres, they now saw themselves restrained, and gouerned according to the orders of the time, when as the warre ceased. And these were their reasons. If they make warre (said they) in any part of Spaine, why doe they keepe vs here, where there is no employment? If the warre be ended, why doe they not lead vs backe into Italie? Then they demanded their pay after an insolent manner, nor like vnto souldiours well disciplined. When the capitaines and officers of companies went the round in the night, those that were in the corps de gard vsed many opprobrious speeches against them. Some stealing forth in the night, spoiled the countrey of their friends and neighbours: yea they grew so insolent, as euen in the day time they would goe out of the campe, and abandon their ensignes without leaue. Finally, all was done after the appetite of fouldiours which were without order or discipline, and without any command of their heads

The Astapians do barbarously murder their owne wiues and children.

The Gaditanes offer to deliuer their town vnto the Romanes.

Scipio falls verie sick.

Mandonius makes Indibilis distrustful

Idleness makes souldiours insolent and mutinous.

They that are accustomed to live vpon spoile, cannot subiect themselves to discipline.

A heads and Tribunes; onely they were content there should be some forme of a Roman campe maintained, and did suffer the capitaines to sit in their accustomed places to doe iustice: they tooke the word from them, went to the gard in their turnes, and set their sentinels. And although they had in a manner suppressed the authoritie of their commanders, yet they made a shew to obey them, whom in truth they commanded. This they did, thinking that in the end their capitaines, being infected with their frenzie, would joyne with them. But when they saw that they reprehended them sharply, and that they sought to suppress their furies, they openly refused to be companions vnto them in their insolencies, they chafed them first from their seats, and in the end forced them to forsake the campe. Which done, they began to chuse the most seditious among them for their leaders and capitaines, creating with a general consent *C. Abius Calenus*, and *C. Arrius Vmber*, simple souldiours, to be their Tribunes: who not contented to take the markes of Tribunes, presumed to vsurpe the authoritie of the Soueraigne head, causing rods and axes to be carried before them, not remembering that those rods and axes wherewith they thought to terrifie other men, should fall vpon their owne shoulders: for the conceit they had of *Scipios* death, did blind their vnderstandings, imagining they would presently take armes throughout all Spaine, and that in these tumults they should haue meanes to spoyle the champion countrey, and to ransacke townes; and that any excessse in such a tumultuous time, would be held light. As they did expect from time to time fresh newes not onely of *Scipios* death, but also of his funerall, when as they saw that not any one did come, and that this bruit did vanish by little and little, they began to find their owne errors, demanding in a rage, Where they were that had abused them with that vnto the Colonels to pacifie the mutinies.

D rals fear and lodging, if they found any assembled together, they spake mildly vnto them, demanding the reason of their alteration, and blaming in some sort their actions. Their general excuse was, That they were not payed, and that they had bene carefull to punish them of Illiturgis for their wickednesse committed after the defeat of two armies, and of two great capitaines, but not rewarded their deserts, which after these misfortunes had maintained the honour of Rome, and preferred the countrey by their vertue and valour. The Tribunes or Colonels seemed to allow of their reasons; saying, That they would make report thereof vnto *Scipio*, and that they were exceeding glad there was no harme, but that might be easily cured: that (thanks be to God) *Scipio* and the commonweale of Rome, had meanes both to content and reward them.

E *Scipio* was better acquainted with warre than with ciuile seditions, so as he was somewhat troubled how he should carrie himselfe in this action, fearing that as the fouldiours had done in their excessse, so he in punishing them might exceed measure: he therefore resolu'd to proceed with mildnesse. There were collectors sent presently to the tributarie townes, to leuie money, giuing the fouldiours hope by that meanes, that within few dayes they should be mustered and paid: and then he made a proclamation, That all the fouldiours should come to new Carthage, to receiue their pay, either all together, or by companies apart. In the meane time the Spaniards which were rebelled, retired home to their houses, the which did wholly pacifie the sedition in the Romanes campe. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* being aduertised, that *Scipio* was liuing, gaue over their enterprize, and were abandoned by all those that had followed them, finding not any one, neither Romanes nor stranger, that would bee a companion of their follies.

There grew a question among the seditious, Whether they should goe to Carthage or not, euerie one casting what was most safe and expedient for them: if they must needs goe, whether they should goe all together, or in companies one after another: in the end they resolu'd,

The Roman capitaines chased out of their camp by the mutinied fouldiours.

In a confusion of the state all excessse seems light.

The discretion of the Colonels to pacifie the mutinies.

The mutinous  
fouldiours refuse  
to submit them-  
selues to Scipios  
mercie.

ued, that their best course was to submit themselves vnto Scipios mercie, saying, That he had G  
pardoned enemies, and that their offence was none of the greatest, for there had not beene a-  
ny man slaine nor wounded: And for the safest, they should goe all together. Whilest they  
consulted what they should doe, they also resolved at Carthage, how they should intreat  
them: Some were of opinion to punish them all in generall, saying, That it was a meere reb-  
bellion, and no sedition: others aduised to punish the authors onely, which might bee some  
five and thirtie in all. This aduice was followed, that the punishment should end whereas  
the offence began. And to the end they should not thinke this counsell was held to punish  
the seditious, as soone as euer they came forth, a proclamation was made, That euerie one  
should haue his horse and armes readie to march against Mandonius and Indibilis, and that H  
they should giue order to haue victuals readie for certaine dayes, and to make other prepara-  
tions for the armie, which should march.

The feuen Tribunes which had beene sent to the mutined fouldiours, and who had pacified  
them with good words, were sent againe to meet them; to either of which was giuen a note,  
in the which were written five names of the authors of this disorder, with commandement,  
That being among them, either of them should seeke to draw them that were in his roll into  
his lodging, and there make them good cheere, and to drinke of the best vntill they were  
drunke, and then to put them into safe keeping, without any brute. These troupes approa-  
ched to new Carthage, and vnderstood by all those they met, that the next day they should  
march against the Lucetanes, vnder the conduct of Syllanus and Lelius: the which did great-  
ly reioyce them, not onely freeing their hearts from feare, but also perswading themselues, I  
that by that means their Generall should rather be in their power, than they in his. About  
Sunne set they entred into the towne, finding the other fouldiours preparing themselues to  
march. They were entertained with words fit for the businesse which was in hand; That their  
comming was pleasing vnto the Generall, the other armie being readie to march, with such  
like words. They lodged and refreshed themselues, and the heads of the mutines were  
drawne by a deuice into certaine houses, where they were taken and bound. A little before  
day the baggage of the armie which they made shew should dislodge, began to march, and  
at the breake of day the companies followed: but they stayed at the gates, whereas they set  
good gards, that no fouldiour might goe out of the towne. Then they called these fouldiours K  
newly come, to the assemblie, who came before the Generals Tribunall with great arrogan-  
cie, as if they would haue terrified him. Then the Generall went vp to his seat of iustice, and  
at the same time the companies which were in armes at the gates, were called backe, who  
compassed them in behind, they being vnarmed: then their hearts began to faint, and that  
which did most amaze them (as they confessed afterward) was the vigorous countenance of  
Scipio, whom they expected to finde leane and pale. Hauing continued there some space with-  
out any word speaking, vntill the chiefe offendours were brought vnto the place; they be-  
ing come, he began to reprehend them sharply, for that contrarie to their duties and the  
naturall bond they had vnto their country, and against the oath made vnto their commaun-  
ders, they had shewed themselues rebels, disobedient, perjured, and enemies both in word L  
and deed: hauing followed men that were not well borne, nor esteemed for any vertue, but  
rascals, to whom they had giuen full power and command ouer them, such as Atrius Vm-  
ber, and Calenus Albius. I do not thinke that you haue all runne willingly into this furie, but that  
some were the motives and beginners, and the rest were infected by their acquaintance, as with the  
plague: when I consider that the brute of my death hath beene received, beleueed, and hoped for a-  
mong my fouldiours; who haue so carried my selfe, as I need not feare that any one in Spaine (the Car-  
thaginians being chased away) should hate my life, no not our enemies themselues. I beleue then,  
that our whole armie is not so ill affected, but if it were so, I would willingly dye here in your presence:  
I beleue rather, that this mischief hath proceeded from the malice of some few. But I will forbear  
to speake of my selfe, and suppose you haue my name in detestation, and disdain my command: thinke M  
of your offences, and consider how great they are against your country, your parents and children, a-  
gainst the gods, witnesses of your oathes and promises, against your commaunders and captaines, a-  
gainst all order and martiall discipline, and against the manners of your ancestors. What offence had  
your country done you, that you should take armes against it, and betray it, in conferring your  
own-

The heads of the  
seditious are pu-  
nished for the  
multitude.

Scipio makes a  
notable inuer-  
sive against the  
seditious fouldi-  
ours.

A counsels with Mandonius and Indibilis. what had the commonweale of Rome committed, whose  
maiestie you haue traden vnder foot, wresting the authoritie out of the Tribunes hands, who were  
created by the peoples voyces, to giue it vnto priuat men? and not content to haue them for Tribunes,  
you haue giuen them the markes of a Generall, to them I say, who neuer yet commaunded ouer a poore  
flaue. Albius and Atrius haue bene lodged in the Generals tent, by you Romanes, the trumpet hath  
sounded before them, they haue giuen you the word, they haue set in the Proconsull Scipios chayre,  
they haue had an officer to make place, when as they had the rods and axes caried before them. what  
more monstrous and detestable crimes can you imagine? the which in tructh cannot bee purged,  
but by the blood of such as haue committed them. But what frenzie made you presume, being but  
B eight thousand men (better without doubt than Albius and Atrius, to whom you haue subiected your  
selues) to be able to take the prouince of Spaine from the Romanes by force, I being dead or alie, the  
rest of the Romane forces being safe, with the which I haue in one day taken new Carthage by assault,  
defeated foure great captaines, and chased foure Carthaginian armies out of Spaine? Thinke you that  
the greatnesse and strength of the Romane commonweale consists in the life or death of any captaine  
the greatnesse and strength of the Romane commonweale consists in the life or death of any captaine  
the greatnesse and strength of the Romane commonweale consists in the life or death of any captaine  
C whatsoeuer? what am I more than Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Posthumus, Albinus, M.  
Marcellus, T. Crispinus, C. Fuluius, the two of our house, and so many other brave and valiant  
captaines which haue died in this warre, and yet the people of Rome stand firme, and would still, al-  
though there should dye a thousand more, either by sword or sicknesse? much lesse can the Romane  
state brinke or decay by my death. After that my father and vnkle (who were your captaines) had  
beene slaine in these countries, you your selues did chuse L. Septimius Martius to bee your head a-  
gainst the pride and insolencie of the Carthaginians (I speake of him as if Spaine wanted other  
captaines.) M. Syllanus, is not he here also, with equall authoritie to my selfe? L. Scipio my bro-  
ther, and C. Lelius, lieutenants, are not they here also? would not these men haue maintained  
ther, and defended the maiestie of the Romane Empire? What comparison can you make betwixt the ar-  
D mies, the commaunders, and the causes? And admit you had all advantages, should you there-  
fore take armes against your country and fellow citizens, renounce the country which hath bred you,  
with your wiues and children, to adhere vnto the enemy, and to chuse your abode at Succron?  
And what was the reason? for that your pay was a little protracted, by reason of your Generals  
sicknesse? O worthy cause to make you violate all diuine and humane lawes! O Romanes, you  
haue wonderfully erred, beleue me, you haue lost all reason and iudgement, and the infirmities of  
your minds hath bene worse than that which afflicted my bodie. My words seeme sharpe vnto  
you, but your actions haue bene farre more sharpe: which if you repent, I desire there should  
bee no more mention made of them, but remaine buried in forgetfulnesse, holding the repentance  
of such detestable acts, to bee a sufficient chastisement, for as much as concernes you all in ge-  
nerall. But as for Albius Calenus, Atrius Vmber, and others which haue bene the authors  
of this wicked sedition, they shall expiate their follies with their blood: the which should not be dis-  
pleasing vnto you, but rather desired and applauded, seeing they sought to ruine you, and haue offended  
none more than you.

E In this manner Scipio spake vnto the seditious fouldiours, and presently execution was  
done of these five and thirtie men, with horreur and great feare to all the rest of the offen-  
dors: For the armed fouldiours which stood about the assembly, began to beat their tar-  
guets, the names of them that were condemned, were openly pronounced by the crier, the puni-  
ment of the chiefe  
offenders.  
they were drawne naked, tied to posts, vnto the place, beaten and torne with rods, and  
then beheaded, all the assistants being so amazed with feare, as there was nota sigh heard  
among them. The bodies being carried away, and the place cleansed, after the accustomed  
manner, Scipio made the fouldiours to take a new oathe, and they were paid what was due  
vnto them, calling them by name one after another. This was the end of the mutinie and  
sedition made at Succron, veruiously and yet mildly chastised by Scipio, considering the qua-  
F lity of the crime, which was of such consequence for great estates, as many haue not spared  
innocents themselues, to terrifie others.

At the same time Hanno had bin sent by Mago to the mouth of Betis (which is now Guadal-  
quiber) with a small number of Africanes, who gathered together some 4000 men vpon those  
marches: but he was charged by L. Martius, and forced in his campe, and most of his fouldiours  
slain, some at the assault of his rampars, and the rest in the field, being pursued by the horsemen  
as

Sedition is a  
mischief which  
doth much im-  
port estates.

The practise of  
the Gallians  
discouered and  
supprest.

A fight at the  
sea betwixt Leli-  
us and Adherbal

Mago brother to  
Haimibal and  
Generall of the  
Carthaginians,  
hopes to recover  
all Spaine.

Scipio prepares  
to goe against  
Mandonius and  
Indibilis.

Scipios speech to  
his soldiers.

as they fled, and he with a small number saued himselfe. Whilest this was doing about that riuer, *Lelius* arrived with his sea armie at *Carteia*, hauing past the strait, at the entrie whereof this towne is situated in the Ocean. The Romanes thought they should haue meanes to surprise the towne of *Gadiz* by intelligence, as they had contriued it with some of the inhabitants: but this busines was discouered before the execution; the complices were taken, and deliuered by *Mago* vnto the Prætor *Adherbal*, to be led to *Carthage* the great; who put the conspirators into a galeasse, and for that it was heauier and more slower than the gallies, he sent it a little before, & himselfe followed it with eight gallies. This galeasse was already entered into the strait; when as *Lelius* discouering it out of the port of *Carteia*, put forth also with a galeasse, being followed by his seuen gallies, and assuring himselfe that the enemies galeasse carried by the current within that strait (being hard to force) could not turne backe, he went to affront *Adherbal* and his gallies. The Carthaginian seeing himselfe surprised, was doubtful whether he should flee after his galeasse, or else make head. Whilest he stands in suspence, *Lelius* commeth vpon him, and it was not in his power to auoid the combat. They were in a strait, whereas nothing could be done after the manner of sea-fights, by the iudgement of captaines and mariners: for the sea going high in that place, they could not turne their gallies at their pleasures, the which were carried by the waues as well against their own as against the enemies, notwithstanding all their endeouours; so that oftentimes they might haue seene a gallie flying turne her spurre suddenly against that which pursued her, by the turning of a waue, and that which chased her, to flee away. The gallies being in this strife, it happened, that the Roman galeasse (whether by her weight, or the number of her oares) masting the waues better than the rest, forced two Carthaginian gallies, stemming the one, and disarming the other of all her oares of the one side, as she passed by her, and would in like manner haue endamaged the rest, if she had incountred them: but *Adherbal* with the helpe of his sailes and oares, recovered that coast of *Affricke* which was neereft. *Lelius* being victor, returned to *Carteia*, and informed of all that which had passed at *Gadiz*, how that their practise was discouered, and that the conspirators were sent to *Carthage*, he aduertised *Marius*, that it was labour lost to stay there, being more expedient to returne towards their Generall: which they did both within few daies after, and came to new *Carthage*. *Mago* hearing of their departure, and freed from feare, did not only resume new courage, but was also in hope to recover all Spaine by the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*; wherefore he sent presently to *Carthage*, to acquaint the Senate with the sedition which had lately happened in the Romanes campe, and the rebellion and reuolt of their allies, giuing them charge to make them greater than they were; perswading them, that it was now a fit time to recover the Seigniorie of all Spaine, which they had receiued from their ancestors, and therefore they should send forces to do it.

As for *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who were gone to the field, vpon the brute of *Scipios* death, thinking to make vse of the Roman soldiers which were mutined, when as they vnderstood the ruth of all things, they retired home to their houses without any alteration, attending what should be done vnto the seditious; presuming, that if *Scipio* pardoned his own soldiers, he might also vse the like clemencie towards them: but when as they vnderstood with what rigor he had punished them, they thought it was a pefrage for them to attend the like, for that they were guiltie of the same crime: wherefore they gathered their forces together, and caused their confederats to arme, meeting in the territorie of *Sedera*, where they had camped in the beginning of their reuolt, being some 20000 foot and 2500 horse. *Scipio* hauing easily pacified the discontentment of his soldiers, paying vnto euery man what was due vnto him, shewing them a good countenance, and vsing good words, to whom before his departure from *Carthage*, he made a speech in some bitter tearmes against the rebellion of these two noble men.

I goe not (said he) against these men to punish their ingratitude and wickednesse with the like affliction, as when I did chastise the offences of our fellow citizens, for what I did then was very sparingly, as if I should haue torne out part of mine owne bowels; wherefore I was content to correct the error or the offence of 8000, by the punishment of 35 men: but now that I march with you to raine the *Ilergetes*, to whom we are not tied neither by birth nor friendship, seeing that league which was betwixt vs had bin wickedly broken and violated by them, I know that all you of mine armie are eyther Romanes or Latins: besides, there are few of you which haue not bin brought out of *Italie* hither by my uncle

Cn. Scipio,

A Cn. Scipio, who first brought a Romanie armie into Spaine, or by Publius my father, or by me, and that you are all accustomed to the names and conduct of the Scipioes. wherefore I desire to carrie you backe, that you may be partakers of the triumph, which we haue well deserved. As for this warre whither wee go, let vs not call it a war, if we will remember what we haue done in this country: I do more esteem *Mago*, who hath saued himselfe in an island out of the world as a man may say with a few ships, than of the *Ilergetes*. He is a Carthaginian captaine and holds some forme of a garrison where he is, but these are theues, and captaines of theues, which are of no moment in a well gouerned warre, but onely to ouerrun and spoyle their neighbours fields, carrie away their cattell, and set fire of their farmes: whose force and valour consists in flying swiftly, and not in fighting well. If I goe first against them, doe not thinke it is for any danger, or difficultie, or for any feare I haue that the war will be long by their means, but onely to the end so wicked a rebellion should not remaine long unpunished, nor to leaue any enemy in armes, if it be possible, in a prouince conquered with so great happinesse and valour as we haue done.

Then he exhorted them to follow him vnder the conduct of the gods, not to the wars, but to punish wicked men: inioyning them to be readie for the next day. Being parted, he made ten lodgings with his campe, before he came to the riuer of *Ebro*, which hauing passed the fourth day following, they presented themselves in sight of the enemy. Betwixt both was a large vally, compassed in with mountaines: there *Scipio* made some troupes of cattell which had bene taken in the enemies countrey, to be put, to draw them forth to fight, causing them to be kept with some souldiours which were lightly armed. The Spaniards fall vpon this bootie, and the Romanes fouldiours goe to rescue it. Hereupon *Lelius* arrives, being appointed to second these footmen, with some bands of horse, who arrived fitly, for the combat was doubtful. The Spaniards were repulst by these succours with great slaughter, yet they fainte not for all this, but presented themselves the next day in order of battell, vpon the same place: and for that the vally was not able to containe all their forces, they brought forth some two third parts of their foot, and all their horse. The Romans held the straitnesse of the place to bee an aduantage for them, for that their souldiours did fight better close than in an open field, who kept their ranks, and did not run vp and downe like vnto the Spaniards: besides, they saw that they should haue to deale but with two third parts of the enemies armie. And *Scipio* refulsed of a stratagem: for seeing that he could not flanke his footmen with his horse, by reason of the straitnesse of the place, and that by the same reason, the enemies horse were also vnprofitable, he commaunded *Lelius* to lead all his horsemen about the hills, and to seeke some passage to charge the Spanish horsemen vpon the backe, and to draw them from their foot. And to the end the enemy should not discouer what *Lelius* intended, he presently went against the enemy with his footmen, placing foure companies onely in front, for that he could not do otherwise: so the battell began in two seuerall places, betwixt two battailons of foot, and two of horse, whereas one could not succour another, till in the end the Spanish foot being put to rout, their horsemen being prest before by the legions, and behind by the Roman horse, were all presently slaine, so as of all the horse and foot which fought in the vally, there escaped not any one. The other third part of the Spanish army, which came not to fight, but had only been spectators in a safe place, on the top of the hills, had all means to flee away; among whom there escaped *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*. The campe and all their baggage was taken, with 3000 prisoners: and of the Romans there were slaine about 1200, & about 3000 hurt. There is no doubt, but they had gotten this victorie with lesse blood, if the field had bene larger, and that the Spaniards might haue fled more easily. After this rout, *Indibilis* resolved to lay aside armes, and as the safest way, to submit himselfe to *Scipios* faith and clemencie, the which hee had tried: and therefore he sent *Mandonius* his brother vnto him, who did prostrate himselfe at his feet, confessing their fault, which seemed (said he) to be as a fatall disease in that season: hauing not onely run among the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetanes*, but also infected the campe and Romanie armie: finally, that both he and his brother were come thither, being readie either to yeeld vp their liues to *Scipio* (from whom they had receiued them) if it were his pleasure, or in taking them againe from him, to be for euer bound vnto him. It was an auncient custome with the Romanes, not to capitulate, nor to haue any peace with them with whom they had no alliance nor friendship, before they did yeeld into their hands whatsoever they held, were it holy or prophane, giuen hostages, deliuered vp their armes, and receiued garrisons into their townes. *Scipio* was content to receiue *Mandonius* present, and *Indibilis* being absent at that

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time,

A battell be-  
twixt the Ro-  
mans and natu-  
rall Spaniards.

The Spaniards  
defeated.

Mandonius and  
Indibilis yeeld  
to Scipios mercy

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time, with some bitter speeches giuing them to vnderstand, that they had deserued death: but G they receiued their liues by the grace of the people of Rome. Moreouer, that hee would not disarme them, which was the assurance they did vially take of rebels, but would they should hold them freely, and to be void from feare: but if they reuolted againe, they should know he would not be reuenged of innocent hostages, but vpon such as had offended, and that he would punish those that should present themselves in armes, and not the disarmed: Wherefore they should chuse, whether they would haue the Romanes fauourable vnto them, or incensed against them. Thus was *Mandonius* sent away, without any other punishment than money, which they commaunded him to furnish to pay the armie. *Scipio* hauing sent *L. Marcius* before, to passe the riuer of Ebro, and *Syllanus* to Tarracone, he staid some time, vntil the Ilergetes had paid their money, and then he followed after *Martius* (who approached neere vnto the Ocean) with some few men, and no baggage.

25 The treatie begun with *Masiniissa* had bene delayed for diuers reasons: for this Numidian would treat with *Scipio* himselfe, and make his promises to him. This made *Scipio* to vnderstand a long voiage. *Masiniissa* was in the island of Gades, where hauing intelligence by *Martius*, that *Scipio* approached, he told the Gouverneur *Mago*, That the horses and horfmen were spoiled in the island, where they caused a dearth of all things, to the hurt of others; desiring him to giue them leaue to passe into the firme land, to make some courses into the enemies country. Being past, he presently sent three of the chiefe among the Numidians to *Scipio*, two of the which should remaine for hostages, and the third returne to bring him notice of the day and place where the enteruiew should be; where they met with a small companie. *Masiniissa* first of all thanked *Scipio*, That he had sent him his nephew, his brothers sonne: then he said vnto him, That he had long desired to see that day, and that hee desired much to doe something that might be acceptable vnto him, and profitable to the Romans: wherein hee would imploy himselfe more willingly than any stranger whatsoeuer, the effects whereof he could not yet shew in Spain (a country vnknowne vnto him) but in place where he was borne and bred, hoping to succeed his father in the kingdom: and that if the Romanes did send *Scipio* into Africke, he did hope to worke so, as the estate of Carthage should not stand long. *Masiniissa* was welcome vnto *Scipio*, who heard his words with great content, knowing that whatsoeuer had bene valiantly performed in Spaine by the horfmen, was done vnder the onely leading of *Masiniissa*, who shewed by his carriage and countenance, that he was a yong prince of great hope. So hauing plighted their faith one vnto another, they parted, *Scipio* towards Tarracone, and *Masiniissa* to Gades: and to the end hee would not seeme to haue passed into the firme land in vaine, he spoyled some of the neighbour country, neere the shore, with *Scipios* consent.

26 *Mago* being made frustrat of his conceiued hope, to repaire the Carthaginians affairs in Spaine, by the Spaniards rebellion, vnder *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, and the sedition of the Romanes souldiours, resolved to goe into Africke, when as being readie to depart, he receiued order from the Senat of Carthage, by the which he was commaunded to passe with all the shipping he had at Calis, into Italie, and to leaue all the souldiours he could in Gaule, and along the sea coast, and to joyne with his brother *Hannibal*, to the end the warre which had bin begun with such animositie, might be continued with the like resolution. For the effecting whereof they brought money from Carthage, and he for his part got all hee could from the Gaditanes, hauing not onely exhausted their common treasure, but vnfurnished their temples of their jewels and other riches, and forced euerie priuat man to bring him all the gold and siluer he had. As he passed along the coast of Spaine, comming neere vnto new Carthage he landed some souldiours, which forraged the countrey neere vnto the sea, and gaue an alarme vnto the whole prouince. Then he approached neere vnto the towne, and hauing kept his souldiours aboard the gallies in the day time, at night he put them on shore, towards that part of the wall whereas the Romanes had entred; supposing that Carthage had not been verie well manned with souldiours, and that haply some of the inhabitants might reuolt: but the flight of the countrey-men, and the centinels (which had discovered the armie at sea the day before) had alreadie giuen aduertisement to the town, who imagined that it was notwithstanding some designe, that the gallies had cast anker so neere vnto them. Wherefore the garri- son kept themselves in armes, and stood readie at the port next vnto the poole, and towards the

A parley be-  
twixt *Masiniis-  
sa* and *Scipio*, to  
the preiudice of  
the Romanes.Mago, *Hanni-  
balis* brother,  
commaunded to  
passe into Italie.Mago spoils the  
Gaditanes.

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A the sea. The enemies came in troupes mixt of souldiours and mariners, vnto the foot of the wall, with more brute than effect: and then the port was set open, whereas the Romanes made a furious sallie vpon them, with great cries, wherewith they were so amazed, as at the first charge, they turned their backs in disorder towards the sea, whither they were pursued with great slaughter: and if their gallies had not bene verie neere to receiue them, there had not any one escaped. Hauing gotten aboard, they were not yet assured, but feared that some of the enemies gallies would come out of the port against them: wherefore they drew vp their ladders and bridges speedily, and for that they would loose no time in weighing their ankers, they cut their cables. And it happened, that many thinking to saue themselves by swimming, were not able to discern their gallies, by reason of the darkenesse of the night, went out of their way, and were drowned. This armie returned speedily towards the Ocean, from whence they had parted. Day being come, the Romanes found about 800 men slaine, betwixt the towne and the shore, and about two thousand cuirasses. To *Mago* (who thought to returne vnto Gades) the entrie was refused: wherefore he returned vnto a place neere vnto it, called *Cimbis*, from whence he sent certaine gentlemen vnto Gades, to know the reason why they shut the gates against him, who was their friend and allic. To whom they answered, That it had bene done by the multitude, who had bene discontented at the spoiles and insolencies which the souldiours committed, when they imbarqued. Then he sought to draw their Suffetes out of the towne (which were those that held the soueraign magistracie in that Phenician nation) to parley with them, and with their chiefe treasurer. When he had them, hee caused them to be scourged with rods, and then to be hung vpon a gibet. Which done, he sayled towards the Pytiufes (being islands some hundred miles from the firme land, and inhabited at that time by Carthaginians) where both he and his whole armie were well entertained, the which was not onely refreshed with victuals, but furnished with souldiours and armes by those islanders. *Mago* relying vpon these things, came vnto the Baleares, some fiftie miles from thence, thinking to winter in the greater of them, the which was rich, and full of men, with a large and safe port; for now Autumne drew neere: But he found himselfe deceiued: for the inhabitants of Majorca went in hostile manner against him, no lesse than the Romanes would haue done, and with their slings kept them from landings; so as the Carthaginians were forced to put out to sea, & went to Minorca, which is the other island of the Baleares, as fertile as the other, but not so strong of men. There they landed, and without any great resistance became masters of the towne and island: where they inrolled two thousand men of that nation, the which they sent to Carthage to winter. When as *Mago* had left the Ocean, to enter into the strait, the Gaditanes yeilded vnto the Romans.

These were the affaires which passed in Spain, vnder the gouernment of *P. Corn. Scipio*, who hauing resigned the prouince and the armies vnto *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, returned to Rome with ten gallies: where being arriued, he made known vnto the Senat the great exploits of warre which he had done, the battels woon, the townes taken, and the people and countries subdued vnder the obedience of the Romans; finally, that in Spaine he had left no enemy. These things were deliuered by him with great state, rather to see if they would grant him a triumphant entrie into the citie, than to demanda a triumph: For in truth, vnto that day there had not any captaine entred in triumph into the citie of Rome, how great soeuer his exploits had bene, if it were not with the title of a Roman magistrat. Being entred into Rome, he brought into the publique treasure, of the remainders of the spoyle of Spaine, 14352 pounds of siluer in masse, and great store of coined money.

Mago makes a  
vaine attempt  
vpon new Car-  
thage.Suffetes, Magi-  
strats of the Ga-  
ditanes.  
Magoes tyrans  
now require a-  
gainst the Gadi-  
tanets.The Gaditanes  
yeeld vnto the  
Romanes.Scipio returns  
to Rome.Proconsuls no  
magistrats in  
Rome.

H ij

THE





A great army of Spaniards against the Romanes.

At last he returns the Romanes and Spaniards.

The Spaniards are my defeated.

The Spaniards sue to the Romanes for mercie.

The chiefe authors of rebellion do alwaies smart for the reb.

tunitie offered to effect their desires, and to make themselves kings of the other people of Spaine, which vnto that time had bene subject, sometimes to the Carthaginians, and sometimes to the Romans, and oftentimes to both; they acquainted their subjects, and the Aufetanes their neighbours, with their designe: vaunting, That if they maintained themselves in vnitie, they might easily expell the Romans out of Spaine, as well as they had chased away the Carthaginians: With whom they prevailed so by their persuasions, as in few dayes they had gathered together in the fields of Sedete 30000 foot, and 4000 horse, and there made the bodie of their army. The leaders of the Roman army, were *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius*, who being aduertised of this reuolt, meaning to prevent this mischief in time, went speedily to field, and passing quietly through the Aufetanes countrey, as friends, they came whereas the enemies were, and encamped within a league of them. There they tried first by messages and embassages, to diuert them from their foolish enterprise, perswading them to lay aside armes: but it was in vaine. Some forragers of the Romanes being charged by the Spanish horse, they were forced to send some troupes of horse to succour them, where there was an encounter that day, but to no effect. The day following, at the Sunne rising, the Spanish armie aduanced in battel, within a mile of the Roman campe. The Aufetanes held the middest, hauing the *Ilergetes* on the right hand, and on the left some other Spaniards of small fame. They had left betwixt the battailon in the middest and the two wings, a good large space, to giue passage to their horsemen, when it should be time to come to the charge. The Romanes ordered their armie after their accustomed manner, yet imitating the enemies therein, they left a space also to bring in their horsemen. This done, *L. Lentulus* bethought himselfe, that they should make best vse of those horsemen which should enter with them first into these spaces which were betwixt the squadrons of the enemies foot: Wherefore he commaunded *Ser. Cornelius*, who had charge of the Roman horsemen, to enter into those spaces of the Spanish armie. In the meane time he hauing the twelfth legion, being prest in the beginning of the battell by the *Ilergetes*, on the left hand, made it good vntill they were seconded by the thirteenth legion, the which he caused to aduance, to succour them in the front of the battell: and hauing thus assured that part, he ran towards *L. Manlius*, who did his dutie, encouraging the souldiours, and sending supplies where he saw any need; aduertising him, that the footmen on the left wing behaued themselves well, and that hee had sent *Ser. Cornelius* with the horsemen, to charge furiously into the enemies troupes: the effect whereof did presently appeare: for *Ser. Cornelius* being entred with his horse into the middest of the enemies, he made all their battel of foot to wauer, and withall stopt the passage to the enemies horse, so as they could not come to fight: which made the Spanish horsemen to leaue their horses. The Roman captaines seeing the Spaniards in some disorder, they cried out, incouraged, and intreated the souldiours to proceed valiantly, and to keepe them from joyning together againe. The enemies began now to forsake the fight, if *Indibilis* leauing his horse, had not come and presented himselfe in the head of the footmen. There was a long and bloudie fight, the which they maintained, vntill that *Indibilis* and those that fought about him, were ouerthrowne and slaine one vpon another: then they began to flie of all hands, and the Romans to pursue them, of whom they made a great slaughter, and withall tooke their campe, and all their baggage. There were 13000 slaine vpon the place, and about 800 prisoners. Of the Romans there died two hundred, or not many more, especially on the left wing. The Spaniards being thus defeated, the rest which escaped retired home into their countrey.

The Spaniards being afterwards called to counsell by *Mandonius*, they complained much of their losses, and blaming the authors of this warre, they said, That they were of opinion to send embassadors vnto the Romans, to beseech them to take them to mercie, and that they would deliuer them their armes: the which they did, and excused themselves, laying the fault vpon *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, and others, which had solicited them. To whom the Romanes answered, That they would take them to mercie, vpon condition they should deliuer vnto them the authors of this rebellion aliuie, else they would intreat the Aufetanes, *Ilergetes*, and other their confederats, as enemies.

This answer being returned by their embassadors, *Mandonius* and the other authors were taken, and sent to the Romanes to receiue the reward of their misdeeds. By this meanes the troubles in Spaine were pacified, whereas they imposed a double tribute for that yeare, and a con-

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A contribution of corne for six moneths, with cassocks and cloakes for the souldiours: besides, the Romanes forced about thirtie seuerall provinces to giue hostages. These things were done in Spaine, whilst that *P. Scipio* prepared to goe into Africke, to diuert the warre which was betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians in Italie, vvhich he had sent *C. Lelius*, *Mago* on the other side being arrived at Genes in Italie, and vpon the coast of the Ligusticke sea.

3 The Saguntines (for whose sake this second Punicke warre betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians had bene vndertaken) had sent embassadours to Rome with *Scipio*, to thanke the Senate for the care they had of their faithfull allies, to protest of the loue and affection the Senate for the care they had of the people of Rome, and to offer a crowne of gold to the Commonweale of Sagunt had to the people of Rome, and to offer a crowne of gold to *Jupiter Capitolinus* his Temple; who were honourably entertained, and rewarded by the Senat: who hauing a desire to see Italie, were by a publicke decree conducted and accompanied with a good gard wherefoeuer they would goe.

Some moneths after, *Hannibal* being out of Italie, the same Saguntines surprised in Spaine certaine Commisaries and Carthaginian captaines, with a good summe of money, where-with they would haue leuiued souldiours in that countrey, whom they sent to Rome with their money, and presented them to the Senate. The Commisaries and captaines were detained prisoners, but the mony was restored to the Saguntines, with thanks by the Senat: the summe was 250 pounds of gold, and 800 of siluer.

C The Spaniards were so entreated vnder the gouernment of *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius*, as of the goods and reuenues of Spaine both Rome and Italie were often relieued, with corne, apparel, armes, and all other prouisions which they drew from thence. In the end, the Romanes hauing forced the Carthaginians to demaund a peace, after the defeat which *Scipio* manes hauing forced the Carthaginians to demaund a peace, after the defeat which *Scipio* had giuen vnto *Hannibal* in Africke, and neere vnto Carthage, it was resolved in the Senat at Rome, to call home the old souldiours which were in Spaine, to leaue only a Legion of Romanes, with fiftene companies of Latines their allies, and to send a new Gouernour thither. Wherefore *L. Corn. Lentulus* returned to Rome: where hauing related what he had valiantly and profitably performed, he demaunded leaue to enter the citie in triumph; the which they refused him, being against the presidents of their aunccestors: for whosoever had the conduct of an armie, being no Dictator, Consul, nor Prætor, but only holding the place of a Consul or Prætor, did not enter in triumph into the citie: yet for that the exploits done by him were great and worthie, they were content he should enter so in a fort; which was not altogether so stately and pompeous as a triumph; the which in their language they called *Onatio*. Hee brought into the Treasurie 44000 pound weight of siluer, and 2450 pounds of gold, and of the bootie there was giuen to euery souldiour 120 Asces, which make about a crowne and a fifth part, besides their ordinarie pay. This was during the Consulship of *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*: but the yeare following *L. Corn. Lentulus* was created Consul, with *P. Iulius Apulus*, or *P. Villius Tapulus*; and in his place *C. Corn. Cethegus* was sent into Spaine, who gaue a great defeat vnto the Spaniards in the fields of Sedeta, where there were about 15000 of the enemies slaine, and 78 ensignes taken. *Cethegus* and *Manlius* being afterwards called backe to Rome, the people sent in their place *Cn. Corn. Lentulus* and *L. Stertinius*. The Senat graunted to the Gaditanes (besides the conuentions which they had made with *L. Martius Septimius*) That they should haue no Gouernour. *L. Manlius Acidinus* being returned out of Spaine, demaunded of the Senate (for that he had well and vertuously gouerned the affaires) That he might enter into the Senate with the solemnitie called *Onatio*: but hee was hindered by *M. Porcius Cæcia*, Tribune of the people, who opposed himselfe, for that he had not bene in that gouernment in qualitie of a Magistrate, but as a Vice-gereut, being lesse fauoured therein than *Lentulus* his companion: wherefore he made no entrie: yet he brought in 1200 pounds of siluer, and some 30 of gold. Soone after *C. Corn. Lentulus* returned from Spaine, bringing also vnto the publicke treasure 1515 pounds of gold, 20000 of siluer, and 3455 deniers of siluer coyned. *L. Stertinius* being also returned, brought 50000 pounds of siluer out of the farther Spaine, and of the spoyle he caused two arches to be made in the Oxe market before the Temples of Fortune and of the goddesse *Matuta*; and one in the great Lists, vpon the which he set Images gilt. So as these Romanes made sharpe warres against the

The Saguntines send embassadours to Rome.

Anno Rome 553

Dictators, Consuls, and Prætors were allowed to triumph.

Onatio.

A great defeat of Spaniards.

tunitie offered to effect their desires, and to make themselves kings of the other people of Spaine, which vnto that time had bene subject, sometimes to the Carthaginians, and sometimes to the Romans, and oftentimes to both; they acquainted their subjects, and the Ausetanes their neighbours, with their designe: vaunting, That if they maintained themselves in vnitie, they might easily expell the Romans out of Spaine, as well as they had chased away the Carthaginians: With whom they preuailed so by their persuasions, as in few dayes they had gathered together in the fields of Sedete 30000 foot, and 4000 horse, and there made the bodie of their army. The leaders of the Roman army, were *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius*, who being aduertised of this reuolt, meaning to prevent this mischief in time, went speedily to field, and passing quietly through the Ausetanes countrey, as friends, they came whereas the enemies were, and encamped within a league of them. There they tried first by messages and embassages, to diuert them from their foolish enterprize, perswading them to lay aside armes: but it was in vaine. Some forragers of the Romanes being charged by the Spanishe horse, they were forced to send some troupes of horse to succour them, where there was an encounter that day, but to no effect. The day following, at the Sunne rising, the Spanishe armie advanced in battell, within a mile of the Romane campe. The Ausetanes held the middest, hauing the *Ilergetes* on the right hand, and on the left some other Spaniards of small fame. They had left betwixt the battallion in the middest and the two wings, a good large space, to giue passage to their horsemen, when it should be time to come to the charge. The Romanes ordered their armie after their accustomed manner, yet imitating the enemies therein, they left a space also to bring in their horsemen. This done, *L. Lentulus* bethought himselfe, that they should make best vse of those horsemen which should enter with them first into these spaces which were betwixt the squadrons of the enemies foot: Wherefore he commaunded *Ser. Cornelius*, who had charge of the Romane horsemen, to enter into those spaces of the Spanishe armie. In the meane time he hauing the twelfth legion, being prest in the beginning of the battell by the *Ilergetes*, on the left hand, made it good vntill they were seconded by the thirteenth legion, the which he caused to aduance, to succour them in the front of the battell: and hauing thus assured that part, he ran towards *L. Manlius*, who did his dutie, encouraging the souldiours, and sending supplies where he saw any need; aduertising him, that the footmen on the left wing behaued themselves well, and that hee had sent *Ser. Cornelius* with the horsemen, to charge furiously into the enemies troupes: the effect whereof did presently appeare: for *Ser. Cornelius* being entred with his horse into the middest of the enemies, he made all their battell of foot to wauer, and withall stopt the passage to the enemies horse, so as they could not come to fight: which made the Spanishe horsemen to leaue their horses. The Romane captaines seeing the Spaniards in some disorder, they cried out, encouraged, and intreated the souldiours to proceed valiantly, and to keepe them from joyning together againe. The enemies began now to forsake the fight, if *Indibilis* leauing his horse, had not come and presented himselfe in the head of the footmen. There was a long and bloudie fight, the which they maintained, vntill that *Indibilis* and those that fought about him, were ouerthrowne and slaine one vpon another: then they began to flie of all hands, and the Romans to pursue them, of whom they made a great slaughter, and withall tooke their campe, and all their baggage. There were 13000 slaine vpon the place, and about 800 prisoners. Of the Romans there died two hundred, or not many more, especially on the left wing. The Spaniards being thus defeated, the rest which escaped retired home into their countrey.

The Spaniards being afterwards called to counsell by *Mandonius*, they complained much of their losses, and blaming the authors of this warre, they said, That they were of opinion to send embassadors vnto the Romans, to beseech them to take them to mercie, and that they would deliuer them their armes: the which they did, and excused themselves, laying the fault vpon *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, and others, which had solicited them. To whom the Romanes answered, That they would take them to mercie, vpon condition they should deliuer vnto them the authors of this rebellion aliuie, else they would intreat the Ausetanes, *Ilergetes*, and other their confederats, as enemies.

This answer being returned by their embassadours, *Mandonius* and the other authors were taken, and sent to the Romanes to receiue the reward of their misdeeds. By this meanes the troubles in Spaine were pacified, whereas they imposed a double tribute for that year, and a

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A contribution of come for six moneths, with cassockes and cloakes for the souldiours: besides, the Romanes forced about thirtie seuerall prouinces to giue hostages.

These things were done in Spaine, whilst that *P. Scipio* prepared to goe into Africke, to diuert the warre which was betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians in Italie, whither he had sent *C. Lelius*, *Mago* on the other side being arriued at Genes in Italie, and vpon the coast of the Ligusticke sea.

3 The Saguntines (for whose sake this second Punicke warre betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians had bene vnderaken) had sent embassadours to Rome with *Scipio*, to thanke the Senate for the care they had of their faithfull allies, to protest of the loue and affection the Commonweale of Sagunt had to the people of Rome, and to offer a crowne of gold to *Jupiter Capitolinus* his Temple; who were honourably entertained, and rewarded by the Senat: who hauing a desire to see Italie, were by a publicke decree conducted and accompanied with a good gard wheresoever they would goe.

Some moneths after, *Hannibal* being out of Italie, the same Saguntines surprised in Spaine certaine Commissaries and Carthaginian captaines, with a good summe of money, where-with they would haue leuiued souldiours in that countrey, whom they sent to Rome with their money, and presented them to the Senate. The Commissaries and captaines were detained prisoners, but the mony was restored to the Saguntines, with thanks by the Senat: the summe was 250 pounds of gold, and 800 of siluer.

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The Saguntines  
send embassa-  
dours to Rome.

Ann. Roma 553

Dictators, Consuls, and Prators were allowed so triumph.

Onatio.

A great defeat  
of Spaniards.

The Roman G-  
nariors great  
exaltors.

Anno Rome 556

The government  
of Spaine given  
to two Pretors.

The Spaniards  
rise against  
Heluius the  
Pretor.

the men, but more against their purses; by reason whereof the inconstant nature of the Spaniards was now very wauering.

*C. Corn. Cethegus* and *Quin. Minutius Rufus* being Consuls at Rome, Spaine hauing vntill that time bene but one Consularie Prouince, gouerned by two Pro-consuls, was diuided into two governments, and two Pretors sent thither, who had charge to make a diuision of their jurisdictions, whereof the one should be called the hither Spaine, and the other the farther: but not as before, when as the riuer of Ebro made the limit, for the hither Spaine passed much beyond it. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* was sent into the hither Spaine, and *Marc. Heluius* into the other, for Pretors. Both of them were intangled with great and doubtfull warres: for against *Heluius* there did rise *Colca* and *Lucinius*, great noblemen of Spaine, who conspired with many good townes, as Cardona, Bardona, and many others vpon the sea coast, which had not yet reuolted. As for *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, hee was defeated in his gouernment, and so wounded, as he died soone after.

Wherefore *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claud. Marcellus* being created Consuls, *Qu. Fabius Buteo* and *Q. Minutius Thermus* were sent Pretors into Spaine, either of them with a legion of Romane souldiours, and foure thousand foot and three hundred horse, Latines, of their allies. Thus the warre reuiued in Spaine the fifth yeare, after the end of the second Punicke warre; and from that time the Romanes had to deale with the Spaniards alone, without any support of the Carthaginians. The danger of this warre was so apprehended by the Senate, that one of the two Consuls, with a Consularie armie of two legions, five thousand foot and five hundred horse of their allies, Latines, should goe in person with twentie gallees, and such a number of other vessels, as should bee fit to transport his armie. *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius Cato* were created Consuls: Spaine was allotted vnto *Cato*, to whom *P. Manlius* was appointed as Pretor in the hither part of Spaine neere vnto Gaule, and *Appius Claudius Nero* in the further Spaine. To these Pretors were appointed (besides the legion which either of the Gouernours in Spaine then had) two thousand foot and two hundred horse, newly leuiued.

Whilest these things were preparing, *Q. Minutius Thermus* came to battaile with *Budares* and *Besafides*, two commanders of the Spaniards, neere vnto Turbe, where he defeated them, and slew about twelue thousand of their men, tooke *Budares* prisoner, and put the rest in rout. These newes did somewhat reuiue the people of Rome, who were mightily perplexed for these warres of Spaine. *M. Porcius Cato* being Consull, passed into Spaine the sixt yeare after the peace made betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, to reduce that Prouince wholly vnto the obedience of the people of Rome: wherein his seuerer carriage did much auale: for mildnesse is not alwaies fit for all nations, nor for all diseases. He embarked his armie in the riuer of Genes, whither he had drawne five and twentie ships of warre, whereof there were twentie of the state of Rome, and five of their allies, with a great number of others. They arrived safely at Rosas, then called Rhoda, at the foot of the Pyrenees, where they chased away a garrison of Spaniards which held the castle. From thence he passed to Empurias, and there he landed his souldiours. At that time Empurias was a double towne, diuided with wals, the one inhabited by Grecians issued from Phocce (from whence also the Marisilians came) the other by Spaniards. The Greeke towne was in a manner all in the sea, and was not much aboute foure hundred paces in circuit: the Spaniards habitation was much more, containing about three thousand paces; alwaies living in jealousie one of another, assured onely by their diligent gard, and continuall discipline of warre, as if the enemy had bene at their gates. The Grecians entertained no Spaniard within their wals, neither did they goe out rashly towards the land: the sea was free for all men. Amid these jealousies they receiued great commodities one from another: for the Spaniards (who were very ignorant of nauigation) had many strange commodities from the Grecians, and did furnish them in exchange with the fruits of their country. This traffique was the cause that the Spaniards towne was open vnto the Grecians, who for their better safeties were allied vnto the Romanes, and maintained themselves with as great loyalty in their friendship, as the Marisilians themselves could doe, although they were not so mightie. The Consull *Cato* arriuing there, they receiued him with all the honour and bountie they could. He stayed there some time to discover what forces the

The Spaniards  
defeated by Q.  
Minutius  
Thermus.

A strange and  
envious manner  
of lining of the  
Empurians.

A the enemies might haue, and where they were; and for that hee would not spend the time in idleness, he caused his souldiours to be trained. *Cato's* arriuall was in haruest: wherefore he did forbid the purueyors and Commissaries to make any prouision of come, but sent them backe to Rome, saying, That the warre could maintaine it selfe. Departing from Empurias, he put the enemies countrey to sacke by fire and sword, and filled all with terror.

At the same time *M. Heluius* meaning to retire out of base Spaine, which he had gouerned, being accompanied with 6000 men, which the Pretor *Appius Claudius* had giuen him for conuoy, he was encountered by the way with 20000 Celtiberians, neere vnto the towne of Illiturge (either that which *Scipio* had destroyed, being repaired, or another of that name) whom he did fight withall, and vanquish, and slew 12000 men: then he tooke Illiturge, where he put all the inhabitants about the age of 14 yeres to the sword: and from thence he came vnto *Cadetes* campe: from whence hee afterwards passed to Rome; into the which he made a solemne entrie, with ouation, for that hee had gouerned his prouince happily. Hee brought 14732 pounds of siluer in masse, 17000 Bigats (which is a piece of coyne, stamp with a chariot drawn with two horses) and of the siluer of Osca 120438. Presently after *Heluius*, *Q. Minutius Thermus* returned to Rome, who had the honour of a triumph; which was the first that was graunted, by reason of his victories in the wars of Spaine: he brought also into the Treasurie 34800 pounds of siluer, 78000 Bigats, and 278000 of Osca.

In the meane time the Consull *Cato* was not farre encamped from Empurias, whereas three C embassadours came vnto him from *Bilifages*, Lord of the Illegetes; among the which was one of his sons, complaining, That their castles were besieged by the other Spaniards, whom they could not resist, but with aid from the Romanes. That if it pleased him to send them five thousand men, it would be sufficient to force the enemy to retire. The Consull answered, That he was moued with the danger wherein they were: but he had not at that time such forces, as he might with safetie send away so great a number, especially being not farre from the enemy, with whom he expected to fight every day. The embassadours hearing these words, cast themselves at his feet, and embracing his knees, besought him, not to abandon them in their great necessitie, seeing the Romanes were the onely refuge they had in this world: they let him vnderstand, That if they would haue falsified their faith, and conspired with others that were reuolted, they might easily haue auoided that danger; but they would not doe it, although they had bene sollicit with threats and terrifyings, hoping, that the support of the Romanes should be their warrant: but if that should faile them, and that the Consull should refuse to aid and defend them, they did protest before God and men, That they should be forced to leaue the Romane partie, least they should fall into the miseries and calamities of them of Sagunt. That day *Cato* made them no other answer, yet he did not leaue to meditate thereon all night, to find some meanes to free the Illegetes from this danger, and not to diminish his forces: for that would haue stayed him from fighting with the enemy, as he desired; or else in fighting he might be too weake and in danger. In the end he considered, that hypocritie and dissembling in warre haue oftentimes auailed much, and that those which attend succours, being persuaded to haue them speedily, haue often vpon this hope taken courage, and grown so resolute, as they haue preferred themselves: Wherefore the next day he told the embassadours, That he was content for their sakes to incommode himselfe, and that notwithstanding that he had great occasion to employ his souldiours, yet he would send them succours. Hereupon he commaunded they should take the third part of all the companies, and that they should prepare victuals and ships to embarke them the third day. Whereupon he sent away two of these embassadours, to carrie newes to *Bilifages* and the Illegetes, retaining the third, who was sonne to *Bilifages*, making him good cheare, and honouring him with presents. The embassadours before their departure saw the troupes embarked, and being very well satisfied, went away, making great bruit of these succours. The Consull thinking that he had made shew ynough, caused the souldiours to land againe, and to returne to the campe. And for that the season began to grow vnfit to make warre, he caused Winter lodgings to be made for the armie, within a myle of Empurias, from whence he sent the souldiours on euery side to spoyle the enemies countrey. Leauing a sufficient garrison in the campe, he made them goe forth in the night, that they might goe the farther without discouerie, and more easily surprise the Spaniards. In this manner he did exercise his new souldiours, and surprised many of the ene-

Souldiours should  
be alwaies in  
action.

A strange begin-  
ning of the war.

A notable vi-  
ctorie gotten by  
the Pretor  
Heluius.

Q. Minutius  
Thermus trium-  
phed first at  
Rome for his vi-  
ctories in Spaine.

Dissembling in  
warre doth of-  
ten import.

Cato's speech to  
the capitaines.

Cato seeks to  
make his souldi-  
ers hardie by  
constraining, ta-  
king all places of  
retreat from  
them.

The Spaniards  
defeated by  
Cato.

enemies, who durst no more goe out of their forts. *Cato* hauing by this meanes sufficiently tried the hearts both of his owne men and of the Spaniards, he called the Capitaines, Knights, and Centeniers together, and said vnto them: *That it was now time to set their hands to the worke which they had so much desired, to shew their vertue by a battaile, and not by raunging and spying, as they had hitherto done, and that they must no more busie themselves with the prey of the champion countrey, but prepare themselves to enioy the riches of townes. The estate of the affaires in Spaine (said he) is reduced to that point, that whereas in the time of our predecessors, when as there was neither captaine nor armie for the Romanes in this region, they did capitulate, That their power and command should extend vnto the riuer of Ebro: and now when there is a Consull, two Pretors, and three Armies, and that the Carthaginians haue beene wholly excluded for these tenne yeares, wee haue not in a manner any thing on this side that riuer. We must then recover it by our armes and valour, and reduce this nation (which hath beene accustomed to begin warre with more easinesse, than to maintaine it vertuously) vnto the yoke, which they would shake of: wherefore goe and refresh your selues, and be readie to depart this night.* About midnight he dislodged, that he might encampe at his pleasure, before the enimie should haue any intelligence. So as taking a long circuit, he marched beyond the Spaniards armie; and when as day began to breake, he put his men in battaile, and sent three companies of foot vnto the rampier of their campe.

The Spaniards being amazed to see their enemies behind them, ran to armes: then the Consull said vnto his souldiours: *There is now no more hope but in our valour, the which I haue done of purpose; for the enimie lies mid way betwixt vs and our lodging: all that is behind vs is the enimie; wherefore there is no better safetie than to trust to our owne vertues.* He then caused his companies which were gone to skirmish, to retire, as if they would haue fled, that he might draw forth the enimie, as hee did: for the Spaniards (thinking that the Romanes had retired for feare) left their campe, and came out armed, filling the place betwixt their trenches and the Romanes armie, and there put themselves confusedly and hastily into battaile: but the Consull gaue them no leasure, but caused certaine troupes of horsemen to aduance, who came and charged these Barbarians thus disordered: but the Romanes on the right hand were presently repulsed, and, retreating in haile, had almost put the footmen in rout. The Consull perceiuing this, he presently sent two bands of foot, who passing along the enemies right flanke, presented themselves behind, before the battailions of foot came to joyne: the which did so amaze the enemies, as the partie which before was doubtfull for the Romanes, by reason of the disorder of their horse, was now almost equall: yet both the horse and foot on the right wing were so troubled, as the Consull could hardly make them stand firme: yea, he was forced to take some by the hands, to turne them against the enimie. Whilest they did fight with their darts a farre off, the encounter was doubtfull: yea, the Romanes wauering on the right wing, could hardly be kept in order. On the left wing and in front the Spaniards were sorely prest, and besides, they feared those companies which came in the reere to charge them: but when they were approached, and so joyned, as no blow fell in vaine, and that there remained no hope but in their resolutions and valours, being come to the sword, and that *Cato* had refreshed his tyred men with new troupes, which charged the enimie like lightening, then were they forced and put to rout, so as they did what they could to saue themselves in their campe. Then *Cato* galloping to the second Legion, which he had referred for succours, he caused them to aduance speedily towards the enemies campe, to force it, but with such order, as if any one aduanced too fast, or went out of his ranke, he beat him into his order with a iaveline which he carried, commanding the colonels and capitaines to doe the like. Now did the Roman armie giue an assault vnto the enemies rampiers & palisadoes, who defended themselves valiantly, repulsing their enemies with stones, stakes, and other arms: where a new Legion arriving, the combat was more furious, both parties growing more courageous; the one through hope, the other through despair. The Consull riding about the campe, obserued what part was worst manned, or weakest defended: and finding that the gate on the left hand was but ill furnished with men, he sent some of the foremost rankes of the second Legion thither, and such as carried long stakes, who forced the gate which was at this gate, and entred into the campe. The Spaniards seeing the enemies within their trenches, leaue their armes and ensignes, flye out of their ports, and cast themselves ouer their rampiers, euery man seeking to saue himselfe, and one hindering another with haile, so as there was a great slaughter of them

A great slaughter  
of Spaniards.

them that fled, and their baggage was all taken. Some hold, that there died in this battaile fortie thousand Spaniards. There are three commendable things noted in *Cato* in this action: First, to take all hope of safetie from his souldiours, but by their armes and vertue, he had led them far from their campe and ships, betwixt the enemies campe and his countrey: Secondly, that he did send two companies behind the enemies armie, whilest that he charged them in front: and for the third, that he had referred the second Legion behind the rest, and led them in good order to assaile the enemies campe, whilest that all the other troupes were disbanded and busie in fight.

After this great victorie, he gaue his souldiours no great rest: for being a little refreshed in their campe, he led them to spoyle the enemies countrey, the which they did ouerrun at their pleasures, for that they were all fled. This was the cause which made the Spaniards of Empuria to yeeld, and many other people thereabouts. There were many inhabitants of other Cities and Communalities fled to Empuria, whom *Cato* caused to come before him, and courteously entreated them, commanding to giue them meat and drinke, and then he sent them home to their houses. Soone after he marched with his armie towards Tarracone, and in all places where he passed, he met with the embassadours of townes, which yeelded vnto him; so as all Spaine on this side Ebro was reduced vnder the obedience of the people of Rome before he came to Tarracone: and from all places there were presented vnto him and freely giuen an infinite number of prisoners, Romanes, Latines, and other allies, which had beene taken by diuers accidents. The bruit was, That hee would lead his armie into Turditane, which is the furthest part of Spaine, towards the strait, and some sayd, That he would passe vnto the mountaines and places vnkowne. Vpon this false bruit, there were seuen strong places in the countrey of the Bargistanes which rebelled, whom hee subdued without any great toyle, or memorable combat: but soone after the Consull being returned to Tarracone, they rebelled againe; so as hee leading his armie thither againe, subdued them: but they escaped not so good cheape as at the first; for he caused them all to be sold for slaues by the drumme, to the end they should trouble the peace no more.

The Spaniards  
alwaies apt to  
rebell.

Cato's seueritie  
in the Spaniards  
relapse.

In the meane time the Pretor *P. Manlius* hauing receiued the armie from his predecessor *Qu. Minutius*, and being joyned with that which *Appius Claudius Nero* had in the farther Spaine, all old bands, he marched into the countrey of Turditania (the which is Andalusia) and the countrey adjoining. The Turditanians were esteemed the worst warriors among all the people of Spaine; yet trusting in their multitudes, they came to encounter the Romanes: when the Romanes horsemen disordered them at the first charge; then the Legions arriving, they put them wholly to rout. But the war was not thus ended: for the Turditanians did entertaine in pay ten thousand Celtiberians, and continued to make warre with these mercenaries.

The Consull being incensed at the double rebellion of the Bargistanes, vsed his natural rigor and seueritie against all the Spaniards which dwelt on this side the riuer of Ebro: for he disarmed them all, thinking, that if they were armed, they would vpon any occasion fall into rebellion. This was taken so disdainfully by these people, as many grew furiously mad, and slew themselves: A nation in truth fierce and warlike, who esteemed not that life which passed without armes: Whereof the Consull being aduertised, he caused the Senatours of all the townes of that countrey to come vnto him, to whom he said: *That what hee had done, was more for their profites, than any interest of the Romanes: For when they were to make warre, you know (said he) it was decided with more misfortune and lesse for the Spaniards, than trouble or paine for the Romanes: wherefore to preserve you hereafter from ruine, I thought there was but one onely meanes; which is, to keepe you from rebelling: Let vs then bethinke our selues of the mildest course, and giue me your aduice; beleue me I will not willingly entertaine any, but what you shall giue.* These Senatours demanded time to aduise thereon: and being called againe, they answered not any thing. Whereupon the Consull caused all their townes to be demanteled in one day: and from thence marched with his armie against their neighbours, which were yet in armes, whom he brought to obedience, namely, Segestica, a towne of great importance, and rich, the which he tooke by sappe. It was a greater difficultie for *Cato* to subdue these people of Spaine, than it had beene for the first capitaines which

The Spaniards  
esteemed not the  
life which passed  
without armes.

Cato demanteled  
the townes in  
Spaine.

which came thither for the Romanes, when the Carthaginians did rule there: for at that time if the Spaniards were wearie of the Carthaginians commaund, they had recourse vnto the Romanes: but *Cato* making warre against them, they had no other refuge, but from an vsurped libertie they must fall into slauerie. Finally, he found all this Prouince altered, some hauing taken armes, some being besieged by their neighbours, to force them to take armes, who (if they had not bene prevented in time) would haue also rebelled with the rest. This Confull had such an active spirit, as all things both great and small must passe through his hands, neither did he thinke it sufficient to resolue, discourse, and commaund that which he held fit to be done, but he himselfe did execute many things; neither was he more strict and seuerer to any one in his commaundements, than to his owne person. There was not any one to be found in his armie, that did watch, fast, and toyle more than himselfe. Finally, he had no aduantage among those that he commaunded, but the honour to commaund.

The Turditane warre grew more difficult to *P. Manlius*, by reason of the mercinarie Celtiberians: wherefore the Confull being called thither by letters from the Pretor, he marched with his armie. At his arriual he found, that the Turditanes had their campe diuided from the Celtiberians: being encamped, the Romans had continuall skirmishes and light encounters with the Turditanes, who had alwaies the worst. As for the Celtiberians, he caused them to be solicited by the colonels and captaines of his armie, propounding vnto them the choice of three conditions: If they would turne vnto the Romanes, they should haue double the pay which the Turditanes had promised them: or if they would retyre to their houses without taking any partie, they promised them abolition of all which they had done: and for the third, if they desired warre, they should come to field, and present themselves in battaile. The Celtiberians demanded respit to make answer, and then did communicate these propositions in open Councell to the Turditanes; where there was great contention, but no conclusion: so as many daies passed without any assurance of peace or warre: during the which, the Romanes ouerrun the enemies countrey, and spoyled their townes, as if it had bene in open warre: oftentimes making priuat treaties and accords, they entred, went and came into their forts. The Confull *Cato* seeing that hee could not draw the enemy to battaile, hee first sent some troupes with their ensignes, to spoyle that part of the countrey where they had not yet bene: then hearing, that the Celtiberians had all their baggage in the towne of Seguntia, he went thither to take it; and yet could hee not draw them out of their campe. In the end hauing mustered and payed his armie, he left all the forces with the Pretor, and returned with seuen bands (which made about 3500 men) towards the riuer of Ebro. With these few men he tooke townes, and forced obedience from the Seditanes, Ausetanes, and Succetanes. As for the Lacetanes, (a people dwelling in a sauage countrey, and out of the way) besides that their rough and barbarous disposition kept them in armes, they had highly offended the Romanes, whilest that the Confull was busie in warre vpon the marches of the Turdules, overrunning and spoyling the lands of their allies: Wherefore the Confull led vnto the siege of their towne not onely the Romane bands, but also the youth of those allies, whom they had wronged. This towne was long, but not very broad. Encamping within foure hundred paces of it; there he placed certaine chosen companies, commaunding them not to stirre, vntill he returned vnto them, and then he led the rest of his forces vnto the other side of the towne. There were a great number of Suesetane soldiours among the strangers allies, whom he caused to march against the towne, and to assaile the wall. These being discovered by the Lacetanes, and knowne by their armes and ensignes to be soldiours of Suesse, whose territorie they had spoyled at their pleasure, and many times defeated their troupes, they sallied out vpon them: but the Suesetanes scarce seeing them approach, crying out and shaking their armes, fled, and the others pursued them. The Confull, who expected no lesse, gallopped along the wals vnto the companies which he had left on the other side; and whilest the townesmen pursued the Suesetanes, he seized vpon their towne being vnmannd, and tooke it, before the townesmen were returned from the chase, forcing them to yeeld vnto his mercie. Presently after this exploit, he went against a strong towne, called Vergium, which was the receptacle of all the theues in the countrey, who robbed and spoyled all men which dwelt thereabouts, or passed that way. The Lord of the place came forth presently to meet with the Confull, excusing himselfe, That neither he nor his subjects did wrong any man, but that certain theues being

*Cato seeks to corrupt the Celtiberians.*

*Plinie makes mention of a Seguntia in the Etrusque Prouince, besides that which is now called Segenssa.*

*This towne is may be it that which they now call Laceda.*

A being received into the towne, they had made themselves masters thereof. The Confull said vnto him, That if it were so, he should returne into the towne, and find some meanes (when he should giue an assault) to seize vpon the citadell or fort, with them of his faction, whilest the theues were busie to defend the walls. This was cunningly put in practise, and the theues which held the towne were surprised in diuers places, being encountered on the one side by the Romane armie, and on the other side by them of the fort. Thus *Cato* woon this place, and hauing pardoned them which held the fort, with their kinsfolkes and friends, granting them their liues and goods, he commaunded the Tresurer to sell all the rest of the Vergetanes for slaues, to them that would giue most: and as for the theues and robbers, he caused them all to be hanged.

B By these actions the Confull *Cato* had reduced the Prouince to more quietnesse, and then he began to dispose of the publicke reuenues for the Romanes in these countries, renting out the mynes of yron and siluer, which made it rich. The year of his Consulship being ended, he returned to Rome, whereas *P. Corn. Scipio* the second time, and *Titus Semp. Longus* had bene created Consuls. There he entred in triumph, and brought into the Tresurie 25000 pounds of siluer in masse, 123000 Bigats, and 540 of Osca, with 1400 pounds of gold. Besides, there was payed vnto euery footman 370 Asses, and thrice as much to euery horseman, *Cato* saying, That euery one must tast of their spoyles.

C There were sent into Spaine for Pretors *P. Cor. Scipio*, sonne to *Cn.* cousin to the other, for the further Spaine, and *Sex. Digitius* (it may be it was he which was honoured with a mural crown at the taking of new Carthage) into the hither part. As for the armies, that of the Pretors was entertained, and the Consuls cast. One of these Gouvernours was more fortunate than the other: for *P. Scipio* did not onely defend all that which belonged vnto his prouince, but put the Lusitanians (who came to assaile him) to rout. *Sex. Digitius* had many great troubles in his gouernment, and many vnfortunate encounters, so as he deliuered not halfe the men which he had receiued at his comming, to his succesor: and without doubt all Spaine had risen, if the other Pretor had done no better. *P. Corn.* sonne to *Cn.* by his judgement and dexteritie did so terrifie the enemies in the farthest parts of Spaine, as aboute fittie Townes and Communitie yielded vnto him. After the expiration of his gouernment, attending his succesor, he set vpon certaine Lusitanian theues, who returned with a great bootie, which they had taken from the subjects and allies of the Romanes: and although he were in great perplexitie and danger in this charge, despairing almost of the victorie, for the which (if he did obtaine it) he did vow games to *Iupiter Olympicus*: yet he woon it, and (being much inferior in number of souldiours) defeated the Lusitanians; where hee slew twelue thousand vpon the place, tooke five hundred and fortie prisoners, all horsemen, and carried away an hundred thirtie foure Ensignes, hauing lost very few of his men. This encounter was neere vnto the towne of Ilipa, whither the Pretor went with his armie, and brought forth all the bootie that was recovered, suffering euery one to carrie away the goods and cattell which had bene taken from him by the enemy, and causing the rest to be sold, with the which the souldiours were recompenced. *Scipio* obtained this victorie in qualitie of Vice-Pretor.

E 9 *L. Corn. Merula* and *Q. Minutius Thermus* being created Consuls at Rome, *C. Flaminius* was chosen Pretor for the hither part of Spaine, and *M. Fuluius Nobilior* for the further: *C. Flaminius* should succeed *Sex. Digitius*, to repair the bad successe which had happened during his gouernment. He demanded of the Senat, That he might take one of the Legions appointed for the citie, and that mingling with them such souldiours as he should leue, he might chuse out of the whole number 6500 foot & 300 horse; and that with this Legion thus made, he might vndertake the affaires: for he did not much relye vpon those forces which remained with *Sex. Digitius*, the which were in a manner ruined, saying, That the warre growing here in Spaine, they might not goe vnurnished; speaking of the good and bad successe of that Prouince, as well by himselfe, as by his friends, much to his owne aduantage. The auncient Senatours were not of opinion, That the Senat should make any decrees vpon the reports of priuat men in fauour of magistrats, and that they must not giue credit to that which was spoken touching matters of gouernment, if it were not aduertised by the Gouvernors themselves, or embassadours sent to relate the successe. Finally, the Senat resolved, That if there were

*The wisdom of the Romans respected no common brutes in matters of state.*



where any troubles in Spaine, they should leuie men there: yet they write, That *C. Flaminius* went into Sicile, where he enrolled certaine bands; and that passing from thence into Spaine, he was cast vpon the coast of Africke, where he tooke an oath of some souldiours which he found there, being the remainders of the armie of *P. Scipio Africanus*: and that besides all these, he leuied men in Spaine. But whatsoeuer he did, yet he found not the affaires of Spaine so difficult as they had giuen it out. Being in his gouernment (which extended vnto the Oretanes) he tooke the towne of Ilucia, and hauing lodged his souldiours to Winter, there were many light skirmishes betwixt him and the Spaniards, whereas he had not alwayes the better, but lost many of his men.

The other Pretor which gouerned the further Spaine did great exploits: for he fought a battaile with the Vacceans, Vectons, and Celtiberians all together, neere vnto Toledé, put them in rout, and defeated them, taking their king *Hilmercaliue*. The year following the gouernment was continued to these two Pretors. *Flaminius* tooke the towne of Litabrum by force, the which was strong and very rich: he also tooke *Corribila*, a nobleman of great fame, prisoner. *Fulinius* in the further Spaine did fight happily with two armies, tooke the townes of Vescelia and Holo from the Spaniards, with many castles, some by force, and some by composition: and then passing by the Oretanes country, he seized vpon Nobilia & Cufbis, and came vnto the riuer of Tayo, on the which Toledo stood, a small town, but strong of situation: whilst he did batter it, an armie of the Vectons came to succour it, but he defeated it: then continuing his siege and batterie, he tooke the towne. This done, he returned to Rome, *L. Emilius Paulus* being chosen to succeed him, when as *P. Cor. Scipio*, sonne to *Cn.* and *M. Atilius Glabrio* were Consuls. He entred into Rome with the solemnitie of Ouatio, bringing into the common treasure 130000 Bigats of siluer, 12000 pounds of siluer in masse, and 127 pounds of gold. *C. Flaminius* was continued in his Pretorship in the hither Spaine.

10 But whereas other Pretors had but six officers which carried rods and axes before them, *L. Emilius* had twelue, so as his Pretorship was equall with the honor & dignitie of a Consul. To either of these Pretors (besides the armies which were in the country) were appointed a supplie of 3000 foot and 300 horse, newly leuied; two third parts of them of their allies, and the other third part of Romane citizens. *Paulus* did twice defeat the barbarous Spaniards in battaile, and flew 30000, hauing taken his aduantage vpon the passage of a riuer. He brought vnder the obedience of the Romanes 250 places, by their voluntarie yeelding, and yet with the honour of all these gallant exploits he returned to Rome, hauing not enriched himselfe one dragma during his gouernment; the which is a rare thing in a man of command. His gouernment being then continued for another yeare, he did somewhat blemish the glorie of his victories, by a notable rout which he had in the Bassitanes countrey, whereas he lost 6000 men vpon the place, the rest of his army recouered their campe with great difficultie, and then was forced with long marches to retyre himselfe into places of more safetie: but afterwards attending the comming of *L. Bebius*, who should succeed him, he was reuenged of the Lusitanians for his former losse, of whom, he flew 18000, tooke 330, and woon their campe, with their baggage.

*L. Bebius* had bene chosen at Rome to succeed him: but as he marched by the riuer of the Ligusticke sea, he was set vpon by certaine Ligurians, who flew most part of his men, and himselfe being wounded, hee was forced to saue himselfe in Marceilles, with a small number, and without vihers, whereas the third day after he died. These newes being sent to Rome by them of Marceilles, the Senat appointed, That *P. Brutus* in the Pretors place should take the gouernment of the further Spaine, and leauing the armie and prouince of Tuscane to one of his lieutenants, he should speedily depart. In the other part of Spaine, neerer vnto Gaulle, *L. Plantius Hipscus* was appointed in *C. Flaminius* place, whose gouernment was reasonably quiet.

*M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Liuius Salinator* being made Consuls at Rome, the hither part of Spaine was giuen to *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and to *C. Catimius* the farther: who continued in the same charge the yeare following: in the which the Lusitanians and Celtiberians troubled the peace, & went armed to field: the which being writen to Rome by the Pretors, they did chuse *L. Quintius Crispinus*, who had that part of Spaine which lyes beyond the riuer of Ebro, and *C. Calphurnius Piso* for the other part. Whilst they prepare, *C. Catimius* came to fight with the Lusitanians in the territorie of Asta, whom he defeated in battaile, woon their campe, and

The happy exploits of Fulinius & Bebius.

P. Emilius Pretor with Consul Lucius auxiliaries.

The great integrity of P. Emilius in his gouernment. P. Emilius was so routed by the Spaniards.

The unfortunate encounter of L. Bebius.

Anno Rome 564

Anno 565.

C. Catimius defeats the Lusitanians.

A and flew 6000 vpon the place: but as he gaue an assault to the towne of Asta (the which was taken without any great resistance) he was wounded, and died soone after. *L. Manlius* the other Vice-Pretor had an encounter with the Celtiberians in his gouernment, yet no man knew who had the victorie; only the Celtiberians dislodged the night following, confessing thereby, that they were vanquished. The Romans being masters of the field, had leysure to burye their dead, and to gather vp their spoyle.

Within few dayes after the Celtiberians hauing augmented their forces, they came and assailed the Romanes neere to Calaguris, which now is Calahorra, but they were beaten, and lost 12000 men vpon the place, 2000 were taken prisoners, and they were chased out of their campe, and lost their baggage. And such was the heat of this victorie, that if they had not bene restrained by the comming of the new Pretors, the Celtiberians had bene wholly subdued. *Quintius* and *Calphurnius*, as soone as they were within their prouinces, lodged their armies to Winter. *L. Manlius* being returned to Rome, made his entrie with the ceremonie called Ouatio, whether he brought 52 crownes of gold, 132 pounds of gold, 16300 pounds of siluer, and declared in open Senate, That besides all that, his Treasurer *Qu. Fabius* brought 10000 pounds of siluer and 80 pounds of gold, to be put into the common Treasury.

11 The Spring time being come, the two Pretors went to field with their armies, and joyned together in Beturia, marching towards the Carpetanians countrey, where the enemies were then in field. The beginning of their exploits was not very successfull, but in the end they made reparation of their errors. The fight began betwixt the foragers on either side, neere vnto the townes of Hippo and Toledé; to whose succours there came some from either army, and in the end all their forces came thither: so as the Spaniards seeing themselves in a conuenient place for their manner of fighting, the two Romane armies were defeated in this vnexpected skirmish, and repulsed with great disorder and amazement, within their pallisadoes and rampiers, and yet the enemies could not follow their good fortunes. The Pretors fearing to be assaulted, dislodged in the night: and at the breake of day the Spaniards presented themselves before the trenches; but seeing no shew of any enemy, they entred into the campe, whereas they made bootie of that which the Romanes could not carrie away with them. This done, they stayed there some dayes, without attempting any thing. The Romans lost in this combat and in the flight about fife thousand men, of their citizens and allies, with whose spoyle the Spaniards armed themselves, and marched towards the banks of Tayo. All the respite the Romane Pretors had, they employed it to fill vp their bands with Spanish souldiours of their friends and allies, and to assure the rest which had bin beaten. Wherefore when as they did see their forces reasonably well repaired, and their souldiours hearts reuiued (who demanded nothing more than the enemy, to reuenge the disgrace which they had received) they came and encamped within twelue miles of the riuer of Tayo: when as a good part of the night was spent, they tooke vp their ensignes, and came by the breake of day to the riuers side, whereas they put themselves into a square battaile. The enemies were on the other side, encamped on the side of a hill, and the Romans hauing found a foord in two places passed ouer;

E *Quintius* on the right hand, and *Calphurnius* on the left, but the enemy moued not: who being amazed at their suddaine arrivall, spent time in consultation what they should do, when they might haue disordered all the Roman armie, being troubled at the passage of this riuer. In the end all passed, both souldiours & baggage, the which they laid all together: for they neither had any conuenient place, nor any leysure to make any trenches, nor to plant their campe, for that the enemy began to arme, so as they put themselves in order to fight, placing the strength of their armie (which consisted in two Legions) in the midst. The field betwixt both enemies lay open, which did assure them from ambushes and surprises. The Spaniards seeing these two Legions in two great squadrons, put themselves in battaile on the riuers side where they were, thinking to disorder them before they should be able to joyne with the bodie of their armie; wherefore they went and gaue them a furious charge. The fight in the beginning was fierce, the Spaniard being puffed vp with pride for his former victorie, and the Romans mad with desire to deface the ignominie to haue bene vanquished, contrarie to their custome. The two Legions in the midst fought valiantly, and could not be forced: wherefore the Spaniards resolving to pierce through them by some means, they sent a great troupe

He that leaves the field, confesseth he is vanquished.

The Celtiberians defeated.

Beturia now called Estremadura.

The Romans defeated, but the Spaniards can not pursue this victorie.

The Spaniards know not how to embrace the occasion.

A battaile be-  
tweene the Ro-  
manes and Spa-  
niards.

in forme of a wedge, to breake this battaillon. The furie of the fight was great, and *Calphurnius* feared the Legions should not be able to resist: wherefore he sent *T. Quintius Varus* and *L. Iunentius Thalus* (two Lieutenants) vnto them to aduertise them, That there was no means to hold Spaine, nor to saue themselves, neither euer to see their houses, nor Italie; no, not to get vnto the other side of the riuer of Tayo, if they did not vanquish their enemies: and he at the same instant, with the horsemen of the two Legions, went and charged this pointed troupe in flanke, and *Quintius* came on the other side with a certaine number of horsemen, but with lesse courage than *Calphurnius*, who fought in the midst of the preasse: so as by reason of the Pretors prefence, and the danger whereinto hee thrust himselfe, the legionarie souldiours and all the rest were greatly encouraged to doe their duties; so as they first put their enemies to rout, and then to flight, towards their campe: whither they were pursued by the horsemen, who entred pell-mell with them that fled; where they were forely preft by them that had bene left to gard the baggage, so as they were forced to leaue their horses, and to make head against them, vntill the fifth Legion arrived, and the other bands, one after another, who freed them from this danger, and put all the Spanish armie to the sword: so as of five and thirtie thousand which were in the beginning of the battaile, there escaped but foure thousand; whereof three thousand recovered a neere mountaine, and a thousand being naked and disarmed, wandered vp and downe the fields. The Romans carried away an hundred thirtie three of the enemies ensignes: they themselves lost in this conflict little about six hundred men, and about an hundred and fiftie Spaniards of their confederats. Five Colonels and some Romane knights (which were slaine there) made the victorie seeme lesse fortunat. The Romane armie was lodged in the enemies campe, for that they had no time to rampier their owne. The day following *Calphurnius* did highly extoll the souldiours valour, and gaue them gifts in testimonie of their vertue: to knights he gaue caparisons, shewing, that by their valour chiefly the battaile had bene woon: many captaines of the two Legions were also rewarded. These two Gouvernours returned to Rome, *A. Terentius Varro* and *P. Sempronius* being chosen in their places, during the Consulship of *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinius*. They brought many crownes of gold, and readie money, with gold and siluer in masse, whereof the number is vncertaine; and they triumphed for the victories which they had gotten against the Lusitanians and Celtiberians.

Ann. Rome 568

*A. Terentius* had the hither part of Spaine, and *Sempronius* the further: they also had prolongation in their charge for the yeare following. *Varro* had some encounters in this second yeare with the Aufetanes, a people inhabiting in the countrey of Cattelogne, not farre from the riuer of Ebro, and against the Celtiberians, whom he vanquished, and tooke some strong places and townes, which they made their retreat in those marches. As for *Sempronius* gouernment, it was quiet: for the Lusitanians stood in awe of the Romans fortune, and the Pretor was continually afflicted with a troublesome disease, which made him vnfit for all publicke gouernment, and in the end killed him in Spaine. *P. Manlius* did succeed him, who had once bene Pretor in the hither Spaine, when as *Cato* was Consull, and *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* succeeded *Varro*.

Idleness and  
ease an enemy  
so vertue, cor-  
rupt the Roman  
armie.

The hither Spaine was in armes, and had need of a captaine and souldiours to suppress the enemy: but in the other prouince the Romanes had no worse enemies than themselves: for that by reason of *Sempronius* long infirmitie, the souldiours were idle, and in a manner without a head, all were corrupted, insolent, and without any militarie discipline; the which they must chiefly remedie. The Senate therefore decreed, That there should be foure thousand foot and two hundred Roman horse newly leuied, to be sent into Spaine, with seuen thousand foot and three hundred horse of their allies.

*Terentius Varro* yielded vp the prouince and the armie to *Qu. Fulvius Flaccus*, who besieged a towne called *Vrbicua*, whereas the Celtiberians came to assaile him, making diuers skirmishes to rayse the siege, in the which many Romanes were slaine or hurt. But *Fulvius* continued firme, and by his perseuerance woon the towne, the enemies (tyred with fighting) being forced to retyre. The towne being destitute of succours, was within few dayes taken and sacked. *P. Manlius* did no other thing in his gouernment, but gather together the dispersed souldiours, so as both he and *Fulvius* after the taking of *Vrbicua* lodged the armies to Winter: *Terentius* being returned to Rome, entred in pompe, and brought into the

treas-

A treasure 9320 pounds of siluer, 80 pounds of gold, and two crownes of gold of 67 pounds weight.

The yeare following these two Pretors were continued in their gouernment, and the warre grew hotter in *Fulvius* prouince than euer: for the Celtiberians went to field with thirtie five thousand fighting men: against whom, *Fulvius* fortified himselfe with all the Spanie he could leuie among the Romane confederats: but hee did not equall the enemies in number: yet hee marched into the Carpetanians countrey, and encamped neere vnto *Ebura*, into the which he put a garison. The Celtiberians approched soone after, and planted their campe within halfe a league of the Romanes, at the foot of a hill; whereas the Pretor sent to discover them by two companies of their confederats horses, being led by his brother *M. Fulvius*, commanding him to approach neere vnto the enemies trenches, and to obserue of what compass they were, and if they came forth to charge them, they should retyre without fighting: the which he executed accordingly. Some daies were spent without any action of importance. In the end the Celtiberians resolved to goe forth with all their forces, who presented themselves in battaile, in the plaine which was betwixt the two armies, and there attended the Romanes: yet *Fulvius* stirred not, but kept his men foure dayes together within his campe; during the which, the Spaniards shewed alwaies the same countenance: then seeing that the Romans lay still, and that there was no means to fight with them, they kept themselves also quiet for a time; onely the horsemen went forth, keeping themselves readie, if the enemy should make shew to assaile them. The forragers on both sides went forth behind their armies without any let. This hauing continued some dayes, the Romane Pretor (thinking that he had made the enemy secure) commanded *L. Acilius* to march with six thousand Spanie foot of their allies, and some of the horsemen of the left wing, about the hill vpon the enemies backe, and there he should attend vntill he heard the crie of the Legionaries and the rest of the armie, and that then he should come and assaile the enemies campe. *Acilius* parted in the night, because he would not be discovered. *Fulvius* at the breake of day caused *C. Stribonius* Colonel of the Latines, to march towards the Celtiberians trenches, accompanied with the extraordinarie horsemen of the left wing. The enemy seeing him better accompanied than the day before, sallied presently forth with all his horse, being followed by their footmen. *Stribonius* seeing them come, turned head, as he had bene commanded, and retyred towards the Romanes campe. The Celtiberians pursued them speedily both with horse and foot, perswading themselves, the day should not passe, before they were masters of the Romanes campe, being now within five hundred paces. Then *Fulvius* seeing that hee had drawne them farre ynough from their fort, he made way for his armie, being readie in their trenches, causing them to fallie forth by three seuerall ports at one instant, commanding them to make great shouts and cries, not so much to giue courage to the souldiours, as it was their custome, as to aduertise them that were in ambush behind the hill, attending a signe to assaile the enemies campe. When as they heard the crie, they ran vnto their rampiers according vnto their directions: The Celtiberians had onely left five hundred men to gard it, who made no great resistance, being amazed both at their own small number, and at the multitude of those that came suddainly to assaile them. *Acilius* hauing woon their campe, hee presently set fire on such places as lay open to the enemy. The flame appearing, did much daunt the Celtiberians, and gaue courage vnto the Romans, being assured thereby, that their campe was taken. Notwithstanding, the Celtiberians seeing themselves destitute of a retreat, fought like desperat men, and did much annoy the Romanes: but in the end being oppressed both with the first troupes and with fresh supplies, and by *Acilius*, who returned from the taking of the campe, and by the garison of *Ebura*, who sallied forth in the heat of the battell, they were vanquished, and great numbers slaine vpon the place, and afterwards wholly defeated, the horsemen pursuing them that fled. They write, That in this battaile there died 23000 Spaniards, and 4800 prisoners taken: the Romanes tooke about 500 horse, and 88 ensignes. Doubtlesse the victorie was great, yet not without blood: for there were slaine about 200 legionarie Romanes, 830 Latines, allies, and 2400 strangers. Which done, the Pretor brought backe his victorious armie into his campe. *Acilius* was sent vnto the campe which hee had taken, and the next day they gathered vp the enemies spoyles, and the souldiours being publickly assembled, euery one was rewarded according

A memorable  
victorie of *Qu.  
Fulvius Flaccus*  
against the Cel-  
tiberians.

The number of  
the dead.

l iij

to

Contrebia taken  
by the Romans.

Another defeat  
of the Celtiberians  
by Fulvius.

Anno Roma 573  
New Pretors  
sent into Spaine.

The Romans  
charged by the  
Celtiberians in  
a strait.

to his merits : then hauing left the wounded men at Ebur, the Legions were led to Contrebia, by the territorie of the Carpetanians. This towne being besieged, they sent to demand succours of the Celtiberians, but the towne was yeilded before they came. There had fallen such abundance of raine at this season, as *Fulvius* was forced to lodge his armie within the towne. The Celtiberians, who could not come by reason of the high waters and the bad way, knew nothing of the yeilding of this towne, vntill they were charged by the Romanes which were within it: for seeing no signes of a campe about it, they imagined the enimie had bene gone; so as they approached the towne without order, fearing no danger: from whence the Romanes sallied forth vpon them with great furie, and put them to flight: and although the field was spacious, and the commoditie great to saue themselves, yet there died twelue thousand men, fise thousand were taken prisoners, foure hundred horses of seruice, and sixtie two ensignes gotten. These Celtiberians being disperfed, they aduertised their companions which came vnto them, of their defeat: whereupon they returned, and all this preparation went to smoake. In the further or West part of Spaine, the Pretor *Manlius* did also fight happily against the Lusitanians. After these exploits *Q. Fulvius* sent *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant to Rome, with two Colonels. *T. Menius* and *L. Terentius Massaliota*, to carrie newes, That the Celtiberians had bene wholly vanquished in two great battailes, and that the Senate should not need to make prouision of money or any other thing for the entertainment of their souldiours that yeare, for that (sayd they) the warre was ended. They demanded also, That the Pretor might haue leaue to bring backe the armie, which he and others before him had so happily managed and employed: the which (they sayd) was not onely reasonable, but very necessarie, for that euerie one demanded leaue, speaking openly, That if it were not graunted them, they would take it.

13 At the first generall assembly *A. Posth. Albinus Luscu* and *C. Calphurnius Piso* being made Consuls, they also created new Pretors to send into Spaine: the hither part by Ebro fell to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Posthumius* had the West part. *T. Sempronius* was not much pleased with the request made on *Fulvius* behalfe, to whom he should succeed: whereupon he protested, That if they sent him thither with an armie newly leuied; hee would keepe himselfe within his garrisons, and not expose vnexperienced souldiours against an enimie so long trained vp in warre. Thereupon the Senate did decree, That they should raise a Legion of fise thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred Romane horse, and besides it a thousand Romane foot and fiftie horse; and the Latines their allies should be enjoyned to furnish feuen thousand foot and foure hundred horse: and that with this armie *Sempronius* should goe into Spaine: giuing leaue vnto *Qu. Fulvius* to bring backe the souldiours which had bene sent thither before that *Sp. Posthumius* and *Qu. Martius* were Consuls; which was six yeares before: and moreover, when the new leuie were come into the country, it should be also lawfull for him to bring all backe that were about two complete Legions, of tenne thousand foure hundred foot and six hundred horse, Romanes, and twelue thousand foot and six hundred horse of their allies, Latins, of those souldiours with the which *Fulvius* had gotten two victories against the Celtiberians.

Whilest these new Pretors were expected in Spaine, *Qu. Fulvius* in qualitie of Vice-Pretor vnderooke to goe and assaile the Celtiberians lying a farre off, for that they had not yet reconciled themselves vnto him. This did rather incense the Barbarians than amaze them: wherefore going to armes, they seized vpon the strait or passage called Manlian, by the which they knew the Romane armie must returne. *Gracchus* had giuen charge to *L. Posthumius Albinus*, going to his gouernment in the further Spaine, to aduertise *Qu. Fulvius*. That hee should come and meet him with the armie at Tarracone, where hee would discharge the old bands, distribute the supplyes which he had brought, and dispose of the whole armie; appointing a short time vnto *Fulvius* for the effecting thereof. Vpon which newes he was forced to depart suddainly out of the Celtiberians country: which made the people surmise, that he had some intelligence, that they did secretly arme, and that he retired for feare: Wherefore they began to gard the passage more straitly and proudly than before. The Romane armie being entered into this passage at the breake of day, they were assailed in two severall places at one instant, *Qu. Fulvius* giuing order for all things,

A things, according to the time and place, and making a brieve exhortation to his souldiours, he assured them. The fight began to grow hot, but not with like aduantage: for the legions and the Latines vpon the wings did fight valiantly, but their Spanish souldiours could not resist their country-men, who were better souldiours than they. The Celtiberians seeing they could not vanquish the Romanes, fighting hand to hand with them in a set battell, they had recourse vnto their accustomed fashion, which was, to shape their troupe like a wedge. Being thus ordered, they are more firme and violent, and can hardly be withstood: by this meanes they had almost disordered the legions. The which the Generall perceiuing, hee ran presently to the legionary horsemen, asking them, What they did there, and what succour might be expected from them? To whom they answered, That they were readie to obey whatsoever hee should command. *Soyne then* (said he) *all the horses together of the two legions, and with a full carriere breake through that wedge of men which doth force our Squadron; yea take the bridles from your horses, as our auncelors haue often done with good successe, that you may overthrow them with more violence.* Whereunto the horsemen speedily obeyed, and setting spurs to their vnbridled horses, they passed and repassed through this troupe of the enemies, breaking their stauies, and making great slaughter of them. When this wedge was broken and disperfed, in the which the Spaniards did wholly relye, they had no other thought but vpon flight. The Latin horsemen moued with the valour of the Romanes, without any further commaundement, fell vpon the enemies already broken, so as there was a great slaughter made in the fight throughout all the strait. For this victorie the vice Pretor did vow a temple vnto Fortune, and games vnto *Iupiter*. There died in this encounter seuteene thousand Celtiberians, about three thousand prisoners, and two hundred threescore and seuteene ensignes taken, and about one thousand and one hundred horses gotten. The victorious armie did neither intrench nor rampar for that day: But this victorie was not without losse to the Romans, for there were foure hundred threescore and ten citizens slaine, a thousand and nineteen Latines, and of Spaniards and other strangers, their allies, three thousand. Thus this armie hauing redoubled her fame by this victorie, it arriued at Tarracone, whereas *Sempronius* the Pretor (who arriued there but two dayes before) went forth to meet him, and did congratulate with *Fulvius* and the souldiours, their happie exploits for the commonweale. Then did they louingly and with great concord, discharge and retaine what they thought fit among the souldiours, according to the decree of the Senat: And for that yeare there was little done in Spaine by the new gouernours, for that they arriued late by reason of the death of one of the Consuls, and the subrogation of another, which staied their expedition. The yeare following they were continued in their gouernments.

*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* being returned to Rome, when as he stayed without the towne, to haue order for his triumph according to the custome, he was chosen Confull with *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and then he entred in triumph, with the souldiours which he had brought out of Spaine. He brought into the publike treasure one hundred and twentie foure crownes of gold, 31 pounds of gold, and 173200 deniers of coined money of Osca, besides he gaue fiftie deniers, being about fise crownes, to euerie footman, twice as much to the centeniers, and thrice as much to the horsemen, as much to the allies and Latines, and to all in generall double pay.

This yeare the Gouernors in Spaine diuided the warre betwixt them, so as *Albinus* should goe and assaile the Vaccens by the country of the Lusitanians, and from thence should come into the marches of the Celtiberians. *Gracchus* should enter into the heart of their country, for that the warre was hottest there. There he first tooke the towne of Munda by force, hauing set vpon it suddenly in the night, and hauing taken hostages, and put in a garrison, he battered some castles, and did forrage and burne the country vntill he came vnto another strong towne called Certimar, whereas hauing begun to plant his engines to batter it, deputies came vnto him from the inhabitants, who vied a simple kind of speech vnto him, after the auntient manner, without any dissembling, telling him freely, That they would make warre if they had meanes, desiring that they might haue leaue to goe vnto the Celtiberians campe, to demand succours: the which if they could not obtaine, they would then take counsell of their affaires distinctly from the other nations. *Gracchus* yeilded to their demand: and within a few daies after they returned, bringing with them ten other deputies. It was about noone. The first words which they spake vnto the Pretor, were, That they intreated him to commaund some of his

The Romans distressed.

Another great  
defeat of the  
Celtiberians by  
Qu. Fulvius.

The number of  
the dead of  
their side.

Anno Roma 574

The feeble-  
cite of the Spaniards.

Gracchus his  
civillie and coun-  
sell to the Bar-  
barians.

his people to bring them drinke : which done, they demanded more, making all the affinites to laugh at their grosseffe, and want of ciuillitie. Then the eldest among them began to speake, saying, That they had beene sent vnto him by them of their nation, to know, vpon what ground he was come to make warre against them. *Gracchus* answered, That it was vpon the assurance of a goodly armie, which he had, and if they would seeit, to make a more certaine report vnto their men, he would suffer them, commanding some captaines to cause them all to arme, and to make them march and skirmish together. These deputies reported vnto their people what they had seene ; which diuerted them from sending any succours to the towne besieged: The inhabitants whereof (seeing themselves abandoned) yeelded, paying the value of 60000 crownes, and gaue fortie knights, of the noblest among them, not in shew as hostages (for they put them among their bands to carrie armes) although in effect they were as pawns of their promises and accords. From thence *Gracchus* led his armie to Alce, a town whereas the Celtiberians (who had sent the ten deputies vnto him) were camped, against whom for some dayes he sent his light horsemen, to tire them with light skirmishes, euen within their gards, sending more men daily, to the end he might draw them out of their trenches to battell. The which succeding according to his desire, hee commaunded the Generall of the allies, to begin the fight, and that presently turning their backs, and making shew to bee oppressed with multitudes, they should returne with all speed towards the campe. He in the meane time put his armie in battell within the rampars, nere vnto euerie gate, and suddenly when he saw his men turne head towards the campe flying, as he had commanded them, and the enemie following with no lesse speed; hauing retired his men, he drew forth his armie by all those ports, with great cries, so as the enemies could not make any resistance: and it happened, that those which came running to take the Romanes campe, could not defend their owne; for presently they were repulled, put to rout, and beaten into their palisadoes, where they were soone after forced. There were nine thousand slaine that day vpon the place, three hundred prisoners, 112 horses of seruice, and 37 ensignes woon. On the Romanes side there died but 109 men. After this defeat *Gracchus* led the legions to spoyle the country of the Celtiberians, wasting and carrying all away. Wherefore many, either for feare, or otherwise forced, yeelded vnto him: so as in few dayes he reduced vnder the Romanes obedience one hundred and thirtene townes, and tooke great spoyles. From thence hee returned againe towards Alce, and began to assaile it. The inhabitants endured the first assault, but afterwards seeing them prepare their engines to batter it, distrusting in their owne strength, they retired all into the castle, the which yeelded soone after, submitting themselves to *Gracchus* his mercie. The spoyle was great, and many noblemen and of good houses were taken prisoners; among the which there was a sonne and a daughter of *Thursus*, who was the greatest nobleman of the country, and to whom the place belonged. Hearing what was happened, he came with a safe-conduct into the armie to *Gracchus*: of whom he demanded life, both for himselfe and his, whereof *Gracchus* assured him. Then he desired to be admitted to carrie armes with the Romanes, the which was granted him: and from that time he shewed himselfe faithfull and valiant in their seruice, and did greatly aduance the Romane affaires in Spaine.

Ergauica a mightie and famous towne, being amazed with the miseries and ruines of her neighbours, opened the gates to the Roman armie. Some write, that these yeeldings were not done faithfully, and that as soone as the legions were gone, they entred into rebellion, so as the Pretor had two encounters with the Celtiberians, the one neere vnto mount Caunus, where the fight continued six houres, with great slaughter on either side, neither partie confessing himselfe to be vanquished. The second time (which was the third day after) the Romans had an assured victorie; where there were 22000 of the enemies slaine vpon the place, and 300 prisoners, and as many horses, and 72 engines taken. By which defeat the war was ended in that country, and the Celtiberians demanded peace, the which they did faithfully entertain for a time, without rebelling. They write, that *L. Posthumius* had at the same time woon two batrels of the Vaccens, others say, of the Brecaires, which are betwixt Minio and Duero, and had slaine 35000 of the enemies, and tooke their campe.

Ann. Roma 975 At Rome *M. Junius Brutus*, & *A. Manlius Volfo* being chosen consuls, *M. Titinius* & *T. Fonteius Capito* were created Pretors & gouernors of Spain: *Titinius* had that part which was neereſt vnto

*Gracchus victo  
ric against the  
Celtiberians.*

Some of the an-  
cient said these  
113 towns were  
but farms, or  
dove-houses, to  
eclipse the glorie  
of Gracchus.

*Thurmus a pettie*  
Spanish king  
lord of Alice.

Cause, want  
Case at this day.

Ann. Rome 575

**A** vnto Gaule, and *Capito* the Westerne part: and then *Sempronius Gracchus* and *L. Posthumius* came to Rome, who had the honour of a triumph granted them, for that they had gouerned the affaires of the commonweale wisely and valiantly. *Gracchus* entred first in triumph for the Celtiberians, bringing into the treasure fortie thousand pounds weight in siluer. His companion entred some dayes after, triumphing for the Lusitanians, and other neighbour people, who also brought twentie thousand pounds. To euerie one of the souldiours was given five and twentie deniers, which is worth two crownes and a halfe: to the centeniers double, and to the horsemen treble as much, and to the souldiours of their allies as much as to them of Rome.

B Spain tyred with warre, was quiet during the gouernment of the new Pretors, who continued there two yeares.

The third year *Cn. Corn. Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurrinus* being Consuls, *M. Corn. Scipio Maluginensis*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, were chosen Pretors in Spaine: *Crassus* had the hispanie, and *Scipio* the further; but either of them pretended excuses not to go, and therefore *Titinius* and *Fonteius* were continued in the government as vice-Pretors, to whom there was appointed to fill up their armies, three thousand foot, citizens of Rome, and two hundred horse, and five thousand Latins of their allies, with three hundred horse: yet there is no mention of any tumult in Spaine, during their abode, nor after they were changed, vntill the Consulship of *Sp. Posthumus* and *Q. Mutius*, which was two yeares after, in the which the government was so much troubled, and the further to *Cn. Seruilus Cepio*. We read

Ann. 577.  
The new Pretors refuse their charge in Spaine  
Anno Rome 579

Cunt of the higher Spaine fell to *P. Enrius Philo*, and the further to *Cn. Seruilius Cepio*. Vnder read that whilst these Pretors prepared themselves to go into their prouinces, the Celtiberians being in armes, *App. Claudius Cento* (who was vice-Pretor there) gaue them a great defeat, so as they were forced to submit themselves vnto the yoke. They began their rebellion by a sudden assault which they came to giue vnto the Romanes campe at the breake of day: Being discouered by the centinels, they cried to armes, so as the souldiors were presently armed, and readie to fallie forth, as they did by the ports: but the Celtiberians were so neere, as they kept them long from comming forth, so as the combat was in a manner equall. But the formost ranks being thrust on by their companions, in the end they got out of their palisadoes into the plaine, where they had meanes to draw out their front, and the wings of their battell, equal to that of the enemies, with the which they were in a manner compassed in: but they behaued themselves so well, as they repulst them, and in lesse than two houres put them to flight, with the losse of aboute fifteene thousand of their men; so as the warre was ended: for which as escape, submitted themselves soone after to the Romanes yoke, so as the new Gouernours had not any warre.

The next yeare *L. Posth. Albinus*, and *M. Pompilius Lenas*, being Consuls, *Cn. Fabius Buto*, and *M. Matienus* were chosen to gouverne Spaine: and then arrived *App. Claudius*, who entered the citie with the pompe of ouation, bringing ten thousand pounds of silver, and five thousand of gold. *Fabius Buto*, who had the hither Spaine, going into his gouernment, fell sicke at Marceilles, where he died, so as *P. Furius Philo* was continued in his gouernment, and *E Matienus* came into the further prouince. As it is a thing too well knowne, that gouernments are not affected but to get authoritie and wealth: so it falls out often, when as Gouernours find not matter to maintaine their greatnesse among the enemies by the warre, they can hardly doe iustice to their fellow citizens and allies in time of peace: then they begin to molest the richest families, by false accusations, to saue necessities, to exact vpon the publike, and to vse other such practices, to fill their cofers, and enrich their ministers with the ruine and desolation of the commons. Thus did the Pretors and lieutenants of the people of Rome in Spaine.

Spain. These two Gouernours *Enríke* and *Matiénus*, either in his jurisdiction, having (by reason of the peace) no other prey but those that were given them in ward, they polled them in such fort, as not able any longer to endure their extortions and fraud, the poore Spaniards were constrained to send embassadours to Rome, after that the Pretorship was ended : who having audience, casting themselves vpon their knees, they made a pitifull complaint of the pride and countenance of their Gouernours, beseeching the Senat not to suffer their friends and allies to be oppressed and spoyled by them with greater violence than if they were enemies. Many crimes were objected by them, but concussion was best verified. The Senat decreed, That Ca-

Anno 577.  
The new Pre-  
tors refuse their  
charge in Spains

**d Anno Rome 579**

**The Celtiberians defeated.**

nd Publique char-  
ges affected for  
ts prime profits.

14  
The Spaniards  
complain of  
their governours  
cruelties.

*I. u. Ca.*

Spaine made one  
government, and  
L. Camilleus  
Pretor alone.

*L. Camilleus* (to whom the government of Spaine was fallen) should chuse judges from among the Senators, to examine the fact; and that the parties should chuse advocates of the same order. *Titinius*, who had bene Pretor, during the Consulship of *A. Manlius* and *M. Junius* in the higher Spaine, was drawne in question: but when as they had pleaded two severall dayes, he was absolved: but *P. Furius Philo* (who had bene Gouverneur in the same province) and *M. Matienus* in the further Spaine, being accused of diuers crimes, and their causes often pleaded, when as it was againe to be heard, they were excused, being absent, for that being loath to attend the sentence, they had voluntarily retired themselves, the one to Pre-*nest*, the other to *Tybur*: and so the matter was left vndecided.

*Camilleus* desiring to suppress this pursute, to the end that many should not bee molested by the Spaniards, began to giue order for the affaires of his government, and to inroll souldiours, to lead them into the province which was appointed for them, and so he parted. The Senat letting passe what had bene formerly done, provided for the future, that the Romane magistrats should set no taxe vpon come, and that they should not force the Spaniards to sell the twentieth part at their pleasures, which was a certaine tribute: and that they should send no more Commissaries into their townes to leuie money.

At the same time there came another kind of embassage to Rome, from them that had bin borne of Romane souldiours and Spanish women, and not married. These were about foure thousand men. The Senat commaunded they should giue in their names, and be inrolled by *L. Camilleus* the Pretor: and that such as he should make free, should be conducted vnto *Carteia*, vpon the Ocean sea, to dwell there. That the inhabitants of *Carteia* that would remaine there, should be receiued, and portions of land assigned them: and this colonie should be held for Latines, and be called the Libertines.

It seemes that the Romanes hauing no warres at that time in Spaine, were resolved to reduce it to one government, and to send but one Pretor. After *Camilleus* mention is made of *Claudius Marcellus*, and then of *P. Ponticus*: of whose deeds there is no mention in auncient writers; so as it is to be presumed, this province continued quiet. But in the yeare 586 of the foundation of Rome, *Q. Aelius* and *M. Junius* being Consuls, they did againe create two Pretors, which were *Cn. Fulvius* on the hither part, & about the river of Ebro; and *C. Licinius Nerua* in the further. After which the Romanes contenting themselves for many yeares, with their conquests in Spaine, they fought as it seemed to make them whom they had subiected, or drawne vnto them, ciuile, and to fashion them by little and little to the manners and inclinations of the Romanes: without seeking the other people which were more barbarous, who also for their parts were glad to be left in peace, being terrified with the Romanes power, whom they would not incense, neither had they any care to seek their friendship, because they hated them, as violaters of the lawes of nature, and oppressors of mans libertie.

15 In the yeare 600 of the foundation of Rome, *Q. Fulvius* and *T. Annius* being Consuls, the Celtiberians (who had bene vanquished and subdued by *T. Gracchus* five and twentie yeares before) began againe to stirre, the inhabitants of *Sediga*, a towne of the *Areuces*, hauing (against their capitulations, and the commaundement of *Gracchus*) repaired the walls of their towne, and refused to pay tribute vnto the Romanes: by reason whereof other people being also rebelled in Spain, the Senat resolved to send an armie, and a Consul to be the General, so as *Q. Fulvius* was sent, who was not verie fortunat in the beginning. This yeare by a new custome the Consuls entred into charge the first of Ianuarie, whereas before they did not begin their magistracie vntill the fifteenth of March: whereunto they were induced by the rebellion of the Spaniards: the which was afterwards continued. Of this beginning followed the warre of *Numancia*, which lasted twentie yeares. The Senat of Rome hauing first forbidden them of *Segida* to raise their walls, and then commaunded them to goe to the war with their Consuls and Pretors, according to the pacification made by *Gracchus*, they answered, That they had capitulated, not to make any new forts, but not to repaire their old. And as for going to the warre, they were exempt from that charge, by the treatie of *Gracchus*: the which was true. But the Senat added a glose to these conditions, that is, As long as it shall please vs: the which the Spaniards would not heare of. Wherefore seeing that *Quintus Fulvius Nobilior* came against them with an armie of thirtie thousand men, they left their towne, which was not yet in defence, sent their wiues and children to their neighbours, and vnder the conduct

A colonie of  
Libertines.

Spaine diuided  
again into two  
governments.

Anno Rome 600

The Celtiberians  
and other people  
repaire the de-  
mantled towne.

The Romane  
Magistrats  
change the day  
of entering into  
their charges.

The stranger  
confirme treaties  
as they please.

Carus a captain  
of the Spaniards

A of one *Carus*, they assembled to the number of 20000 foot, and 5000 horse, and came and camped in a place couered with wood, verie fit to surprise their enemies, whom he met withall in the woods, and both gaue and took many wounds. Afterwards in a great encounter *Carus* had the victorie, hauing slaine 6000 Romanes, wherewith being growne insolent and carelesse, the Consull had means to haue his reuenge, sending his horsemen to charge the Spaniards which were scattered and out of order: who put 6000 to the sword, and more had bin slaine, if night had not seperated them. This made the Celtiberians more circumspect. The same night the people of the country assembled at *Numance*, and being resolved to resist the Romanes, they made choice of *Ambo* and *Leuco* for their captaines. The Consull *Fulvius* hauing receiued

A conspiracie of  
the Spaniards  
at Numance.

B 300 horse, with some Elephants, from king *Massinissa*, a Moore (an auncient friend to the people of Rome) marching forward, he came and offered battell to the enemies vnder *Numance*. He had placed his Elephants behind the first ranks, that they might not be seene, thinking to terrifie them suddenly, and to defeat them by that meanes; but it fell out otherwise: for being come to joyne, and the ranks opened, when as the Elephants shewed themselves, they did somewhat terrifie the Spaniards and their horses, which were not accustomed to see such beasts; so as turning their backs they went towards the towne: But one of these Elephants comming neere the walls, being hit on the forehead with a stone, he entred into such a rage, as turning against the Romanes themselves, he trode them vnder his feet; after whose example the rest began to run through the Romane troupes, and disordered them: For it is the nature

C of these beasts, when they are terrified, they know neither friend nor foe: wherefore many call them common enemies. The Spaniards which were within *Numance*, seeing this confusion, sallied out vpon the Romanes, and slew foure thousand men, and tooke three Elephants, and many ensignes; yet they lost two thousand of their men.

Elephants held  
by the wife to be  
common enemies.

The Consull hauing refreshed himselfe somewhat after this rout, he was repulsed againe at the fort of *Axenium*, the which he assailed, to haue the victuals which the enemy had in it, and in this misfortune the Romanes received a third rout, whereas *Biasius* a leader of some horse of their allies, was slaine, with many good souldiours. These many losses did moue the inhabitants of *Ocilis*, or *Ocelon*, allies to the Romanes, and gardians of the money and victuals of their campe, to revolt, and to follow the Celtiberians partie. So as vanquished D with so many misfortunes, the Consull *Fulvius* could take no better course, than to fortifie his campe for to winter: the which hee did with the greatest want that might be, besides, haile, snow, raine, and all the rigour of the season, so as many of his souldiours perished for cold.

Ocelon vanishes  
from the Roman  
partie.

16 The yeare following *M. Claudius Marcellus* succeeded *Fulvius*, and brought 8000 foot and 500 horse into Spaine. This man was more politique than his predecessor, to keepe himselfe from the surprises of his enemies, leading his armie safely to *Ocilis*, the which hee tooke in few dayes, and pardoned their offence, paying a fine of thirtie talents, and some hostages, which he demanded of them. This clemencie of his made the *Nertobriges*, another nation, to send embassadors vnto him, to demand peace and pardon: to whom he made a pleasing answer, demanding an hundred horsemen of them; the which they promised. But during this treatie, they sent certaine troupes, which fell vpon the Romanes baggage, and spoyled some of it. Hereupon the hundred horsemen, which the Consull had demanded, arrived, whom he committed to prison, and sold their horses, by reason of their treacherie. Then he led his armie against their towne.

M. Marcellus  
Consull sent into  
Spaine.

The inhabitants seeing themselves inuironed with ditches and trenches, sent forth a herald attired in a wolues skin (a ceremonie vsed by the Barbarians in such supplications) craving pardon. To whom hee made answer, That hee would not grant it; if the *Areuces* and the other rebels their allies did not sue for it all together. Which being knowne vnto them, they all sent their embassadors to intreat the Consull *Marcellus* to referre them to the accord made in former time with *T. Gracchus*, imposing vpon them (according to his clemencie) a tollerable punishment.

Ceremonies of  
the Barbarians  
when they are  
suer.

There were some people allied vnto the Romanes, which hauing bene wronged by them, opposed themselves to this demand: wherefore *Marcellus* sent them all to the Senat of Rome. The Senat made no other answer, hauing heard their debate, but that *Marcellus* should tell them what they were to do.

In



Ann. Rome 602

17 In the meane time, in the yeare 602, Spaine fell by lot to the Consul *L. Lucullus*, and G then they began first to inroll souldiours by lot. *Lucullus* led with him *P. Scipio Aemilianus* (he that made himselfe famous by the euerfion of Carthage the great, and of Numantia.) *Marcellus* hauing aduertised the Celtiberians of the comming of this Confull, and of the warre which was prepared, he aduised them, before they attended any greater extremitie, to yeeld to his discretion, promising them all good vsage, and reasonable conditions; for he desired to end this war before the comming of *Lucullus*: the which they did. This *Marcellus* (as *Strabo* writes) did build the citie of Corduba, and imposed a tribute of six hundred talents vpon Spaine, continuing his gouernment a good while after that *Lucullus* was chosen Confull, gouerning as Proconfull.

Corduba built by Marcellus.

Lucullus being courteous seeks occasion of war.

*Lucullus* finding nothing to doe at his arriual, he laid the foundation of a new warre, being as desirous to make some spoyle (for he was but poore) as to get honour. He entred therefore as an enemy into the Vaccens countrey, who had in no sort offended the Romanes: and hauing passed the riuer of Tayo, he went to besiege Cauca. The inhabitants demanded what he would of them, and why he besieged them. He answered, That they had wronged the Celtiberians, allies to the Romanes, and that he came to reuenge it. Whereupon they retired into their towne, and put themselves in defence. Soone after they fallied forth suddenly vpon them that went to forrage, and slue a great number. But the Roman souldiours going forth to succor them, they repulsed the Spaniards, beating them euen vnto their town gates, whereas they smothered one another with the multitude, so as there were about three thousand slaine. Those which remained being amazed with this losse, they sent the next day the most antient among them, with girlands of oliue branches, desiring *Lucullus* to receive them as friends, and to set downe the conditions; who imposed an hundred talents of silver, and hostages, commanding them to send their horsemen to the warre with him: which hauing granted, *Lucullus* said, That he would haue them receiue a garrison into their towne: where vnto they were also willing to obey, so as presently there were two thousand of the best souldiours in the armie sent, with commandement to seise vpon the ports, towers, and strongest places of the towne: which they did. Then *Lucullus* drew in all the rest of the souldiours, and by the sound of the trumpe, did most cruelly put all the inhabitants to the sword, sparing neither age nor sexe: yet some slipping ouer the walls, and creeping through the prease, escaped, who proclaimed the Romanes treacherie, couetousnesse, and crueltie, throughout all Spaine: whereupon all those that dwelt in the champian countrey, and in places of easie access, retired vnto the mountaines, or into fortified townes; carrying with them what was good and precious: and what they could not carrie they burnt, being loath to leaue any spoyle to so cruell an enemy.

Orreuous barbarians laid vpon them of Cauca by Lucullus.

Lucullus cruelty against the inhabitants of Cauca.

Cauca being thus ruined, *Lucullus* led his armie through a great part of the countrey which was barren and desart, vntil he came to the towne of Intercatia, where there were some twentieth thousand foot and two thousand Spanish horse, gathered together: of whom *Lucullus* demanded indiscreetly, If they would not come to composition with him. But they asked, If he would receive them with the like faith as he had done them of Cauca? reproaching vnto him with opprobrious words, this treacherous and inhumane fact. Wherewith *Lucullus* being incensed (as commonly all those are which find themselves touched) he spoiled all their countrey, and then besieged them. They knowing there was no reason to come to battel with the Roman armie, maintained themselves with skirmishes and sudden fallies. During this siege a Spanish cavalier richly armed, and brauely mounted, shewed himselfe often betwixt the armie and the towne, challenging some Roman to the combat, and seeing that no man durst come forth, he scorned them. But *Scipio Aemilianus* being then verie young, grieved to see the Roman knights thus dishonoured, and hauing leaue from the Confull, he went to encounter him, and vanquished him: the which bred admiration in both parties, considering the inequality of the stature of the combatants; for *Scipio* was little, and the Spaniard wonderful great and strong. The Romanes conceiued good hope of this victorie: but in the night they were troubled with the cries of certaine horsemen of the towne, which were gone forth before that *Lucullus* did inuest it, who being the same night returned, about the palisadoes of the Roman armie, made great cries and shouts, to whom the besieged made answer: so as the Romanes were forced to keepe themselves in armes, not knowing what part to gard: besides,

Truth breeds hatred and furie in the wicked when they are touched.

Scipio Aemilianus combats with a Spaniard and conquers him valiantly.

A sides, they were tyred and growne weake, for that they wanted both bread, wine, oyle, salt and vinegre, liuing only vpon venison, hares, or pouldred flesh, the which bred fluxes, whereof many dyed. Continuing their batterie, they made a great breach, but comming to the assault, (whereas *Scipio* was one of the foremost) and being in a manner masters of the towne, they were sharply repulsed: and in their retreat many through ignorance of the place fell into certaine priues, where they were swallowed vp. The besieged hauing repaired their breach, seemed resolute; but hunger pressing either partie, they could not long dissemble their necessities: so as *Lucullus* perswaded the Spaniards to yeeld, with the best words hee could, promising he would not deceiue them, so as in the end they gaue him credit, and yeelded, vpon condition B to send six thousand archers to the warre with him, giuing a certaine number of cattell, and some hostages. Gold nor siluer (the desire whereof had drawne *Lucullus* into Spaine) there was not any: for the people of that countrey had neuer esteemed it. Matters being thus compounded, the Roman armie was led against Palantia, a strong and well fortified towne, whither many of the champion countrey, and lesser townes were retired. Most of the colonels and captains were of opinion, That they should not strue in vaine against so mightie a town: but *Lucullus*, a couetous man, knowing it to be exceeding rich, would neuer leaue it vntill that hunger forced him, the horsemen of the towne (which were verie many) falling out daily vpon the Romans which went to forrage. Being thus pressed, he put his armie into battell, and retired, the Palantines following him in the taile, and pursuing him vnto the riuer C of Duero, where they left their pursute, and returned. *Lucullus* passing on, led his armie to winter in the countrey of the Turditanes. Thus ended the warre against the Vaccens, for the which (although that *Lucullus* vnderooke it without authoritie or commandement from the Senat and people of Rome) he was neuer called into question.

Intercatia taken by composition.

Couetousnesse, and no desire of honour brought him into Spaine.

Lucullus retired from Palantia with shame.

Lucullus making war without authoritie, is not punished.

18 About that time the Lusitanians, and people of the further Spaine, liuing vnder their owne lawes, had made incursions vpon the friends and allies of the people of Rome, hauing a certaine Africane for their captain, and chased *Manlius* and *Calpurnius*, Roman captains, killing about six thousand of their men, with *Terentius Varro*, their Questor or Treasurer. Wherewith this Africane growne proud, he went with a companie of Vectons, a neighbor people, to assaile the town of the Blastophenicians, a people who, they said, were brought and left in Spaine by *Hannibal*. This captain being slaine there with a stone, they did presently make choice of one called *Casparus* to be head of their armie: who gaue battell vnto *Mumius* which had bene sent from Rome with an armie, but he lost it: yet seeing that *Mumius* pursued his victorie inconsiderately, he turned head, and repaired his losse, so as he slew nine thousand of the Roman armie vpon the place, and not onely recovered his owne baggage, but rooke the enemies, and carried away a great number of ensignes, which the Lusitanians dragged vp and downe in scorn of the Romanes. *Mumius* hauing gathered together six thousand souldiours which remained, and reuiued them as well as he could, he found an opportunitie to charge the enemy going to forrage, and did so well, as he slew a great number, and recovered his ensignes.

Romans defeated by the Lusitanians.

Mumius defeats the Spaniards, and is beaten by the vanquished through his own negligence.

Mumius reuenges his losse.

E The Lusitanians which dwelt beyond the riuer of Tayo, hauing in like maner proclaimed warre against the Romanes, and tooke the towne of Conistorgis by assault, a great and strong towne, confederat to the Romanes, they being led by a captain called *Caucene*: and not content to make a tumult in Spaine, some of them passed the strait at *Hercules* pillars, and went to spoyle Affricke: the rest went to assaile Ocile. But *Mumius* arriuing with a thousand foot and six hundred horse, slew about fiftene thousand forragers, and made them to leaue the siege of Ocile. Then going against others, who thought to escape with the prey, hee left not one alieue to carrie newes of their defeat. Hee distributed the bootie which was portable among his souldiours, and the rest (being consecrated to those gods who hee thought did pre-side ouer the warres) he burnt. After all this, he returned to Rome, and triumphed.

F *Attilius*, or *Acilius Balbus*, succeeded *Mumius*, who at his first arriual cut seven hundred Lusitanians in peeces, and tooke Oxthra, being the greatest and richest towne they had, striking terror in all the neighbour people, which submitted themselves to his deuotion as far as the Vectons. But when as *Acilius* had lodged his armie for Winter, they rebelled, and began to annoy them that were friends and confederats to the Romanes: Against whom *Ser. Galba* sent Pretor to succed *Acilius*, meaning to succour them, made a march of 15 leagues,

K

and

*Galba being victor is defeated by his rash purposes.*

and being come in sight of the enemy, without giving rest to the souldiours, he led them G to fight, and vanquished happily. But as the Romanes pursued the flying enemy in disorder, and made many stands being wearie, the Lusitanians turning head, slue seven thousand, and forced Galba to flie with his horsemen into Carmel, whither many that had escaped were retired: who hauing rallied them together, and leuied twentie thousand men of their confederats, he wintered at Cunes. The Consull Lucullus who wintered in Turditania, hearing that the Lusitanians were in armes, he sent the best of his capitaines against them, and slue foure thousand of them, and afterwards hauing made a new head nere vnto Gades, hee cut fise thousand and fise hundred in peeces. And as Galba on his side pressed these people, they sent embassadors vnto him, seeming desirous to enjoy the accord made before with Attilius. H Galba made shew to pitie them, and to excuse their excess for that pouertie had made them to breake the treaties, and to steale: saying, That he knew well that the Barbarians of the country was the cause of these inconueniences: but if they had a true intent to be friends, he would diuide them into three troupes, and send them into fertile places to liue in. The Lusitanians being woon with these promises, put themselves into three troupes, and suffered themselves to be led to the places assigned by Galba, who spake vnto the first, as if they were in full peace, inioyning them to leaue their arms; which hauing done, he caused them all to be massacred: and with the like fraud and crueltie he defeated the other two troupes, before they could haue any newes of the slaughter of their companions. Many slipping through the armed troupes, escaped, among the which was Viriatus, who reuenged the trecherie & crueltie I of the Romanes against his country-men. Galba shewing himselfe as treacherous, and it may be more couetous than Lucullus, hauing filled his cofers with the spoyles of Lusitania, whereof he did defraud both his friends and souldiours, returned to Rome, where he was called in question for his abuses: but being the richest man in the citie, he escaped by bribes.

*The treacherous cruelty of Serg. Galba.*

20 The Lusitanians which remained of Lucullus and Galbaes treacheries, assembled together to the number of ten thousand, and did ouerrun the country of Turditania: against whom the Pretor C. Vetilius was sent; who hauing ioyned the armie which hee brought from Rome, with the forces he found in Spaine, he went against them which spoiled their friends country, and slew many of them, forcing the rest to retire to the side of a hill, where he besieged them, so as they must either end their dayes by hunger or by the sword: wherefore they resolu'd to sue for mercie, and to intreat him to appoint them a country to dwell in; the which he willingly graunted. But Viriatus being in this besieged companie, who had escaped K from Galbaes slaughter, began to speake in this manner. How wretched are we, that hauing so often tried the treacherie of these Romanes, we will againe offer our throats vnto them, and bee murdered by them, vnder the sweetnesse of their false promises? Do we not know that they with whom we haue now to deale, are the same who by their notable treacherie haue slaine our brethren and companions? Were it not better to keepe our armes, and selling our liues at a deere rate, let them seele that wee are men, than suffering our selues to be disarmed by a foolish credulitie, to bee afterwards slaine like beasts at the slaughter? No, my companions, let vs not commit so grosse an error, as to despaire in that sort: let vs rather trie to force vs a passage, and you shall find the difficultie is not so great as you imagine, if you do what I shall aduise you. This souldiour speaking with a great courage, reuiued their spirits, who with one voice cried out vnto him, That in a good houre he should be their captain, and that he should lead them whither he should thinke good. Then he put them all in battell, except some thousand of the best appointed, which he kept with himselfe, and then he commaunded euerie one to flie, appointing their Rendezuous at Tribola. Vetilius was in doubt to pursue them that fled, thinking it the safest course to assaile Viriatus, & his thousand souldiours which were in battell on the side of the hill. But they hauing spent that day and a part of the next, in making a shew that they would fight with the Romanes, easily freed themselves, being well mounted, and knowing the country, and then came to Tribola: and so this Spaniish armie was preferred by the judgement and resolution of Viriatus, who of a shepheard M became a huntsman, then afterwards a theefe, lastly he was head of an armie, and was in possibilitie to make himselfe king of Spaine. This action did win him much credit and reputation among the neighbour nations. Vetilius meaning to pursue him, fell into ambushes which he had laied in a certaine passage covered with wood: so as being charged in front by Viriatus his horsemen, and on either side by his footmen, the Roman armie was wholly defeated, and the

*Viriatus chosen captain by the Lusitanians: besieged, deceives the Pretor.*

*The Pretor Vetilius defeated and taken prisoner by Viriatus.*

Pre-

A Pretor Vetilius found among the prisoners, who being scorned as a man of no value by him that had taken him, for that he was old and fat, he was instantly slaine. The Romanes which escaped at this rout, gathered head at Tarteffe, being some 6000 men, whom Vetilius, Questor or Treasurer, caused to rest for a time: and hauing made a new leuie of 5000 of their allies, he sent them all to encounter Viriatus, but there returned not one, being all cut in peeces: whereupon the Questor kept himselfe within the wals, attending to be relieved by some other Roman armie. In the meane time Viriatus spoiled the fertile fields of the Carpetanians.

*An other defeat of the Romanes.*

21 Then came C. Plantius for Pretor, bringing ten thousand foot, and thirtene hundred horse from Rome: Whereof Viriatus being aduertised, hee made shew to flie, after whom B Plantius sent 4000 of his best men, who were suddenly charged by them that fled before them, and were in a manner all slaine. Viriatus passing beyond the river of Tayo, went and camped in a certaine mountaine full of oliues, called Venus mount: whereas Plantius burning with desire of reuenge for their former losses, was vanquished again with great losse, and forced to retire before his time, and winter in his forts, not daring to shew himselfe in field: so as Viriatus did run ouer all the country at his pleasure, and ranomed the townes which would saue their come, and other fruits which was readie to gather; else he set fire of it.

*C. Plantius defeated by Viriatus.*

22 Claudius Vnimanus, an other Pretor, being sent against this captain, was also defeated, increasing the disgrace receiued by his predecessors: where he lost all the forces which he had brought. The rods and axes, the coats of armes of Capitaines, and other spoyles taken from C the Romanes, were hung vp by Viriatus in the mountaines, in signe of his victories. And soone after 300 Lusitanians hauing encountered 1000 Romanes in a certaine strait, the Romanes lost 320 of their men, and the others but 70: besides, as the Romanes horsemen pursued some Lusitanians on foot which retired, one of the troupe turning head, thrust a Romanes horse through with a pike, and presently stricke off the mans head with his sword; whereat the rest being amazed, they staid, and pursued not this Lusitanian, who retired softly mocking them.

*Cl. Vnimanus defeated by Viriatus.*

23 After C. Vnimanus mention is made of C. Nigidius, who was sent Pretor into the further Spaine, and was as vnfortunate as the rest.

*An. Roma 608.*

D 24 Q. Fabius Maximus, and L. Hostilius being Consuls, C. Lelius was sent Pretor into Spaine, against Viriatus, who managed the warre with great wisdom; but as the daunger increased, and manie people of Spaine moued with the valour and fortune of Viriatus rebelled, the Senat of Rome decreed that one of the Consuls should goe in person to that warre, with a Consular armie: so as Q. Fab. Maximus Emilianus, sonne to Paulus Emilius (who subdued Persus king of Macedonie) was sent thither; a Captaine instructed in the seuer discipline of his father: who hauing leuied two legions of new souldiours, with some bands of their allies, he led some 15000 foot, and 2000 horse into Spaine. Being arriued at Orlone, a towne in Spaine, he would not expose his new souldiours, which had not been tryed in any incounters, but kept them within their forts, and by little and little trayned them with light skirmishes: but Viriatus carried awaie both spoyle and honor for the first yeare. But Fabius charge being E prolonged, and he remaining Proconsull in Spaine, supposing that his armie was now sufficiently trayned, he went to field, and vanquished Viriatus in a set battaile, tooke two townes from him, and pursued him to a place called Becor. After this exploit hee led his armie to winter at Cordoue.

*Q. Fab. Maximus, Consull sent against Viriatus.*

25

*Q. Fab. Maximus, defeats Viriatus.*

26 Viriatus finding himselfe neither so safe nor so strong as he was wont, he solicited the A-reuaces, Belles, and Tithes, a warlike people, and drew them from the Romanes alliance. These did raise a long and dangerous warre, which was called the Numantine, by reason of Numance one of their townes. Viriatus had Quintius, a Roman captain, against him in another quarter, by whom he was put to rout, & forced to retire into his fort on mount Venus: yet making roads from thence hee slue 1000 of Quintius souldiours at one time, tooke some ensignes, and in the end made the enemies armie retire: besides, he chased away the garrison which was in Ituca, and spoiled the Basitans country: during which disorders Quintius kept himselfe within Cordoue, either for cowardise, or want of judgement, sending a captain of the towne of Italique in Spaine against the enemy. Q. Metellus the Consull, was sent into Celtiberia, who subdued the Vacceans with great expedition, and continued his F government aboue a yeare.

K ij

Q. Fab.

Ann. Revis. 610

27 *Q. Fab. Maximus Seruilianus*, being Consul, succeeded *Quintus*, and went into Spaine with an armie according to his dignitie, making about 16000 foot and 1600 horse: he also sent to *Micips* king of the Numidians for elephants. As this Consul conducted a part of his armie to Ituca, *Viriatus* came and charged him with 6000 men, making horrible cries, and tearing long locks, after the accustomed manner of these barbarians in their warres, whom the Romanes withstood with great difficultie: but when as the rest of their armie was ioyned with them; and that ten elephants were arriued out of Lybia with 300 horses, the Consul *Seruilianus* went and prouoked the enimie to fight, vanquished him, and put him to flight: yet he could not so well conteyne his men, but they persued in disorder and confusion, as it falls out often: so as *Viriatus* watchfull vpon all occasions, turned head vpon them that persued, and with a great number, and persued the rest vnto their campe: the which he attempted to force, and without the vertue of *Fannius*, father in law to *C. Lelius*, he had entred, to the totall ruine of the Romanes armie. Night approaching, made the enimie retire, leauing the Romanes much troubled and amazed. But afterwards *Viriatus*, a man without rest, molested them day and night, sometimes by his souldiours lightly armed, sometimes by his horsemen, vntill that he forced the Consull to dislodge, and to retire to Ituca. Then he tooke the waie of Lusitania, being in some extremitie for want of victuals, and his forces decreasing. The Consull following him, and not able to ouertake him, made warre against the Beturians, dwelling in the countrey which is now called Extrema Dura: and caused fise townes to be sackt, for that they had giuen ayde and fauour to *Viriatus*: then he retires to Cunes, from whence he marched soone after against *Viriatus* in Lusitania; and incounting *Curius* and *Apuleius*, two Captaines of theesues vpon the waie, hauing with them 10000 fighting men, the Romanes armie was somewhat troubled; yet *Curius* was slaine in the fight: after which the Romanes to the aduantage, so as *Seruilianus* took Elicadie, Gemelle, & Oboliola, by force, with other places held by the garrisons of *Viriatus*, whereof some were abandoned to the spoyle, others were pardoned: he tooke tenne thousand prisoners, whereof fise hundred were beheaded, the rest he caused to be sould: and with this good fortune he retyred his armie the second yeare to winter, and then returned to Rome.

28 *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* hauing prorogation of his charge in the hither Spaine or Celti-  
ria, in qualitie of Proconsull, he besieged Trebia, a rich towne of that countrey, the which  
tooke by his politike stratagems . It happened during this siege, that fise companies be-  
fied in gard in a certaine place , were dislodged by the enimie : *Metellus* shewed himselfe  
seuer, as he would not receiue them, but commaunded them to returne to the place, vn-  
lesse they would be vsed as traitors, and as men that had abandoned the armie : the which he  
to make them feele the paine of their cowardise , commaunding to cut them in pieces  
that should flie towards the campe. These souldiours forced by necessitie, shewed themselues  
valiant, and recovered the place from whence they had bin chased . Besieging Centobrica,  
a chiefe man within the towne , called Rhetogenes, retired to the Romans campe, where-  
with the inhabitants being much incensed , they set this fugitiues children vpon the walles,  
whereas the Romanes engins did batter : the which did so moue *Metellus* to pitie , as he left  
the siege, forbearing rather to take the towne , than to kill these poore innocent creatures,  
such act of humanity, did much daunt the Celtiberians, so as from that time they were more  
tractable. Being demanded to what end hee made so manie turnings and windings with his  
armie, he answered, that if he thought his shirt knew his conceptions he would burne it. The  
enimie of his great exploits in Spaine, were blemished by the enuie he bare to *Q. Pompeius* his  
enimie, who he vnderstood should succeed him in his charge : to the end hee should find all  
things difficult, he gaue leaue to all souldiours that demanded it, without inquirie of the cause:  
suffered them to spoyle the victuals and munition which remained; he commaunded the  
infantry and ordior archers , to breake their bows and arrows, and did forbid to giue the elephants their  
ordinary allowance. Hauing thus satisfied his spleene, he did frustrat himselfe of his triumph,  
which hee had deferred by so many glorious deeds, knowing better how to surmount his e-  
nemies, then his owne choler.

29 *Q. Fab. Maximus Emilianus*, or *Seruilianus* according vnto some, Proconfull, made warre in the meane time against *Vriatus*: and hauing taken a commander among the thecues called *Connoba*, by his voluntarie yeelding, he pardoned him: but he caused all his souldiours hands

**The Consul Ser-  
vilius defeats  
Piratus in  
Spain, and is  
put to rout by  
him.**

*Famine defends  
the Komane  
camp from Vi-  
etno.*

*The exploits of  
Q. Fab. Mam.  
Sernilianns as  
Proconsul.*

**Severe Executi-  
on of Spanish  
prisoners.**

*Mercellus* severe-  
ly against sol-  
diers who had  
abandoned their  
posts.

**Inhumanities  
to poor Inno-  
cents.**

Metellus seeks  
to dishonour his  
private enemies,  
with the prei-  
dices of the pub-  
like.

**A** hands to be cut off, and afterwards punished as many of the revolted as he could take, in the like manner. He besieged the towne of Erisane, into the which *Viriatus* found means to enter by night : from whence at the breake of day he sallied with great furie, with a troupe of their best men, and not onely chased away such as wrought in the ditches & trenches, but also some companies which were ferther to guard them, with great slaughter : Yet *Viriatus* thinking now of the change of humane things, and of the miseries which doe often follow prosperitie, vsing his good fortune with modestie, he began to giue care to conditions of peace, the which he obtained verie fauourable, both from the Proconsull and Senat, whom they called a friend to the people of Rome, and decreed, That such as had followed him, should enjoy the lands which he had conquered : this decree was seemed to be ended, but soon after it was renewed.

30 *Q. Cæpio* Consul being come into the further Spaine, successefor to the Proconful *Q. Fabius*, began to blame the capitulations made with *Viriatus*, as vnworthy of the honor & greatness of Rome, and had now got leave of the Senat, to molest *Viriatus* vnder hand, that hee might take some subject to rebell. Then by his importune letters and many messages, hee obtained a decree, to proclaim war against him: whereupon he went to besiege Arsa, the which yielded, *Viriatus* hauing abandoned it. Who marched into Carpetania, which is the jurisdiction of Toledo, spoyleing and burning all he left behind him: yet hee was followed and ouertaken by the Consull, but being a politique captaine, he would not hazard a battell, being but weak in regard of the Roman armie, but gaue leave to most of his souldiers to slip away, and he himselfe in the same time presented himselfe

C by certain vallies covered with woods; and he himselfe in the meane time presented himselfe vnto the enemye in a strong place, with some troupes to keepe them occupied, vntill he thought his men were retired into a place of safetie. Then he suddenly vanished by secret passages, before knowne to himselfe, leauing the Romans amazed which way he should fly. *Cepio* marching towards the Veſtōns, and the Calliaiques, spoiled their fields. At the same time did rise other troupes of theues in Lusitania, after the example of *Viriatus*, against whom (according vnto some) *Brutus* was sent. *Viriatus* desiring to come vnto the former accord, foreseeing that in the end he should not be able to resist the Roman power, sent *Audax*, *Ditalcon*, and *Minure*, three of his most familiar friends, vnto *Cepio*, to treat an accord with him: but *Cepio* corrupted them with great gifts and promises, perswading them to murder their captain; the which they did.

**Fab. Max. does  
cruelly execute  
the Spaniards.**

*Viriatns fauoured by the Senate of Rome, who gave him peace.*

Анна Романовна

Qu. Cepio break  
the treatie made  
with Viriatus.

Barbarians can  
be corrupted with  
money.

*Viriatus tra-  
cherously mur-  
dered to the  
displeasure of  
Romans, and  
the Consul Co-  
Traitors dece-  
ved by him sh-  
suborned then*

Viriatu's law  
sed of his son  
ours for his v  
lent and bow



## THE FOURTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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Quintus

A 1



**P**ompeius Aulus Consull, in the yeare 612 comming very late in his Prouince, and hauing receiued an armie but in bad equipage from the hands of Q. Metellus, he went to beseech the Numantines; for of all the townes against whom Metellus had made warre, only Numantia and Thermancia continued in armes: Thermancia was strong by nature, situated among the woods and betwixt two riuers, and therefore of hard access: wherefore hee went first to Numantia, in the

*Numantia attempted in vain by Q. Pompeius.*

which there were eight thousand of the best and most resolute souldiours that were in all Spaine, as the Romanes found by experience. The Romane armie was in all about thirtie thousand foot and two thousand horse. Being at this siege, the Romane forragers were charged by a suddaine fallie of the besieged, so as many of them were slaine vpon the place. Pompey was then absent; who being aduertised of this rout, hastened to the campe: but the Numantines notwithstanding his diligence retired without losse, and continued daily to skirmish with the souldiours, and to haue the aduantage: wherewith Pompey being discontented, he left it, and would attempt Thermancia, to see if he could repaire his honour, and get some profit: but he lost seuen hundred of his best men at the first encounter, and they chased a Colonel, which conducted victuals to the campe. Soone after hee had a third rout, with the losse of many horse and foot, and with such an amazement of all the rest of the armie, as they stood all night in armes; and day being come, the Thermantines running vnto their trenches, and pro- uoking the enemy, they fought with equall aduantage all day long, vntill night. Whereupon Pompey did also dislodge from thence, and marched towards Malia, a little towne held by a garrison of the Numantines; the which was yeilded by the treason of the inhabitants, ha- uing slaine the souldiours which were set there to gard it: where hauing left some companies, after that he had disarmed the inhabitants, he marched towards Sedetane, to defend it from the spoyles of Tanguin, capitaine of the thecues, whom he defeated and tooke prisoner, with a great number of his souldiours, but he could neither draw ransom nor seruice from them: for these Barbarian captiues entred into such a rage, as in a manner they all slew themselves, or

*Q. Pompeius returns from Thermancia.*

*The Barbarians impatient of seruitude, yea, some were so malicious, as passing the riuers, they made holes in boats, so as they sunke with their felues.*

C

**C**burthens. After all this, Pompey would needs returne to Numantia, where he sought to diuert the course of the riuier of Duero, which passed along the towne, that hee might cut off their passage for victuals. The inhabitants and souldiours within the towne fighting against his designs, repulsed both them that were at worke, and those that garded them, or that came to succour them; and in many skirmishes and fallies they slew many Romane horsemen, with Oppius, a Colonell of a thousand foot: and in another place, at a trench which the Romanes had made, the Numantines falling forth suddainely, slew foure hundred men, with the ouer- seer of the worke.

During these exploits, there arriued certaine Romane Senatours at the campe, with some new bands, to supply the places of the old souldiours, which desired to be dismissed, hauing serued six yeares in those warres. Pompey being ashamed of his bad successe, did that which his predecessors had not yet done, continuing his siege before Numantia all the Winter: so as many which were not accustomed to the raine, snow, and cold of that Region, died of collicks and paine in their bellies. Besides, he had another rout, seeking to succour his souldiours which were gone to forrage, whereas he lost many, as well of the Roman nobilitie, as of priuat souldiours: so as tyred and wasted with so many losses, he was forced to retyre and to lodge his armie, attending him that should come to succed him in the Spring. But fearing to be censured, for that hee had managed that warre so ill, hee resolved to make a kind of composition with them of Numantia: who being much weakened with the miseries which they had endured, and fearing they should be distressed for victuals, liuing in a barren country, they consented to send embassadours to Pompey, who in open shew demanded, That they should yeeld vnto the Romanes discretion; but vnder hand he graunted many of their demands, draw- ing from them some talents, certaine hostages, and them that were reuolted. There remain- ed yet some part of the composition money to pay, for the which Pompey stayed, when as M.

*Negligence and cowardise of capitaines punished some times at Rome.*

*Disimulation of Pompey to couer his fault.*

*Ann. Roma 614 Pompey dash impudently de- ceine the Numantines.*

F

**F**Popilius Lenas a Consull arriued in Spaine to succed him. Then Pompey being freed from the care of the waite, denied that he had accorded any thing vnto the Numantines, notwith- standing

2  
Popilius Lenas  
referred in  
the warre of  
Numantia.

Ann. Rome 615

Exploits of D.  
Brutus the  
Consul.

The obstinate  
courage of the  
Barbarians.

Brutus the first  
Roman that en-  
tered with an ar-  
my into Galicia.

Women in Spaine  
warriors and  
valiant.

Brutus magna-  
nimitie and cle-  
mencie to rebels.

A worthy pun-  
ishment of a  
cowardly cap-  
taine.

Hofilius Man-  
cius referred in  
the warre of  
Numantia.

standing that many captaines and Romane Senatours did affirme the contrarie : Whereupon G  
Popilius sent this controuersie to Rome vnto the Senat, whereas the embassadours of Numan-  
tia and Pompey did plead : but the Senate was of opinion not to confirme any thing that Pom-  
pey had done, and that the warre should continue against the Numantines. Popilius then con-  
tinuing warre against them, did nothing that was memorable, although his charge were pro-  
longed, but lost his honour, and many good souldiors.

3 During his time, the Lusitanians hauing rebelled againe, D. Iunius Brutus was sent into  
the further Spaine. Others say, That he did execute that which followes, vnder the Consull  
Q. Cepio, and that he was sent by him as his Lieutenant, by reason of the distance of places be-  
twixt the riuers of Betis, Anas, Tagus, Durius, and Lethes, by the which the theues escaped, H  
and made suddaine incursions, not onely molesting them that pursued them, but also putting  
them out of hope to take them, by reason of the strength of the places. Brutus therefore tooke  
this course, he would not trouble himselfe in running after these nimble fellowes, who knew  
all the means to escape; but went directly to their owne countrey, that he might in one expe-  
dition both punish them, and enrich his souldiors with their spoyle; assuring himselfe, they  
would come to defend their holes: wherein he was nothing deceived: for both men and wo-  
men came running to repulse the Romane armie, fighting with a desperat furie: so as being  
halfe dead, dismembred, or couered with wounds, they were neuer heard grone: yet many  
lesse courageous, taking vp as much as they could carrie, fled to the mountaines, whom Brutus  
afterwards (vpon their suite) pardoned. Hauing passed the riuier of Duero, he subdued many I  
people, and tooke hostages, and was the first of all the Romans which led an armie beyond the  
riuier of Lethes, called Limia, where he assailed the Brecaires, a people of Galicia, who had  
spoiled the victuallers coming to his campe. This nation was accustomed to lead their wiues  
to the warre, and both men and women did fight so obstinately, as they were neuer seene to  
turne their backs, nor cast out any cries vnworthie of souldiors for any wounds which they re-  
ceiued. The women that were taken prisoners, slew themselves and their children, rather than  
to be slaues. Many of their townes and retreats yeelded vnto Brutus, but he was constrained to  
subdue them againe; for finding him somewhat retyred, they rebelled againe. The inhabi-  
tants of Talabrica in another part of the prouince made triall of the magnanimitie and cle-  
mencie of the ancient Romanes: for being often reuolted, and hauing abused the pardon  
which he had giuen them, Brutus hauing forced them to yeeld to his discretion, demanded  
first the fugitiues, and then the prisoners taken in warre. Then he disarmed them, and tooke  
the chiefe among them for hostages: which done, hee made them all goe out of the towne,  
with their wiues and children, and hauing caused them to be enuironed by the armed bands,  
hee spake vnto them, reproching them with their many rebellions and ingratitude; for the  
which they attended no lesse than the sentence of death: but he ended his speech with repro-  
ches and bitter words, and then beyond all hope sent them home to their houses, depriving  
them onely of their armes, horses, and other equipage for warre, and of their common trea-  
sure. They write, That he did assigne lands for them that had serued Viriatus in the warre, and  
that he gaue them the towne of Valence in Lusitania to dwell in. This yeare C. Matienus be-  
ing accused at Rome, That he had abandoned the army, whereof he had charge in Spaine, was  
beaten with rods, and sold for a Sexterce (which in our English money is a penny) by a decree  
of the people.

As for Popilius, who made warre against the Numantines, or rather they made warre against  
him, he returned to Rome, at the coming of the Consull C. Hostilius Mancinus, who was also-  
gether vnfortunat in his enterprises; the which was signified vnto him by presages, before he  
came out of Italie: for as he tooke shipping at Port Hercules, there was a strange voice heard,  
saying, Mancinus stay; and as hee tooke port at Genes, there was a great Snake found in his  
ship, the which escaped. He was beaten euery where by the Numantines, hauing thirtie thou-  
sand men in his armie. Being terrified with a bruit, That the Cantabrians and Vacceans came M  
to succour Numantia, he fled in the night into desert places, whereas Nobilior had encamped  
in former time, and there without any munition or rampier, he was the next morning found  
and besieged by the enemy, and constrained to capitulate a peace with them vpon like condi-  
tions, ingaging his faith to make them be ratified by the Senate. Tib. Gracchus (who was af-  
terwards slaine) being Tribune of the people, then Questor in this armie, was the negotiator of

A of this peace: who was so faoured by the Numantines, as they hauing spoiled the Romanes  
campe, and among other things carried away the accompts, quittances, and other papers of  
Gracchus, they restored them to him againe very willingly. Although this composition were  
ignominious, yet did it saue the liues of twentie thousand Romane citizens: Which being  
knowne at Rome, M. Aemilius Lepidus the other Consull was presently sent into Spaine, and  
Mancinus called home to Rome, to giue an account of his action, the Numantine warre re-  
maineing for a time suspended. By reason whereof, M. Aemilius being impatient to remaine  
in the Prouince idle (for captaines neuer goe to the warre, but to get honour and profit)  
whilest that Mancinus processe was in hand, and that hee had receiued newes, hee began to  
besiege Palantia, their chiefe towne, being strong and rich, calling D. Brutus his father in  
law to assist him at this worke, who had his charge proroged in qualitie of Proconsull of the  
further Spaine. The Senate aduertised hereof, sent Cinna and Cecilius embassadours into  
Spaine, to let him vnderstand, That the Romanes did not hold it conuenient (after so many  
losses) to attempt a new warre, and presented vnto him the Senates decree, by the which he  
was forbidden to make warre against the Vacceans. Aemilius (who had already begun the  
siege) answered, That the Senate was not well informed how matters passed in Spaine, nor  
how that he had joynd his forces with those of Brutus: and that he was well assured, that  
the Vacceans had relieued the Numantines with victuals, men, and money: that if he should  
retyre in that sort, it would be a dishonour, and that many of their allies would take occasion  
thereby to quit the Romanes friendship, and to contemne them. With these reasons (the  
which the Consull did also write vnto the Senat) Cinna returned. Then did the Consull  
Aemilius Lepidus and Brutus the Proconsull busie themselves to plant many engines to bat-  
ter the towne, and to furnish their armie with victuals. Flaccus (who was Commissarie gene-  
rall of the campe) causing great store of come to be brought, was surprised by the enemy,  
and so enclosed, as it was impossible to escape: but he by a singular policie caused it to bee  
bruiet among his troups, That the Consull had taken Palantia, the which did so amaze the  
enemies, as with a foolish credulitie they quit their prey, and retyred. The siege of Palantia  
growing tedious, the Romane armie began to suffer so much, as both men and beasts peri-  
shed for hunger: so as in the end he was forced to leaue the siege, and retyre in the night, in  
great disorder: for there were many sicke men, who desired them not to abandon them to  
the enemies sword; which moued all men to pitie: and therefore it was a great hinderance  
vnto the armie, being pursued by the Palantines: who loosing this wished opportunitee, re-  
turned, as if some Angel had stood before them, to preuent the totall ruine of the Romane  
armie: yet Paulus Orosius writes, That there were six thousand men slaine, and that the rest  
were put in rout, and saued themselves without armes. M. Aemilius Lepidus being called to  
Rome by reason of these errors, was degraded and condemned in a great fine. Brutus conti-  
nuing in his charge of Proconsull in the further Spaine, spent much time to order things in his  
Prouince, and afterwards triumphed at Rome: he was afterwards called Callaïque or Gallique,  
E for that he had subdued the people of Galicia.

As for the question betwixt Mancinus and the embassadours of Numantia, it was judged,  
That the accord made without the authoritie of the Senat should bee void, and they de-  
creed, That Mancinus, who was bound vnto the Numantines, should be deliuered vnto them,  
to dispose of him at their pleasure, after the example of the ancient Romanes, who had for  
the like offence deliuered twentie captaines vnto the Samnites. According vnto which de-  
cree, Mancinus was brought into Spaine by P. Furius Philus or Philo, Consull in the yeare  
617, and was deliuered by him naked and bound vnto the Numantines, who refused him.  
This Furius in a brauerie made Q. Metellus and Q. Pompeius Consular men, and his enemies  
came with him into Spaine, to serue him as his Lieutenants: and this yeare the warre was  
managed in Spaine with three Consular armies: but P. Furius did nothing that was me-  
morable. After whom, Q. Calpurnius Piso came into the Prouince: who hauing ouer-  
run the territorie of Palantia, and taken some little prey, hee spent the rest of his time  
shut vp in Carpetania: and this yeare the Romanes receiued a rout by them of the towne  
of Numantia.

Mancinus called  
to Rome to an-  
swer the ignomi-  
nious accord  
made with the  
Numantines.

M. Aemilius the  
Consul attempts  
warre rashly  
against the  
Vacceans.

The policie of  
Flaccus Commis-  
sarie of the vi-  
tualls.

A shamefull re-  
treat of two  
Romane armies  
from before  
Palantia.

Aemilius Lepi-  
dus punished for  
his disobedience.

The Romanes  
discharged of  
their bonds, in  
deliuering the  
magistrates  
which made still.

Mancinus deli-  
uered bound vnto  
the Numantines.



*Scipio Amilianus sent into Spaine.*

*Scipio reformes the armie.*

*The pasture of a good and wise capitaine.*

*A good beginning is of great importance in matters of war.*

*The Palantines mightie among the Spaniards.*

*The foresight of Scipio.*

6 The people of Rome being wearie of this Numantine warre, which grew daily more difficult, in the yeare 619 they did chuse *P. Corn. Scipio Amilianus*, called *Africanus*, Consull, for that some few yeares before hee had ruined the mightie citie of Carthage; vnto whom Spaine was giuen without lot: whither he went with some voluntaries, and a small number of his friends, being some foure thousand men; for Spaine had too many souldiours, and wanted onely good captaines. He gaue this troupe in charge to *Buteon* his nephew, and he himselfe went speedily before. Being arriued in Spaine, he found what he had heard before; That the armie was very ill disciplined: Wherefore holding it a part of great wisdom first of all to reforme the corrupt manners of the souldiours, as loone as he arriued, he chafed out of the campe all merchants, strumpets, tellers of fortune, and the new superstitious sacrificers; to which things the souldiours were too much giuen: he cut off their carts and baggage, forbidding them to bring any thing into the campe that was not necessarie. He did forbid beds, and he himselfe gaue example vnto others, lying vpon couerings spread vpon girts. Finally, he set such an order among the souldiours (submitting himselfe vnto the rigour of his owne ordinances, as in a short time they became modest, temperat, and obedient. Then hee began to traine them in warlike exercises, remoouing his campe often, whereas he caused the souldiours to digge and make rampiers, himselfe being alwaies present, from the day breake to the Sunne set; and commonly he made them to march in a square battaile, punishing any one that went out of his ranke. Hee went about his armie to see if they marched in good order, and if he found any sicke or tyred, he set them on horsebacke, causing others to alight: and he was no lesse just vnto beasts: for if there were any horses ouerladen, he distributed their superfluous burthens among the footmen, Hee appointed euery man his charge and office, and limited a time for the finishing of their workes, which they might not neglect. When as he found his souldiours sufficiently inured to labour, and accustomed to obey their commanders, then he came to encampe neere vnto Numantia, whereas he would not lodge his armie in quarters; as others before him had done, but kept it all vnited, that the enemy should get no aduantage of him in the beginning; the which is of great consequence. He had no will to suffer any one to goe forth to skirmish, vntill he was well informed how to make warre with that people, of the opportunities he must seeke, and of their manner of proceeding, their counsels and resolutions; keeping the enemy by that meanes from straying abroad, and maintaining the country, which was behind his armie, assured for his forragers: saying alwayes, That light skirmishes affected vpon brauerie, without necessitie, should bee rejected by a wise and expert capitaine, who should respect nothing but necessitie, profit, and occasion, and then he should shew himselfe courageous and hardie. When as he saw a convenient time, hee marched with his armie, and taking a great circuit, he came and encamped in the territorie of the Vacceans, from whence the Numantines had their victuals. There hee wasted the country, burning all that could not serue to feed his armie. Not farre from Palantia is a place called Coplain, where behind a hill the Palantines had lodged a great troupe of men, hauing in the meane time sent out some companies against the Romanes, which went to forrage the country: for whose gard *Scipio* sent *Rutilius Rufus* with foure bands of horsemen, who repulsed the enemy, but with such an inconsiderat heat, as they were carried pell-mell vnto the top of the hill, where they discovered the enemies which lay in ambush: Then *Rufus* commaunded his men to make a stand, and to cease their pursute, for they were to defend themselves: from which danger they were freed by the Consull *Scipio*, who arriued with the rest of the horsemen: for hearing that the enemy began to flye at the sight of *Rufus*, hee doubted there was some stratagem. Being aduertised, that there were some ambushes prepared at the passage of the riuier, which was full of mud, he tooke another way, and spared not his souldiours paines to free them from danger. In this long and drie passage he digged Wells for to ease his souldiours, being oppressed with the violent heat, but they found the waters bitter. In the end he came into a more fertile country, with the losse onely of some horses and beasts of carriage.

Passing by the territorie of Cauca, whereas *Lucullus* had made that great slaughter, hee made

A made proclamations, That the Caucians which were absent might returne freely to their lands, and from thence he led his armie to winter in the territorie of the Numantines, whereas *Asurgurthe*, grand child to *Masimissa*, came vnto him, bringing certaine companies of archers and casters with slings, with twelue Elephants. In this place some Romanes forraging and spoyling the neighbour country, were surprisid in a Bourg, behind the which the enemies lay hidden in a valley; who were repulsed by *Scipioes* speedie comming to assist them, but he had no will to pursue them. Approching soone after to Numantia, he besieged it with two campees; one of the which was commaunded by *Q. Fab. Maximus* his brother. There the besieged made many fallies, prouoking the Romanes to skirmish: but the Consull laughed at them, saying, it had beene a great indiscretion in him to fight with desperat and mad men, whom he was assured to take in a short time by famine. He vnderooke to cast a ditch and a rampier of a league and a halfe compass about the towne: for the defence of which worke, hauing set gards in conuenient places, he commaunded euery man to be carefull in his quarter, and that when as the enemy should offer to charge in one place, that suddainely they should in the day time hang vp a red cloth on a pike, and in the night make a fire, that he and his brother might come to succour them. This worke being finished, without it he drew another ditch, making a wall with piles, of eight foot broad and ten high, the which he flanked with towers a hundred and twentie foot one from another: and for that there was a marsh ground on the one side, he caused a causey to bee rayfed of the height of this wall, which joyned vnto it. The riuier of Duero running through these rampiers, brought great commoditie to the besieged; for that way men went both in and out, and boats entred by fauour of the wind and swiftnesse of the streame: to take away the vse whereof, *Scipio* built two forts vpon the banks, from the which he cast peeces of timber into the water, from one banke vnto the other, in the which were fastened great pikes of yron, which went very deepe into the water; and these beames were so tied together, as they did turne continually with the force of the streame, so as not any one could passe, either by boat or swimming: for *Scipio* held it a good course to amaze the enemy, to take from him all meanes to haue intelligence from abroad, and withall to cut off his victuals. For the gard of these fortifications hee appointed thirtie thousand men, being the one halfe of his armie; to succour the which, hee ordained twentie thousand more, reseruing the other tenne thousand for a third supplie: which vpon a signe giuen should come vnto their quarters, without confusion. The Numantines attempted often to force these rampiers, but they found too great resistance, the Consull himselfe going the round day and night, and visiting the whole circuit, being almost two leagues; making his account, that the enemy wanting victuals, ames, and succours, could not long hold out. Matters being in this estate, *Rhetogenes*, surnamed *Carannius*, one of the chiefe and most resolute men within the towne, aduentured with fise of his friends, and so many seruants, all well mounted, to come in a darke night vnto the enemies rampiers, where they mounted and slew the enemies sentinels, and with certaine engines which they carried, passed ouer their horses: hauing sent their seruants backe, they dispersed themselves in the country of the Areuaces, where they besought those people, That as friends, kinsmen, and allies to the Numantines, they would succour them. Many fearing the Romanes, commaunded them to depart out of their countries, refusing to heare them: but the young men of Lutia, a rich towne, some tenne leagues from Numantia, pitying these poore creatures besieged, did sollicit the people to relieue them: whereof *Scipio* being aduertised by the ancients of the towne, went thither with some troupes, and within eight houres space shewed himselfe about their walls, commaunding, That the chiefe of these seditious young men should bee deliuered vnto him, threatening (if they sayled) to sacke their towne: so as no excuse preuailling, about foure hundred were brought vnto him, whose hands hee caused to bee cut off, and the next day returned to the campe. The Numantines prest with hunger and all other extremities, sent fise of their citizens vnto *Scipio*, to vnderstand if hee would receiue them vpon any reasonable conditions. *Anarrus*, the chiefe of this embassage, comming before him, began to discourse of the vertues and generous disposition of the Numantines, with high wordes maintaining, That it should not bee imputed vnto them for a crime, if they had so eagefly defended their liberties, their wiues and children, for the which they were now fallen into that calamitie.

Wherefore

wherefore (said he) it is reasonable, *o* Scipio, that (according to thy singular vertue) thou pardon our brave and valiant race, and that thou propound unto us such honest conditions, as we may endure them: for it is in thy power to haue the towne by this meanes, or to trie what souldiours (who esteeme their libertie more than their liues) can doe. To whom Scipio made no other answere, but that they must deliuer themselves, their towne, their armes, and all they had, at his discretion; for he was sufficiently aduertised by prisoners, in what estate they were. When this answer was brought vnto the besieged (although they expected no better) they entred into such a rage against these poore deputies, as they cut them in pieces, being jealous that they had made some agreement with the Romanes for their owne particular. Then resoluing vpon all extremities, after that their victuals were consumed, hauing deuoured raw hides, and such like things, in the end they fed vpon dead mens flesh: and they fell into such miserie, as the stronger oppressed the weaker, euery man regarding his own particular, being also consumed with pestilent diseases, which grew through the extremities which they endured, and from the corruption and stinke of dead carkasses. Wherefore vanquished with all these calamities, in the end they tooke counsell to yeeld, and came and presented themselves to Scipio like hideous suppliants, deformed, filthy, and torne; their haire and beards long, clotted and staring, resembling rather sauage beasts than reasonable creatures: whom Scipio commaunded to deliuer vp their armes that day, and the next day they should all yeeld themselves in a certaine place appointed them. To this they demaunded a dayes respite, for that many were yet remaining within the towne, being resolved to die rather by the sword or famine, than to yeeld, but vpon honest conditions. So being returned, and hauing consulted what was to be done, they resolved, after they had once glutted themselves with that small store which remained, they would fallie out vpon the enemy, and die fighting vertuously for their country. But Scipio knowing, that he had to deale with mad men, restrained his souldiours all he could: the which did the more enflame the Numantines, who notwithstanding all that he could doe, issued forth, and forced the Romanes to defend themselves, hauing great need to bee commaunded by a wife and valiant captaine; for they were more than once forced to fight flying: yet in the end the Numantines were repulsed, hauing lost their best men; notwithstanding they retired without disorder: their last remedie was to flye out of the towne with their armes: but that being stoppt, they shut their gates, and slew one another, by sword, poyson, or fire, and by all other kinds of deaths: so as Scipio entring into the towne, he found all consumed with fire, and not a man liuing. Others write, That Scipio burnt and rased the towne without the consent of the Senate, and not the Numantines, for the hatred which he did naturally beare to them, which he tooke by force: besides that, by the destruction of such famous townes he made his renowne greater, or else that he held it to be expedient & profitable for the Commonweale: they said also, That but some of them slew themselves, and the rest were sold for slaues, onely fiftie were reserved, to lead them in triumph.

Thus the taking of Numantia is diuersly written, the which did so long resist the Romans, and gaue them so many routs, hauing in the beginning but eight thousand men, the which in the end were reduced to lesse than foure thousand, which notwithstanding did greatly importune their enemies. The territorie of Numantia was afterwards diuided among the neighbour people; and Scipio (being then Pro-consull) hauing visited the countrey, and done right to all men, punishing the inconstant allies by words or threats, and some by pecuniarie fines, he returned to Rome, where in one year he triumphed of the Numantines, and D. Brutus of the Lusitanians and Gallicians. The Senat deputed ten Senators to go into Spaine, to dispose of the affaires of that Prouince. Thus the troubles were pacified, without any alteration for some yeares.

7 In the year 630, Q. Caelilius Metellus and T. Quintius Flaminius being Consuls, the inhabitants of the Islands of the Balears, which we call Maiorca and Minorca, liuing by pyracie and theeuing by sea, ministred occasion to the Romanes to send the Consull Metellus, eldest sonne to him that was called Macedonicus, who after a great slaughter of these theues brought them to a more ciuile life; where hauing left some Colonies of Romans, he triumphed at Rome.

8 C. Marius (he that was afterwards seuen times Consull) about the year 640 had the charge of the further Spaine as Pretor, where hee cleansed the whole countrey of theues: which

Brutish furie  
of the Barbari-  
ans.

Miseries of a  
place besieged.

Numantines  
reduced to ex-  
tremities.

Despaire of the  
Numantines.

Ann. Rome 621

Metellus makes  
warre against  
the Maiorquins.

which trade those people could not forget, holding it in old time to be very honourable. Q. Seruilius Cæpio was also sent with the like charge, who fought with the Lusitanians, and did triumph. A while after there did arise new tumults among the Celtiberians: for the appeasing whereof Calphurnius Piso was sent, and after him Sergius Galba, Pretors: but for that the Romanes were much troubled with the warres of Italie, as well against the Cimbrians (a nation coming from the borders of the Northerne Ocean) as against the slaues which were in armes againe, and foraged Sicilie, they sent certaine Commissioners to pacifie the troubles without armes, if it might be. These Cimbrians being vanquished a little before by the Consull Carbo, had fallen vpon the Gaules and Spaine, from whence they had bene repulsed, and in the year 644 returned againe to inuade Italie, where they defeated the armie of M. Syllanus. Anno 648. The Lusitanians  
Confull: but the Lusitanians in the year 648 (P. Rutilius Rufus and C. Manilius being Con-  
suls) defeated a Roman armie: the Authors speake not of his name that was the Generall, nor of his that was sent to suppress them, in the year 652, who subdued them. It may be it  
was D. Iunius Silanus. And they stayed not long to minister matter of triumph to the Romanes  
captaines, hauing rebelled againe in the year 654, against whom L. Corn. Dolabella a Pretor  
was sent, who vanquished them and triumphed. The Consull T. Didius, at the same time, af-  
ter that the Cimbrians had bene driuen out of Italie, hauing had the government of Spaine  
about Ebro, slew in battaile 20000 Areuaces and Vacceans, and tooke the towne of Ther-  
mise, which was great and strong by situation, commaunding the inhabitants for a punish-  
ment of their ordinarie rebellion to dwell in the plaine, and not to inuall themselves: after  
seuen moneths siege hee also tooke the towne of Colenda, and sold the inhabitants. Other  
people of the Celtiberians continuing in their theeuing, were by him condemned to die, by  
the aduice of tenne Commissioners, which were then in Spaine for the people of Rome. Ha-  
uing then gathered them together, vnder colour that he would giue them land to manure, he  
caused them to be enuironed by his souldiours, and cut in pieces: for which deeds he triumphed  
at his returne to Rome. In the armie of this T. Didius was at that time Q. Sertorius, who had  
charge of 1000 men, a man of iudgement and valour, whereof he made good proofe, when as  
vnder this Consull Didius, the Castalonians attempted, with the help of them of Girize, to cut  
his regiment in pieces which wintred in their town, for that during the tumult he rallied them  
together which escaped the slaughter, with the which he reuenged the death of his souldiours,  
putting all the conspirators which he found armed to the sword: & hauing attired some of his  
men with their apparrell and armes, he marcht speedily towards Girize, where being let in by  
reason of this disguising, he made a great slaughter of the inhabitants, and sold the rest.

10 The Lusitanians and people of the further Spaine in the year 656 drew against them  
the Consull P. Licinius Crassus, who triumphed in like manner. And in the year 659 Fulvius  
Flaccus being sent against the Celtiberians, who had rebelled, he slew 20000 in battell, and re-  
strained the rest by justice, euen those which had burnt their owne Senators, opposing them-  
selves against the rebellion which they had intended; rasing and demanteling some townes.  
Spaine by means of these executions remained quiet, vntill the ciuile dissentions betwixt Ma-  
rius and Sylla, which ministred occasions of new warre.

11 Whilest this Marian sedition continued, M. Crassus hauing seene his father and brother  
slaine by Cinna and Marius, fled into Spaine, where he had been in time past at the warres with  
his father, and there had gotten some friends: but finding that euerie one stood in feare of  
Marius, he retired to a countrey house belonging to Vibius Papiacus, where he hid himselfe in  
a caue, causing some to sound Vibius mind, who hearing that Crassus was escaped, he caused  
him to be secretly fed there eight moneths by a slaue of his, vnto the death of Cinna.

12 After the ciuile warre betwixt Marius and Sylla, the infection of this madnesse past into  
Spaine, by the means of Q. Sertorius, who hauing held the partie of Cinna and Marius, after the  
defeats of Carbo, Scipio and Norbanus by Sylla, he retired into Spaine, where he had been vnder  
the Consull Didius, and there he fortified himselfe against the enterprises of the Dictator Syl-  
la, causing Iulius Salinator to keepe the passages of the Pyrence mountaines, with 6000 foot,  
but it was not long before that Sylla sent C. Annus, who not able to force the enemy in  
a place of such aduantage, obtained the passage by the death of Salinator, whom Calphur-  
nius Lanarius (that did maligne him) slew in treason. This made Sertorius retyre, who had  
but three thousand men remaining in new Carthage, from whence he passed into Affricke,  
and

Ann. 648.  
The Lusitanians  
repeale and de-  
feat the Romanes.

9  
Thermise taken  
and rased by T.  
Didius Consull

Q. Sertorius.

Fulvius Flaccus  
defeats the Cel-  
tiberians.

A friend is tried  
in need.

Sertorius warre  
in Spaine.

and from thence the barbarians chased him: afterwards thinking to returne, he was repul-  
 sed from landing in Spaine: wherefore he seized vpon one of the islands of Pytusius, in dis-  
 tance of *C. Anninus* garrison: but he was chased from thence also, so as being accompanied  
 with some foits of Sicilian pirats, he was forced to put out to sea for some daies. In the  
 end he passed the strait, and put to land about the mouth of the riuer of Betis, where hauing  
 information by some mariners of the fortunat islands, he began to resolute to liue there in  
 rest: whereupon these pirats disliking his designe, abandoned him, and put themselves in pay  
 vnder a Moore, named *Afcalius*, who contended with an other for the kingdome of the Ma-  
 rufians, whose partie *Sertorius* maintained. Comming to fight *Afcalius* was defeated, and  
 after his death of *Syllas* captaines, called *Paccianus*, who came to succour him: after which *Af-  
 calius* was besieged in the towne of Tingis, and taken. By this good successe *Sertorius*  
 augmented his armie with the remainders of the vanquished enemies souldiours, which came  
 to ferue vnder him. He did so win the hearts of the Moores, vsing this victorie modestly, as  
 they were afterwards al at his commandment: but as he was in great care what course to take,  
 there came embassadors vnto him from the Lusitanians, intreating him to be their Generall;  
 for that the Romans of *Syllas* partie made war against them, and therefore they had need of a  
 man of judgment & experience, which honor they did according to his meritis offer vnto him:  
 vpon which summons he left Africke, leading with him about 2500 souldiours, which he cal-  
 led Romans, & yet they were for the most part Africans; with the which hauing ioyned 4000  
 Lusitanians and 7000 horses, he made head against foure great Romane captaines, vnder  
 whom there were about 120000 foot and 6000 horses, and had in a manner all the townes of  
 Spaine at their deuotion.

At the beginning of this war, he defeated *Cotta* in a sea fight, neere vnto the towne of Mel-laria, and put to rout *Didius* or *Fidius*, Pretor of Betica, neere vnto the riuer of Betis, where he slue 10000 of his men: and by the diligence of his *Quesior Hertuleius*, he also defeated *Tho-ranius*, lieutenant to the Confull *Q. Metellus Pius*, to whom that prouince was assigned in the year 673. Afterwards he had to deale with *Metellus* himselfe, and did so annoy him being a great and an expert captaine, as *Manlius* the Proconfull of Gaule was forced to come to his succours, with three legions and 1500 horse: but *Manlius* being encountered by *Hertuleius Sertorius* *Quesior*, was defeated, put to flight, and forced to saue himselfe in a manner alone within *Lerida*. *L. Domitius* was more vnfortunat, who was slain vpon the place in an other in-counter: all which exploits were done by surprizes, and in flying or retiring, the Romane cap-tains not being able to draw *Sertorius* to fight in a pitcht field: whereupon the Senat of Rome, considering that *Metellus* age (which was somewhat aduanced) made him more slow, and therefore not fit to encounter *Sertorius*, who was in the flower of his age, accompanied with souldiours as light as the wind, inured to labour, hunger, thirst, and all the difcommodities of war, were of opinion to send *Cn. Pompeius* vnto him, as an assistant & companion with like au-thoritie. In the mean time *Metellus* besieged the towne of the Langobriges, thinking to take it without difficultie, for want of water, knowing there was but one onely well in the whole towne: but *Sertorius* provided for this inconuenience, for hauing promised a reward to such as I would carrie goats skins filled with water, the Moores and other aduenturous people went in with a great quantitie: so as *Metellus* (who had victuals but for foue daies) was forced to retyre, after that *Aquinius* one of his lieutenants, whom he had sent to forage with 6000 men, had bin defeated by *Sertorius*, who lay continually in ambush.

About that time *M. Perpenna* arrived in Spaine, with a great armie, the which he ioyned to that of *Sertorius*, not of his owne free will, meaning to make war apart, but by constraint, for that the souldiours hauing a better conceit of *Sertorius* than of him, would not follow him: which made *Perpenna* to enuie and hate *Sertorius*. With these forces in a manner all Spaine beyond Ebro, was conquered by him. When as *Pompey* was come to *Metellus* camp, many throgh his fame, which was great, began to doubt of *Sertorius* affaires, and manie townes which were allyed vnto him began to wauer; but that which hapned at Lauronne did confirme them: for *Sertorius* hauing besieged Lauronne, & *Pompey* comming thither to raise the sieg, when as the armies were neere, & that *Pompey* expected to giue him batle, he perceiued that at one instant *Sertorius* held both the towne & his armie besieged; for he had lodged 6000 men behind *Pompey*'s army, watching an opportunitie to compass him in so as he was forced to be more carefull

Sertorius having endured many crosses, resolves to goe and live at the fortunate islands at Canaries.

**Sertorius called  
by the Lusitani-  
481.**

*What forces  
were against  
Sertorius in  
Spain.*

Costa, Didina  
and Thorania  
defeated by S  
porine.

**Sertorius de-  
feats Marlin  
and kills L. Do-  
mizius.**

*Pompey sent to Spain to assist Metellus.*

Verne is al-  
ways excited

*Laurenne besieged and taken by Sertorius in Pompey's presence.*

A how to saue himselfe, than to deliuer the Lauronitanes, whose towne he did see taken & burnt before his face: the which *Sertorius* did, not vpon any crueltie (for in the whole course of his life he was neuer noted of that exceſſe, if it were not by constraint) but to let them know (who made so great esteeme of *Pompey*) that he knew more than he; whom he reamed a yong man, and *Syllas* discipule; and in this act of Lauronna, he said, That a wife captain doth alwaies looke more to that which is behind, than before. And to say the truth, *Sertorius* was one of the pollicke capitaines of his time, as it appeared in this warre, whereas he maintained himselfe and those he led, alwaies inuincible, being neuer beaten but by his Lieutenants, through great errors he receiued many prejudiciall losses: the which he repaired afterwards with great honor, as the defeat of *Hiruleius* by *Metellus*, neere vnto the towne of Italica, where he lost twentie thousand men.

After the taking of Lauronne, the armies of either side having wintered (the one in Lusitania, the other neere vnto the Pyrennes) they began to seeke one another: and it happened, that *Pompey* hauing encountered *Horrennius* and *Perpenna* neere vnto Valence, he defeated them, and in like sort *Hirtuleius*, who was slaine at that time: wherewith growne proud, he marched towards *Sertorius*, and without attending *Metellus* and his forces, hee came to fight with him, neere vnto the riuer of Suero or Xucar, whereas *Pompey* was put to flight, and hurt. *Metellus* arriuing, caused *Sertorius* to retire; with whom he did afterwards fight in the territorie of Sagunt, whereas *Memmius*, *Pompeyes* Questor, was slaine, and *Metellus* wounded: but *Sertorius* seeing that he had the worst, retyred himselfe cunningly, suffering himselfe to be besieged in the towne of Calaoire, a strong towne in a mountaine country, where he did more annoy the enemye, than they did him: in the meane time leuying men in the townes of his allies, hee made a furious rally, and dispersed his enemies; so as *Metellus* went to Winter in Gaule, and *Pompey* in the territorie of the Vaccans: where hauing besieged Palantia, *Sertorius* made him to rayse his siege. In this cuntry *Pompey* found himselfe much distressed, so as he was forced to demaund money, clothes, and come for his armie, from the Senat, else hee should be forced to bring it backe into Italie: Whereupon the Confull *Lucullus* gaue order hee should be furnished, fearing, that if he brought his armie backe into Italie, he would sue vnto the people for a Commission to make warre against *Atithridates*, which charge hee affected.

During the Consulship of *L. Lucullus* and *M. Cotta*, the Proconsuls *Metellus* and *Pompey* did all they could against the townes allied to *Sertorius*; who did so terrifie them, as *Metellus* despairing ever to vanquish him with all the force of the Romans during his life, made a proclamation by the found of the trumpet, to give 100 talents to him that could kill him, amounting to 60000 crownes, and besides, 20000 acres of land, if he were a Romane; if a banished man, restitution to all his goods and honours . The banished Senatours of Rome, which followed *Sertorius* army, did all malice their Generall, wherunto *Perpenna* (alwaies jealous of his glory) did still incite them: wherefore they began to crosse him vnder hand in many gallant designs, abusing the authoritie which *Sertorius* had given them over the Spaniards, proudly, courtou-

Battle betwixt  
Pompey and  
Sertorius, where  
as Sertorius had  
the better.

d Ann. 679.

1) *Servorius* life  
d set to sale, con-  
trarie to the  
vertue of the  
ancient Romans

h Sertorius grow  
A cruell against  
his nature.

ey Perpenna and  
his adherents  
murder Sertor-  
ius treacherous

making mention, that he was buried there. He had many times made offer to *Metellus*, to lay aside armes, so as he might be called home by a publique decree: for he protested that he made not warre for the Spaniards greameffe, but to maintaine the people of Rome, whom he loued and honoured: so as there is no doubt but he was of a mild and gentle disposition, but that necessity had forced him to this contumacie and rebellion, and the violent and ambitious pursute of his fellow citizens. *Perpenna* thinking to doe some great exploit, made vse of *Sertorius* forces, but hee was deceived: for it soone appeared, that he was not fit to commaund, being in a short time vanquished, taken, and slaine by *Pompey*. This traitor to redeeme his life, offered *Sertorius* papers vnto *Pompey*, where there were many letters from the Senatours of Rome, persuaading *Sertorius* to passe with his armie into Italy: but *Pompey* tooke these papers, and would not once read them, but burnt them all, and so put *Perpenna* to death, to the end he should not name any one, nor reueale that which was contained in them; the which might haue rayfed a new ciuile warre: which was no act of a young man. Of all the towns in Spaine, Auxima, at this day *Osina*, and *Calagurri*, held out for a time against *Pompey*: but in the end they were taken by force and ruined; Auxima by *Pompey*, and *Calagurri* by *Afranius*: and so this Sertorian warre was ended: the last exploits whereof were about *Osca* and *Ilerda* in Catalonia, tenne yeares after the beginning thereof, in the yeare 682: in the which, *Metellus* and *Pompey* for their successfull exploits in Spaine triumphed. At that time *Pompey* was but a Roman knight; and they say, That he afterwards erected his trophies in the Pyrence mountains, where he caused to be written the names of 871 townes in his victories, among the which, he would not put that of *Sertorius*. This was the beginning of Pampelone, according vnto some. There were found in those dayes, in the vallies of Andorre and of Altauca, certaine great buckles of yron, folded into the rockes with lead, which were held to be the trophies of *Pompey*. A yeare after we find mention made of *M. Pappius Piso* Pretor, who triumphed also for some victories gotten in Spaine.

13 In the yeare 688 *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *Lucius Manlius Torquatus* being Consuls, *Cn. Piso* a young man, audacious, poore, and seditious, suspected to haue conspired with *Cateline*, was sent into Spain with charge (vnder pretext to do him honor, but the true cause was to get him out of Rome) where he was slaine, troubling the prouince with exactions, and other excesse: & some say it was plotted by *Pompey*. Then mention is made of *Q. Calpurnius* Pretor in the yeare 692: and after him, of *Tubero* in the further Spaine, who gaue the Prouince to *Caius Iul. Cesar* his Quæstor, in qualitie of Pretor, *Q. Metellus* and *L. Afranius* being Consuls at Rome, in the yeare 693 of the foundation thereof: whereas in few dayes he subjected vnder the Roman yoke all that was to be subdued in Galicia, Brecaire, and Lusitania: among others, he destroyed Brigantium in Galicia (the which is Bragance, if it be not the Port of Corugna, or the Groine, called in old time *Portus Brigantinus*): He dispersed the Herminian mountaineers, inhabiting betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, and forced them to retire into the islands of Cincies, which are those of Bayonne of Minio. And if hee shewed himselfe actiue and valiant in matters of warre, hee woon no lesse honour in administration of iustice, and other actions of peace: aboue all things hee pacified many suites, commenced by vsurers against their debtors; the which he so ordered, as the creditors should haue two third parts of their debtors goods, and the rest they should haue for their maintenance, vntill the debt were payed: and he made many other good ordinances, for the which he was much honoured. After *Cesar*'s returne, he being Consull, there was a complot made betwixt him, *Crassus*, and *Pompey*, who diuided the Roman Prouinces betwixt them: whereof Spaine fell to *Pompey*; the which he gouerned by his Lieutenants: then *P. Lentulus* was sent thither as Proconsull, and after him *Q. Metellus Nepos*: in whose time the Gaules of Aquitania made warre against *Cesar* and the Romanes, employing the captaines and Spanish souldiours which had carried armes vnder *Sertorius*.

From that time Spaine was gouerned by *Pompey*, or men of his faction: so as vpon the beginning of the ciuile warre betwixt him and *Cesar*, *L. Afranius*, *M. Petreius*, and *M. Varro* did gouerne it for him: against whom *Cesar* marched, after that he had chased *Pompey* out of Italy; knowing well, that Spaine was a seminarie for souldiours, and if he tooke it not from *Pompey*, his designs would proue but vaine: being well aduertised, that *Pompey* had sent *Vibullius Rufus* thither, to keepe that great prouince at his deuotion, and to oppose him against *Cesar* in those parts.

*Perpenna punished for his treason.*

*Pompey's wife came to extinguish the ciuile warre.*

Ann 682.

*Pompey's trophies, and the beginning of Pampelone.*

*Cn. Piso slaine in Spaine.*

*C. Iul. Cesar's exploits in Spaine being Pretor.*

*Pompey perpetual Governour in Spaine.*

A parts. The lieutenants vpon *Vibullius* comming put themselves in order, every one in his gouernment. *Petreius* made a leue of horsemen in Lusitania: *Afranius* did the like among the Celtiberians, and that part of the Cantabrians, where he commaunded. They joyned their forces together on this side the riuier of Ebro, making their store-houise for the war at *Ilerda*, hauing in their armies five Roman legions, almost 80 companies of Spaniards, and about 5000 horse. *Cesar* being resolu'd to fight with them, and to chase them out of Spain, had sent *C. Fabius* with three legions to seize vpon the passages of the Pyrence mountains: then he followed with about 6000 Italian foot, which had alwaies serued him in the wars of Gaule, and 3000 horse, and the like number of other souldiours leuied in Aquitania, most of them of the mountaines; of whom he had politickely borrowed all the money they had to pay his armie: where he found, that *Fabius* and the Pompeians were neere, and often skirmished about the riuier of Sisoris or Sigro, whereas *Fabius* had made two bridges, by the which he sent his souldiours to forrage, for all neere vnto him was consumed, *Petreius* and *Afranius* lying beneath the enemy. It happened, that *Fabius* meaning to passe two legions ouer one of his bridges, to second his forragers, when as the souldiours were past, & the baggage following them, the bridge was so ouercharged with weight, as it brake; so as *Fabius* armie was diuided, and these two legions engaged, and cut off by the riuier from the rest of their horse and foot: which the enemies (who lay beneath them) perceiving by the timber and other stuffe which came down with the streame, *Afranius* did suddainly cause foure legions and all his horse to passe, to charge *Fabius* two legions, which were led by *L. Plancus*: who hauing put them into a long forme of battell, least he should be enuironed by these horsemen, he endured the shooke of these foure legions, vntill that *C. Fabius* came to succour him, and to vngage him: for when he saw the bridge broken, he doubted what the enemies would doe, and therefore had caused all the rest of his army to passe by the other bridge, which was a good league aboue it. Hereupon *Cesar* arriued with his armie, and marched towards the enemies to draw them to bataille, but he could not: skirmishing for three daies together vnder the towne of *Ilerda*, with losse on either side, *Cesar*'s armie (which lay then in a country about seuen leagues compasse, betwixt the two riuers of Sisoris and Cinga, which were not to be waded through) was much annoyed with raine and tempests that fell, wherewith (the riuers being much risen) the bridges which *Fabius* had repaired were carried away; so as they could not bring any victuals from their confederat townes, nor out of Gaule nor Italie, neither yet got to forrage: and if any did stray out farte to seeke victuals, they were compassed in by the waters, and could not returne to the campe. And on the other side, *Afranius* and *Petreius* armie lived in abundance: and to encrease *Cesar*'s miseries, great store of victuals, stayed by the riuers which were ouerflowne, being conducted out of Gaule, with a good number of foot and horse, were stopped and dispersed by *Afranius*, who departed in the night with three legions and all his horsemen to defeat them. But the Gaules defended themselves so valiantly, as most of them escaped in the mountaines, the which *Cesar* (hauing found meanes soone after to repaire his bridges) receiued, with their leaders. Many daies were spent in light skirmishes, and to cut off them that went for forrage: in the meane time there were many secret practises; so as *Cesar* drew vnto him five townes and nations; *Osca*, *Calagurri*, *Tarracone*, the *Lacetanes* and *Auseranes*: and in the end, the Spaniards which were in *Afranius* campe began to disband, and to flye to *Cesar*'s campe; yea, whole bands of the *Ilurgauonians*: And after the example of these neere townes, those that were farthest off sued to *Cesar* for his friendship; who making many ditches and trenches, drew the riuier of Sigro or Sisoris into so many streames, as his horsemen might wade through it. *Afranius* and *Petreius* being amazed thereat, resolu'd to dislodge, and passe the riuier of Ebro, to retire into the Celtiberians countrey, where they did thinke to get many horsemen, victuals, and other commodities. According to this resolution, they dislodged in the night from *Ilerda*, where they left a good garrison, and marcht towards Ebro.

F *Cesar* hauing passed his horse, followed them in the reere, and in the end he was so importuned by the legions, as he caused them to wade through the riuier whereas the horsemen had passed, and made such speed, as he ouertooke the enemies in the morning, so as the armies were again neere together, yet did they neither fight nor march, spending some time to discouer the countrey; yet *Cesar* in the end found meanes to get (but not without a sharpe encounter) certaine straits, whereby he stopped *Afranius* and *Petreius* designe for their going to Ebro.

*Great preparations to resist Cesar in Spaine.*

*Cesar disarms  
Africanus and  
Petreus.*

Whilest they consult what they had to doe, and how to preuent *Cæsars* surprises, their armie G  
wore of them, and woon with *Cæsars* fame and reputation, was easly corrupted by the *Cæsarian* souldiours: the which *Africanus* and *Petreus* sought to hinder; yea, *Petreus* vsing his absolute authoritie, slew many of them that parled. Thinking afterwards to returne towards Ilerda, and to passe the riuier Sisoris, but being hindered by *Cæsar*, they put their armie in bataille readie to fight: but *Cæsar* holding them as it were besieged, reduced them to that extremite, as they demaunded their liues of him, resigning their Legions vp vnto him, and all the Prouince.

*Varro follows  
the time and  
seasons.*

17 *M. Varro*, who was in the further Spaine, hearing the successe of the affaires in Italie, in the beginning, he did hold *Pompeys* ruine to be most certain: wherefore he spake very honourably of *Cæsar*, and seemed to desire to be a neuter in these quarrels: but when as he vnderstood, that *Africanus* and *Petreus* were gone to field with so great an armie, and in what difficulties *Cæsar* was vnder Ilerda for want of victuals, he then changed his mind, and followed *Pompeys* partie; and filling vp two legions which he had, to the which he joyned about thirtie bands of allies, he began to make prouision of great store of corne to send to *Africanus*, and in like manner to the *Marfilians*, whom *Cæsar* caused to be besieged: and assuring himselfe of the citie of Gades, he caused all the gold, siluer, and jewels which were in *Hercules* Temple, to be transported thither, making *Caius Gallonius*, a Roman knight, Gouvernor thereof, with six companies of Spaniards, carrying all the citizens armes into his lodging. Then he began to change his speech of *Cæsar*, and of his exploits, contrarie to that which he had of late vsed: wherefore the citizens of Rome being disperfed ouer the Prouince, being amazed, did easly suffer themselves to be taxed in a great summe of money, for the seruice of the Commonweale, not sparing (as it is to be conjectured) the townes which he thought to be affected vnto *Cæsar*. And if there were any one which durst speake against them that followed *Pompey*, he did confiscate their goods, forcing euery one to take an oath to him and to *Pompey*, and so he prepared himselfe to the warre, making his account to lodge with his two legions in Gades, vpon all euents, and to bring all the corne thither, and to gather together all the shipping of that prouince, the which he knew to be too well affected vnto *Cæsar*. Finally, he perswaded himselfe, That hee might prolong the warre in this island as much as he pleased. *Cæsars* affaires prest him to returne into Italie, yet holding it necessarie to disarme all those that held *Pompeys* part in Spain, he sent two legions towards Betica, vnder the command of *Q. Cassius*, Tribune of the people; after the which he went with some troupes of horse, hauing in the meane time order for the calling of a generall assembly at Cordoua: whither deputies came from all the townes, and in a manner all the Romanes that were in those marches, being much inclined to do what *Cæsar* should command them. *M. Varro* was excluded by the assembly of Cordoua, who set gards in their ports and towers, and they of Carmone chased away the garrison which *Varro* had placed there, which made him hast the more to bring his two legions to Gades, least he should be preuented: but he was not farre aduanced, before he receiued letters, by the which he was aduertised, That the Gaditanes hauing agreed with the capitaines of the garrison which was within their town, had forced *Gallonius* to depart, protesting, That they would keepe the town for *Cæsar*: whereupon one of *Varroes* legions resoluéd to leaue him, taking the way towards Seuille. Wherewith *Varro* being amazed, and seeing himselfe coopt vp in that countrey, so as he had no meanes to passe into Italie, he resoluéd to yeeld vnto *Cæsar*, deliuering vp his legion which remained, with all the money and victuals that was in his power. *Cæsar* held an assembly at Cordoua, and thanked the deputies of townes, the citizens of Rome, and all the captains and others which had shewed themselves fauourable to his cause: hee restored euery man to his goods that had been spoyled, and filled all men with hope by his promises. From Cordoua he passed to Gades, and restored to *Hercules* Temple the gold and jewels which had bin taken away: and hauing left *Q. Cassius* with foure legions to gouerne the Prouince, he passed by sea to Tarracone, where the deputies of all that part of Spaine attended him: with whom hauing conferred, and disposed of the affaires, he went by land towards Narbone, and from thence to Marfeilles, which his lieutenants did besiege. This was in the yeare 704.

*Varro bandies  
himselfe against  
Cæsar.*

*Varro disarmed  
by Cæsar.*

*Ann. Rome 704  
Cassius crucifies  
and condemnes  
thruitts Cæsar  
into a new war.*

18 At Marfeilles *Cæsar* had news, That he was created Dictator at Rome by *M. Lepidus* the Pretor: after which time Spain was gouerned in his name by *M. Lepidus* and *Q. Cassius* his lieutenants: But they of Corduba oppressed with the crueltie & couetousnesse of *Cassius*, forsooke (with

A (with two legions) *Cæsars* party; whereby the war was reuiued in Spain by *Pompeys* children, after the defeat and death of their father, in the yeare 708. This *Cassius* being couetous, and a great exactor, did incense the souldiours against him; who hurt him, and hadlike to haue stabd him with their daggers: The authors of this exceffe were *L. Rucilio*, *Annius Scapula*, and *Minutius Silo*: yet he was cured; and as he thought to passe into Africke by *Cæsars* commandement, almost all his souldiours abandoned him, and did chuse one *Thorus*, of the towne of Italica, for their leader. To this *Thorus* (who made a shew to besiege Cordoua) *Marcellus* did joyne, but they did inuest Mia (which is likely to be Monte-Major at this day:) thereupon *M. Lepidus* came from Rome, where he had proclaimed *Cæsar* Dictator, who kept them from forcing and taking *Cassius*. *Marcellus* referred their quarels to *Lepidus*: but *Cassius* being loath to trust him, was content to leaue the prouince, and to giue place to *Caius Trebonius*. Being imbarqued at Malaca, with all that he had gotten in Spaine, to passe into Italie, his ship was cast by a tempest vpon the coast, where it perished, not farre from the mouth of Ebro.

B These two legions were somewhat pacified by *C. Trebonius*, who succeeded *Cassius Longinus*, yet they feared to be punished for their rebellion: wherefore they solicited *Scipio*, who held Africke for the Pompeyan faction, to send *Cn. Pompeius*, sonne to the great *Pompey*, into Spaine; who went thitherward: but he staid long at the islands of the Balears, as well to subdue them, as by reason of sicknesse. The legions hearing afterwards of *Scipios* defeat in Italie, and that *Cæsar* sent *Didius* with an armie against them, fearing to bee oppressed before

C *Pompeys* coming, they did chuse *T. Quinctius Scapula*, and *Q. Apponius*, for their commanders, chasing *C. Trebonius* out of the Betique prouince. Hereupon *Pompey* arriued, whom they acknowledged for their Generall; so as in a short time he reduced the further Spaine vnder his deuotion: with whom there came *Mitius Varus*, and *Labiencus*. *Cæsar* aduertised of these things, being in Italie, he sent *Q. Pedius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* into Spaine: but they were not able to resist *Pompeys* forces; so as *Cæsar* being solicited by the townes that were allied vnto him (especially by them of Corduba) he went in person into Spaine. Then did *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger of the brethren, hold Cordoua, the chiefe towne of the gouernment, with a good garrison, and *Cn.* the elder brother besieged Vlloa, into the which *Cæsar* found oportunitie to put some succours, by the meanes of a great wind and raine, and by the dexterity of *L. Iunius Pacieus*, a Spaniard, to whom he had giuen the charge: which put *Cn. Pompeius* out of hope to take it: whereupon he dislodged, and led his armie towards Cordoua, whither *Sextus* his brother, fearing to be forced by *Cæsar*, did sollicite him to approach. Hauing encountered *Cæsar* vpon the banks of Betis, there were many bloudie skirmishes, with variable successe. *Cæsar* dislodged in the night, and went to besiege Ategua, whither *Pompey* went, and camped betwixt Ategua and Vcubis, hauing thirteene legions in his armie; yet he made no account but of three, for all the rest were composed of fugitiues, and men of no value. *Cæsar* was much stronger in horse, and *Pompey* had no will to fight, but was willing to prolong the warre all he could: yet being desirous to force a certaine garrison which *Cæsar* had set to keepe a peece of ground which was commodious for either of them, there was a great skirmish, *Cæsar* committing himselfe to second his men with three legions; so as the Pompeyans had the worst, and were repulsed. Wherewith *Pompey* being amazed, there being new supplies of horse come to *Cæsars* campe, hee dislodged, and retired towards Cordoua, being followed by *Cæsars* horse, whereof he flew many, being ingaged in one of his legions. Some past from his campe vnto *Cæsar*, among the which were *Q. Martius* and *C. Fundanius*. Ategua being forely battered, and well defended for many dayes, in the end yeelded. The which *Pompey* vnderstanding, he marched towards Vcubis, where he caused a search to be made for all the inhabitants which fauoured *Cæsar*, cutting off the heads of seuentie foure, and casting many women and children ouer the walls; which made many to flie to *Cæsars* campe, yea capitaines, and heads of bands, and the souldiours of some legions, with some townes. Wherefore *Pompey* fearing that by his delaias he should loose both his allies, & his armie it selfe, hauing spent some dayes in turning vp and downe, in the end he resoluéd to giue *Cæsar* battell neere vnto Munda. In both armies, besides Romanes and Italian allies and Spaniards, there were many Moores: for *Boechus* a Moorish king, had sent two of his sonnes to succour *Pompey*; and *Bo-gud* another king of the same nation, was in person in *Cæsars* armie: yet the battell was fought in a manner by the Romanes alone. On *Cæsars* side the souldiours were encouraged by their

*Cn. Pompeius  
gets the further  
Spaine to be as  
his deuotion.*

*Ategua taken  
by Cæsar.*

*Moores in both  
the armies of  
Cæsar and  
Pompey.*

Gene.



Battell betwixt  
Cesar and  
Pompey.

Generals presence, and did wonderfull deeds of armes. In *Pompeys* armie, whereas the fugitive legionaries were, despair to get their pardon made them to fight resolutely. Being come to joyne, the allies of either part turned their backs presently, so as the Romans must trie it who should haue the better, the which was done with great obstinacie on either side; so as there could no grones nor lamentations be heard, of any one that was dying or wounded, but onely striking and killing, one encouraging another, and shewing themselves more prompt with their hands than tongues. The battell was long doubtfull, neither could *Cesar* or *Pompey* judge which had the better, who after they had long beheld it in great perplexitie, they came among them to encourage their fouldiours, whereof there was no great need. King *Bogud* was the cause of *Cesars* victorie, who standing without the battell with his Moores, went vnto the trenches of *Pompeys* campe, to spoyle it: the which *Labienu* perceiving, he went out of his ranke to make head against him: but the rest of *Pompeys* fouldiours taking it to be a flight, with the apprehension thereof they were all put to rout; and although they did soone after find their owne errors, yet could they not rally themselves together againe, but some fled to their campe, and some towards the towne of Munde. The slaughter was great on either side, even at the taking of the campe, whereas *Cesars* men could neuer enter before they had slaine all those that defended it, with like losse of their own men. *Cesar* hauing gotten the victorie with great difficultie and danger, he said vnto his fouldiours, That he had often fought for honour, but now he had fought for his life. There dyed of *Pompeys* fouldiours 30000.

A mistaking in  
the cause of  
Pompeys ruine.

Great slaughter  
on both sides.

After this rout Cordoua being abandoned by *Sex. Pompeius*, yielded, in the which *Scapula* (who had bene author of the fouldiours sedition) caused a slave of his to kill him, and to burne his bodie, with all the treasure he had. Seuill, Munde, and other places, were some taken by force, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, and some by composition. Many towns in Spaine (flattering *Cesar*) after these victories, called themselves after his name: *Vcubis* was called *Claritas Iulia*, *Ebora*, *Libertas Iulia*. At this time *Cesar* did not spare the treasure of *Hercules* temple in Gades, being greatly distressed for money: He took away many of their lands, & laid new raxes vpon those towns which had rebelled, that he might reward his friends.

*Pompey* hauing escaped by flight, he came to *Carteia*, where he thought to make vse of the armie at sea, which he had kept readie thereabouts: but he was pursued, and the ships after a great fight falling into the power of *Didius*, were some of them carried away by him, and the rest burnt; so as *Pompey* sore wounded in the shoulder and leg, seeking to flie by land, was pursued, ouertaken, and slaine, with many of his men, by the horsemen and some companies of foot which were sent after him. For these victories gotten in Spaine, not against strangers, but against citizens of Rome, *Cesar*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Q. Pedius*, did triumph at Rome, to the great griefe of the people. After that these things had been exploited by *Cesar*, and all ciuile diffentions quenched, as he thought to enjoy his Dictatorship, suffering kingly honours to be done vnto him, he was slaine by *Cassius*, *Brutus*, and other conspirators. Then was the estate of Rome in greater confusion than euer, by the diuision betwixt *Octavius Cesar* and *M. Antonie*; and afterwards by the cruell proscriptions of *Octavius*, *M. Antonie*, and *Lepidus*: which *Lepidus* had triumphed for Spaine in the yere 707, I know not for what victories. It is certaine that he gouerned the hither part of Spain by *Cesars* gift, but it was by his lieutenants, hauing neuer done any exploit of warre. *Dio* saith, That he persuaded *Sex. Pompeius* to leaue Spaine, promising him restitution of his fathers goods. *Domitius Caluinus*, *C. Norbanus*, *Flaccus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, were afterwards Gouernours of Spaine, of whose exploits there is no memorable mention. In the yere 713 *Cornel. Balbus*, borne at Calis, was Confull at Rome: and in the yere 714, the second diuision of the empire being made betwixt *Octavius Cesar*, *M. Antonie*, and *M. Lepidus*, after the reconciliation betwixt *Octavius* and *M. Antonie*, and the Perusine warre, among other prouinces, Spaine fell to *Octavius*: and from that yere the Spaniards began to account their yeares by the Arke or rule of *Cesar*, the which was 38 yeares before the comming of our Sauour, the which they did continue vntill the yere 1383 of our saluation, when as this custome was left, as shall be said.

Augustus in  
Spaine.

In the yere 726 of the foundation of Rome, *Augustus* being sole Emperour, he undertooke to subdue the Cantabrians, Asturians, and Gallicians, who had alwayes held their libertie, lawes, and auncient customes, to rob and spoyle their neighbours, and would wholly

A wholly subiect them vnder his empire: wherefore he resolved to goe in person into Spaine, where he found those nations assured in their countenances, and full of contempt, relying in the strength of their mountains, from whence they made many sudden enterprises, verie preiudiciall to the emperours armie, the which camped at *Sigifama* (the which some thinke was that which at this present they call *Veisama*, in *Guipuscoa* or *Biscaye*, and not *Sigifama Iulia*) where he made three troupes of his forces. Hauing spent many dayes there, and nothing aduanced his affaires, *Augustus* fell sicke with care and trauell: wherefore hauing left the charge of the warre to *C. Antistius*, he caused himselfe to be carried to *Tarracona*. The Cantabrians assailed both by land and sea towards *Gaule Aquitaine*, came to fight with *Antistius* and *Firminus*, by whom they were defeated in many encounters, and their townes taken. A great number of Gallicians hauing fortified themselves on a mountaine, then called *Medullius*, neere vnto the riuer of *Minio*, they were besieged, and so pressed as they must of necessitie either fight or yeeld: but hauing not the courage to defend themselves, and being loath to fall into seruitude, they all slew themselves. The Asturians being camped neere vnto the riuer which giues the name vnto their countrey, thought to surpriſe the Romane armie, and without doubt had defeated them, if their enterprize had not bene discovered. They were afterwards put to rout by *P. Carisius*, but not without great slaughter of his men. Hee also tooke *Lancia*, the chiefe towne of *Asturia*, being abandoned. So the warre ended, and at the same instant *Augustus* hauing dismissed the old fouldiours, hee gaue them leaue to build the towne of *Emerita* in *Lusitania*, at this day it is *Merida* in *Portugall*. Then also the towne of *Salduba* was first called *Cesar Augusta*, in honor of *Octavius Augustus*, it is now *Saragosse*, the which he did much enlarge with buildings. Fieue and twentie yeares before the birth of our Sauour, the way was paved from *Cordoua* to *Astigi* vpon the Ocean. It appears by this inscription which is at *Cordoua*, on a pillar of greene stone, whereon *Augustus* name is grauen, and the number of twelue miles, which is the distance from *Cordoua* to the sea.

Cruell obstinacie  
of Barbaſians.

Emerita founded  
by Augustus  
Saragossa.

Imp. Cesar. Diui. F. Augustus  
Cos. V I I I. Trib. Potest. X X I.  
Pont. Max. A. Bete. & Iano.  
Augusto. Ad. Oceanum.  
C. X X I.

This Temple of *Ianus* was by all coniectures built by *Augustus* at *Cordoua*, in signe of a perpetuall peace. After *Cesars* returne *Sextus Apuleius* Proconsull, shewed some proofes of his valour in Spaine, for the which he triumphed: and afterwards *L. Emilius* suppressed the Cantabrians, and Asturians, who rebelled againe: After which time Spaine was gouerned by Pretors and Proconsuls, the which are sometimes called in Latine *Presides*, vnto the time of *Dioclesian* and *Maximin. Strabo* saith, That in his time, which was during the empires of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, the prouince of *Betica* was giuen vnto the people of Rome, who appointed a Gouernour or Pretor, hauing a Lieutenant and a Treasurer; the rest of Spaine remaining at the emperours disposition: who sent two lieutenants, the one in qualitie of Vice-Pretor, the other as Vice-Confull. The Vice-Pretor, with the helpe of a lieutenant or legat, did justice, and had iurisdiction ouer all *Lusitania*, from the riuer of *Betis* vnto *Duero*: the other part, being *Taracconese*, did obey the Vice-Confull, who had a great armie entertained with three lieutenants; the one commaunded the Cantabrians, Asturians, and the countrey of *Gallicia*; the other gouerned along the Mediterranean sea; and the third had charge of the inner countries. The Generals place of residence was at *Carthagene*, or *Tarracone*. The emperours which came after, made first two, and then one Gouernour of Spaine, and not alwayes of one sort. About the time of *Maximinian* and *Dioclesian*, the Gouernours were called *Earles*, and their lieutenants *Vicars*: and when as the *Gothes* began to erect a kingdome, that small portion which held for the Romanes, along the shore of the prouince of *Carthagene*, and the mountains of the Cantabrians and Asturians, were gouerned by Dukes, whom they called *Presfelli*.

Gouernment of  
Spaine vnder  
the emperours.

Earles and Vicars  
gouerning  
Spaine.  
Dukes called  
Presfelli.

*Octavius Cesar*, surnamed *Augustus*, had held the empire about two and fortie yeares, when our Sauour Iesus Christ the eternall sonne of God, was borne God and man, of the virgine

The first yere of  
Christ.  
752 of Rome.  
Marie,

Marie, of the tribe of Iuda, in the citie of Beth-leem of Iuda, which was in the yere 757 of the foundation of Rome. The night when as the Lord of peace came vpon the earth, was (as some write) as bright and cleere in Spaine, as the noone day. The computation of times shall hereafter be taken from the birth of our Sauour, in the 16 yere of whose life Augustus died. Then *Sextilius Elena*, a Poet of Cordoua, flourished in Spaine, being now brought wholly to the manners of the Romans.

An. 16 of Christ

Triton a dis-  
turbance.

Vibius Serenus  
a tyrannous go-  
uernor punished.

Tiberius doth  
indefatigably refuse  
diuine honours,  
Anno 16.

An exacting go-  
uernour slaine  
by a peasant.

Anno 34.

The Gospel pre-  
ached in Spain in  
Tiberius time.

Anno 39.  
Herodes and He-  
rodiad died in  
Spain, as the  
Spaniards af-  
firm.

21 The Spaniards being much affected to Augustus, did obtaine of C. Tiberius Nero, his successeur, leaue to build a goodly temple in honour of him, in the towne of Tarracone. This emperor kept the Gallicians, Asturians, and Cantabrians vnder, with strong garrisons, hauing bene formerly subdued by Augustus. In his time they of Lisbon gaue it out, That they had seene and heard Triton in certaine hollow rockes, singing and playing vpon a cornet, as they painted him: And Plinie reports, that vpon the sea shore a Nereide had bene seene couered with scales, yea whereas she caried a humane shape: and that they had heard the groines and complaints she made dying. Vnder Tiberius, Vibius Serenus Proconsull of the further Spaine, accused by his owne sonne, and conuicted, was condemned as a tyrant, and banished into the island Amorgos, one of the Cyclades. Iunius Gallio, brother to Seneca the Senator, was also banished, for that he had propounded in Senat, to honour the old fouldiours which had bene dismissed, with higher seats in the Theatre, and at publike shewes; hauing not first spoken thereof vnto the emperor Tiberius. The Spanish flatterers, doing idolatrie vnto princes, would also haue made a temple vnto Tiberius and to his mother, the which was prohibited; Tiberius saying, That he was a man and no god, demanding no other thing of them, but that they would retaine a good and commendable memorie of him after his death.

The six and twentieth yere of our saluation, L. Piso, a great oppressor of the people, was slaine in the hither Spaine, where he was Pretor, by a peasant of Termes, who being taken and tortured, would neuer confesse who had made him to commit this murder. This man slipping out of the officers hands which led him to the racke againe, beat his own head so violently against a stone, as instantly he lost both fence and life. In those times one of the richest men of Spaine, called Sextus Marius, was accused, to haue accompanied with his owne daughter carnally: for the which he was cast downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeien: but his great wealth was the cause of his death, more than his crime.

Tiberius had reigned seenteene yeres, when as our Sauour Iesus Christ suffered death for the redemption of mankind, hauing finished the three and thirtieth yere of his life.

22 The healthfull doctrine of our redemption by him, was during the empire of Tiberius knowen in Spaine, as some hold: but it is doubtfull who was the Apostle. Wee read in the Epistles of Saint Paul, that he had a desire to go thither, but it is not certaine that he performed that voyage, although that Epiphanius and others do beleue it. The Spaniards affirme, That Saint James the sonne of Zebedee, came thither to preach the Gospell in the seuen and thirtieth yere, and that he onely conuerted nine persons: Others, as Pope Calixtus, write, That he had many Disciples, but that he had twelue speciall ones, nine whereof hee conuerted in Gallicia. Others affirme, That when he preached at Saragosse, hee dedicated to the virgine Marie, the temple which is at this day called *Nuestra Señora del pillar*: and that hauing left two of his Disciples in Spaine, he returned into Iudea. Wee comprehend by the holy writ, that this holy Apostle liued almost all his life in Ierusalem, and thereabouts: and wee know, that Herodes caused his head to be cut off, in the third yere of the empire of Claudius.

The nine and thirtieth yere of our saluation, as some authors write, Herodes and Herodias (the which incited her incestuous husband, to cut off Saint Iohn Baptists head) retired themselves into Spaine: who (being spoyled of all their goods and dignities, by C. Caligula) dyed there for sorrow. Caligula was slaine by Cherea and other conspirators: But before them Aemilius Regula of Cordoua, hauing attempted his death, was preuented and executed. This yere M. Anneus Lucanus the Poet, was borne at Cordoua, whose father was Luc. Anneus Mela, brother to Seneca the Philosopher: his mother was called C. Acilia, daughter to Acilius Lucanus the Orator. This child being but eight moneths old, was carried to Rome.

23 Wee haue said, That Saint James the sonne of Zebedee was beheaded in Ierusalem by Herods commaundement, in the third yere of the emperor Claudius. The Spaniards and other authors write, That his Disciples gathering vp his bodie and head, imbarqued it at Iop-

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A pa, and carried it into Spaine, for feare of the Iewes; and that they landed at a place called Iria Flauia, now Padron, where they buried it in a secret place, where since it was discouered, and carried to Compostella. In Claudius time liued Pomponius Mela, borne at Mellaria, and Turanius Graccula. Anneus Seneca of Cordoua, banished by Claudius, was in fauour of Agrippina (whom the Emperour had newly married) called home againe, made Pretor at Rome, and appointed schoolemaster and gouernor to Nero. This Seneca was a famous Orator and Philosopher, as it appeares by his workes, highly honoured for his great memorie, and auditor to Sotion the Philosopher: L. Anneus Seneca the tragical Poet was his sonne. Then did also flourish Porcius Latro, a Spaniard, an excellent Orator. Vnder the Emperour Claudius there gouerned Spaine, on this side Ebro, Drusillus Rotundus his Libertine, with the title of Dispenfer, and Vibonius Silio ruled Betica.

In those times, as Buter sayes, S. Saturnin was sent into Spaine, he who was afterwards Bishop of Tolouse, and preached at Pampelone, where in seuen daies he conuerted fortie thousand persons; a great number for that place: among the which was S. Fremin, a citizen of Pampelone.

In the yere 61 of the natiuitie of Christ, Otho (who was Emperour after Galba) was sent by Nero into Lusitania: which prouince hee gouerned tenne yeres modestly, and without oppression of the people; the which was strange, considering the disposition of Spaine.

C In the yere 64 Lucan the Poet, a confederat of Pisos conspiracie, caused his veines to be opened, and died in the 28 yere of his age. His father Mela pressing Nero with great importunitie, for the restitution of his sonnes goods, was accused as guiltie of the same treason, and forced to haue his veines opened, and so die. Seneca was brought to the same death by his disciple Nero, against the promises which he had so often made and sworne, not to giue eare to his accusers, nor to hurt him in any sort: Seeing the blood come slowly out of his veines, he hastened his owne death, with poyson taken in a hot bath, the 114 yere of his age, or according vnto some, the 120. Paulina his chaste wife, and a rare president of loue to her husband, caused her veines to be opened, to follow him: but whether through womanish weaknesse, or that Nero hindered it, she suffered them to be bound vp. L. Iunius Moderatus Columella liued also in those times, the author of the bookes of Husbandrie, borne in Gades.

In the yere 70, which was the last of the life of Nero, Silius Italicus was Consull at Rome, being borne in Italica, a towne in the prouince of Betica, not farre from Scuille: and at that time Cluius Rufus was in Spaine with some commaund. The abominable disposition of Nero made the Spaniards and many other nations to rebell against the Romane Empire, a little before his death; for the suppressing of whom, he sent Sergius Galba: but this old man (who had before time gouerned the prouince of Tarraconese eight yeres) hauing discouered, and that Nero had giuen a secret Commission to kill him, he declared himselfe Emperour, and in stead of a iudge, became head and captaine of the rebellion; whereunto both the prouince and the Romane armie did consent: but his Empire lasted not long, nor of his two successors, Otho and Vitellius: for in lesse than two yeres they lost both their liues and the the Empire; one defeating another, to make place for Vespasian, who came vnto the imperiall seat in the 72 yere of the Natiuitie of our Sauour Christ, and graunted vnto the Spaniards the priuiledges of the Latines, which were, That they might demanda offices, and enjoy some immunities, but not so amply as the citizens of Rome, yet somewhat more than the liberties of other cities of Italie. Otho was the first which joynd Mauritania Tingitania vnto Betica in Spaine, making it of the iurisdiction of Gades. At that time liued Bellila, a Spanish Christian woman. Fabius Quintilian had bene brought vnto the citie of Rome verie young by Sergius Galba: about the 90 yere he erected a schoole at Rome, with a publike pension, and had manie schollers; among the which, they name Iuuenal and the younger Plinie: As for Iuuenal, they doubt whether he were a Spaniard, but Martial without all question was borne, and died at Bilbilis, seated neere vnto the place where as now stands Calataud or Calataub, of the name of Aiuab a Moore, who built it with the ruines of Bilbilis. Canius a Poet, who liued also in that age, was a Gaditane, and Decian of Emerita.

After

The Spaniards  
opinion of S.  
James bodie.

24.  
The death of  
many learned  
Spaniards by  
Nero.

Galba sent to  
suppress rebels  
in Spaine.

25  
Anno 72.

Anno 81.  
Domitian the second persecutor of the church.

After *Vespasian*, his children reigned at Rome. *Titus* in the yeare 81, and two yeares after *Domitian*, the second scourge of the Church of God, in whose time lived *Eugenius*, the first bishop of Toledo, Disciple, as they say, to *Denis Arcopagita*. This *Eugenius* was slaine at Paris, whither he was come to visit his master. Of the Flavian familie, from whence these emperours were issued, there remained some markes and remembrances in Spaine, by the denomination of many townes, as Flauio Brigo, Flauium Brigantium, Iria Flauia, Flauium Axatanum, Aquæ Flauie in Gallicia, &c.

A diuision of the government of Spaine.

*Domitian* did prohibit by a new edict, That they should not plant any more vines in Spain, fearing least come should faile them. Vnder these Flavian emperours they number eight Romane Colonies, planted in the prouince of Betica: and foure places for justice, which they termed Colonies, at Gades, Seuille, Astigis, and Cordoua.

Lusitania had five Romane Colonies, one priuiledged citie called Olisippo, and now Lisbon, and three seats of iustice at Emerita, Pax Augusta, and Scalabis. In the rest of Spain which was the quietest government, there were foure Romane Colonies, thirteene priuiledged townes, and seuen courts for justice. At new Carthage, Tarracona, Sarragossa, Clunia, Asturica, Lugo, and Bracara.

Anno 97.  
26  
Traian a Spaniard the third persecutor of the church.

*Cocceius Nerva* came vnto the Empire in the yeare 97. a prince who seemed to be called by God, to repaire the confusion which *Domitian* had caused in the world, vnder whom the Christians had some rest. The Spaniards will haue him to be of their nation, but it appeares not plainly. But he adopted *Vlpian Traian* a Spaniard without all doubt, borne in the towne of Italica, who through error caused the third persecution of the Church, whereof being admonished by *Plinius Secundus*, he moderated his edicts. *Mancius* a citizen of Rome in this tempest suffered death for the confession of the Christian faith at Ebor in Lusitania, vnder the government of *Valerianus*. By the liberalitie and bountie of *Traian*, Spaine was enriched with many goodly buildings, among the which is the bridge of Alcantara, vpon the riuer of Tayo, where at this day are to be seene these inscriptions following.

The bridge of Alcantara Traians worke.

Imp. Cesari Diui Nerva F. Traiano Aug. Germ. Dacico. Pontif. Max.  
Trib. Potes. VIII. Imp. VI. Cos. V. P. P.

Vnder the Arch is in a Table on the one side,

|                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Municipie.              | Interannienfes.         |
| Prouincie.              | Colarni.                |
| Lusitanie stipe conlata | Lancienfes Transcudani. |
| Que opus Pontis per-    | Arani.                  |
| fecerunt.               | Meidubrigenses.         |
| Icedisani.              | Arabrigenses.           |
| Lancienfes Oppidani.    | Banienfes.              |
| Talori.                 | Pafures.                |

There is place for three other such like Tables, which haue beene taken away. Ouer the dore of S. Iulians church, at the end of the bridge, is written that which followeth, in Romane capitall letters.

Imp. Nerva. Traiano Cesari. Augusto. Germanico. Dacico. Sacrum.

Templum in rupe Tagi Superis & Cesare plenum.  
Ars ubi materia vincitur ipsa sua.  
Quis quali dederis voto fortasse requirer,  
Cura viatorum quos noua fama iuuat.  
Ingentem vasta Pontem quod mole peregit,  
Sacra litaturo fecit honore Lacer.  
Qui Pontem fecit Lacer & noua Templa dicauit  
Illis se solu Vota litant.

Pontem

Pontem perpetui mansurum in secula mundi  
Fecit diuina nobilis arte Lacer.  
Idem Romuleis Templum cum Cesare Diuis  
Constituit felix vtraq; causa Sacri.

C. Iulius Lacer. H. S. F. & dedicauit amico  
Curio Lacone Iacitano.

The aqueduct of Segobia, is also held to be *Traians* worke, where they may easily obserue the stately manner of building of the Romanes. This emperour sent two legions (of fourteene, which were appointed to keepe the prouinces of the empire in awe) into Spaine, to put his edicts in execution, and to rafe all the townes and castles which were situated vpon the mountaines or places of strength: with commaundement to the people, to build in the open country, where the access was easie. Sublancia was ruined by vertue of this decree, and a towne built, which then was called Legio Germanica, or Gemina, according vnto some, but now it is Leon, a royall citie. Vnder *Traian Plinie* the yonger had charge in Spaine.

Edict to rafe the townes standing in the mountaines

The citie of Leon built.

Anno 118.

*Adrian*, who was emperour after *Traian*, in the yeare of our Saviour 118, was also borne in the towne of Italica, in the prouince of Betica, as *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius* doe witnesse. *Domitia Paulina* his mother, was of Gades. He had some instruction, or good opinion of the Christian religion. Being at Tarracone (where he had called a generall assemblie of all the people of Spaine) he caused (at his owne charge) *Augustus* temple, which went to ruine, to be repaired. In which towne he was in danger to haue beene slaine by a slaue that was made, who set vpon him with his sword drawne, as he walked without any feare in a garden. This slaue being taken, when as the emperour vnderstood that he was made, he layd nothing, but that they must put him into the Physitians hands. Having subdued the Iewes which were rebelled in Palestina, he sent a great number in exile into Spaine, so as from that time this sect was seled there, & had their Synagogues, vntil the raigne of *Dom Fernando* and *D. Isabella*, in the time of our forefathers. Spaine was then diuided into six governments, two ruled by vice-Consuls appointed by the Senat, which were Betica and Lusitania; and foure by the emperors lieutenants, which were the prouinces of Carthage, Tarracone, Gallicia, and Mauritania Tingitana, where the strait is.

A generous act of Adrian.

Adrian peoples Spaine with Iewes.

27

28 After the decease of *Adrian*, there succeeded in the empire, in the yeare 139, *T. Aurelius Fuluius Antonius Pius*, whom the Spaniards hold to be of their nation. As for his successor *M. Aelius Aurelius*, coming to the empire in the yeare 162, he was without doubt of a Spaniard race; for his predecessors were of the towne of Succubite in Betica. Hee was the first, who was the fourth persecutor in the Christian Church. In the time of *M. Aurelius*, the Moores inuaded Spaine, and did infinit harme: whom notwithstanding hee repulld by his lieutenants, namely by *Seuerus*, who afterwards was emperour. This prince was wise, vertuous, and courteous: but as he was indowed with all good qualities, so his sonne *Commodus*, who reigned after him in the yeare 181, was detestable and vicious. He was the first of the Romane princes, which through couetousnesse sold offices for money. *Vespasian* had done it before him, but through necessitie, finding the commonweale charged with debts, and the treasure exhausted. Vnder *Commodus* were slaine in Gallicia, *Facundus* and *Primitius*, holy Christian souldiours, vpon the banks of the riuer Cea, by *Atticus* the gouernor. After him, about the yeare 194, Rome lost two emperours in lesse than a yeare, *Perinax* and *Didus Iulian*, so as in the yeare 195, *L. Septimius Seuerus*, a great personage, borne in Africke, he who had gouerned Spaine in the time of *M. Aurelius*, tooke the government of the empire. Vnder him was the fifth persecution of the Church, especially in Spaine, whereas *Cornelius* was gouernor, who put *Felix* a priest, *Fortunatus*, and *Archilochus* to death at Valence, for that they had preached the Gospell.

Anno 139.

29

L. Commodus Verus, a persecutor of the Church.

Anno 181.

Anno 195.

The fifth persecution vnder

Vnder his sonne *Caracalla*, *Opilius Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander Seuerus*, who reigned from the yeare two hundred and thirteene, vnto two hundred thirtie and eight, the Spaniard historie doth not furnish any thing memorable, although those times did not passe without great exploits, whereof there remaine some obscure markes among the stones and medailles

M

dailles

dailles. At Gades there is the basis of the image of *Mamma*, mother to *Alexander Severus*, where this inscription is to be seene.

*Julia Mammea. Aug. Matri. Imp. Cesaris.*  
*M. Aurelij Seweri. Alexandri Pij. F. Aug.*  
*M. Castrorum. Col. Jul. Gem. Accitana.*  
*Deuot. Numini. M. Q. Eius.*

But *Maximin* being come to the empire, the first persecution began of the Christians, in the which *Maximus* and many other faithfull were slaine, neere vnto *Tarracone*. After *Maximin* vnto *Decius*, the empire of Rome was in great combustion, by reason of the ordinary murders of such as did affect the foueraigntie, for the space of fifteen yeres; in the which there perished by a violent death, *Maximin Balbinus*, *Puennus Gordian*, and *Philip*: during which time we find not any thing of Spaine worth the writing, but that about the yeare 241, *Antherus* bishop of Rome did write vnto the bishops of the prouinces of *Betica* and *Toledo*, admonishing them among other things to be graue and constant, and not to flee from church to church, if necessitie and the publique good did not presse them: whereby it wil appear by this history, that their successors had small regard vnto this aduertisement, but haue rather sought their priuat commoditie. Many other epistles of holy men are found written to the bishops of Spaine, and to their churches, & among others an epistle decretall of *S. Ciprian* and other bishops assembled at the Councell of *Africk*, by the which *Basilides* and *Martiall*, Idolaters and infected with many vices, were declared vnworthie of all Episcopall dignities: and it seemes that the one was bishop of *Legio Gemina*, and the other of *Emerita*. Whilest that *Decius* gouerned the empire (vnder whom began the 7 persecution of the Church) the first Councell of Spaine was held at *Toledo*, whereas *Xyste* a Grecian was present, who soone after was bishop of Rome: yet there is no mention made of this Councell but by Spaniards. The Spanishe histories write nothing of his time, nor of *Gallus Volusianus*, nor *Emilianus*, which succeeded him. As for *Valerian*, who came to the empire in the yeare 256, he was verie cruel against the Christians, and his persecution is accounted the eight. Vnder him and *Decius*, *S. Laurence* borne at *Osca* in *Catelogia*, was martyred, whom *Xyste*, who (as we haue said) was come to the Councell of *Toledo*, had led with him to Rome, passing by *Sarragossa*, whereas this holy man spent his time in studie. Vnder the same *Valerian*, by the commandement of *Emilian*, the gouernor, there were also put to death for the faith of Christ, *Fruictuosus* bishop of *Tarracone*, with *Augurinus* and *Eulogia*, two deacons, of whom *Prudentius*, a Christian Poet, did write hymnes. *Parmenius* was also put to death at *Cordoua*. *Valerian* author of these wicked persecutions, did soone after receiue a worthy reward for his impietie: for he was taken by *Sapor* king of *Persia*, and kept all his life time ignominiously in chains, the which it seemes did moue *Galien* his son and companion, to leaue the Churches in quiet, although he were the most corrupted prince vpon the earth; whose basenesse caused many tyrants to vsurpe the title of Soueraigne, in diuers prouinces of the empire, and encouraged barbarous nations to inuade them: for in his time Spaine was full of great troupes of *Getmans*, *Saxons*, and *French*, vnder the conduct of *Anthaire* and *Lothaire*, princes, who ruined *Tarracone*, and spoyled the country, almost for the space of 12 yeres. To the former martyres we will adde *Narcissus*, who came to *Girone* to preach the Gospell.

30 After *Galien*, *Claudius* was emperor, vpon whom *Tetricus* vsurped Spaine and Gaule, being the chiefe strength and sinewes of the empire. During the raigne of *Aurelian* (vnder whom was the ninth persecution of the Church) and of *Tacitus* and *Florian*, which were from the yeare 273, vnto 280, there is no mention made of Spaine. But *Probus* gaue leaue to the Spaniards and Gaules, to plant vines: for good husbands held it not profitable for the commonweale, that the land should be too much imployed to this kind of plant: but *Probus* was much affected to it, and therefore he caused the mountaines of *Almus* and *Aureus* in *Hungarie* and *Myfia*, to be planted at his owne charge. In his time the Spaniards did mutine, but *Saturinus* did pacifie them. One called *Bonofius*, borne and bred in Spaine, whose father was a Britan, and his mother a Gauloise, a great drinker, caused himselfe to be proclaimed emperor in *Germanie*, and with one *Proculus* would haue seized vpon Spaine, Gaule, and other prouin-

Anno 241.

*Basilides and Martiall condemned by the Councell of Africk.*  
The seventh persecution.

Anno 256.  
The eighth persecution vnder Valerian.

*Saxons and French inuade Spaine.*

The ninth persecution vnder Aurelian.

31

provinces: but they were defeated by *Probus*. The short empire of *Carus Numerianus* and *Carrinus*, make no mention of any thing that belongs to Spaine. *Dioclesianus Ionius*, who succeeded them in the yeare 288, & *Maximianus Herculeus*, made companion of the same dignity the yeare after, haue left (by their great crueltie against the faithfull) an infamous memory of them, in Spain, & throughout all the world. They made an edict in the yeare 306, That all the Christians temples should be beaten downe, and all those that confessed Iesus Christ, tormented and massacred. This was the 10 & the cruelliest persecution of the Church of God: for during the space of 10 yeres, there was nothing to be seene but burning of temples, running away of poore innocents, murders, and executions of martyres, wherof Spaine (it may be) did furnish as many as any nation in the world, to their great commendation. The names of these constant witnesses of the truth of Christ, should not be suppressed. In *Sarragossa* there were 18 at one time, of whom the Christian Poet *Prudentius* made a goodly hymne. These were *Optatus*, *Succensus*, *Urbanus*, *Pubius*, *Felix*, *Euentius*, *Luperus*, *Martialis*, *Julius*, *Fronto*, *Cecilianus*, *Primitius*, *Quintilianus*, *Apodemius*, and foure *Saturines*. *Encratia* a noble virgine, daughter to a great nobleman of *Lusitania*, betrothed to a duke or gouernour of *Gaule Narbonoise*, did there also end this fugitiue life. *Dacian* was then Gouernour of Spaine, and a diligent minister of these impieties; who residing at *Sarragossa*, and seeing the constancie of the Christians to surpass his inhumanitie, he caused a proclamation to be made by the sound of the trumpet, that all those that were Christians should depart the towne, and haue leaue to retire where they pleased. The faithfull being joyfull hereof, went forth in great troupes, thanking God for this libertie, thinking they would suffer them to depart: but they were not gone farre from the gates, before they were compassed in by armed souldiours, and cut in peeces. The multitude of those that were thus villanously murdered, was verie great, and therefore in those dayes the Christians by a certaine humane affection, more than for any religion, made account of the ashes, bones, and all things which did belong vnto those holy martyres, and did reuerence the places where they had frequented, or were buried: not for any superstition, but to incite the liuing to imitate their pietie. This cruell Gouernour hauing committed this horrible massacre, sought also to depriue the faithfull seruants (if any remained in the country) of all comfort: Wherefore hauing gathered all their bodies together, and murdered vpon them all the offenders, which were committed for any crimes, he burnt them all together, that the ashes (being thus mingled) should not be gathered vp by the Christians: whereupon the bruit was, That God (meaning to giue a testimonie of the innocencie of his people) made the ashes of the faithfull to appeare verie white among the rest, the which, with a small shewer which fell, were gathered together in white heapes: wherof those which haue come after, being moued with another zeale than the Christians of those times, haue made their profit. *Lambert* seruing a country man, was also beheaded, for that he would not renounce Iesus Christ. The bruit was, That hauing taken his head in his hands, he went two good leagues, vntill he came vnto the place where the bodies of the martyres aboue mentioned lay, and that there he began to sing, *Exultabunt sancti in gloria*, and that they answered, *Et letabuntur in cubilibus suis*; and then he fell vpon them: the which I will not call into question, considering the end of myrales. There were many others put to death in Spaine, for the profession of the Gospell, during the gouernment of *Dacian*, whose names for breuities sake I omit, being not much pertinent to a historie. *Dacian*, a bloudie instrument of these cruelties, was during these executions slaine with fire from heauen. The like persecutions were in the other prouinces of the empire.

At this time liued *Prudentius*, borne in the prouince of *Cantabria*, of the country which is now called *Alaba*: he was bishop of *Tarracone*, and not the Poet aboue mentioned. There is a decretall epistle extant of *Melchisedech* bishop of Rome, who liued in those times, vnto the bishops of Spaine, touching the Primacie of the Romane Sea: but it fauours not of the Latine stile of that age, no more than those of *Marcelin*, *Marcellus*, *Eusebius*, *Syluester*, *Marc*, *Iulius*, *Liberius*, *Damasus*, and *Syriscus*: which must bee read with judgement. As for the politique Arres of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, although they were great, and worthie of memorie, yet the histories of Spaine make no mention of them. They receiued into their companie to gouerne the empire, *Maximus Galerius*, and *Constantius Chlorus*: the last in a good time tooke vpon him the gouernment of Spaine and Gaule, who dying

M ij

Anno 288.

Anno 306.

Edict to ruine the Christian churches.  
The tenth persecution.

Martyres at Sarragossa.

From a humane affliction of the ancient Christians, grown the superstition, which in the end is become impiety.

The wicked end of Dacian the persecutor.

in England, left the dignitie of *Cesar* to *Constantine* his sonne, who leamed the first principles of religion, of a certaine Spaniard, as some write. *Galerius* adopted *Seuerus*, and *Maximian* the young. At the same time *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* resigned the imperiall dignitie at Milan: but *Maximian* repenting himselfe, as he did strive to resume his authoritie at Rome, being rejected by his sonne *Maxence* and the Pretorian souldiours, he fled towards his son in law *Constantine*, against whom he practised treason, and was slaine at Marfeilles. *Dioclesian* a strange monster, who caused himselfe to be called, Brother to the Sunne and Moone, and to bee worshipped, lived long a priuat life: but God shewed a testimonie of his wrath vpon him in the end of his dayes; for he died madde, eaten with vermine, and so infected and stinking, as none could endure to come neere him, howling (as *Nicephorus* writes) like a dog. *Galerius* slew himselfe, as cruell as a butcher; for so he had beene from his youth. *Seuerus* was slaine by the faction of *Maxence*, whom the Pretorians had created *Cesar*. *Maximian* the younger died eaten with wormes, having beene vanquished neere vnto Tharfe, by *Licinius*, whom *Constantine* had sent against him. *Maxence*, a cruel tyrant, and therefore hated of the Romans, as he thought to make head against *Constantine*, was defeated in battel neere vnto Rome, and drowned himself in the riuer of *Tiber*: all cruell and bloudie princes, enemies to the Church of God, remarkable for such as persecute it. After these, *Licinius* and *Constantine* held the empire, the one in the East, the other in the West. But *Licinius* who had married *Constantines* sister, a cruell and barbarous man, an enemy to Christians and all learning, tearing them a plague to the commonweale, having no good thing in him, but that he persecuted the courtians, whom he feared, fought to breake the order made betwixt him and *Constantine*: wherefore after that he had bene suppressed aboue once, and reconciled to his brother in law, by the meanes of his wife *Constance*, he was slaine by his commaundement at Thessalonica; so as *Constantine* called the Great, remained sole emperor, who gaue peace vnto the Churches, much desired, and (if they could haue vsed it to the aduancement thereof) most happie. This prince did great honour vnto the Christians, imbraced the true religion, endowed the churches with rents and riches, caused the Gentiles temples to be beaten downe in many places, assembled by his imperiall authoritie the Councell of Nice in Bithinia, in the year 326, or 328, where there met 318 bishops of diuers countries; among the which was *Osius* bishop of Cordoua, who was also at the Councell of Gangre, celebrated the same year. That of Nice is held the first generall Councell, where the impietie of the Arrians was condemned, the which notwithstanding did afterwards infect many nations. That *Constantine* made a donation of the cite of Rome, of Italie, and of all the Westerne empire, vnto *Siluester* then bishop of Rome, or that he had declared him head and primat ouer other bishops, and granted vnto him and his successors, other things contened in that which is called *Constantines* donation, besides, that Pope *Pius* the second doth jeast at it, there is no receivable testimonie thereof, nor any probable conjecture: besides, the histories of following emperors, do argue the contrarie, euen they of the West. In the time of this emperor the Northerne nations invaded Spaine, and spoiled that part of the countrey which lies neere the Ocean, from Galicia vnto the strait: whither he led a great army, chased away the enemies, & restored the Spaniards (which were fled into mountaynes) vnto their houses, and settled an order in the province, as well for that which concerned the temporalitie, as the churches. There was a provinciall Councell held by his commaundement at Illiberis, at the foot of the Pyrennees, some call it Eliberis, a towne in the marches of Grenado: whither came *Helena* the mother of *Constantine*, with *Constantine* his eldest sonne, to whom he had assigned the Gauls and Spaine, for his portion. In this Councell Spaine was diuided into fise provinces; that is, that of Tarracone, Carthage, Betica, Lusitania, and Galicia, in either of the which there was a Metropolitan appointed at Tarracone, new Carthage (to whom Toledo hath since succeeded) at Seuille, at Merida, and at Bracara. Some hold, that this Councell was more anient than that of Nice, among which *Beuter* affumes, That *Constantine* bishop of Cordoua, *Osius* predecessor, was there present: others say, that it was *Osius* himselfe, & *Quintian* bishop of Ebora. Some beleue that the emperor *Constantine* was not baptized vntil he drew neer his death, being deceived by the error of some, which beleued that the circumstance of places gaue more authority to baptisme: for he had a great desire to be baptized in Iordan. Many thought, that in the end of his daies he fel into the heresie of the Arrians, for that he had banisht *Athanasius* by the persuation of the Arrians, & that his sister *Constance* liuing

The miserable  
end of tyrants.

Licinius an ene-  
my to learning.

33  
Constantine a  
good prince.

Anno 326.

Nice the first  
general Councell

A false donati-  
on ascribed vnto  
Constantine.

Illiberis where  
Cathartes was  
built.

Spaine vnder  
Constantine di-  
uided into fise  
provinces.

A liuing with him was an Arrian: but it is most certaine, that before his death he commaunded that *Athanasius* should be called home againe, and that he did not beleue the confession of faith, nor the exposition made by *Arrius*, after that he had called him from banishment, but sent it to the Councell of Ierusalem, there to be examined. Of *Constantines* deeds in Spaine there are many medailles found in that countrey, and elsewhere, in our time, that beare witness. After him there raigned in the West *Constantine* and *Constans*, his sonnes, the East remaining to *Constantius* their brother. To *Constantine* was assigned Spaine, Gaule, and the islands of Britaine, or that which the Romanes held there. But *Constantine* being a proud and turbulent prince, he would make warre against his brother *Constans*, and take Italie from him: in which enterprise he was slaine neere vnto Aquilea, in the 25 yeare of his age: wherefore all the prouinces of his portion fell vnto *Constans*: in whose time the Poet *Aurelius Prudentius* *Clement* was borne at Sarragossa, or rather at Calaoorra: *Pacian* bishop of Barcellona flourished in doctrine and good life.

Constantine the  
young had Spaine  
and other prou-  
inces for his  
portion.

The repeale of *Arrius*, granted by *Constantine* the great, had caused greater troubles in the Church than before: for being returned into Alexandria, he had confirmed his doctrine, and drawne many bishops vnto him; yea the emperor *Constantius*, who held the empire in the East, was infected with this error, and did persecute the faithfull beleueers: so as *Athanasius* being banished againe by him, and *Paul* of Constantinople, who retired to *Constans* his brother, they wrought so, as by the consent of the two brethren princes, a generall Councell was called at Sardica, a towne in Illiria; whither came two hundred and fiftie bishops, among the which was *Osius* bishop of Cordoua, who was then verie old, *Anianus* of Castulo, *Cosius* of Sarragossa, *Domitian* of Augusta (that is to say, Bracar) *Florentine* of Emerita, and *Pretextatus* bishop of Barcellona. There the confession of the faith, or Symbole of the Councell of Nice, was confirmed: But at the same time by reason of the bad agreement which was betwixt the two brethren *Constans* and *Constantius*, there was another assemblie of the Easterne bishops at Philipopolis in Thracia, who agreed not with any that held with *Athanasius* and *Paul*. And after that there was another held at Syrmium in Hungarie (whither *Constantius* went in person) and others elsewhere. The Councell of Sardica being ended, *Constans* entreated his brother *Constantius*, to restore *Athanasius*: the which he did, partly for loue, and partly for feare of warre: But *Constans* being dead, *Athanasius* was forced to saue himselfe by flight, being accused to haue perswaded *Constans* to make warre against his brother for his sake: and then the Arrian bishops began to persecute them that made profession of *Athanasius* his doctrine, more cruelly than the Dioclesians or Maximians. The Councell of Syrmium, contrarie to that of Nice, was held in the yeare three hundred and threescore, or three hundred fiftie and six, according vnto some, whereas many wicked decrees were made and maintained, especially by *Photinus*, bishop of that place, who rebuied the blasphemies of *Samoſatenus*, denying the two natures in Iesus Christ, borne of the virgine *Marie*.

The Councell of  
Sardica.

Councell of Syrmium.

Arrians persecute the faithfull  
Anno 360.

This Councell, to suppress all controuersies, would disguise the tearmes and manner of speaking, received in the Church; and in stead of saying, That Iesus Christ was coessentiall with the Father, or of the same essence, they propounded the tearme of Like in essence: Which two words in the Greeke tongue, doe somewhat symbolize, *homoiousios*, and *homoiousios*. By this disguising, vnder which the poyson lay hidden, the good old man *Osius* the Spaniard, hauing constantly maintained the truth all his life time, suffered himselfe to be deceived and wooon: whether that his great age had dulled his vnderstanding, or that he did it for feare of the emperor, who examined him vpon that point, and threatned him in the towne of Rimini, where hee had againe assembled many bishops, causing him to commit this error; saying, That both the one and the other said well. But the Orthodoxes did soone after reject that word of *homoiousios*, as captious and deceitfull. *Osius*, as *Isidore* writes, dyed soone after in his impietie, stricken with the hand of God, in his bishoprick: and that being brought to Cordoua, *Gregorie* bishop of Illiberis, according to the Edict made by *Constantius* the emperor, against the Christians, to force them to the Arrians opinion, he refusing to yeeld vnto it, *Osius* prest *Clementine* Gouverneur of the province, to banish him: but he answered, That he could not banish a bishop before he was deposed from his bishopricke, and judged incapable. Whereupon *Osius* richly attyred like a king, meaning to giue sentence against *Gregorie*, who

The error of  
Osius.

The magistrat  
did not meddle  
with clergie  
men, before they  
were degraded.



*Ofius stricken  
with the hand  
of God.*

Anno 369.

*The Gothes in-  
vaded the Ro-  
mane empire.*

*The impietie of  
Valens.*

Anno 385.

Anno 368.

*Priscilian the  
heretic behead-  
ed at Treves.*

*Bishops excom-  
municated for  
that they made  
themselves cri-  
minal parties a-  
gainst an here-  
ticke.*

lay prostrate vpon the earth, praying vnto God, that he would maintaine the glorie of his name, and his truth, against all Apostats: the which he demaunded earnestly, not to saue his life, the which he was readie to loose a thousand times for the confession of the faith, but to the end the simple should not be abused with the deceits of the Apostat *Ofius*. Whereupon it happened, that as *Ofius* was readie to pronounce sentence against *Gregorie*, he sunke downe to the ground, hauing his mouth and necke drawne on the one side, and so dyed. The Gouernor amazed at this strange accident, kneeling downe, asked *Gregorie* forgiuenesse, confessing his ignorance, and excusing it vpon the commaundement of the emperour his prince. These things are written by *Isidorus*: but *S. Augustine* giues a better testimonie of *Ofius*, writing against *Parmenian*.

In the yeare of our redemption 369, there came vnto the bishopricke of Rome, which was not yet soueraigne, *Damasus* a Spaniard, borne at Vimaranes, a place in Portugall, betwixt Minio and Duero, three leagues from Braga: he succeeded *Felix*, who was an Arrian, and therefore not numbred in the catalogue of the Bishops of Rome; for that they would make this see without all blemish. Among his other qualities, they say, he was a good Poet: Saint *Ierome* was his Secretarie. During the time of *Constantines* children, *Iuuenius*, a Spaniard, priest, and Poet, liued. *Constantius* the emperour was already dead, with *Julian* and *Iouinian* his successours, of whom Spaine hath nothing to speake. And then did *Valentinian* raigne in the West, and *Valens* in the East. Vnder *Valens* the Gothes chased by the Dacians, invaded the Romane empire, whereas at the first they were receiued in peace: but the couetousnesse and wickednesse of Gouernours made them take armes, so as there grew a sharp warre, in the which the emperour *Valens* himselfe was slaine. This nation did erect a kingdome in Spaine, whose race, according to the common opinion, hath continued vnto this day. The emperour *Valens* was addicted to the Arrian heresie, to Negromancie, and other impieties. We read, that being carefull who should succeed him in the empire, he was deceived by the enemie of mankind, a murtherer from the beginning, who shewed him the letters of *E. E. O. A.* and perswaded him, that his name that should hold the empire after him, should begin with them: Whereof the emperour growing jealous, he caused all the *Theodores*, *Theodoses*, *Theophiles*, and others, whose names were compounded of *Theos*, to be slaine. But *Theodosius*, who succeeded him, a Spaniard borne, fell not into his hands. Hee was adopted by *Gratian* in the yeare three hundred fourescore and two, or fourescore and three, according vnto some, and raigned after him in the East, *Valentinian* the second brother to *Gratian* holding the Westerne empire. His father was called *Theodosius*, and his mother *Thermantia*, and descended from the race of *Traian*. During his empire, there came out of Italie into Spaine, *Paulin* the Poet, a great friend to *Ausonius*, who became a monke, and liued a solitarie life. At the same time *Priscilian* bishop of Auila, published his heresie, mingled with the impieties of the Manicheans and Gnostiques, the which was condemned in a Counsell held at Bourdeaux, some time after. He was a sectarie to one *Marke*, a Disciple to *Basilides*, who during the empire of the *Antonines* had brought this heresie into Spaine, where it was receiued and fauoured by a great ladie called *Agape*, and drew to his opinions *Helpidius* a Rhetorician; so as this mischief lay smothered for a time, vntill that *Priscilian* did publish it: a man issued from a noble familie in Gallicia, eloquent and subtile. The fourth yeare of *Theodosius* empire, which was in the yeare three hundred fourescore and six, or fourescore and seuen, there died at Constantinople in *Theodosius* his court, *Athanaric* king of the Gothes, who was become a friend and allie to the Romanes. *Isidorus* affirms, That the yeare following the Gothes, being impatient of the Romane yoke, did chuse *Alaric* for their king. Others hold, that it was 14 yeares after, whereof we will intreat at large in the next booke.

In the yeare 388 *Priscilian* hauing beene condemned in the Counfel of Bourdeaux, he retired to Treues, to a tyrant called *Maximin*, some call him *Clemens Maximus*: who hauing caused *Enodius* his constable to heare him, he cut off his head, and of other his sectaries, among the which was *Matronianus* a Spaniard, an excellent Poet. *Ithacius* and *Visatius*, Bishops, were accusers, and parties against *Priscilian*, by reason whereof they were excommunicated and banished. *Sigebert* saith, That it was taken ill, when as by the accusation of any man a Bishop was put to death. For one hereticke, author of a sect in Spaine, there liued in those times many religious and learned men; as *Lucimus*, *Betinus*, *Abigaus*, *Abundus*, *Auitus*,

*Auitus*, *Olympus*, *Audentius*, *Vigilantius*, who although he were a Gaule, yet he did reside at Barcelona; against whom *S. Ierome* did write very vehemently, for that hee did condemne the superstitious honour done vnto the reliques. *Theodosius* hauing in the yeare 387 made his sonne *Arcadius*, Cæsar; tenne yeares after he aduanced *Honorius* his other sonne to the same dignitie, who after his decesse were Emperours, *Arcadius* in the East, and *Honorius* in the West, by the death of *Valentinian* the second, and of *Eugenius* the tyrant: these two princes were borne in Spaine, as the Poet *Claudian* writes. In their time the Gothes began to disperse themselves ouer the West, where they committed infinit spoyles, vntill in the end they sedled themselves in Gaule, Spaine, and lastly in Italie, blemishing the name and maiestie of the Emperours in these rich Prouinces.



## THE FIFTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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*Ofus stricken  
with the hand  
of God, yeth.*

*Anno 369.*

*The Gothes in-  
uaded the Ro-  
man empire.*

*The impietie of  
Valens.*

*Anno 383.*

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*Priscilian the  
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*Bishops excom-  
municated for  
that they made  
themselues crea-  
tured partiers a-  
gainst an heret-  
icke.*

lay prostrate vpon the earth, praying vnto God, that he would maintaine the glorie of his name, and his truth, against all Apostats: the which he demaunded earnestly, not to saue his life, the which he was readie to loose a thousand times for the confession of the faith, but to the end the simple should not be abused with the deceits of the Apostat *Ofus*. Whereupon it happened, that as *Ofus* was readie to pronounce sentence against *Gregorie*, he sunke downe to the ground, hauing his mouth and necke drawne on the one side, and so dyed. The Gouernor amazed at this strange accident, kneeling downe, asked *Gregorie* forgiuenesse, confessing his ignorance, and excusing it vpon the commaundement of the emperour his prince. These things are written by *Isidorus*: but *S. Augustine* giues a better testimonie of *Ofus*, writing against *Parmenian*.

In the yeare of our redemption 369, there came vnto the bishopricke of Rome, which was not yet soueraigne, *Damasus* a Spaniard, borne at Vimaranes, a place in Portugall, betwixt Minio and Duero, three leagues from Braga: he succeeded *Felix*, who was an Arrian, and therefore not numbred in the catalogue of the Bishops of Rome; for that they would make this sea without all blemish. Among his other qualities, they say, he was a good Poet: Saint *Ierome* was his Secretarie. During the time of *Constantines* children, *Iuuenius*, a Spanish priest, and Poet, liued. *Constantius* the emperour was already dead, with *Julian* and *Iouinian* his successours, of whom Spaine hath nothing to speake. And then did *Valensinian* raigne in the West, and *Valens* in the East. Vnder *Valens* the Gothes chased by the Dacians, inuaded the Romane empire, whereas at the first they were receiued in peace: but the couetousnesse and wickednesse of Gouernours made them take armes, so as there grew a sharp warre, in the which the emperour *Valens* himselfe was slaine. This nation did erect a kingdome in Spaine, whose race, according to the common opinion, hath continued vnto this day. The emperour *Valens* was addicted to the Arrian heresie, to Negromancie, and other impieties. We read, that being carefull who should succeed him in the empire, he was deceived by the enemye of mankind, a murdurer from the beginning, who shewed him the letters of *E. O. A.* and perswaded him, that his name that should hold the empire after him, should begin with them: Whereof the emperour growing jealous, he cauled all the *Theodores*, *Theodofes*, *Theophiles*, and others, whose names were compounded of *Theos*, to be slaine. But *Theodofius*, who succeeded him, a Spaniard borne, fell not into his hands. Hee was adopted by *Gratian* in the yeare three hundred fourescore and two, or fourescore and three, according vnto some, and raigned after him in the East, *Valentinian* the second brother to *Gratian* holding the Westerne empire. His father was called *Theodosius*, and his mother *Thermantia*, and descended from the race of *Traian*. During his empire, there came out of Italie into Spaine, *Paulin* the Poet, a great friend to *Ausonius*, who became a monke, and liued a solitarie life. At the same time *Priscilian* bishop of Auila, published his heresie, mingled with the impieties of the Manicheans and Gnostiques, the which was condemned in a Counsell held at Bourdeaux, some time after. He was a sectarie to one *Marke*, a Disciple to *Basilides*, who during the empire of the *Antonines* had brought this heresie into Spaine, where it was receiued and fauoured by a great ladie called *Agape*, and drew to his opinions *Helpidius* a Rhetorician; so as this mischief lay smothered for a time, vntill that *Priscilian* did publish it: a man issued from a noble familie in Gallicia, eloquent and subtile. The fourth yeare of *Theodosius* empire, which was in the yeare three hundred fourescore and six, or fourescore and seuen, there died at Constantinople in *Theodosius* his court, *Athanaric* king of the Gothes, who was become a friend and allie to the Romanes. *Isidorus* affirmer, That the yeare following the Gothes, being impatient of the Romane yoke, did chuse *Alaric* for their king. Others hold, that it was 14 yeares after, whereof we will intreat at large in the next booke.

In the yeare 388 *Priscilian* hauing beene condemned in the Counsell of Bourdeaux, he retired to Treues, to a tyrant called *Maximin*, some call him *Clemens Maximus*: who hauing caused *Euodius* his confitable to heare him, he cut off his head, and of other his sectaries, among the which was *Matronianus* a Spaniard, an excellent Poet. *Ithacius* and *Prifatius*, Bishops, were accusers, and parties against *Priscilian*, by reason whereof they were excommunicated and banished. *Sigebert* saith, That it was taken ill, when as by the accusation of a fanny man a Bishop was put to death. For one hereticke, author of a sect in Spaine, there liued in those times many religious and learned men; as *Lucimus*, *Beticus*, *Abigaus*, *Abundius*, *Auitus*,

*Auitus*, *Olympus*, *Audentius*, *Vigilantius*, who although he were a Gaule, yet he did reside at Barcelona; against whom *S. Ierome* did write very vehemently, for that hee did condemne the superfluous honour done vnto the reliques. *Theodosius* hauing in the yeare 387 made his sonne *Arcadius*, Cæsar; tenne yeares after he aduanced *Honorius* his other sonne to the same dignitie, who after his decease were Emperours, *Arcadius* in the East, and *Honorius* in the West, by the death of *Valentinian* the second, and of *Eugenius* the tyrant: these two princes were borne in Spaine, as the Poet *Claudian* writes. In their time the Gothes began to disperse themselves ouer the West, where they committed infinit spoyles, vntill in the end they settled themselves in Gaule, Spaine, and lastly in Italie, blemishing the name and maiestie of the Emperours in these rich Prouinces.



## THE FIFTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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**B**Eing to treat of the Gothes kingdome in Spaine, it is fit to know from what region they are come, and by what accidents they first seated themselves in Spaine, Honorius sonne to Theodosius the Great then reigning in the West.

**I**n the Gothes are issued from the Getes, and their first beginning was in Asia: they passed into Europe long before, and did first seize vpon the higher country of Thrace and Mysia, which is at this day Bulgaria, Bosnia, Rascia, Seruia, and, it may be, a part of Hungarie; and in the end they came to either banke of the riuer of Danube: and then by degrees peopling all that lyes betwixt that riuer and the Northerne shore of the Baltike sea, they did in the end hold all that continent, which extends it selfe in manner of an island in the bosome thereof, with all the neighbour islands. They were famous for a long time in Dacia, in those regions which wee now call Valachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia, where they were called Getes and Gepides. In the times of Alexander the Great there were certaine encounters betwixt the Grecians and the Gothes, not farre from the island of Peuce, aboue Constantinople, at the mouths of Danube, or Ister, as they called it in that place. *Syrmius* reigned ouer that nation at that time. We read also, That *Isimachus*, one of *Alexanders* successors, was vanquished in battaile, and taken by a king of the Gothes, whom hee afterwards set freely at libertie, and married his daughter. After which, in tract of time other nations being mingled with them, those which did inhabit the great Peninsule, which the auncients called Scandia and Scandinavia (yet little knowne to them) retained the name of Gothes and the language; the which, as some affirme, was like vnto that of the Celtes: others hold, That it was the Teuton or Dutch tongue: which languages being corrupted, differ much at this day from those times, when they were in their greatest puritie. From these Northerne regions, which containe at this day the realmes of Sweethland and Denmarke, often and vpon diuers occasions there came great troupes of people, who tooke possession againe of the countries joyning to the Venetique or Baltike sea, and of the islands thereof, chasing away the inhabitants; and aduancing into the maine land, they did repofesse Dacia and Mysia, and ouerrun the higher Thrace, vnder *Fithmer*, sonne to *Gandaric*, who was the fift king after this returne. In these countries they planted their bounds vpon the Danube, and there reigned some ages: they did encrease their fame with great victories, and did giue their name to many nations whom they subiected. They invaded the Ro-

mane

The Gothes  
come out of Asia  
into Europe.

Gotes, Getes, &  
Gepides, all one  
nation.

The Gothif  
language.

**A** mane Empire in the time of *Decius*, vnder the conduct of their king *Gius*, and did vanquish the Romanes in a great battaile, whereas *Decius* and his sonne were slaine: after which, by many victories they made themselves fearefull to the Romans, so as the Emperours were often glad to haue them for friends and companions in arms; and by the vertue and valor of their troupes, which they entertained, did often execute great matters.

About the time of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, *Hermanaric* reigned ouer the Gothes, who vanquished many nations: who notwithstanding yielded to the force of the Hunnes, fathers to the Hungarians, who came at that time out of Asia into Europe, in great numbers, through the fennes of Meotides. *Hermanaric* being dead, and *Vithimir* his successor slaine in battaile, the Gothes estate was ouerthrowne, and troden vnder foot by the Hunnes: wherefore such as would not liue vnder the Conquerors subiection, retired themselves into diuers other countries. *Athamaric*, who had shewed himselfe an enemy to *Valens*, in supporting *Procopius* his tries. *Athamaric*, who had shewed himselfe an enemy to *Valens*, in supporting *Procopius* his tries, would not trust him, and therefore he tooke his course towards the North, and did inhabit with his troupes in the Forrests of Sarmatia. But *Fritigerne* and *Alanin* being followed with a great number of Gothes, came vnto the bankes of Danube, vpon the confines of the Empire, where desiring to be admitted to dwell with the other subjects, *Valens* consented, supposing that they should serue as a rampier against forraigne nations, that would invade the empire on that side.

Then there arriued vpon the same marches *Vitheric*, sonne to *Vithimir*, with his tutors *Alatheus* and *Safrax*, and also *Farnabe*, conductors of other great troupes. Then did the Romans begin to distinguish these people, into Ostrogoths or East Goths, and Visigoths or West Goths: calling those which did remaine vnder the domination of the Hunnes, Ostrogoths; and those Visigoths which had passed the Danube, and dwelt in Hungarie, Mysia, and Thracia: the which distinction was ancient among them, according to their countries and abodes, and was againe practised in Italie, Gaule, and Spaine, when as this nation had erected kingdomes there; whereof the princes were diuided into two families or factions: that is, the *Amals* or *Amaltes*, and the *Baltes*.

**2** The name of Iesus Christ had bene many yeares preached among this nation, before the Emperour *Valens* time: for we read, That at the Councell of Nice, which was vnder *Constantine* the Great, among others, there came *Theophilus* a Bishop of the Gothes: wherefore they were already Christians and Orthodoxes, although there were some idolatrous princes among them, and by consequence, part of the people: so as when they came vpon the territories of the Empire, *Valens* reigning in the East, they had Bishops, whereof the most famous was *Vulphilas*.

The manner how they became Arrians, is reported by *Theodorite*, in the fourth booke of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, saying, That after the Gothes had passed the riuer of Ister or Danube, and that they had made their peace with *Valens*, *Eudoxus* who was an Arrian, perswaded *Valens*, who was also infected with this heresie, to draw the Gothes to his opinions, for that conformitie in religion would make the peace more firme. Wherevith *Valens* having acquainted the princes & heads of the Gothike nation, they made answer, That they could not charge the doctrine of their ancestors. Then *Eudoxus* addressing himselfe to *Vulphilas*, whom he knew to be couetous and ambitious, he prevailed so with faire words & money, as he got him to perswade the Gothes to receiue the Emperors confession of faith: the which he did, saying, That they were but childish contentions, and debates for words, and not for doctrine: for this *Vulphilas* was in great credit with the Goths, and they say, that he inuented the Gothike letters, and translated the Bible into that tongue. Thus were these people governed by their Bishops and Prelates: they were a free people and couragious, and withall, tractable and apt to learning and Philosophie, the which they learned, frequenting with more ciuile nations: hardie and valiant, and yet familiar and liberal; apt to arms, tall and of a goodly stature, strong and patient to endure all the discommodities of warre.

**F** This new nation being seated in the territories of the Empire, the Emperour was aduised to make his profit of them, and to draw money and other commodities from them for their dwellings, and for the vse of the land, water, and ayre which he graunted them; the which he could well put in practise, especially his gouernors & lieutenants, so as this nation found themselves in a short time oppressed with a harder seruitude vnder the Roman Empire, than their countrymen

Distinction of  
the East and  
West Gothes.

Christian religi-  
on among the  
Gotes.

Gotes made  
Arrians by the  
Romanes.

Doctrine of the  
Gothike nation.

The crueltie, a-  
varice, and insu-  
lence of Valens  
and his lieuten-  
ants against  
the Gothes.

treymen were vnder the Hunnes: For the Gothes being distressed for victuals, *Lupicin* and *Maximus* Gouvernours of Thrace, inuented all the wicked deuices they could to make them poore, and to strip them of that they had, making them to eat dogs and other beasts, for euery one of which they were forced to giue a man to be a slaue. Besides *Lupicin* hauing caused *Fritigerne* and *Alauin*, captains of the Gothes, to come to Martiapolis, to conferre with them vpon the complaints which were made of these inhumanities, hee incensed them with proud and injurious words: so as hauing cunningly escaped out of his hands, they afterwards declared themselves enemies to the Romane Empire, so as there grew a great and cruell warre betwixt the Gothes and the Romanes, by the which the Emperour and his lieutenants were punished for their couetousnesse and impieties: *Lupicin* seeking to suppress the spoyle which the Goths made, was defeated, and in the end after many vnfortunat encounters betwixt both parties, the Emperour *Valens* hauing lost a battraile, where the best of his men died, he also lost his life, being burnt by the Gothes in a country house, into the which he was retired wounded, after the losse of the battraile: and without the valour and wisdom of *Theodosius* (whom God raised vp to succeed *Valens* in the East) the Gothes had rooted out the name of the Romanes in that country. But *Theodosius* a Spaniard, a wise and vertuous prince, did suppress them, and afterwards made a peace with them: so as after the death of *Fritigerne*, his successor *Albanicus*, a friend and well affected to the Romane Empire, died in *Theodosius* court: after which, the Gothes remained 14 yeares quietly vnder the Romane Emperours, without any king of their nation, vntill that *Alaric*, one of their captaines, who had serued *Theodosius* in his warres against *Eugenius* the tyrant, rebelled, and put the Gothes in armes, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, sonnes to *Theodosius*, sitting in the imperiall seat.

Defeat of the  
Emperour Valens  
and his  
miserable end.

Theodosius a  
good Prince.

Alaric chiefe  
of the Gothes.

Radagase slain,  
and his arme of  
Goths ruined.

The French in-  
uade Gaule.

The Barbarians  
divide the con-  
quest of Spaine  
betwixt them.

Alaric passeth  
into Italie.

3 The Gothes disdaining to be any more subiect to the Romanes, and meaning to chuse a king of their owne, there grew a sedition and warre among themselves; some desiring *Alaric*, others *Radagase*: but *Alaric* had the soueraintie. Wherefore *Radagase* with aboute two hundred thousand of that nation went into Italie, whilst that *Alaric* oppressed Hungarie; against whom *Stilico*, who gouerned the Westerne Empire vnder *Honorius*, opposed himselfe: and finding this armie of Gothes shut vp in the Appenine hills, bordering vpon Tuscane, it was consumed with hunger and pouertie: their leader *Radagase* was taken and strangled, and those which remained, were sold in great troupes, for slaues, at a small rate. This *Radagase* was an idolatrer, and would haue planted idolatrie againe in Italie. It was at such a season, when as the Romane Empire was in greatest combustion; especially in the West: for besides the inuasion of the Gothes in Italie, the Frenchmen, a people of Germanie, bordering vpon Gaule, sought to make a breach there, and entred in great troupes vpon the countrey adjoining vpon the riuer of Rhene: against whom, *Stilico* (who was a Henete or Sclauonian borne) meaning to fortifie himselfe with barbarous nations called into Gaule the Bourguignons, Sueues, Alanes, and Vandales, nations which were chased out of their countries; on the one side by the Hunnes, and on the other by the Gothes: who afterwards raunged and spoiled Gaule themselves, and would haue seized thereon; for the which they had many encounters with the Emperours Lieutenants, with variable successe. Great was the vertue and valour then of *Constantius Patricius*, who gouerned Gaule Narbonoife, the which wee now call by the name of Prouence and Languedoc; by whom the Vandales were repulsed, and forced to passe into Spaine; where for a time they did ouerrun the countrey, and being afterwards followed by the Alanes and Sueues, they sought to settle themselves there. *Gunderic* reigned ouer the Vandales, *Hermeric* ouer the Sueues, and the Alanes were commaunded by *Resplandian* or *Atace*, according vnto some. These diuided Spaine betwixt them: so as the Alanes should make warre in the countrey of Carthagene, and in part of Portugall or Lusitania, as it was then called: part of the Vandales, called Silinges, should conquer Betica, called since Andalusia: and the other Vandales, with the Sueues, should settle in Gallicia.

4 After the defeat of *Radagase*, *Alaric* marched into Italie with a great armie, and demaunded to diuide the Empire with *Honorius*; to whom by the counsell of *Stilico*, *Honorius* graunted the possession of Gaule and Spaine, who were also in prey to the French and other nations. *Alaric* and the Gothes marching towards the Alpes, doubting no surprize, were charged by an armie which *Stilico* had sent after them, to keepe them from spoyleing Italie,

A Italie, vnder the commaund of a Iew called *Saule*, who had a secret commaundement to set vpon the Gothes armie, when they should be most buised in the straits of the mountaines; the which hee could not put in execution: for the Gothes seeing themselves betrayed, gathered their forces together, and put themselves in battraile as well as they could, defending themselves so valiantly, as the imperiall armie was defeated: wherefore *Alaric* being victor, and full of a furious desire of reuenge, leauing the way to Gaule, he turned backe, and did miserably spoyle the countries, which were since called Lumbardie, Tuscane, and Romania, putting all to fire and sword, euen to the gates of Rome; the which he tooke after a long siege, and sacked it, pardoning the holy places, and those that were fled into them. From thence hee did ouerrun Italie, euen vnto the furthest bounds: then returning towards Rome, he died suddenly neere vnto Cosence, and was buried in the riuer of Barfente, turned out of her course for that cause, and afterwards drawne againe into her old bed by the Gothes: who after his death made choice of *Ataulphe*, his cousin, for their king, being a very wise man. Hauing brought backe the armie to Rome, he spoiled all that remained of the first sacke: yet he was somewhat pacified by the loue of *Placidia* Galla, sister to the Emperour *Honorius*, being prisoner; whom by reason of her nobilitie and beautie; he married at Forly in Romania. From that time hauing some respect to *Honorius*, as his allie, he resolved to leaue Italie, and take his way into Gaule, according to the first agreement betwixt *Honorius* and *Alaric*; where hee erected the kingdome of the Visigothes, restrained the French within certaine limits, and helped to chase away the rest of the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, beyond the Pyrenees, where he afterwards pursued them.

A little before these accidents, one *Constantine*, of a simple souldior being growne capitaine of the Legions which were in great Britaine, hauing slaine a tyrant who had seized vpon that island vnder the Roman Empire, called *Gratian*, had passed into Gaule, to vsurpe the imperiall title there, and from thence had sent Gouvernours into Spaine. But two noblemen Spaniards, *Didimus* and *Seuerianus*, or *Verianus*, or *Verinianus* (for this diuersitie is found in authors) rich and mightie men, opposed themselves: and seeking to preserve the prouince for the lawfull Emperour, they gathered some troupes together, of friends and subjects, and seized vpon the passages of the mountaines, to keepe these gouernours and their companies from passing. Against these Spaniards, the tyrant sent a sonne of his called *Constant*, whom hee had drawne out of a Monasterie, and proclaimed him *Cesar*: who being followed by an armie of Barbarians, which he called Honoriaques, he defeated and slew the two brethren. These Honoriaques being masters of the straits and passages of the Pyrenees by this victorie, and hauing afterwards rebelled with their capitaine *Gerontius*, they (as some hold) deliuered Spaine to the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, after the death of the tyrant *Constantine*, and of his sonne *Constant*, whereof the one was taken at Arles, and the other dispatched at Vienna: These nations joyning together to rob and spoyle, Palantia, since called Palenza, was the first towne of Spaine, which fell in prey to these Barbarians, who besieged Toledo in vaine, ranfomed Lisbon, and committed infinite spoyle, whilst that *Maximus*, another tyrant, being rebelled against the Emperour, sought during these combustions to make himselfe king of Spaine of another side: who being taken by them that did yet reuerence the maiestie of the Romane Empire, he was deprived of his vsurped royalty, yet his life was sau'd.

Spaine for the space of two yeares was thus miserably oppressed, as well by tyrants as by these cruell nations: so as there remained nothing but the mountaines of the Cantabrians, at this present Biscaye and Nauarre, in the quiet possession of the Romanes, maintained by *Constantius Patricius*, who was the Emperours Lieutenant on this side the Alpes: which was at such time as the Vandales, Sueues, and Alanes made the diuision of Spaine. Then did *Ataulphe* passe into Spaine, to dispossesse them, according to the right he had by an accord made with *Honorius* his brother in law: but as he was at Barcelona, he was slaine, with six children which he had had by another wife than *Placidia*. The time and cause of his death are not reported alike. *Iornandes* sayth, That he was slaine (hauing reigned three yeares in Spaine and Gaule) being thrust into the flanke by *Vernulphe*, whom he was accustomed to jest at. Some affirme, That he had been chased, and forced to passe into Spaine by *Constantius Patricius* Gouvernour of Gaule.

5  
Trecherie of  
Stilico and de-  
fect of the impe-  
riall army.

Rome taken by  
the Gothes.

The death of  
Alaric.

Ataulphe Alaric  
successors  
pacified by  
Placidia.

Constantine a  
tyrant.

Maximus a  
tyrant.

Ataulphe slaine  
by his owne men.

Ann. 402.

6

The first Council of Toledo,

The Christian religion during these troubles and foraine inuasions was not neglected among the Spaniards: for in the year 402 (although others write 420) was held at Toledo the first Council by 29 Bishops, where *Patron* Bishop of Toledo did preside against the heresie of *Priscilian*. He had beene Bishop of Auila, and had published an heresie mixt with the errors of the Gnostiques, Manicheans, and auncient Philosophers: among other opinions, he maintained, That the soule of man was a portion of the Diuinitie: he was condemned first at a Councell held at Bourdeaux, and from thence he appealed to *Maximian* the tyrant, who caused him to be heard at Treues; then he commanded his head to be cut off, with some of his followers. This Councell notwithstanding gaue place to a single life, and decreed, That priests should liue continually vnmarried. This decree was contradicted by *Vigilantius*, who lived then at Barcelona, who did also write against the abuse of reliques, against whom *S. Ierosme* was very bitter. Many learned men liued at that time in Spaine, as *Lucinius*, *Abigaus*, *Abundius*, *Auitus*, *Olympus*, *Audentius*, *Turbius*, *P. Orosius*, and others: yet the Church was declined much from her auncient puritie, and then grew in request ceremonies, vowes, merits, reliques, and miracles; for the clergie was then much infected with couetousnesse and ambition. Then came the Vandales and Gothes, who were all infected with the heresie of Arrian, who did in some sort persecute the good, as we shall heare.

Learned men in Spaine.

*Astaulphe* being dead, the Gothes did chuse *Sigeric* for their king, who reigned but a year, and was blaine by his owne men, in disdain that he was too desirous of peace. He left many children, *Giseric*, *Huneric*, *Gunteward*, *Trafamund*, and *Hilderic*: yet *Vallia* succeeded him, to the end he should breake the peace with the Romanes: but God had otherwise decreed, for he confirmed it more. With him (according vnto some) begins the reigne of the Vice-Goths in Spaine.

### Vallia first King of the Gothes.

Ann. 418.

Vallia a friend to the Romanes, makes warre against the Barbarians in Spaine

Alanes and Vandales defeated by the Gothes,

IN the yeare of Christ 418 *Vallia* was chosen king of the Gothes, whereof next vnto Narbone, Tolouse was the royall seat. In his time the French began to erect a kingdome in Gaule vnder *Pharamond*. *Constantius Patricius*, Gouverneur for the Emperour in Gaule and Spaine, was admitted by *Honorius* to the dignitie of *Cesar*, which in those dayes was a degree to attaine vnto the Empire, as in our time the dignitie of king of Romanes, during the life of the Emperour of Germanie. This *Vallia* shewed himselfe a friend and well affected to the Romane Empire. He restored to *Honorius* *Placidia* his sister, widow to king *Astaulphe*, whom he had honoured, and kept in his house since the death of her husband. She was afterwards married to *Constantius* *Cesar* aboue mentioned, by whom she had *Valentinian* the third, who was the last Emperour in the West vntill *Charlemagne*. *Vallia* vnderooke by a contract made with *Constantius*, to chase the barbarous nations of Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, out of Spaine, to the benefit of the Romane Empire, and his owne: whereupon he entred into Spaine, being called by *Constantius* to begin this warre, in the year 420, and assailed the Alanes and Vandales, who held Betica and Lusitania, slew their king *Atace*, and reduced them to that extremitie, as those few which remained went and joined with *Gunderic*, who reigned ouer the other Vandales in Gallicia: the battaile wherein they were wholly defeated, was giuen neere vnto Emerita, the which is Merida in Portugall. These victories obtained, he meant to passe into Africke, but he was put backe by a storme, and therefore returned into Gaule, where hee purchased vnto the Gothes all the countrey from Tolouse to the Ocean, bounded in by the Pyrennee mountaines, and the riuier of Garonne.

8 Sometime after the Alanes, which were retired to *Gunderic* in Gallicia, shooke of his yoake, being loth to subiect themselves vnto him, and returned into Lusitania, Betica, and the prouince of Carthage, yet not chusing any prince ouer them: there they obtained certaine lands, and liued tributaries to the Romanes, dispersing themselves as farre as the riuier of Ebro, and to the foot of the Pyrennee mountaines, where some maintaine, that of their name the countrey of Cattelogne was called *Cattalania*, for that they did inhabite there, being mingled with the *Cattes*, a nation of Germanie, which had passed with them into Spaine. In Gallicia (which contained at that time part of the realme of Portugall) there grew debate betwixt *Gunderic* king of the Vandales, and *Hermeric* king of the Sueues, so

25

as they fell to armes, and the Sueues were besieged in the mountaines called *Narbascens*: where in Spaine betwixt the Vandales and Sueues, but the Vandales left them there, despising that barren countrey, and came into the prouinces of Betica and Carthage, the which they foraged: then passing into the islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, they sackt them: returning into Spaine, they tooke and ruined *Carthage*, and brought backe their armie into Betica, the which was afterwards called *Vandalusia*, of their name: there they ruined the towne of *Seuille*, and made the countrey desolate. *Gunderic* died at the sacke of *Seuille*, vpon the threshold of *S. Vincents* temple, which he had commaunded should be spoyle: he was sonne to *Godigisque*, after whose decease *Giseric* or *Genferic* his bastard brother was chosen king of the Vandales.

*Vallia* entred againe into Spaine, to suppress the spoyle and cruelties of these Vandales, whither there was also sent by the Emperour a captaine called *Castinus*, who should ioyne with *Boniface* Gouverneur of Africke, and jointly make warre against the Barbarians. But as *Castinus* had nothing in him but vanitie and foolish presumption, he disdaind *Boniface*, who was a valiant and wise nobleman; against whom hee did also bandie *Ætius* Gouverneur of *Gaulles*, either through emulation and enuie, or for some other cause of hatred: so as when *Vallia* came with his armie of Gothes to set vpon the Vandales, *Boniface*, who was retired into his gouernment of Africke, being incensed, sent messengers vnto *Genferic*, to sollicite him to passe the strait, promising to giue him means to lodge himselfe in Africke with all his men, in despight of the Emperour; the which fell out happily for him, being oppressed with many enemies: wherefore he left Spaine, but not without blood: for in a battaile which was giuen him by the people of Spaine, subiects to the Romanes, and by the Gothes, he slew twentie thousand of his enemies vpon the place at his departure. The Vandales being then passed into Africke with all their families, there remained not any foraine power to make head in Spaine, but that of the Sueues, with their king *Hermeric*, who being fallen into a grievous sicknesse, died about that time, after he had languished long. In the meane time *Vallia* incensed against the Vandales, prepared to pursue them into Africke, but he was preuented by death, hauing reigned 22 yeares.

### 2. Theodoric or Roderic.

D 9 *Theodoric* succeeded *Vallia*, *Valentinian* the third being Emperour in the West, in the year 440. *Hermeric* about a little before his death had so pacified the people of *Gallicia*, as he reigned ouer them, and of two nations he made one, taking his sonne *Rechilan* for companion, whom he made his heire and successor in the kingdome, and sent him into Betica or *Vandalusia* against *Andenot*, a Romane captaine, whom he defeated neere vnto *Singil*, a riuier vpon that continent, where he was much enriched. Returning, he besieged *Merida*, tooke it, and enlarged the kingdome of the Sueues, the which had a beginning about the year 437. *Theodoric* reigning ouer the Gothes, they brake the peace made by *Vallia* with the Emperour *Honorius*, & besieged *Narbonne*, the which was relieved by *Licorius*, Gouverneur in those parts for the Empire vnder the Generall *Ætius*: but *Licorius* was defeated soone after by the same Gothes, the which was a great prejudice to the Romanes. By reason of this defeat, the peace was renewed among these potentates.

*Rechilan* being king of Gallicia after his fathers decease, hee sought also to enlarge his limits: wherefore he first assayed *Vandalusia*, and the countrey about new *Carthage*, the which he made subiect vnto his crowne, and did wholly suppress the name of the *Silinges* Vandales in Betica. Hee made a certaine composition with the Romanes, to whom he yeilded the countrey of Toledo in *Carpetania*, and new *Carthage*, called now *Carthage*.

*Theodoric* hauing also made a peace with the Romanes in Gaule, made a designe vpon Spaine; yet being called backe to ioyne with the Romanes against the Hunnes, who were entred in infinit numbers into Gaule vnder *Attila*: hee was in that memorable battaile, whereas *Attila* was defeated, in the which there died aboue an hundred and eightie thousand men vpon the field; and among others, *Theodoric* king of the Gothes, hauing reigned foureteeen yeares, according vnto some. The cause of this warre, which *Attila* vnderooke, was his bad disposition to ruine the whole world: whereunto he was incited by *Genferic*, king

Defeat of Attila Anno 453.



Five kings in the  
battell where-as  
Attila was de-  
feated.

Recciaire third  
K. of the Sueues  
in Gallicia.

king of the Vandales, who was trecherous, cruell, and inhumane, hauing a desire to ruine the Visigothes in Gaule and Spaine, both for that he had bene chafed and pursued by them, as also fearing that *Theodoric* their king would seeke to reuenge the injurie done vnto his daughter, who being married vnto *Humeric*, the sonne of *Genferic*, had bene sent backe by him vnto her father disfigured, without a nose, vpon a suspition which *Genferic* had, that she would haue poisoned him. In this battaile there were fūe kings: *Attila* king of the Hunnes, Generall of the warre: *Valmir*, of the Ostrogothes, who were tributaries to *Attila*: *Theodoric*, of the Visigothes in Gaule and Spaine: *Ardaric* of the Gepides: and *Meroue* of the French. This was in the yere 453, and was fought in the fields of Maroche, a word corrupted of *Maurice*, otherwise called Cathalaunians: a battaile as remarkable as hath bin since the deluge, in regard of the great number of men that were in arms, and the strange designes of *Attila*, a common enemy of all mankind. Besides those that died in the battell, there was an encounter the night before betwixt the Gepides and the French, in the which there were about 90000 men slaine.

*Rechilan* died a little before in Merida, being an idolatrer, and after him his sonne *Recciaire* reigned ouer the Sueues in Gallicia, who was baptized, and had received the Christian religion. Hee had also married a daughter of *Theodorics*, king of Gothes, whereby he grew proud, aspiring to great matters. He inuaded the Valcons country, which is now Nauarre, and spoiled it. From thence he went to see his father in law, and in his returne, with the helpe of the Gothes, he sackt Saragosse, and all the country which we now call Arragon, the which obeyed the Empire. He spoiled that of Carthagene, the which his father by a treatie made with the Romanes had yeelded vnto them. This past before the defeat of the Hunnes.

### 3. Torismund.

An. 453.

10 A fter that *Theodoric* had bene slaine in that great battaile, the which was woon by the fauor of God, and to the great good of all the countries of Europe, against that cruell tyrant *Attila*; his sonne *Torismund* succeeded him ouer the Visigothes, whose seat was at Tolouse. He had many brethren, *Theodoric*, *Frederic*, *Turic*, *Kothemer*, and *Humeric*. *Ætius* lieutenant Generall for the Emperour *Valentinian*, made him jealous of them, least they should seize vpon the realme in his absence, aduising him to goe speedily to Tolouse, and to cause himselfe to be crowned. This *Ætius* did, for that he distrusted the Gothes, whom he loued not neere him; yea, he was grieved to see this yong prince full of courage after this victory lately gotten against the Hunnes, hauing a desire to pursue the remainder of this defeated army, and to root them out quite; the which *Ætius* held not profitable for the Romans: for knowing the nature of the Goths to be proud and actiue, he feared, that being puffed vp with many victories, they should enter into the territories of the Romanes: wherefore he suffered the remainders of the defeated armie of the Hunnes to slip away, which gaue his enemies subject to disgrace him with the Emperour *Valentinian*, who afterwards put him to death: whereby (as some said) he cut off the right arme of his estate; for he was a wise and valiant captaine: yet some say, That betwixt *Torismund* and *Attila* there were some happie encounters for the Gothes. *Torismund* I. hauing reigned three yeares, was slaine by his enemies, as he was let bloud, being sicke. They write, That one stole away his armes, which he kept by his bed, yet hauing a penknife in his hand, he slew some of the murderers which came to assault him. It is doubtfull whether they were his brethren, or others by their procurement. Some say, That the murderers name was *Ascalerne*, and that he reigned but a yere.

*Torismund* slaine  
by his brethrens  
procurement.

### 4. Theodoric the second of that name.

A damnable  
desire of reuenge  
in a woman.

11 T heodoric the 2. succeeded his brother *Torismund*, about the time that *Valentinian* the 3. was slaine by the friends of *Ætius*. The Empire of Rome was then held by one *Maximus*, who married *Eudoxia* by force, being widow to *Valentinian* that was slaine, thinking by this conjunction to be more respected in the imperial dignitie, which he vsurped: but this woman mad for the wrong she thought was done vnto her, sought to be reuēged of *Maximus*, to the prejudice of her selfe, of Rome, Italy, & of the whole Empire: for by the means of *Boniface* she caused *Genferic* to come out of Africke, who with an army of Vandales, Africanes, Moores, & others, entred

A entred Rome, and slew *Maximus*, sacked and burnt the towne, spoiled all Italie, and led away *Eudoxia* and her daughters, with many thousands others, prisoners into Africke: yet afterwards he set *Eudoxia* and her daughters free, except one, whom he kept to marrie to his sonne. This was done by a treatie made with the Emperour *Martian*, who reigned in the East at Constantinople, who also suffered *Theodoric*, in recompence of the succours which the Visigothes had giuen the Romanes against *Attila*, to reigne in Spaine, and to get what hee could from the Sueues.

*Theodoric* then entred into Spaine in the yere 458, against whom, *Recciaire* king of the Sueues opposed himselfe, reigning in Lusitania and Gallicia: there was a battaile fought neere vnto the riuier of Vrbic, twelue miles from Asturica, betwixt Asturica and Leon, in the which the chiefe of the nobilitie of the Sueues were slaine, and *Recciaire* was constrained to saue himselfe by flight: meaning to passe into Africke, to *Genferic* king of the Vandales, hee was put backe by a tempest to Porto, and there taken and deliuered to *Theodoric*, who caused him to be slaine, although he were his brother in law. Gallicia being come into *Theodorics* power by this victorie, he left one of his captaines called *Aclius* of Auvergne, Gouvernour in his name, whilst that he pursued his conquests: but when as *Aclius* saw that *Theodoric* had returned his back, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed king, and seized vpon the kingdome, forgetting his faith, and the dutie which he ought vnto his master, who had honoured him so much: wherewith *Theodoric* being much moued, he returned, and finding him readie to resist him, he fought with him, and slew him vpon the place.

The Sueues desirous to be reconciled to *Theodoric*, caused their Bishops to sue for their pardon; the which they not onely obtained, but he also gaue them leaue to chuse a king of their owne nation. So the Sueues in the furthest parts of Gallicia made choice of *Masdra*, the sonne of *Masila*, for their king; but being of sundrie opinions, another faction proclaimed *Franta*. *Theodoric* after all this passed into Lusitania, meaning to sacke Emerita or Merida, but either for the respect he bare to S. *Eulalie*, or for feare (as they say) he did abstaine. From that time hauing diuided his armie into three, he sent one part into Vandalustaine. The other third part returned into Gaule Gothique, which was Languedoc, where in few dayes he tooke Narbonne, by the treason of Count *Agrippin* or *Rauennius*, who was Gouvernour thereof: or, according vnto some, hee receiued it of *Gilon*, who then reigned in Fraunce, during the time that *Childeic* was in exile, meaning by this bountie to fortifie himselfe with the Visigothes against the French, who began to be discontented with his exactions and tyrannies. The majestic of the Romane Empire in the West was then troden vnderfoot, after the death of *Valentinian*: for in euery prouince the gouernours and captaines of armies caused themselues to be proclaimed Emperours, and supported one another: so as Spaine was wholly abandoned to the Visigothes, and the Gaules to them and the French, and to pettie tyrants.

E The Sueues being diuided in Gallicia, had chosen (as is said) two kings; one faction would haue *Masdra*, the other obeyed *Franta*, but he died within few daies; after whom, the same faction did chuse *Rechimund*, who hauing made an accord with *Masdra*, they entred jointly with a great armie into Lusitania, and spoiled it. *Masdra* was slaine by his owne people; after whom, that partie created *Frumar* king, but *Rechimund* opposed himselfe: so as these two pettie kings impatient one of another, fell to spoyle Gallicia, one on the one side, and the other on the other side. *Frumar* being dead, *Remismund* or *Arismund*, the sonne of *Masdra*, brought all the Sueues vnder his obedience, and was peaceable king of Gallicia. The Sueues since *Recciaire* had receiued the Christian religion, reasonably pure concerning the principall points, and had continued in the same, vntill the time of this king *Arismund*, who receiued a certaine Gaule called *Aiax* an Arrian, thinking ill of the myserie of the holy Trinitie, into Gallicia, who infected the whole countrey with his heresie, the which was maintained many yeares by many kings, whose names and deeds haue bene buried by writers in hatred of their impieties.

In the meane time there had bin ten Emperors in Italie of small fame, and of lesse exploits, who made no great opposition against the Visigothes and French: so as the one seized

An. 458.

Defeat of the  
Sueues, and the  
death of Re-  
cciaire.

*Aclius* punished  
for his treacherie.

Humilitie of  
the Gothes to  
the Sueues was  
quiesced.

Gouernours am-  
bitious and  
disloyall.

Four kings of  
the Sueues in  
Spaine.

*Arismund* R. K.  
of the Sueues.

Resignation of  
Bishoprick re-  
proved.

vpon Spaine, and the other vpon Gaule, leauing but very obscure markes of the imperiall au-  
thoritie: it may be for the good of these two rich regions, who were better gouerned vnder  
those generous and free nations, than they should haue bene vnder the Romanes, who were  
corrupted with all vices, and but a medley of all other nations. In these times the Bishops of  
Spaine would in their life time chuse successors to their Bishopricks; the which was reproo-  
ued in a Councell held at Rome, vnder Pope *Hilarie*. *Remismund* or *Arismund* sought friend-  
ship and peace with *Theodorice*, the which he did courteously graunt: and moreover, *Theo-  
doric* made an alliance with him, by the marriage of a daughter of his, the which hee sent  
him vnder the conduct of *Sallan*, Maior of the palace, with rich presents. *Remismund* growne  
proud with these honours, he seized againe vpon Lusitania, where he tooke *Conimbrica*,  
and spoyled it: *Lisbone* was deliuered vnto him by *Lusides*, who commaunded there: du-  
ring which things, *Theodorice* was slaine at Toloufe by his brother *Euric* or *Henry*, hauing  
reigned foureteeen yeares: vnder him liued *Sydonius Apollinaris*, who of an Earle became a  
Bishop.

### 5. Henry or Euric or Eoric.

Ann. 471.

Exploits of  
Henry.

Prodigies.

Henry an Arri-  
an a persecutor  
of the Church.

12 **D**Esire to reigne induced *Henry* to kill his brother *Theodorice*, who (as some say) recei-  
ued that which he had done to another: for some did thinke, that *Theodorice* and *Fre-  
deric* had bene authors of the death of *Torismund* their eldest brother. *Leon* was at that time  
Emperour of Rome, sitting at Constantinople. As soone as *Henry* was seated in the royall  
throne of the Visigothes, he entred into Spaine with a great army, and seized vpon the whole  
countrey on this side *Ebro*; for he tooke *Pampelone*, *Sarragosse*, and other places of the pro-  
uince of *Tarracona*: then running into Lusitania, and seeing the combustions which were in  
the Romane Empire, on this side the Pyreneces, he assailed *Arles* and *Marfeilles*, and joyned  
them vnto his kingdome, and defeated *Riothime*, king of the Britons, who came against him in  
faueur of the Romanes, with twelue thousand men. *Vindemir*, brother to *Theodomir*, and vi-  
cile to *Theodorice*, an Ostrogothe, being king of *Italie*, brought him forces out of *Hungarie*,  
and gaue him meanes to seize vpon part of *Gaule*. Hee caused the Gothes lawes to be set  
downe in writing, who vntill that time had bin gouerned by customes. Being at *Arles*, where  
he held a generall assembly in armes, according to the manner of that nation, they did see the  
yron of their launces and other weapons change colour, looking greene, red, blacke, yellow,  
and of diuers other colours; and soone after the king died, hauing reigned 17 yeares: He was  
an Arrian, as his predecessors, and did persecute the churches, shut vp the temples, and caused  
them to be hedged about with thornes, that they should forget the way to assemble. During  
the reigne of this *Henry*, *Odoacer* a Herule or Saxon entred into *Italie*, who hauing forced *An-  
gustule* (who tearmed himselfe Emperor) to leaue his purple robe, he made himself king of *Ita-  
lie*, the which he held the space of 15 or 16 yeares.

### 6. Alaric.

Punishment of  
a treacherous  
Gouernor.

13 **A**laric succeeded his father *Euric*, being the second of that name, who reigned ouer  
the Visigothes at Toloufe, when as *Clouis* the first Christian king reigned ouer the  
French. In his reigne the Romanes had yet some lands in Spaine, and in *Gaule*, where they  
had gouernours; one of the which called *Burdunel*, seized vpon the countrey which he com-  
maunded in Spaine, and became a tyrant, but he was taken by the Gothes, and burnt at To-  
loufe in a bull of brasse. *Apollinaris* was also at that time Earle, and gouernor of *Auuergne*,  
kinsman to *Sydonius*.

Warre for irre-  
ligion betwixt  
the French and  
the Visigothes.

Before this time the Visigothes and the French had been good friends: but *Clouis* with most  
of his people hauing embraced the Christian religion, and left their idols, he thought himselfe  
also bound to pursue those that were not of the same opinion, and to force them thereunto by  
armes. He therefore fell in dislike of *Alaric* and the Visigothes, for that they were Arrians: be-  
sides, he tooke an occasion, for that his enemies and the banished men of *Fraunce* had sought  
refuge at Toloufe and other places belonging vnto *Alaric*: and moreover *Clouis* complained,  
That a day and place being appointed them to parle, he was aduertised, that *Alaric* had layd an  
am-

**A** ambush to kill him: wherefore there grew a great quarrell betwixt these two princes, the  
which they would decide by single combat betwixt themselves: but king *Theodorice* (who had  
newly dispossessed *Odoacer* of *Italie*, and there erected the kingdome of the Ostrogothes, a  
wife and valiant prince) reconciled them for that time, and the Visigothes turned the warre  
into Spaine, where they tooke *Tortose*, and slew one *Peter* who had played the tyrant there,  
whose head was carried to *Sarragosse*.

The hatred betwixt the French and the Gothes encreased daily, so as they must come to  
blows, and there was a battell fought neere vnto *Poitiers*, in the plaine of *Voglad*, to leagues  
from the towne, whereas *Alaric* was slaine, and with him *Apollinaris* Earle of *Auuergne*. There  
was also another battell neere vnto *Bordeaux*, where there were an infinit number of Gothes  
Arrians slaine, so as the place is to this day called the field of *Arri*. Among the spoyles of the  
Visigothes, there were certaine vessels found, consecrated in old time to the temple of *Ierusa-  
lem*. This king *Clouis* is by some called *Lodom*. By meanes of these victories the French seized  
vpon *Aquitain*, & on Toloufe, the chiefe towne of the Visigothes, they besieged *Carcaffone*,  
and meant to pursue their victorie, but *Theodorice* coming out of *Italie*, made them to rayle  
their siege.

At that time *Toledo* was the royall towne in Spaine. Many Christian Bishops chased out  
of *Africke* by the Vandales Arrians, were rettyred into *Italie*; from whence some were sent in-  
to Spaine. At that time liued *Fulgentius*, Bishop of *Ruspence*, a learned & an eloquent man,  
who was chased away and persecuted by the Arrian Gothes. *Alaric* (as the Spaniards write)  
had married *Amalasunta*, daughter to *Theodorice*, king of the Ostrogothes and of *Italie*, and had  
a sonne by her called *Amalaric*, who was yet a child, when his father died: wherefore *Gesslaric*  
(who was bastard brother to *Alaric*) tooke the gouernment of the kingdome, his brother ha-  
uing reigned 22 yeares.

### 7. Gensolaric or Gesslaric.

14 **G**ensolaric was sonne to *Euric*, by a concubine, hee vsurped the crowne at *Narbonne*, his  
nephew *Amalaric* being yet but siue yeares old. He was bafe and a coward: for being  
assailed by *Gundebault* king of the *Bourguignons* (who had also erected another kingdome in  
*Gaule*, to the prejudice of the Romanes) after that he had receiued a great rout neere vnto  
*Narbonne*, he fled ignominiously into Spain, and shut himselfe vp in *Barcelone*, vntill that *Ilba*  
(sent by *Theodorice* king of Ostrogothes, grandfather as they said by the mothers side vnto yong  
*Amalaric*) came out of *Italy* to chase him from thence. Some make this *Gesslaric* bastard sonne  
to *Alaric*, and brother to yong *Amalaric*.

This *K. Theodorice* sent 80000 men out of *Italie* into *Gaule* against the French, to reuenge  
the death of *Alaric*. *Ilba* (who was Generall) joyned his forces with the Visigoths, and defea-  
ted the French, where there were about 20000 of them slaine. *Prouence* remained then vnto  
the Ostrogothes, and was a member of the realme of *Italie*, and *Languedoc* and *Gasconie* re-  
turned vnto the Visigothes, as before. *Ilba* then past into Spaine, to settle the estate of yong  
*Amalaric*, and chased *K. Gesslaric* out of *Barcelone*, the third yeare of his reigne, who fled into  
*Africke* to the Vandales, hoping to recouer his dignitie by their means, but he labored in vaine:  
wherefore being returned into *Gaule*, he was slaine neere vnto *Durance*.

### Amalaric eight King of the Gothes.

15 **T**he Spaniards write, That *K. Theodorice* came out of *Italie* (where he had reigned 18  
yeares) expressly into Spain, to settle his grandchild *Amalaric* in his kingdome, where  
(as they say) he continued 15 yeares, and that *Clouis* the French king being dead, and his king-  
dome diuided betwixt his four sonnes, they made a peace with yong *Amalaric*, & assured him  
their sister *Clotilde*, restoring to him Toloufe, or at the least the vsufruit of it. This treatie was  
made with *Theodorice* his grandfather and tutor.

16 Vnder these Arrian princes the Christian religion was somewhat maintained by the Bi-  
shops, touching the fundamentall points, although intermixed with superstitions, the which  
encreased daily. There assembled tenne Bishops at *Tarracone*, who decreed, That the feast of  
Sun-

Sunday should begin on Saturday. From whence it came that in Spain and many other places they hold it a profane thing to work on the Saturday; no nor the women to spin. This Council makes mention of the first Monks in Spaine. At Girone was another prouinciall assembly of 7 Bishops: at Sarragosse of 12: in Ilerda at the foot of the Pyrenes of 8: at Valence of 6 Bishops, whereas alwaies the Bishop of that place did preside. These Councils were not very free nor assured in the Arrians iurisdiction: but in those places which the Romans did yet hold in Spaine, the pure Christian religion was fauoured. The counsell of Sarragosse did ordayne, that no Nun should were a vayne nor be professed before the age of 40 yeares. *Theodorie* king of the Ostrogoths, regent in Spaine, tooke to wife, as the Spanish authors write, a noble woman of that countrie, at whose intreatie he set at libertie all those of her nation that were in prison, and had by her a sonne, called *Seuerin*, Duke of Carthagea, father to *Leandre* and *Isidore*, who were faints. The 15 yeare of his gouernment, he resigned the kingdom of the Visigoths to his graundchild *Amalaric*, being now of age to commaund, and returned to his realme of Italie. This was in the yeare 526, when as *Iustinian* being emperor, the warre began in Africke by *Bellisarius* against the Vandales, and *Gilimer* their king, whereof followed the taking of the king, and the end of the Vandales royaltie, the which had continued in these countries 113 yeares. Vnder the raig of *Amalaric* was celebrated the second Council of Toledo by eight Christian Bishops, although the king were an Arrian. He hauing (as we haue said) married *Clotilde*, daughter to *Clouis* king of France, intreated her verie ill, by reason of the diuersitie of religion (for she was well instructed) so as going through the streets, the people cast stones and durt at her in contempt: being retired she wip't off the bloud and durt with a handkerchiefe, the which she sent vnto her brethren, letting them vnderstand the disgraces and wrongs which she suffered: wherewith being incensed, they proclaimed warre against *Amalaric*: the armies incountred neere vnto Narbone, whereas *Amalaric* was vanquished, who thinking to faue himselfe in Barcelonne, was slaine, being forsaken by his men. The annales of France say, that *Childebert* king of Paris did this execution, and that he tooke Toledo, the royall seat, spoiled the temples, and carried backe into France, 60 chalices, fiftene plates, and twentie little cofers, where they kept the books of the Gospell, al of pure gold, and much other treasure, and that he did distribute these ornaments among the Churches of France. *Amalaric* reigned fife yeares and eight months after the gouernment of *Theodorie*. After his death, the kingdom of the Visigoths remained vnto *Amalasunta* his mother, say the Spaniards, I know not by what title. I cannot concurre with them in this opinion, that this *Amalasunta* was daughter to *Theodorie* king of Italie, the which we read was married to a prince of the bloud royall of the Visigoths, and of the familie of *Hamels*, called *Euthaire*, and had *Athalaric* by him, to whom *Theodorie* his graundfather dying, left the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italie. *Procopius* sayes, that the wife of *Alaric*, and mother to this *Amalaric*, was called *Theodetuse*, the which by the report of *Iowrdain*, who names her *Theudicode*, *Theodorie* had by a concubine when he was yet in Misia: others say, that this *Theudicode* was married to *Gundebault* king of Bourgogne, and that the wife of *Alaric*, mother to *Amalaric* was called *Ostrogotte*, bastard also to this king *Theodorie*. Howfoeuer it be, it is not credible that *Theodorie* king of Italie, should so much affect the affaires of Spaine, as hee should abandon Italie for fiftene yeares, to remaine in Spaine. And there is lesse likelyhood, seeing that *Athalaric* sonne of *Euthaire* and of *Amalasunta* succeeded him in the realme of the Ostrogothes, the which hee had of a lawfull marriage, whatsoeuer the Spaniards write, duke *Seuerian* of Carthage, father to *Isidore* and *Leandre* bishops of Seuille, and others, the which *Seuerian* should rather haue succeeded him in the realme of the Ostrogothes, than his graundchild, the sonne of his daughter. That which others write, that he sent *Ilba* with an armie against the French, to reuenge the death of *Alaric* his kinsman, and that he had reteyned for his paines and the charges of war, Prouence (for these princes notwithstanding all their charitie, did not labour for nothing) and that for the loue of consanguinitie, beeing all of the familie of *Hamels*, he had sent one of his captaines called *Theude* into Spaine, to be tutor and regent of the yong king *Amalaric* and of the realme of the Visigots, with his mother *Theudetuse* or *Amalasunta*, as she was called: that I say comes neere vnto the truth, as we may see by *Procopius*. All the raig of *Amalaric*, as well vnder his tutors, as alone, is counted by all probabilite 15 yeares.

Theude

An. 526.

End of the Vandals raig in Africke.

17

Diuerfite of religion killed charitie.

Amalaric slaine by the French and the Goths deposed.

18

## Theude the ninth King.

19 SO it is, that *Theude* or *Theodat*, as others name him, raigned after the death of *Amalaric*, if we shal beleue *Procopius*, hauing married a great lady of the countrie of Spaine, who, the Spaniards say, was mother to the deceased king. The resemblance of names hath deceiued them in al their discourses: for at the same time, or therabouts, *Amalasunta* mother to *Athalaric*, heire of the realme of Italie, married an other *Theude* or *Theodat* (seeing that she was not feared nor respected by the Ostrogoths, for that she was a woman) and made him tutor to her sonne, and regent of the realme, to her owne preiudice, but this hath nothing common with Spaine. At the coming of *Theude* the Visigoth, the French entred into Spaine, and spoiled the countrie of Arragon, and other places thereabouts: but they were defeated by the Visigothes, led by *Theodisclé* their captaine, who seased vpon all the passages and straits of the Pyrenes. They say, that seeing themselves inclosed, they entreated them to giue them a day and a night to passe away, the which the Gothes graunted, and all that remayned behind, after that time, were put to the sword: a remarkable victorie, but it was afterwards blemished by the defeat of the Gothes in Africke, as we will shew. The French notwithstanding returned, and tooke Sarragosse, with other townes in Spaine: the French inhabitants to abiure the Arrian sect, thinking they should doe much for and forced the inhabitants to abiure the Arrian sect, being ignorant that religion is a profession of the spirit, the which may well be perswaded by reasons and doctrine, but no waies forced. It was the cause of all the French wars in those daies, toynd with ambition and the insatiable desire of reigne, which vice they thought to obscure, fighting (said they) for the Christian religion, and enriching the Clergie men of their countrie, with spoiles and other gifts. In the meane time most of the Monks that were then in credit, song in the Churches, and the bishops became like dumbe dogs, following the courts of princes, and armies; a mischief which hath not bene since repaired. In Spaine, whereas the Clergie was not in so good estate, their gouernment was somewhat better: for many of their bishops were learned, according vnto those times, as some writings, which yet remaine, doe witnesse, namely *Aprugius* bishop of Paccence, *Iustinian* of Valence, *Iuste* of Vrgell his brother, *Leandre* of Seuille, and according to some of Toledo, and others, who did often assemble for the affaires of the Church, and held Prouinciall councils: yet they were not without blemishes, buying themselves more than was fit, about seruices, ceremonies and exterior ornaments: from whence sprung many superstitions. *Childebert* brought from Sarragosse, as some say, Saint *Vincent's* shirt, the which was put at Saint Germain's by Paris, where he built a temple to that Saint: and the authors say, that they of Sarragosse redeemed their towne from spoiles by this iewell, the which is credible, considering the deuotion of that nation. After the retreat of the French, the Visigoths would passe the strait into Africke, to chase away the Romanes, who had surprised the towne of Septe from them: but as this nation possessed with a superfluous feare, would not vse their armes vpon a Sunday, for the reuerence of the day, the Romanes who had no such scruple, fell vpon them, and finding them carelesse and disarmed, they made a pitifull slaughter; so as there escaped not any one to carrie newes. It hapened at the same time that King *Theude* (the newes of this rout beeing published abroad) was slaine in his chamber, by one that made himselfe a iester, to haue the better access, who stabbed him in the bellie with a dagger. The king feeling himselfe wounded to the death, conured the noble men that were about him, not to doe any harme to him that had hurt him, saying, that God had sent him a worthy reward for his merits, for that he had also bene the murtherer of his captaine. He raigned 17. yeares and fife moneths.

## 10. Theodisclé.

20 *Theodisclé* seased vpon the realme: he was generall or Constable of the Goths armies, he gaue himselfe to lust and adulteries, polluting honest families and great houses, the which he filled with murders by reason of his excessse: wherefore the chiefe of the Goths conspired

An. 526.

The French defeated in Spaine.

The French invaded Spaine.

Learned and religious Bishops in Spaine.

The Goths defeated in Africke by the Romanes.

*The reward of a* conspired to kill him at Seuille, rioting in his banquets. Some say, that he was sonne to the G  
*unjust tyrant.* fister of *Totilus* king of the Ostrogothes in Italie, and held the kingdom one yere & 7 monthis.

11. Agila.

21 **T**He Gothes did chuse *Agila* for their king, who assailed the towne and territorie of Corduba, or Cordoua, & did all the disgraces he could vnto the Christians, treading the bones of *Aseiscles* and *Vistor* who were martyres, vnder his horses feet, whereof among that nation the superstition was great. Comming afterwards to fight against the Gothes, which were of a contrarie faction, he was vanquished, his armie defeated, his sonne slaine, and all his baggage, which was verie rich, lost: he himselfe flying into Merida, was slaine by the faction of *Athansgilde*, who succeeded him, hauing reigned fve yeares.

## 12. Athanagilde.

Anno 551. 22 Dyring the life of *Agila*, *Athanasgilde* had attempted to seize vpon the kingdome of the Visigothes by force, the which after his death he obtained without any difficultie: about the same time the kingdome of the Ostrogotes in Italie was extinguished by *Insimian*, or *Bellisarius*, Generall of his armies, and his lieutenant in the West. The Visigothes were diuided; some followed *Athanasgilde*, whom others loued better for a companion than a master. There was an armie raised against him by *Agila*, who was head of the other partie: being come to battell neere vnto the towne of Seuille, *Agila* was defeated. Hereupon the Gothes considering, that by reason of their diffentions, the Romanes, and Spaniards lying vnder their authoritie, might invade them, to their great prejudice, they agreed in the end, and did acknowledge *Athanasgilde* for their king, *Agila* hauing beene vanquished and slaine at Merida. They hold, that this king did secretly detest the profession of the Arrians, and fauoured the Christians. He dyed at Toledo, of a naturall death, hauing reigned foureteene yeares: during the which he had many encounters with the Romanes and their partie, with variable successe. In his time the Sueses of Gallicia left the Arrian sect, and submitted themselves to the Christians Church. *Theodemir* was the first king of Gallicia which embraced the true religion, by the persuation of a bishop, or an Abbot of Dume, called *Martin*, who reformed the churches of Gallicia, by the Counsels held at Bracar and at Lugo. *Brunichilde*, who was daughter to *Athanasgilde*, was married to *Siebert* king of Mets, to be a plague to France.

12. Luiba, *or* Liuba.

23 **T**He Gothes disagreeing in the election of a king, the royall seat was vacant for some moneths: in the end they chose *Lui*ba at Narbone, who admitted *Leouigilde* his brother to be partner in the kingdome, giuing him the gouernment of the hither Spaine. This *Leouigilde* tooke to wife the widow of *Athanagilde*, called *Gisuintha*; but he had had another wife, which was *Theodofa* daughter to *Seuerian* duke of Carthagene, by whom hee had *Hermingilde* and *Ricard*. This *Seuerian* of whom we haue made mention, is held to be the sonne of *Theodorick* king of the Ostrogothes in Italie: and the Spanissh authors say, that he had many sonnes and daughters by *Theodora* his wife, issued from the blood royall, all which were Saints and men of the Church, as *S. Leandre* and *S. Sifforde* bishops of Seuille, *Fulgentius* bishop of Astigi, and then of Carthagene; *Florence* an Abbess, whom some call *Iustina*, and others. *Lui*ba hauing reigned 3 yeres, died at Narbone, leauing no other memorie of him, for he was not warlike.

#### 14. Leouigilde.

Ann. 567. 24 **L**eonigilde remained sole king of the Gothes, both on this side and beyond the Pyrenees, after the decease of *Luiba* his brother: He did overrun the territories of the Bastitanes, and of Malaca, which is the country of Grenado and Mutcia at this day. Hee took

A rooke Afinode, or rather Affidon, a verie strong towne, by a composition made with one *Framedanc*, who commaunded there, and added it to the Gothes kingdome. This place had a garrison of Romane souldiours, and had defended themselves till then vnder the maiestic of the Romane empire, *Iustine* the young sitting then in the imperiall seat at Constantinople. *Leonigilde* did many other exploits of war against the Romanes and their partisans in Spaine, *Exploits of Leonigilde.* and did much enlarge the Gothes dominions. Cordoua (which they had often attempted in and did much surprisid in the night, many towns & castles forced, with great slaughter) was by this king surprisid in the night, many towns & castles forced, with great slaughter of the people. Vpon the frontiers of Gaule hee made warre against them of Sauoy and Dauphaine, if writers erre not. He diuided his kingdomes betwix his sonnes *Hermengilde* and *Dionard*, the which he had by his first wife.

B Ricared, the which he had by his first wife.  
Miro king of the Sueues in Gallicia, made warre at that time against the Vafcons, which are the Nauarrais and Bifcaines: but *Leouigilde* stayd him, and sent his owne forces to the Cantabrians, towards the Ocean (that is Bifcaie) from whence he chased all such as had vsurped any townes or feigniories, reducing in a manner all those pettie potentates which were risen in Spaine, to the prejudice of the Romane empire, vnder the crowne and scepter of the Visigothes. Hee made a peace notwithstanding for a time with *Miro*, by meanes of his embassadours: So hauing enlarged his dominions in Spaine, he gaue himselfe to ciuile affaires.

C He built a towne called Ripol, in the hither Spain, beautified it with buildings, and endowed it with priuiledges. He also built the towne of Victoria in Bifcaie, which is not Victoria at this day. He married his eldest sonne to *Iugunde* daughter to *Sigebert* king of the French: he caused a Councell to be called at Toledo, of the Arrian bishops, where he heapt erroure vpon error, forcing the Chriſtians to be rebaptized, after the Arrian manner, which was, In the name of the Father, to the Sonne, by the holy Ghost: and not, In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost: meaning thereby to make three effences of that which is but one, distinct in three qualities. Herein he was assisted by *Vincent* bishop of Sarragoſſe, an Apostat, against whom *Seuerus* a Chriſtian bishop of Malaca did write.

posat, against whom *Seuerus* a Christian binopor *Malaca* did write.  
 As *Leonigilde* busied himselfe about these matters, some good and profitable, others pro-  
 phane and wicked, his peace was troubled by the rebellion of his owne sonne, who either  
 through desire to raigne alone, or otherwise, and by the perswasion of *Goswinthe* his mother in  
 law, he seized vpon *Seuille*, and many other places; and leuid men to fortifie himselfe against  
 his father : who hauing put a great armie to field, marched to *Seuille*, to suppress the rasi-  
 nesse of his ill aduised sonne, besieged the towne on all sides, and began to batter it with  
 all sorts of engines. *Miroking* of *Gallicia* came to this siege, with good troupes, as a friend and  
 allie to aid him. The auintient towne of *Italica* was not farre from *Seuille* : for we read, that  
*Leonigilde* made his store-houise for the warre there during the siege, hauing caused the walls,  
 which were ruined, to be repaired, the which did much annoy them of *Seuille*; from the which  
 he turned the riuer of *Betis*, and prest the besieged by continuall batteries, assaults, cutting off  
 their victuals, and all other acts of hostilitie : so as in the end he tooke it, and soone after the  
 towne of *Cordoua* also, in the which his sonne had fortified himselfe, with all the other pla-  
 ces which he had vsurped. Being thus spoiled of all, and deprived of his dignitie, *Hermengilde*  
 was confined to *Valence*. This ciuile warre did afflikt *Spaine*, more than all the former, as the  
*Spaniards* write.

25 During the siege of Seuille, *Miro* king of Galicia died, to whom *Eburic* his sonne succeeded: but *Andeca* seized vpon the realme of the Sueues, married *Sisguta*, left by king *Miro*, tooke *Eburic*, and shut him vp in a cloister of Monkes. To reuenge this iniurie, and also to make his profit thereof, *Leouigilde* entred into Galicia with an armie, tooke *Andeca*, caused him to be polled, and sent him to Badaios, to liue for euer in a cloister. He reduced Galicia to a prouince, and joynted it to the Gothes kingdome, the which had continued an hundred seuentie and seuen yeares.

*Hermengilde a  
Christian slain  
by his father's  
commandment,  
being an Arrian*

War between the  
the French and  
the Gothes, for  
the death of  
Hermengilde.

Myracles.

A counterfeit  
begger diuinely  
punished.

Birth of Mahomet.

Anno 580.

doth witnesse: and it is likely that this prince was drawne vnto the true doctrine by *Leandre* G bishop of Seuille, and by his wife *Iugunde* a French woman, whom, they say, he, put in the beginning of the ciuile warres, into the hands of those that gouerned the lands of the empire in Spaine, vnder *Maurice* the emperour, being newly brought in bed of a sonne, fearing the threats and furie of his father: and that after her husbands death the Romanes caused her to passe into Africke with her little infant, where she died; but the child was carried to Constantinople. *Childebert* king of France, to reuenge the wrong done vnto his brother in law, tooke armes against the Gothes, and hoping to recouer his sister and his nephew, hee made a league with the emperour *Maurice*. Against the French which did forrage Languedoc, was sent *Ricared* the other sonne of *Leonigilde*, who repulst them with great losse of their men, entering into their territories, where he tooke a great spoile.

They speake of many myracles during the raigne of this king, which God did in fauour and confirmation of the Christian religion, against the Arrians and their sect, the which hee had decreed should haue an end with this king *Leonigilde*. The ciuile warre being (as we haue said) hot in Spaine, the armie of *Leonigilde* pursuing his sonne, and passing by the territories of Valencia and Murcia, the Monkes of the Abbey of Saint *Martin* in those marches, being terrified, abandoned their Abbot, and fled all into an island of the sea neere adjoining. The foulidours being entred into the Abbey, and finding the Abbot all alone, being a verie deuout and religious man, and crooked with age, they did him many outrages: one of them hauing drawne out his sword to cut off his head, he fell downe starke dead; the which did so terrifie the rest, as they presently fled. This being reported vnto king *Leonigilde*, he commanded, that all the goods which had beene taken in that monasterie, should be restored. An Arrian bishop meaning to deceiue the king (who reproached him, that the Arrians did no myracles) suborned one of his sect, who could counterfeit himselfe blind, causing him to stand in the way whereas he knew the king should passe: there this gallant began to crie out, and to entreat this bishop which did accompanie the king, that he would make him recouer his sight by his prayers. The bishop approached, and laying his hands arrogantly vpon his eyes, the king being present, and attending to see this myracle, it happened, that hee which did counterfeit himselfe blind, lost his sight in good earnest; and withall was so full of paine in that part, as detesting the bishop and his counsaile, hee confessed openly before the king and his traine, That the bishop had induced him to act this tragedie, and had corrupted him with money. Many other signes are written to haue beene seene in those times, the which we will not call into question, for that the end and vse of myracles, is to witnesse, and to giue credit to the word of God, and his true doctrine, which was then disgraced by the Arrian princes.

Spaine was furnished with many learned and holy men, whilst that the Arrians did raigne in Africke, and did persecute the Christians. They make mention of one *Donat* an Abbot, who passed out of Africke into Spaine, with about 70 Monkes, and a goodly librarie, where he was the founder of the monasterie Seruitane: and that they were entertained by a rich ladie called *Minica*, who then built the first monasterie at Serabis, which is Xatua. This *Donat* did first set downe certaine rules and orders for a monasticall life among them; for vntill that time they were not tyed by any vowes, neither had they liued in cloisters, but were dispersed in woods and desarts, leading a solitarie life, from whence he retired them. *Leandre* bishop of Seuille, was then famous for his learning and holinesse, a great friend to *S. Gregorie*, whom he had knowne at Constantinople: of which friendship, they say, that the image of the virgine *Marie*, which is in great, yea in superstitious veneration in these dayes at Guadalupe, is a witnesse, and that *S. Gregorie* lent it to *Leandre*.

As one kind of Antichrist should haue an end, so it was necessarie, that (to exercise the Church of God) others should come. Wherefore during the raigne of *Leonigilde*, *Mahomet* the great seducer was borne, with whose doctrine the Arabians did a while after infect Spaine; and soone after that grew the quarell for the Primacie, betwixt the bishops of Constantinople and Rome. And as among those which made profession of the Christian religion there were many abuses which had beene receiued and embraced, or else dissembled by the most learned and religious, the rashnesse of the one, and the negligence of the other, gaue place to impietie, the which hath since preuailed in the world, vsing force with the one hand, and fraud with the other. This was in the yeare 580, which the Spaniards account of

of

A of their Æra: yet others say, That it was in the yeare of Christ 591, that this scourge of Gods Church was borne in Arabia, of the race of *Agar* and *Ismael*. His father was called *Abdalla*, or *Abdela*, his mother *Emina*. A little before the death of *Leonigilde*, *Amalaric* the tyrant would haue made himselfe king of Gallicia, but he was taken by the kings lieutenants in those marches.

*Leonigilde* hauing raigned eightene yeares, dyed at Toledo: who by the report of Saint *Gregorie*, repented himselfe of the rigour and crueltie he had vsed to his sonne *Hermengilde*, being desirous to reforme himselfe to the pure religion; and dying, recommended his other sonne *Ricared* to *Leandre*, intreating him to instruct him as he had done his other sonne: and he commaunded *Ricared* to call home the Christian bishops which he had banished. He was the first king of the Gothes raigning in Spaine, which vsed a robe of purple, or other royall ornaments: for vntill that time the kings of that nation were apparelled like vnto the other nobles. He first of all began to heape vp treasure, and filled his cofers with spoils of temples, confiscations, and other violences vsed to good men, whereof many were put to death by him. He corrected the lawes made by *Euric* his predecessor, and reduced them into better forme.

### 15. Ricared.

C 26 *Ricared* being crowned by *Leandre*, as *Luke Tudenfis* writes, hee was instructed in the true Christian religion, the first yere of his raigne, and preuailed so with mild words and strong reasons, as hee perswaded many of the Arrian bishops to leaue that heresie, and to follow the better partie; and so consequently the noblemen & common people. He ordained, That the goods which had been taken and confiscated for that cause, should be restored; and of a destroyer he became a builder of churches. He put *Sisbert* the murtherer of his brother *Hermengilde* ignominiously to death: he discovered & suppressed the conspiracy of bishop *Sunnas*, and of *Sugga*, Arrians, who would haue made themselves tyrants. The bishop was banished, and *Sugga* hands cut off, and then confined into Gallicia. There was another conspiracy auerued of bishop *Vlila*, and of queene *Goswintha*, against *Ricared*, and punished: *Vlila* was banished, and *Goswintha* died soone after: she had beene a perpetual enemy to the Christians. The French being come into Languedoc with a great armie of about threescore thousand men, vnder a captaine called *Desiderius*, and then vnder *Boson*, being sent by *Guntran* king of Orleans, *Ricared* sent *Claude* duke of Lusitania against them, who obtained one of the greatest and most memorable victories that euer was, neere vnto Carcassonne: For we read, that with 300 men or thereabouts, he defeated all this great power of the French, and tooke all their baggage.

The fourth yeare of his raigne he caused a Councell to be called at Toledo, which was the third; at the which there were assembled threescore and two bishops of his realme, of either side of the Pyrene mountains, or threescore and ten, according vnto some. There he did renounce and abjure the Arrian heresie, and *Badda* his wife, with all the noblemen Gothes, did the like, all confessing the equalitie of the three persons in one diuinitie. The Metropolitans at this Councell were: 1 *Mausona* of Merida. 2 *Leandre* of Seuille, whom *Luke Tudenfis* calls Primat and the Popes Legat. 3 *Euphemius* of Toledo. 4 *Pantard* of Bracara. 5 *Nigith* of Narbona. 6 *Stephen* of Tarracone.

These were the Archbishops and Metropolitans, by the which the Arrian heresie was condemned, with the which the noblemen Gothes had beene abused two hundred and threene yeares. At this Councell did preside *Leandre* bishop of Seuille, and *Eutropius* Abbot of the monasterie of Serui, afterwards bishop of Valence. Among other decrees it was ordained, That no Iew should be admitted to any publike charge. The acts of this Councell were not onely allowed by the king, but also confirmed vnder his hand. Since that time the custome is in Spaine, that euerie one that presents himselfe vnto the Communion, is bound to rehearse the articles of the Apostles Creed after the priest. This was in the yeare of our Sauour five hundred eightie nine, and adding thereunto thirtie eight yeares, it makes the 627 of the Spaniards Æra. King *Ricared* being thus in peace, and imploying his time about matters of religion in Spain, he discovered domestike trecheries, which did much trouble him:

Repentance of  
Leonigilde.

Anno 585.

Ricared of a destroyer  
becomes a nurse of the  
churches.

An admirable  
victory, and  
scarce credible.

A Councell of  
Toledo, where  
the Gothes ab-  
jured the Arrian  
heresie.

Anno 589.



Argemund a  
traitor punished

him: for a chamberlaine of his, of the number of his captaines, called *Argemund*, attempted against his estate and life, to raigne in his place. The enterprife being proued, his partisans were executed, and he also, after that he had beene whipped, and led vpon an asse through the citie of Toledo, to serue for an example to all subiects, not to rebell against their princes for ambition.

Reliques.

The Iewes did what they could to procure the king to abolish the decree of the Councell made against them: and as in a maner all that nation haue euer giuen themselves to the trade of merchandise, and are therefore full of money, they offered a great summe to haue it effected: but the king continued constant, and they must haue patience. This holy resolution of king *Ricared* and his nobilitie, was ill seconded by the Pope and the Prelats of those times, being already accustomed to make superfluous shewes, and oftentimes merchandise of external things, which were of small vse for pietie. The king sent royall presents to pope *Gregorie* the first, who was called Holy, and an Angell vpon earth: and he requited him with reliques, with a linke of the chaine wherewith Saint *Peter* had beene bound by the necke, when he suffered martyredome; of the wood of the verie crosse, of Saint *John Baptists* haire, and such other singularities, with an Archbishops cloke for *Leandre* bishop of Seuille. These were the exercises of pietie, which were then too much vsed among Christians: At that time there was another Councell held at Seuille, of eight bishops, whereas *Leandre* their pastor did preside.

Councell at Seuille.

Learned and religious bishops.

In Spaine there did flourish in those times, besides the aboue-named bishops, *John* abbot of Valclaire, who was afterwards bishop of Gironne, a Goth by race, but borne at Scalabis in Lusitania, who hath written a Chronicle vnto the yeare five hundred and ninetie: *Fulgentius* bishop of Astigi, then of Carthage, brother to *Leandre*, a man well scene in the Greeke, Latine, Arabike, and Syriack tongues, and hath written many bookes: *Senerius* bishop of Carthage, *Licinian* of Malaca, and others. *Florentine* the sister of *Leandre*, was Prioresse of fortie Nunnes in the towne of Astigi.

Queene *Badda*, who was daughter to king *Arthur* of great Britaine, dyed; after which *Ricared* married *Clotofinde* sister to king *Childebert* of Mets: by meanes of which mariage a peace was concluded betwixt the Gothes and the French.

Pope *Gregorie* would not haue the name of Primat, yet in the meane time he did exercise a iurisdiction in Spaine: for *Iannarius* being deposed from his bishopricke of Malaca, by the praictises of some of his enemies, he sent one called *John* to take knowledge of the cause, who with Apostolike authoritie, restored him to his bishopricke, and punished his aduersaries. *Ricared* hauing held the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine and in Gaule fifteene yeares, dyed at Toledo, much lamented of all men: for he had reigned verie mildly, so as they called him Father of the people. He reduced the Gothike lawes into order, enlarged his dominions, hauing bene alwayes in armes against the Romanes, and their partisans which remained in Spaine: he was verie deuout and bountifull to the Clergie, so as hee was commended for a verie religious prince, especially for that he had giuen vnto the church of S. *Felix* at Gironne, the crowne of gold which he ware vpon his head: but, that which is of more esteeme, he purged Spaine of all heresies.

The death of  
Ricared: and  
his vertues.

## 16. Luiba 2, and Victorix 17.

Anno 601.

27 *T*O *Ricared* succeeded his son *Luiba*, or *Liuba*, *Maurice* reigning then at Constantinople. Some Spaniards say, That he was a bastard, others denie it, and giue him two brethren, *Suinshila* and *Geila*. *Victorie* seized vpon the Gothes kingdome, and taking this yong prince, who was but fixteene yeares old, he cut off his right hand, and in the end slew him the second yeare of his raigne. Then dyed *Leandre*, to whom succeeded *Isidore* his brother at Seuille.

Crueltie of Victorix to yong Luiba.

28 *Victorie* was an vnfortunate king, for in many encounters which he had with the Romanes, and those that held their partie in Spaine, he was still beaten. Moreover hee strined to aduance the Arrian heresie againe, and in these miserable designes reigned seven yeares. He married his daughter *Hermenberge* to *Theodorice* king of Mets, who could neuer know her, wherefore he sent her back to her father a virgine vn corrupted: and they say that *Brunichilde*, *Theodorices* grandmother, had bewitched him, and made him vn able to vse his wife, whom he hated,

A hated, *Theodorice* being otherwise verie licentious, and had made good prooffe with other women. We read, that during the raigne of *Victorie*, in the yeare six hundred and fife, *Mahumet* came into Spaine, to preach his doctrine at Cordoua; and that being discouered as they went to seize on him, he fled away so secretly, as no man knew what became of him. But we know, that *Mahumet* proceeded to the publication of his doctrine after a more violent meanes, hauing by money and persuations corrupted the Arabian theecues, whose armes he employed to propagate his errors, among other nations, vnder the empire of *Heraclius*: yet it is not impossible, that *Mahumet*, being then about fife and twentie yeares old, seruing arich marchant of Arabia, whose widow he after married, should come into Spaine for his masters affaires, and to haue giuen some knowledge of the poysion which lay in his breast. King *Victorie* (whom others call *Deteric*, and some *Bertric*) as he had put the innocent prince *Liuba* miserably to death, was by a iust reuenge miserably slaine by his owne people, as he sat at the table: a base king, who did nothing aduance the kingdome of the Gothes, but in taking the towne of Siguenfa from the Romanes.

A discourse of  
Mahumet not  
very credible.The miserable  
end of the  
tyrant Victorix.

## 18. Gundamir.

29 *T*HE Gothes after the death of *Victorie*, created *Gundamir* king, who came to the crowne about the sixt yeare of the empire of *Phocas*, in the yeare 610: his wife was called *Hilduare*. This king at his conming made the churches sanctuaries, forbidding to take or force any criminall person that had fled thither: the which was done at the pursute of a Councell then held at Toledo, of foureteene bishops, and other Clergie men, *Aurassius* being bishop there: in the which the Archbishop of Toledo was declared Primat of Spaine. All writers make not mention of this Councell, but onely (as the Spaniards say) there are memorials found thereof at Toledo: and it is written, That the rights of this Metropolitane were debated there, where he had his Suffraganes assigned him in all the prouince of Carpetania, which did comprehend Carthagene: so as in this regard the Metropolitane of Toledo had then a greater iurisdiction than at this day. *Isidore* of Seuille, *Innocent* of Merida, *Eusebius* of Tarracone, and *Beniamin* of Dumes, among others, assisted at this Councell. Hee had ware against the Valscons or Nauarrois, and against the Romanes or their partisans with happie successe. He reigned two yeares, and dyed at Toledo, of his naturall death.

Anno 610.

Liberties of  
Churches.

## 19. Sisebuth.

30 *Sisebuth* succeeded *Gundamir*, a wise and valiant prince, learned and eloquent (as the Spaniards say.) He chased away the Iewes which would not bee baptized, wherewith France was soone filled: but they were againe forced to flie, *Dagobert* the French king hauing made an edict, by the which they were injoynd to conformance themselves to the Christian religion, vpon paine of death. *Sisebuth* employed his time to conquer the townes, castles, forts, straits and passages of the mountaines, which were yet held by the Romane garrisons, and did in a manner make himselfe master of all Spaine, *Cesarinus* commanding there for the Romanes.

Anno 612.

The zeale of religion was great in many at that time in Spaine, but most of them wanted the true knowledge. The Church of Toledo was gouerned by *Heladius*, who of a Courtier became a Monke, and from thence had bene taken and aduanced, in his age, to the Archiepiscopall dignitie, the which was now growne full of state, but not such as it hath been since. *Agapite*, or *Agapie*, being also turned from a fouldiour to a Monke, had bene made bishop of Corduba, not for any learning hee had, but for meere zeale. The nourishment he gaue to his diocefans, and his religious exercises, were in the inuention and veneration of reliques of the bodies of martyres: whereunto the world was then more addicted, than to know the grounds of their Faith. Yet there was a Councell held at Seuille, of eight bishops, against the heretikes which were called Acephali, or without a head, the which denied the truth of the two natures, diuine and humane, in Iesus Christ, where as a certaine Syrian bishop, a great defender of that heresie, was vanquished by the strong arguments of *Isidore*.

A Councell at  
Seuille.

*dorus* bishop of that place, and President of the Council. In all the Ecclesiastical orders which were made in Spaine, during the raigne of king *Sisebut*, he interposed his authoritie. He forced *Cecilus* bishop of Mentefa, to give a reason, for that abandoning his bishopricke he had made himselfe a Monke: and he depofed *Eusebius* bishop of Barcelona, for that he had suffered certaine Comedians to make playes of the false Pagan gods. At the said Council of Seuille, it was decreed, That Nunnes should not talke to any man, except the Abbesse to the Abbot or Monke which had the charge of their monasterie, and that before one or two witnesses. *Mahumets* sect began then to spread in Africke, which was in the yere six hundred and twentie of our Sauour, and the six hundredth fiftie and eight of the Spaniards *Era*; the which did run wonderfully throughout all Asia, and part of Europe, in a short time: whilest that the Pastors of the Church of Christ did busie themselves to adorne their exterior Hierarchie, and to conuert it into a mundane Principalitie; and that the summe of the doctrine of the Gospell was reduced by them to build churches and chappels, and to heape vp rents and reuenues, to seeke out and oftentimes to supposse the dead bodies of Saints, and that which had belonged vnto them in this corporall life, to reuerence them after an extraordinary manner, with other such like traditions; which approached neere to impietie, couering all with a cloake of well meaning. We read in the acts of *Sisebut*, That he made a law, by the which he cursed all his successours kings, which should suffer any Christian to be held as a slaue, or to serue a Iew. There is another law of his found, which ordaines, That those which should not go to the warre when the armie should march, or should flie from the enemy, should bee for euer noted with infamie. This last hath bene since corrected, as too seuer. He was happy in warre, subdued them of Asturia, who had rebelled, and triumphed twice for the victories he obtained against the Romanes: To conclude, he was so mild and courteous, euen vnto his enemies, as being prisoners he paid their ransoms to his owne men, and sent them home free; so as he exhausted his treasure in the redeeming of prisoners. Hee built the church of Saint *Leocadia* at Toledo, and hauing reigned eight yeares, he died, leaving *Ricared* his sonne, successour in the realme; but verie young, and of a short life, whom they doe not put in the number of the kings of Spaine. Some write, that he liued but three moneths after him, others seuen.

## 20. Suintilla.

*Anno 621.*  
*Monarchie of the Gothes in Spaine.*  
*Royaltie of the Gothes electiue.*  
*Suintilla deposed for his vice.*  
*The power of bishops, ballanceing that of kings.*  
31 **T**He Gothes did chuse *Suintilla* for their king, being sonne to the first *Ricared*. This was the first king of the Gothes, which obtained the absolute monarchie of Spaine, and wholly dispossessed the Romanes. By that which hath bene said they conclude, That among the Gothes they did not raigne by right of succession from father to sonne; but those were chosen kings among them, which were held worthie to gouerne: which election was made by the nobilitie and the people: and if any one did affect that dignitie by any other vnlawfull meanes, he was excommunicated, and rejected from the companie of Christians, as it appeareth by the fift Council of Toledo. The Vascos inhabiting the countrey which is now called Nauarre, were entred into Arragon, whom he suppressed, and forced them to build at their owne charges, the towne called Olit, or Oligil, neere to Tafalla (which hath since bene the kings houses in Nauarre) to keepe them in awe. We find that the towne of Fontarbie was the worke of this king *Suintilla*, called properly *Ondarriua*, which signifies in the Basques language, sand of the riuer. He admitted his sonne *Ricamire* to a part of the gouernment. In the beginning hee was a good prince, but in the end hee grew exceeding couetous and cruel: wherefore the Gothes made him to resigne his kingdome, the which *Sisenand* his aduersarie obtained, with the consent of the people, and with the helpe of king *Dagobert* of France, who sent *Abondant* and *Venerand*, two of his captaines, into Spaine, with forces which they had leuiued of the nobilitie of Bourgogne. *Suintilla* was not onely deprived of the crowne, but also excommunicated by the bishops (whose power at that time began to equall that of kings) at the fourth Council of Toledo, where they did interdict him, *Geilan* his brother, with their wiues and children, the communion and fellowship of the Church, and the possession of their goods, gotten by violent and tyranous meanes. *Suintilla* reigned ten yeares.

21 Sisenand

## 21. Sisenand.

*Anno 631.*  
*4 Council at Toledo.*  
32 **S**isenand being seated in the royall throne, by the aid of the French, the fourth Council of Toledo was celebrated, of sixtie bishops, or sixtie seuen, according vnto some, and as others say, by seuentie: whither among the rest came *Isidorus* of Seuille, *Iustus* of Toledo, who did preside, *Julian* of Bracar, *Stephen* of Merida, *Andax* of Tarracone, *Silua* of Narbona, all Archbishops. In this Council it was decreed, That from thenceforth the Iews should not be forced to make themselves Christians: for the spirit by the which the doctrine is apprehended, is not to be forced, but perswaded. The Iewes were in the meane time debarr'd of all publike charges, least they should thereby doe iniurie vnto the Christians. Clergie men were exempt from all politike care, that they might with more liberty attend that which did belong vnto their spirituall charge; and as *Baleus* writes, who hath taken it out of *Isidorus*, lawfull marriage was restored vnto the Clergie, and the vse of concubines forbidden: And it was decreed, That no priest should be admitted, before he were thirtie yeares old. Yet were these good and wholesome constitutions, mingled with externall ceremonies, which were in great credit in those dayes. Some good men had then care of the Church, but there were others which were violent and ill instructed. They say, that *Iustus* Archbishop of Toledo was strangled in his bed, by some of his owne Clergie: he was a man without modestie, and so violent in his actions, as before his death his fences failed him. King *Sisenand* died nineteene dayes after the Archbishop *Iustus*, hauing reigned about six yeares. The Gothes lawes and ordinances in Spaine, were also reformed in this kings time, with the authoritie of the Council aboue mentioned, in the which was receiued the razing of Clergie mens haire in manner of a crowne.

## 22. Cinthilla.

*Anno 637.*  
*5 Council of Toledo.*  
33 **C**inthilla reigned after *Sisenand*; in the first yere of whose raigne the fift Council was held at Toledo, *Eugenius* the Archbishop of that place presiding, where there assembled 24 bishops, among the which the vertue and doctrine of *Braule* bishop of Sarraosse was famous. *Eugenius* was also learned, especially in Astrologie: The same yere *Isidorus* Archbishop of Seuille died, of whom the Spaniards make great esteeme, for his sanctitie and learning, and for the number of booke which he hath written. The yere following there was another Council held at Toledo, whither came 44 bishops, and six suffraganes, or vicars; being in all as some write, 52; where *Eugenius* did also preside. There was a perpetual law imposed vpon the kings of Spaine, not to suffer any one to liue within their dominions, that was not a Catholike, the which their kings should solemnely sweare before they were crowned: and if any king should goe against that law which he had thus sworne, he should be excommunicate and accursed. Thus did those reuerend Fathers labour to draw the sick and languishing to their saluation, after the example of our Sauour Iesus Christ and his Apostles. *Cinthilla* dyed the fourth yere of his raigne.

## 23. Tulca.

*Anno 641.*  
34 **A**fter him *Tulca* was chosen king, endowed with all the vertues requisite for a prince, but he died the second yere of his raigne, as the Spaniards write: but *Sigebert* saith, that the Visigothes did reject him, for his lightnesse and youth; and that hee was made a Clergie man.

## 24. Cindasunthe and his sonne.

*Anno 742.*  
35 **C**indasunthe tooke the place of *Tulca*, and reigned six yeares alone ouer the Gothes, and foure yeares and seuen moneths with his sonne *Flavius Reccesunthe*. The bishops of Rome were now inthronized in their Primat, & began to force obedience throughout all

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*Pope Primas* Christendome, no lesse from princes and kings, than from their fellow bishops: wherefore to settle the Primat in Spaine, they were forced to haue a Bull and permission from Pope *Theodore* the first, or *Martin* the first, then reigning; by the which this primacie was referred to the election of the bishops of that prouince. Vntill that time the Archbishop of Seuille had held this ranke, rather of honour than of power: but it falling out, that *Theodisque* the Archbishop, a Grecian borne, a man more leamed in the tongues, than religious, seeing himselfe pursued by the other bishops and prelats of Spaine, being accused to haue corrupted the workes of *Isidorus*, who was held a Saint, and therefore deposed from his Archbishopricke in open Councell, he was so transported, as hauing abandoned the Christian religion, he retired himselfe into Africke with the Mahumetists, the Primacie of Spaine was then transferred from Seuille to Toledo, whereas the seventh Synode was celebrated, by fortie bishops, the first yeare of the raigne of *Cindasunthe*, when as he receiued his sonne for a companion and assistant in the government of his estate, seeking thereby to make the kingdom of the Gothes hereditarie. This young prince was held verie deuout and studious of diuinitie; but about all things he was curious to build and enrich churches. During their raigne there liued another *Eugenius*, successour to the Archbishop of Toledo, about mentioned, famous for his sanctitie of life and doctrine, aduanced by force by the king to the Archbishopricke.

*Seuille yields the Primacie to Toledo.  
7 Councell at Toledo.*

King *Cindasunthe* dyed of poyson, as some beleue, hauing reigned ten yeares, or thereabouts: he and his wife are interred in the monasterie of *S. Romane*, at this day called *Hormisga*, betwixt Toro and Tordeuillas, vpon theriuier of Duero.

## 25. Reccesunthe.

*Anno 673.  
8 Councell of Toledo.*

**36** *Reccesunthe* his sonne, reigned alone, and soone after his fathers decease there was a Councell held at Toledo of eight and fortie bishops, and ten vicars, of such as had lawfull lets and could not come; there were some abbots, and many earles and dukes did assist there. In those times, earles were of greater dignitie than dukes. In this Councell, being the eight, it was decreed, That they should abstaine from eating flesh in Lent, without leaue, in cases of ineuitable necessitie, vpon paine of excommunication, and not to eat any flesh in a yeare after: so much they did regard these accessaries of religion, confirming and amplifying in the meane time their authoritie with the people.

*Irene a chaste virgin.*

In Lusitania certaine lewd and cruell persons sought to rauish a virgine called *Irene*, against whom she made such resistance, as being impatient in their damnable lust, they slew her, and cast her into the riuer of Nabanin. Her bodie was carried to the towne of Salabis, the which changed the name, and is called *Saint Irene*; an argument of great sanctitie, seeing she preferred her chastitie before her life. The chiefe of these lustfull murderers was called *Britand*.

*Decree of the Councell of Toledo.*

*Portamus* Archbishop of Bracar, was not so vertuous: for the celibate of Clergie men being then in request, and the children begotten by them declared incapable to inherit their fathers goods, and were deliuered for slaues to churches, by the ninth Councell held at Toledo, in the seventh yeare of *Reccesunthe*, he fell to be loofe of life: yet hee did acknowledge it openly in the Councell following, held at Toledo, which was the tenth, and did willingly resigne his Archbishopricke; to whom *Fruosus* succeeded, a man of a noble familie, being then bishop of Dume, the founder of many monasteries and chappells. The eight yeare of the raigne of *Reccesunthe* Spaine was much terrified, for that there appeared starres in the firmament at noone day, and the Sunne was eclipsed.

*Heretikes Heludians.*

There came two heretikes, called *Theude* and *Pelagius*, out of Gothike Gaule into Spaine, who denied the perpetuall virginitie of *Marie* the mother of our Sauour; renewing the heresie of *Heluidius*: the which were confuted by *Alphonfus*, nephew and successour to *Eugenius* in the Archbishopricke of Toledo, who wrot a booke vpon that argument. Whereupon the Spaniards say, that the virgine *Marie* appeared vnto him: and to this apparition they adde the gift of a cope, to weare when he should say Masse, the which they affirme is kept at Toledo, or at Oquedo; but they know not well at which of these two places it remains

maines

**A** maines: for being not lawfull for any one to vse it after the death of *Alphonfus*, it hath remained inuifible. To this Archbishop, they say, that *Saint Leocadia* did also appeare, who reuealed vnto him the place where his bodie was buried, and had lyen many yeares hidden. Such graue testimonies haue they of the holinesse of this Archbishop *Alphonfus*, surnaming him *Chrysostome*, the Anchor of the Faith, attributing vnto him other like epithites, by reason of his learning and pietie.

*Apparitions and reuelations beleeued by the Spaniards.*

There is no other thing found written of this king *Reccesunthe*, being credible, that hauing no warres, he did not much trouble himselfe, leauing all the affaires of state and Clergie to bee managed by the Prelats and frequent Councels: yet there are some lawes found made by him. Hauing reigned nineteene yeares and three moneths, he dyed at Toledo, leauing two brethren, *Theofred*, who was father to *Roderic*, the last king of the Gothes in Spaine and Iafila. He was interred in the towne which in old time was called Gertic, and now *Bamba*, in the territorie of Palenza.

## 26. Bamba.

**37** The same day that *Reccesunthe* dyed, *Bamba* before desired by the noblemen Gothes, was chosen king. Some say, that he would neuer haue receiued this honour and charge but by constraint; and that refusing it absolutely, there was a nobleman among the Gothes, which drew his sword, and threatened to kill him, if he did not yeeld to the Gothes intreaties: whereupon he condescended, more for feare, than for any desire to raigne, and was crowned by *Quirin*, or *Quirice*, Archbishop of Toledo, in our Ladies church; where they report, that there was scene coming out of his head, from among his haire, a vapour like smoke, in forme of a pillar, going vpward. There he made a confession of the Catholique Faith, confirmed the ciuile lawes and ordinances of the kings his predecessours, and receiued a solemne oath from the people. These ceremonies were scarce ended, when as they had newes, That the earle of Nismes, called *Hilperic*, or *Hilderic*, concerning the ordinances of the precedent kings of the Gothes, had brought the Iewes againe into the countrey, and made all Gothike Gaule in a manner to rebell against the king. And for that *Arege* bishop of Nismes had contradicted him in this excessse, he had chased him away, and against the canons had consecrated another by two bishops of his faction. *Gumild* bishop of Maguelone did counsell and assist him in these actions. Wherefore *Bamba* to suppress the insolencie of this earle, sent a captaine named *Paul*, allyed to the deceased king, but faithlesse and treacherous to his prince; who turned the armie which had bene giuen him, against him, and made an agreement with the enemie, causing himselfe to be crowned king at Narbone, where he set vpon his head the crowne which king *Ricared* had giuen to *Saint Felix* church at Gironne. Hee drew vnto his partie *Rasmonde* duke of Tarracone, and *Hildagise*, who was Gardingue (which was an office of the Crowne) and vsed all the treacheries hee could deuise against king *Bamba*. He spoyled all the churches of Languedoc, and fortified himselfe with men which hee had leuiued in Fraunce and Gascoine. But as such attempts doe seldome prosper, so this succeeded ill with him: for *Bamba* hauing raised great forces in Spaine, came against him, and in lesse than six monethes did happily end a most difficult warre: He tooke Barcelona, Gironne, and Narbone, the which he besieged both by sea and land; then Magdelone, Agde, Beziers, and in the end Nismes, whereas the chiefe of this rebellion with the rest of his faction fell into his hands, the same day twelue monethes that hee came vnto the Crowne. Hee repaired the ruines which had bene made at Nismes, and throughout all Gothike Gaule, and caused restitution to be made of that which had bene taken out of the churches. At the intreatie of *Arceband* Archbishop of Narbone, he gaue the offenders their liues, reseruing to himselfe all other punishment. He repulsed *Loupa* Commaunder of certaine French bands, neere vnto Beziers. These things being happily performed by him, he returned to Toledo, triumphing, and carrying his rebels in pompe before him, hauing their beards and heads shauen, bare legged, attired in sackcloth, and mounted vpon Cammels. Among others *Paul* the chiefe of the rebels, carrying a crowne of pitched leather,

*Anno 673.  
Bamba made king against his will: a rare example.*

*Hilderic earle or Governour of Narbone.*

*Disloyaltie of Paul, Bamba's captaine.*

*Defeat of the rebels.*

*Punishment of the rebels.*

leather, followed by a long traine of his confederats, was led in shew, and exposed to be scorned of all men, and in the end they were all put into darke filthie dungeons, where they miserably ended their dayes.

These troubles being pacified, king *Bamba* caused the walles of Toledo to bee built, and fortified them with towers and bulwarkes, in one of the which were written these Latine verses.

*Erexit fauore Deo Rex inclutus urbem,  
Bamba, sue celebrem protendens gentis honorem.*

And vpon a port neere vnto the bridge called Alcantara:

*Vos Domini sancti, quorum hic presentia fulget,  
Hanc urbem, & plebem solito seruare fauore.*

11 Council of Toledo,

He caused the eleuenth Council of Toledo to be held, vnder *Quirice*, or *Quirin*, Archbishop of that place, and Primat of Spaine; where there were fixteene bishops present, and many deputies for others that were absent. They had bene many yeares without calling of any Council, wherewith the Fathers had bene much troubled, this was in the yeare 675: there king *Bamba* hauing caused the acts of the kings his predecessours to be sought out, according to that which they had decreed, and with the consent of the Fathers, he assigned to euerie diocesse the bounds of his jurisdiction. The bishopricks of Lugo and Leon were declared exempt, and not subiect to any Metropolitane, as they had bene vntill that time. Another Council was held at Bracar: these were prouinciall Councils, which were to be held euerie yeare; and at certaine times they were to call a generall Council of all the bishops of the Gothes kingdome, of either side of the Pyrene mountains, the which was done at Toledo the chieftowne.

Provinciall Councils annual

Arabians first attempt vpon Spaine,

Bamba poisoned by Eruinge.

In this kings raigne the Arabians holding Africke, began to inuade Spaine: they had a fleet at sea of two hundred threescore and ten vessels, the which by the diligence and valour of *Bamba* were in a manner all burnt, and the Arabians put to the sword. They did then spoile a great part of the countrey along the coast. There was in the Court a nobleman called *Eruinge*, issued from a daughter of king *Cindaufinthe*, and a gentleman of Greece, called *Ardauaste*, who being chased from Constantinople, had fled into Spaine, where he had bene well entertained, and honoured with this allyance. This *Eruinge* being ambitious of commaund, poisoned king *Bamba*, so as he became madde; for the curing whereof there were many remedies applied, both naturall and superstitious, but to small effect: so as *Bamba* (either willingly, finding himselfe vnable, or otherwise) quit the crowne, and rettyred himselfe into a monasterie, where he liued seuen yeares and one moneth, after that he had bene king nine yeares. The place where he passed the remainder of his life, is called Pampliga, neere Burgos. Thus *Eruinge* seized by force, as they say, of the kingdome of the Visigothes in Spaine, the which the Archbishop of Toledo doth affirme: yet it doth not accord well with the acts of the twelfth Council held at Toledo, vnder *Eruinge*, where the election of this king *Eruinge* is confirmed, and allowed as lawfull. But to reconcile these contrarieties, it is to bee presumed, that *Eruinge* being king, and hauing power in his hands, gratifying the Fathers in some sort, that he was also gratified by them, as one hand washeth another, or, as they say in France, one Barber shaues another.

## 27. Eruinge.

Anno 681.

39 **W**hen as *Eruinge* was seated in the royall throne, hee confirmed the lawes of the kings of the Gothes his predecessours, and did authorize with his name, some made by Saint *Isidorus*: and that to the end it should not seeme, that the Clergie vnder the title of the Church, would vsurpe a ciuile jurisdiction; he rejected many of the plebeians from all dignities and honours, hauing gotten them by money, and other vnlawfull meanes,

to

A to the dishonour of nobilitie: he ordained (but with the aduice of the Romane See) That no Archbishop should be subiect to the Primats. To fortifie the beginning of his reigne against *Theofride* the sonne of *Bamba* (whom he feared much) he gaue *Cixilone* his daughter, whom he had by *Luibigotte* his wife, to an Earle who was rich, and of great authoritie among the Gothes called *Egica*, cousin to *Bamba* deceased. And soone after the twelfth Council was held at Toledo, which was in the yeare 681, *Julian* Archbishop of Seuille being President, where there assisted one and fortie Bishops, fise Abbots, and fiteene great Noblemen. By the acts of this Council in the seventh Article it appears, That the kings of Spaine had power to giue Bishopricks, and that to that collation, the confirmation of the other Bishops of Spaine was required, especially of the Archbishop of Toledo; the which doth also appeare by the answer of an Epistle written by *Braule* Bishop of Sarragosse, to *S. Isidorus*, where he is admonished to chuse some good man in the place of *Eusebins*, Archbishop of Tartacone deceased: *Isidorus* answers him, That he did not know the kings pleasure therein. This Council did abolish certaine Bishops newly erected, and created by king *Bamba*, in some townes which were not very conuenient.

12 Council of Toledo, Anno 681.

Nomination of Bishops belonged to the kings of Spaine.

Three yeares after, in the yeare 684, was another Council held at Toledo, which was the thirteenth, of eight & fortie Bishops, and three Archbishops, of Toledo, Bracar, and Merida; yet the Authors varie in the number of these Bishops: one of the decrees of these fathers was, That neither the king nor any other should marrie the widow of the deceased king, nor defile her by adulterie, vpon paine of excommunication, and to be damned to hell fire. And in the yeare 685 the foureteenth Council was assembled at Toledo, of fixteene Bishops, and many Vicars of them that were absent, to confirme the acts of the fixt Council of Constantinople, begun vnder *Constantine* the fourth, and some yeares after ended, against the errors of *Apollinaris*, renewed then, denying the two natures, diuine and humane in Iesus Christ: which acts the Pope sent into Spaine, that in a generall assembly of the Prelats they might be read, and by their authoritie allowed, and published throughout all the kingdome of the Gothes. The Archbishop of Toledo was then called *Julian Pomer*, of the Lewes race, whose father and mother had made themselves Christians; a learned man, religious, and of a good life. *Eruinge* hauing reigned seuen yeares, died at Toledo of a naturall death, leauing his kingdome to *Egica* his sonne in law. In his time there was a great famine in Spaine.

13 Council of Toledo, Anno 684.

Decree not to marrie the kings widow.

14 Council of Toledo.

## 28. Egica.

40 **A**s soone as *Egica*, or (as others call him) *Egican* was king, he put away his wife *Cixilone*, for the wickednesse which her father had committed against king *Bamba*; yet he did auow the infant *Vitisa* which he had had by her, and caused it to be nourished (in hope to make it his heire) in the towne of Tude or Tuy in Galicia, as if he had giuen it the realme of Galicia, and of the Sueues, for a portion, whilest that he reigned ouer the Gothes. He caused himselfe to be absolved at a Council held at Toledo, in the first yeare of his reigne, of the oath which he had taken against his dutie to that vnlawfull king. This Council was called the fiftenth at Toledo, whereas *Julian* the Archbishop of that place did preside, where there were fixtie one Bishops, or fixtie six, according vnto some. There *Julian* did maintaine by reasons and good authoritie, what he had written in a confession of the Faith sent to Rome, as well in his name, as of all the Bishops of Spaine; which was, That in our Lord Iesus Christ weré the word, the bodie, and the soule; the which had bene rejected by Pope *Benedict* the second, who (as it seemes) did not well vnderstand these things: the Article was allowed by the Council of Toledo, and afterwards being well considered, was receiued at Rome. The acts of this Council were published in Gothique Gaule in the Cathedrall Churches, for that the Bishops of that Prouince could not come to Toledo by reason of the plague; being enjoyned to receiue them vpon paine of excommunication, and the losse of the tenth part of their goods that should oppugne them. Six yeares after there was the fixteenth Council held at Toledo, *Sigebert* being Archbishop of that place, after the death of *Julian*, and was deposed by this Council for his ill deseruing, and in his place was set *Felix* Archbishop of Seuille. *Fausin* Archbishop of Bracar was aduanced to Seuille, and *Felix* Bishop of Portogallo

Anno 688.

15 Council of Toledo.

Pope Benedict an heretick.

16 Council of Toledo.

to

to Bracar: this alteration being made, they did proceed to the acts. The cause why they G deposed *Sigebert*, was, for that he had attempted to deprive king *Egica* of the realme, for the which hee was degraded, banished, his goods confiscated, and excommunicated; so as hee might not receiue the Sacraments but at the houre of his death: yea, a penaltie was inflicted vpon all clergie men, of what degree soeuer they were, that should attempt against their prince.

17 Council of Toledo, Ann. 694.

A decree against the Iewes.

What the Councils of these times were.

The yeare following, which was 694, the seuenteenth Councell was held at Toledo, whereas the king with great humilitie demanded many things of the Fathers: among other, there was a decree made against the Iewes, who being accused not onely to haue reuolted from the Christian religion (in the which they had bene once baptized) but also to haue conspired against the King and the State of Spaine, it was said, That their goods should be confiscated, their persons, wiues and children, and their descendants held for slaues, and dispersed throughout Spaine: That those which had them in seruice, should not suffer them to exercise their Iewish ceremonies: That their children being once seuen yeres old, should be sent away from their parents, and giuen to Christians to bring vp, and then married to Christians, and by all meanes drawne from the conuersation and acquaintance of their parents, and men of their sect: this is to be seene in the eight article.

These last Councils were generall assemblies of the nation, whereas the Clergie held the first place, the which in name and shew were made to determine of matters concerning religion, but in effect they treated of matters of State, whereas controuersies betwixt great men and other politicke matters were there decided: and although there were men of all estates, yea and of the noblest houses, and that there was an order, that regular men should take knowledge of regular causes, and secular causes should be decided by the secular men, yet it is easie to judge, that the soueraigne and last decision depended vpon the authoritie of the Fathers in all things: so as the spiritualtie in the confusion of these two powers did often vanish among worldly affaires, and ciuile policie vsurped by clergie men, became tyrannie, as we shall soone see.

*Fasila* Governor of Biscaye.

*Egica* growne old, had settled his sonne *Vitiza* as Viceroy in Galicia, holding his seat at Tuy, then Tude, whither a little before he had confined *Fasila*, duke or gouernour of Biscaye, sonne to king *Cindasunthe*, as some hold, for certaine attempts made against him, whose wife was corrupted by *Vitiza*, who afterwards by her instigation slew *Fasila*, that they might enjoy their loues more freely. This excessse happened in a towne which was then called Douzemains, and now Palatio, neere vnto the riuer Vrbicum. This *Fasila* was father to king *Pelagius*, who restored Spaine, being oppressed and ruined by the Moores. *Egica* hauing reigned about thirteene yeares, died at Toledo, being honoured for a wife and temperate king.

## 29. Vitiza.

Ann. 701.

18 Council of Toledo.

The impure and lewd life of *Vitiza*.

41 T He dishonour and infamie of the kings of the Gothes was in the person of this *Vitiza*, being full of all excessse in his lust, without feare or reuerence of God in his actions, an hypocrite and dissembler: for at his first comming he shewed himselfe mild, liberal, and religious, but soone after he turned to his owne nature. He called a Councell of Bishops and Noblemen at Toledo, to consult touching the government of his realme: he caused *Theofred*s eyes to be pulled out, who had bene confined to Cordoua, least that hee who was beloued of the people, and brother to *Reccesunthe*, should aspire vnto the Crowne. Hee intended to doe the like to *Pelagius*, the sonne of *Fasila*, whom hee had slaine, but hee escaped, and fled into Biscaye, being referred for greater matters. Hee committed manie villanies the first two yeares, yet secretly, but afterwards he exceeded in all vices, without any shame: he filled his palace with many wiues which he had married, and an infinite number of concubines, the which he would haue publickely allowed vnto all men, and did perswade the Noblemen to follow his example. Hee did likewise disannull the Popes Constitutions for a single life, and by an Edict which he caused to be set forth, suffered Clergie men to marrie, and to haue as many women married or vnmarried

A vnmarried as they pleased, vsing all the inticements he could to infect them with his licentiousness, least they should oppose themselves against him, and by their censures draw the people from obeying of so filthie and vnchast a king. And to preuent all rebellions, this man blinded with his lustfull pleasures, caused (vnder the colour of peace, which Spaine did then enjoy) all the townes of his realme to be demanteled, except Leon, Toledo, and Asturica. Besides hee disarmed the people, and depriued *Sinderede* Archbishop of Toledo (were it justly or vnjustly) of his dignitie, giuing it to his brother *Opas*, who was Archbishop of Seuille: hee disannulled all the immunities and priuiledges of Churches, called backe the Iewes, and restored the banished men to their goods and possessions, giuing them more priuiledges than euer they had before. Finally, as a presage of the future miseries, he shewed (in all sorts of excessse and violence contrarie to the lawes of God and men) what principles, ill instructed and ignorant of true pietie, could doe. In the meane time blind *Theofred*, confined to Cordoua, being newly married to *Recilone*, a ladie of the bloud royall of the Gothes, had begotten two sonnes of her, *Roderic* and *Cosia*, to whom *Vitiza* would haue done as much as hee had done to the father; but they escaped, and implored the Romanes aid, as the Archbishop *Rodrigo* doth report, or else of the nobilitie of the Gothes, who in remembrance of *Reccesunthe* gaue them aid, to chase this infamous monster out of the royall throne, which he did vnworthily hold. Being come to battaile, *Vitiza* was defeated and taken, and according to the president which he had giuen, his owne eyes were put out, and hee confined to Cordoua, without title or honour, where he spent the rest of his life in miserie, hauing reigned tenne yeares. Thus *Roderic* obtained the crowne by the fauour of the Romanes and the suffrages of the people.

Towns of Spaine demanteled, and the people disarmed by *Vitiza*.

*Vitiza* taken, and his eyes put out by *Roderic* and *Cosia*, sons to *Theofred*.

## 30. Roderic last King of the Gothes.

42 T He time was now come when as the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine must haue an end, being come to the height of their iniquities: for in their Commonweale all things, both holy and prophane, were managed with fraud and violence, and their princes affected confusion, to satisfie their ambition and infamous lusts: wherefore it pleased God to confound them in their imaginations, to blind them that would be blind, to root out the incorrigible, and to take his graces from them that did obstinately contemne him. *Roderic* hauing bene an instrument to punish a tyrant, made no vse of this correction, nor acknowledged the fauour from whence it came, but presently after his comming to the crowne he followed *Vitiza*s steps, yea, he exceeded him in all vices. He shewed himselfe cruell and inhumane to *Sisebut* and *Elba*, the children of *Vitiza*, whom he pursued with all the indignities that might be, and forced them to flie into Africke, depriued of all their goods, where they were entertained by *Recila*, Earle and Gouernour of Tanger or Tingis. Hee addressed himselfe to the daughter of *Iulian*, Earle or Gouernour of Ceuta, called *Caba* or *Causa*, the which was bred vp in the Court, as other virgines of noble families, according to the custome, and rauished her, whilst that her father was in embassage in Africke, for the affaires of the kingdome. The place where he committed this rape is called Pancoruo, betwixt *Vitoria* and Burgos. This was the occasion which made the Moores to inuade Spaine. Some authors write, That *Caba* or *Causa* was wife and not daughter to Count *Iulian*; yet wee find, that his wife was called *Faldrina*, and that shee was sister to king *Vitiza*. The Earle did wickedly reuenge this priuat iniurie by the ruine of the whole kingdome: for returning into Africke, whither he led *Causa*, causing her to embarke at Malaga, of whom the port of the said towne is yet named, he went to *Musa Abenzair*, Gouernour for the Emperour of the Arabians, whose name was *Vlit*, and promised to make him Lord of all Spaine, if hee would giue him men and meanes to make warre there. *Musa* hauing aduertised *Vlit*, he aduised him not to giue too much credit vnto the Earle, before he had tried him: Wherefore at that time they gaue him a hundred horse and foure hundred foot, with promise of greater forces.

*Roderic* more vicious than *Vitiza*.

Palatide the cause of the ruine of the Gothes kingdome.

A priuat iniurie furiously pursued with the ruine of the publicke.

Count *Iulian* brings the Moores into Spaine. Anno 713.

This man transported with the dishonour done vnto his house, led these Moores into Spaine, and hauing joyned with some of the countrey, whom he had corrupted, he spoiled



Gibalter so called of Tarif, a captain of the Moors.

Goths defeated. An Estate without armes in lame and dejection.

Anno 714.

The total defeat of the Gothes.

An Epitaph upon Roderic.

The continuance of the Gothes reign.

led all the coast along the Ocean, which now is Andalusia and Portugall, and then led them backe into Africke, laden with spoyle for a testimonie of his actions. This first descent of the Moores was in the year 713. The Arabians hauing made this triall of Count Julian's affection, the Gouvernour *Musa* gaue him twelue thousand Moores, vnder the conduct of *Tarif Aben Zarcas*, which *Tarif* (according vnto some) had bene in the first passage of the Moores into Spaine. Passing the strait, he landed his men at the foot of the mountaine Calpe: by reason whereof this place changed his name, and was in the Arabian tongue called *Gebel Tarif*, that is to say, the mount of Tarif. And the next towne taken by that capitaine, which was either the auncient Carteia, or Mellaria, was called Tariffe. This armie being secretly fauoured by *Sisbut* and *Eba*, the sonnes of *Vitiza*, aided and fortified by *Ricila* Gouvernour of Tanger, and other noblemen Gothes, to whom the present estate was displeasing, being friends and affected, and it may be alike interested with Count Julian, ouerran and spoyled all Andalusia, and a part of Lusitania, entering into Seuille, and many other places which had bene dismantled, by the foolish aduice of king *Vitiza*. In these combustions, *Roderic* his successour both in his vices and kingdome, was so vnprovidid, as his enemies had meanes to doe what they would, without resistance. In the end hauing assembled some troups in haste, he sent them against the Moores, vnder the command of a kinsman of his, called by some *Inigo*, by others *Sanche*. But the Gothes hauing in a manner forgotten to manage armes, by reason of the long peace which they had enjoyed, could not withstand the Moores force, hauing been for many yeares in continuall warre, so as they were defeated, which made Count Julian to grow proud and insolent, and his enterprises to bee more fauoured: so as vpon the newes of this victorie in Africke, an infinit number of Arabians, Moores or Sarafins, and other Africanes, passed into Spaine, as to the assured spoyle of one of the richest regions in the world.

*Roderic* seeing this fire to encrease daily, hauing called all the Nobilitie together, and rayed an armie, he marched against his enemies, hauing not all his forces yet joyned (for they of Biscaye and of the Asturias, and in a manner all those on this side the riuer of Ebro, were not yet arrived) finding the Arabians vpon the riuer of Guadalete, neere to Assidone, which either is Xeres or Medina Sidonia at this day; whereas the two armies standing in view one of another, for the space of eight dayes, they had many bloudie skirmishes, without any great aduantage: but in the end they came to a battaile betwixt Medina Sidonia and Xeres, vpon a Sunday in September, in the year 714, whereas king *Roderic* was a spectator of his souldiours deuoires, being mounted vpon a great horse which they called *Orelia*, in a royall mantle, and a crowne vpon his head, with other rich ornaments, after the manner of the kings of the Gothes in those times, which made his souldiours the more courageous, and was the cause of a great slaughter that day of Sarafins or Arabians: but the multitude of the enemies one supporting another, and the tyred being still relieued with fresh supplies, in the end made the Gothes and Spaniards to quit the field: and it is written, That the sonnes of *Vitiza*, called home by *Roderic*, and to whom indiscreetly he had giuen the command of two points of his armie, reuolted during the fight; whereupon all his men were cut in pieces, and all Spaine was thereby lost in few dayes, except the Asturias, Biscaye, and some part of the Pyrenees, whither the remainders of the Nobilitie and people fled, which refused to liue vnder the Arabians gouernment. King *Roderic* was neuer scene more; his horse and spoyle were onely found in a bogge: yet in the towne of Viseo in Portugall there is at this day this inscription to be scene in Latine.

*Hic iacet Rodericus, ultimus Rex Gotorum: maledictus furor impius Iuliani, quia pertinax & indignatio, quia dura, Vscanus furia, animosus furor, oblitus fidelitatis, Immemor religionis, contemptor Diuinitatis, crudelis in se, Homicida in Dominum, Hostis in Domesticos, Vastator in Patriam, Reus in omnes: Memoria eius in omni ore amarescet, & nomen eius in aeternum M putrescet.*

In this king ended the Gothes kingdome in Spaine, the which had continued (if wee account as the Spaniards doe, according vnto *Isidorus*, from *Athanasie*, who reigned in the year 370 in Myfia and Thrace) 344 yeares: but for that hee had no entrance into Spaine,

A Spaine, but onely *Ataulphe*, who reigned in the year 413, and was the first Gothish king which entred there about the year 417, the Gothes reigne in Spaine had continued but 297 yeares.

After this defeat there was no order nor gouernment among the Gothes, euery man followed what partie did best please him. Some rettyred into the mountaines of Asturia and Biscaye, and into Nauarre; others went into Gaule: many passed into Italie, Germanie, and England, begging aid from those princes (but in vaine) to restore the ruined estate of Spaine, and elsewhere as God directed them. *Sindered* Archbishop of Toledo (who had been deposed by the violence of *Vitiza*) attended not the end of the warre, but leaving his flocke, fled into Italie. *Oppa* who had succeeded him, tooke part with the Moores, and negotiating for them, lost himselfe in Asturia; in whose place the afflicted Christians did chuse one *Vrbain*, a religious man. The traitors which had drawne in the Moores to reuenge their priuat injuries, were all disappointed of the promises which had bene made them, and did perish miserably in diuers seasons, and after diuers manners: especially *Iulian*, after that he had scene his wife stoned by the Moores (who allowed the treason, but hated the traitors) his sonne cast from the top of a tower in the towne of Ceuta, himselfe miserable, being depoyled of all his goods, died in a prison in Arragon, in the territorie of Huefca, as some write. The name of the Gothes from that time was in a manner rooted out from the face of the earth: for since there is no memorie of any Estate, Policie, or Gouernment of this nation vnder this name, the which in former times was so great and famous, as well in the East as West, since the first remembrance of any people. The losse of one battaile did blemish all the beautie of their posteritie, who had vanquished and slaine that great *Cyrus* king of Persia, and of all Asia: who had made head against the armies of *Alexander* the Great, foraged the kingdomes conquered by him, and carried away the kings (his successors) prisoners: troden vnder foot the maiestie of the Romane Empire, triumphed ouer Emperours, and ouer so many great Capitaines and armies: taking the best townes in Italie; yea Rome, the Queene of all other townes, sackt by them: the which had seized vpon the most populous and richest Prouinces of the West; where they had reigned happily for so many yeares, with so many remarkable examples of pietie, iustice, and valour. This braue nation was in one day ouerthrowne, so weak is the support of humane greatnesse.

Traitors from estate of their boyes.

The miserable end of Count Iulian, his wife and children.

The weaknesse and vanitie of humane greatnesse.

THIS ruine of the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine hauing caused so great a confusion in all things, as not onely religion, the manners of the inhabitants, the language, and the lawes, but euen the face of the earth, and the seat and names of townes were peruered and changed, it shall not be from the purpose, if wee make a catalogue of the auncient Bishoprickes established by the Christians in that region, whereof mention is made by writers, and namely, in the treaties of Councels, the which haue bene gouerned by many holy Pastors, as well in the time of the Romane Emperours, as of the kings of the Gothes, and were at the entrie of the Arabians ruined wherefoeuer they commaunded: wherein for the more ease of the reader, we will obserue the order of the Alphabet.

These words Tol. Merid. Brag. Seuil. Tarrag. noted in the margent, signifie Toledo, Merida, Braga, Seuille, and Tarracone, Archbishoprickes or Metropolitane sees, whereof were Suffragans the Bishops or Bishoprickes set in their places.

Abdera, whose Bishop was called *Abderitain*, was whereas now the citie of Almerie stands, or that of Vera, according vnto some.

Abula, now Auila, a Bishopricke also in our time.

Acci, whose Bishop was called *Accitanus*, is likely to be Guadix in Grenado.

F Agra, and the Bishop *Agragensis*: it is a question whether it were a towne in Spaine or Africke.

Arcobrica, and the Bishop *Arcobricensis*, in the prouince of Tarracona, not farre from Calatajub.

Affindon, the Bishop *Affindonensis*, whereas now Medina Sidonia, or Xeres in Andalusia stands.

Athugia, the Bishop was called *Astigianus*, it is held to be Ecchia in Andalusia.

Merid.

Tol.

Seuil.

Tol.

Seuil.

Seuil.

Astu.

*Brag.* Asturica, Astorga, and the Bishop Asturicensis, it is a Bishopricke at this day.  
*Aug.* Augusta was a common name to many townes in Spaine: for Bracar, Asturica, and others were so named, yet it is to be presumed, when as they doe simply make mention of the Bishop of Augusta, they meane Bracar or Braga, as they say at this day.  
*Brag.* Auriensis Episc. possible it is that of Orense, which is a Bishopricke at this day.  
*Tarrag.* Aufonia, the Bishop Aufonienfis, at this present Vic or Vic-d' Ossone in Cattelogne.  
*Tarrag.* Auca, a citie not farre from the place where since the citie of Burgos was built: the Bishop *Aucitanus*, in the mountaine Idubeda, vpon that continent which now they call the mountaines of Oca or Auca.

B

*Tarrag.* Barcino and Barcinonensis Episc. Barcelone.  
*Tarrag.* Bassitania, a region where the towne of Ofca stood, as *Plinie* writes: the Bishop was called *Bassitanus* or *Basitanus*.  
*Tol.* Bastitania, Baza at this day, in the kingdome of Murcia, and the Bishop was called *Bastitanus*.  
*Tol.* Biaria, Barra.  
*Tol.* Bigastrensis or Bistargensis, it was a Bishopricke in the prouince of Carthagea.  
*Merid.* Bigerra, at this day Beijar, *Bigerrensis Episcopus*.  
*Metropol.* Bracar, it is Braga an Archbishopsricke, contending for the primacie with Toledo.  
*Brag.* Britolenfis Episc. it was a towne neere vnto Tuy.

C

*Merid.* Cauria, at this present Coria, retaining the name and Episcopall seat.  
*Tarrag.* Cesar Augusta, and *Cesar Augustanus Episc.* Saragosse a famous Archbishopsricke in these times.  
*Tarrag.* Calagurris, it may be Calaoire at this day, the Bishop *Calagurritanus*.  
*Merid.* Colimbrica or Conimbrica, Coimbra in Portugall, and *Colimbrensis Episc.* or it may be Conimbrensis, a Bishopricke and famous Vniuersitie at this day.  
*Tol.* Carthago noua, *Carthaginenfis Episc.* Carthagea, in old time the chiefe towne of all Spaine.  
*Seuil.* Castulo, at this day Castlona, *Castulonensis Episc.*  
*Merid.* Catraleuci, people in old time about the riuer of Guadiana, *Catralencensis Episcopus*.  
*Tol.* Complutum, and *Complutenfis Episc.* Alcala of Henares.  
*Seuil.* Corduba, and *Cordubenfis Episc.* it retains the name and Bishopricke at this day.

D

*Tarrag.* Dertosa, and *Dertosanus Episc.* Tortosa vpon Ebro, it hath his Bishop.  
*Tol.* Dianium, Dianienfis, Denia, now it is no Bishopricke.  
*Brag.* Dumienfis, it was a Monasterie neere to Braga, where there is a church to be seene at this day.

E

*Tol.* Egarenfis Episc. it may be it was of those people which were called Egurti, neere to Medina del Riosecco.  
*Merid.* Egitanus Episc. or rather Igeditanus: for Igedita was a citie in Lusitania, now a little Bourg called Edania.  
*Tarrag.* Egibinenfis, it may be they should haue written Egofenfis: for Egofa was a towne in Cattelogne neere to Girone.  
*Merid.* Eboria is a renowned towne in Portugall, the kings abode; the Bishop was called by the Latines *Elborensis*.  
*Seuil.* Eliberis, in old time a great and well peopled citie, neere to Granada, since reduced to a castle, built and inhabited by the Iewes, and therefore was called the Iewes towne: the Bishops of Eliberis were called *Eliberitani*. There was another towne of that name at the foot of the Pyrenees, but the one and the other were by some called Illiberis, and more properly.  
*Tol.* Eliocrota, and the Bishop called *Eliocrotensis*, betwixt Carthagea and Castlona: Some hold, that the Vandales ruined it.

Elpa

*A* Elna, and *Elnensis Episc.* in Gaule Narbonoise.  
*Emerita, Emeritanus Episc.* called *Augusta*, it is Merida at this day: it hath nothing singular, *Metropol.* but some ruines and markes of antiquitie.  
*Eminium* or *Euminium*, betwixt Coimbra and Porto, vpon a riuer of that name, *Eminienfis Brag.*  
*Episcopus.*  
*Ergauica* a towne of Arragon, now called Alcanniz: it is no Bishopricke at this day. *Tarrag.*

G

*Gerunda*, and *Gerundenfis Episc.* Girone. *Tarrag.*  
*Gerabraca* or *Ierabraca*, betwixt Lisbon and S. Irene, *Gerabricsenfis Episc.* *Merid.*

H

*Hispalis*, and *Hispalenfis Episc.* Seuille. *Metropol.*

I

*Ilerda* *Merida*, *Ilerdensis Episc.* in Arragon, now a Bishopricke and an Vniuersitie. *Tarrag.*  
*Ilice*, *Illicenfis Episc.* from whence *Sinus Illicitanus* was named, in the kingdome of Valence, vpon the sea, looking to the islands of Pitryeufes. *Tol.*  
*Ilands* of Majorque and Minorque had their Bishop. *Seuil.*  
*Iliapa*, a citie in the strait of Betica or Andalusia. *Tarrag.*  
*Illiberis* or *Eliberis*, at the foot of the Pyrenees, neere to Colibre.  
*C* *Immotinenfis*, it may be *Imomönsenfis Episc.* there is now no memorie of it: some thinke it is *Merid.*

*Montanches.*  
*Imopyreneus*, was called the Bishop of Rhoda: it is Roses at this day, of the diocesse of Girone. *Tarrag.*

*Impuritanus*, or rather *Emporitanus* of *Empuria*, of the same diocesse. *Tarrag.*  
*Iugastrenfis Episc.* or rather *Iuncarienfis*: *Iuncaria* was neere to Girone, *Iunquera.* *Brag.*  
*Intercatienfis*, *Intercatia* was neere to the Astures. *Brag.*  
*Iria flauia* had a Bishop called *Iricenfis*, at this day it is Padron: the Bishops See was transferred from thence to Compostella. *Seuil.*

*Italica* a citie neere to Seuille, whereof there are not any markes remaining, *Italicenfis Episc.*  
*D* *Hispalis* the old.

L

*Lambria*, and *Lambrionensis*, neere to the riuer Limia in Portugall. *Brag.*  
*Lacobrica*, and *Lacobricenfis Episc.* there were two townes of this name, the one at Cap S. Vincent, the other neere to Palenza. *Merid.*  
*Lameca* is a Bishopricke yet in Portugall, *Lamecenfis Episc.* *Brag.*  
*Legio*, *Legionenfis Episc.* at this day Leon, the chiefe towne of a realme, and a Bishopricke, enjoying the priuiledges of a Metropolitan.  
*Lucenfis Episc.* Lugo in Gallicia. *Brag.*

M

*E* *Malaca*, and *Malacitanus Episc.* it is at this day a citie and Episcopall See. *Seuil.*  
*Mentefa*, now Montijo, or else Iacn in Andalusia. *Tol.*

N

*Nouienfis*, *Nouium* in Gallicia, it may be *Noya.* *Brag.*

O

*Olisipo*, and *Olisiponenfis Episc.* Lisbon, most famous in our time. *Merid.*  
*Orcelis*, whose Bishop was at the Councell of Arles. *Merid.*  
*Oretan*, and *Oretanus Episc.* Calarraua, where there is an order of knights. *Tol.*  
*Ofca*, that is Huefca in Arragon, a Bishopricke and an Vniuersitie. *Tarrag.*  
*F* *Ossobonenfis Episc.* *Ossobona* was in Algarbe, neere to Pharo, which by the Moores was called *Exuba.* *Merid.*

*Oxonienfis* and *Oxouienfis*, it is Ofona, a Bishopricke at this day: *Vxania*, *Plinie.* *Tol.*  
*P*  
*Pacensis Episc.* a *Pace Augusta*: it is now Badaios, which the Moores did call *Baxangus*, corrupting the word. *Merid.*

P

Palentia

- Tol.* Palentia or Palantia, and the Bishop *Palentinensis*: it is a Bishopricke at this time of the same name.
- Tarrag.* Pampilonensis *Episc.* or Pampilonensis, Pampelone, the chiefe citie of Nauarre: it is a Bishopricke at this day.
- Merid.* Placentia, and the Bishop *Placentin*: it is now so called.
- Brag.* Porto or Portogallo, *Portogalensis Episc.* at this day a good port of the sea, and a Bishopricke.
- S
- Merid.* Salmantica, *Salmanticensis Episc.* Salamanca a Bishopricke, and a famous Vniuersitie.
- Tol.* Segobia, and the Bishop *Segobienfis*, it holds yet the name and dignitie; in old time Secobia *Antonin*, Segouia *Plinie*.
- Tol.* Segobrica, *Segobricensis*, Segorbia in Arragon.
- Tol.* Seguntia, *Siguença*, *Seguntinus Episc.* in the limits of Castille and Arragon: it keeps the name and the dignitie.
- Tol.* Serabis, Xatiua in the realme of Valence, and the Bishop *Setabienfis*: it is now no Bishopricke.
- Merid.* Sarabrienfis *Episc.* in whose place is written in the bookes of Councils, *Sibarienfis*. Sarabris it may be was Zamore or Toro.
- Seuil.* Sitia, *Sitianensis Episc.* it was in Betica, depending vpon Corduba for the temporall.
- Seuil.* Sitalensis and Sitalensis, all one.
- T
- Metropol.* Tarracon, *Tarraconensis Episc.* it is an Archbishopricke at this day.
- Tarrag.* Turiasso, *Turiassonensis Episc.* Tarrassone in the limits of Nauarre.
- Metropol.* Toletum, *Toletanus*, a well knowne Archbishopricke, Primat of Spaine, in old time Metropolitan.
- Seuil.* Tucca, *Tuccitanus Episc.* it was in Betica, neere to Castulo.
- Brag.* Tude or Tyde, it is Tuy in Galicia, now vpon the riuer of Minio, *Episc. Tudenfis*: it holds the dignitie.
- Tarrag.* Tullica, and his Bishop *Tullicensis*, in Cantabria among the Autrigons, whereof Calagurnis was the chiefe.
- V
- Tol.* Valence, a famous Archbishopricke at this day.
- Tarrag.* Valeria, at this day Concia or Cuenca, *Conciensis Episc.* it was sometimes called Valerienfis.
- Merid.* Vellenfis or Velienfis, it was a Bishopricke among the Autrigons.
- Tol.* Vesci, *Vescienfis Episc.* it is Viseo a citie in Portugall.
- Tol.* Vrci, *Vrcitanus Episc.* neere Murcia or Almeric.
- Tarrag.* Vrgelitanus, it is Vrgel in Arragon, a Bishopricke
- Tol.* Vxama.

These townes vntill the destruction of the Gothes kingdome haue beene Bishops seats, according to the order and discipline which was then obserued in Christian churches. Those of Seuille, Toledo, Merida, Braga, and Tarragone, were Archbishopricks, Metropolitanes, and Primats: Diuers names, but of one signification, which did not inferre any superioritie one ouer another, for they were equall in power: and they did preside in Councils, according to the antiquities of their seas.

THE



## THE SIXT BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

### The Contents.

- 1 OF the Moores or Arabians which inuaded Spaine, their beginning and manners.
- 2 Mahumets sett his birth, designs and Empire, & of his successors, vnto Vlt the tenth Caliph.
- 3 Conquest of Spaine by the Moores.
- 4 Pelagius the deliuerer of Spaine, and first king of Ouiedo.
- 5 Garcia Ximenes deliuerer of the Christians oppressed in Spaine, first king in Sobrarbre and Nauarre.
- 6 Fasila second king of Ouiedo: many Gouvernors Moores in Spaine in his time.
- 7 Alphonse third king of Ouiedo.
- 8 D. Froila fourth king of Ouiedo, the first which vsed the title of Don.
- 9 Abderamen first soueraigne king of the Moores in Spaine, sitting at Cordona.
- 10 D. Aurelle fift king of Ouiedo.
- 11 D. Sillo sixt king of Ouiedo.
- 12 D. Aznar first Earle of Arragon vnder Nauarre.
- 13 D. Garcia Inigo second king of Sobrarbre or Nauarre.
- 14 D. Mauregat seuenth king of Ouiedo.
- 15 D. Bermund eight king of Ouiedo.
- 16 Hizen second soueraigne king ouer the Moores in Spaine.
- 17 D. Galinde second Earle of Arragon.
- 18 Cattelogne, the name, and the gouernment of the Christians in that prouince vnder Bernard.
- 19 D. Alphonse the chaste, ninth king of Ouiedo.
- 20 Inuention of S. Iaques his sepulchre, as the Spaniards asfirme.
- 21 Haliathan third soueraigne king ouer the Spanisb Moores.
- 22 Expedition of Charlemaigne into Spaine, and the defeat at Ronceaux.
- 23 D. Fortun third king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.
- 24 D. Sancho Garces fourth king of Nauarre.
- 25 D. Ximen Aznaris third Earle of Arragon.
- 26 D. Ximen Garces fourth Earle of Arragon.
- 27 D. Garci Aznaris fift and D. Fortun Ximenes sixt Earle of Arragon.
- 28 Geoffrey of Aria the stemme of the Earles of Barcelone.
- 29 D. Ramir the first of that name, tenth king of Ouiedo.
- 30 D. Ximen Inigo fift king of Nauarre.
- 31 Muza Aben-Cacin makes himselfe king of Toledo.
- 32 Mahumet fift Miralmumin or king of the Moores in Spaine, the first of that name.
- 33 D. Geoffroy second Earle of Barcelone, successor to Bernard.
- 34 D. Alphonse third of that name and twelfth king of Leon.
- 35 Toledo reduced vnder the obedience of the Moores kings of Cordona.

P ij

36 D. Inigo

- 36 D. Inigo Arista *sixt king of Sobrarbe and N.uarre.*  
 37 D. Garcia Inigo *third of that name, seventh king of N.uarre.*  
 38 D. Suria *a Scottish man, the beginner of the Lords of Biscaye.*  
 39 Almundir *sixt Moorish king in Spaine.*  
 40 D. Garcia *first of that name, the thirteenth king of Ouedo and Leon.*  
 41 Abdalla *seventh king of the Moores in Spaine.*  
 42 D. Fortun *second of that name, eight king of N.uarre.*  
 43 D. Salomon *third Earle of Barcelone.*  
 44 D. Geoffrey *the hairie, fourth Earle of Barcelone, and first Proprietarie.*  
 45 D. Ordogno *second of that name, fourteenth king of Ouedo and Leon.*  
 46 Abderamen Alinanor *eighth king of the Moores.*  
 47 *The death of the Earles of Castille, among the which was D. Diego Porcello.*  
 48 D. Froila *second of that name, fifteenth king of Leon.*  
 49 *The alteration of the state in Castille, and the government of the Prouince by two Iudges.*

In this sixt Booke there is speciall mention made of the beginning of the Estates of Ouedo and Leon, of Sobrarbe and N.uarre, of Cordoua, Cattelogne, Castille, and Arragon, and of the Prouinces thereof, which were these.

#### OVEDO and LEON. Kings.

- 1 Pelagius.
- 2 Fasila.
- 3 Alphonso 1.
- 4 Froila 1.
- 5 Aurelle.
- 6 Sillo.
- 7 Mauregat.
- 8 Bermund 1.
- 9 Alphonso 2.
- 10 Ramir 1.
- 11 Ordogno 1.
- 12 Alphonso 3.
- 13 Garcia 1.
- 14 Ordogno 2.
- 15 Froila 2.

#### NAVARRE. Kings.

- 1 Garcia Ximenes 1.
- 2 Garcia Inigo 2.
- 3 Fortun 1.
- 4 Sancho Garces 1.
- 5 Ximen Inigo.
- 6 Inigo Arista.
- 7 Garcia Inigo 3.
- 8 Fortun 2.

#### ARRAGON. Earles.

- 1 Aznar.
- 2 Galinde.
- 3 Ximen Aznaris.
- 4 Ximen Garces.
- 5 Garci Aznaris.
- 6 Fortun Ximenes.

#### CASTILLE. Earles.

- 1 Nugno Fernandes.
- 2 Diego Porcello.
- 3 Nugno Bellides.
- Iudges.
- 1 Nugno Razura.
- 2 Flavin Caluo.
- Gonsal Nugnes.

#### CATTELOGNE. Gouernours.

- 1 Bernard.
- 2 Geoffrey Aria.
- 3 Salomon.
- A proprietarie Earle.
- 1 Geoffrey the hairie.

#### MOORES.

There were many Gouernours vnder the Caliphes and Miralmumins of Asia and Africke, vnto Abderamen, who first erected a Soueraignetic at Cordoua.

#### Kings.

- 1 Abderamen 1.
- 2 Hizem.
- 3 Hali Athan.
- 4 Abderamen 2.
- 5 Mahumet 1.
- 6 Almundir.
- 7 Abdalla.
- 8 Abderamen 3.

The

A

The Arabians Mahumetists which conquered Spaine, were also called Moores, for that they crossed Mauritania, a region of Africk, which is opposite vnto Spaine, from the which Tingitana is diuided by a small strait, the which when as Tarif passed, was subject vnto the Gothes, and gouerned by Recila, a friend and partisan to Count Julian. It is therefore expedient to speak something of this nation, whose power in a short time did in a manner surpasse all the Monarchies which haue been in the world.

Arabia is a spacious region, diuided into many parts: The auncients made a partition into three; the Happie, the Stonie, and the Defart. Arabia the Happie was so called, in regard of the two other which are barren, little knowne to the auncients, and nothing at all annoyed by the Romane armies. Arabia Petrea or Stonie carried that name of the capitall citie Petra, which had their kings, sometimes friends and allied, but most commonly enemies vnto their neighbours, and often tributaries to the auncient kings of Persia and Egypt (whereunto they joyne) and afterwards to the Romanes. The Defart Arabia hath not at any time had any certaine policie, and very few townes, whose princes were but leaders of troupes of theeces, enemies to all quiet, seeking nothing but warre, mercinarie to kings and princes that would employ them, a people without humanitie, without faith, and without any religion. All this countrey extends from East to West, almost from the floud Euphrates vnto Nyle, hauing Syria on the North side, and the Ocean to the South. Whilest that the Romane Emperours were in continuall warre against the kings of Parthia and Persia, either partie employed this nation, who went for the most part to the warre on horsebacke, fit to spoyle a countrey, to seize suddainly vpon a passage, to discouer, surprize, or doe any other action of warre, which required expedition, especially if there were more question to forrage & spoyle than to fight. This race is descended from Ismael, of whom it is said, *That his hand should be against all, and all hands against him.*

Among these people Mahumet was borne, in the yeare of our redemption 580 (some say, it was in the yeare 591, and others 593) to trouble Christendome, and to punish their ingratitude, which tearmed themselves Christians, Maurice being then Emperour of Constantinople. The place of his birth was called Itririp, a little towne neere vnto Mecque; his father called *Abedels*, was a Pagan and an Idolater, and his mother *Emina* a Iew, a poore begging girle, the which was taken vp by *Abedels* for loue, for that she seemed faire. At the age of two yeares he was left an orphan; whereupon he was taken by a vncle of his, called *Salutalebi*, and bred vp in his house by *Halima* his wife, vntill the age of sixteene yeares, and then hee was carried away by a troupe of Arabian theeces, who met him alone, and sold him to a rich marchant, who said, That he was of the race of *Ismael*, and was called *Abdimonepli*, who employed *Mahumet* some yeares in his trade of marchandise, whereby he had occasion to see many countries, and to tast many religions; especially the Iewish and Pagan, to the which was added the Christian religion, which was then much corrupted, and was made much worse to him by the conuersation of an Arrian Monke called *Sergius*, who haunted the house of his master *Abdimonepli*. With this Monke and others he layed a plot to make himselfe famous by a remarkable impietie, and framed a doctrine drawne from the Iewish and the Arrian, mingled with other their inuentions: the which he afterwards brought in, partly by persuations, partly by money, and partly by force, being enriched with his masters treasure, after whose death he had married his widow called *Adegiah*; so as about the yeare 623 he was receiued and acknowledged by the Arabians for their captaine and great Prophet. Then was *Heraclius* in the imperiall seat at Constantinople; and a little before there had risen many seditions in Syria and Egypt, during the which, *Mahumet* had plotted his designs, and had made himselfe famous among the seditious. And moreouer, certain mercinarie bands of Arabian Scenits being cast and sent away with injuries by the Commissaries of *Heraclius* the Emperour, he drew them vnto him, and with these forces in a short time seized vpon a great part of Arabia, namely, of the townes of Mecque and Itririp, the place of his birth, the which was afterwards called *Medinath-Al-Nabi*, that is to say, the city of the great Prophet; and from the day that place was taken, in the yeare 617, the Arabians and sectaries of *Mahumet* account their yeares, as we do ours from the Natiuitie of our Lord Iesus Christ.

P iij

Others

Others say, That Medina or Almedina was another rich towne inhabited by rich Iewes, G whereof *Mahumet* gaue the spoyle to his souldiors, abhorring it about all other sects, for it seemed more opposit to his doctrine than any other; yet it is most certain, that he vsed Iewes to compound his doctrine. And vpon a defeat which the Persians had by the Romanes in those times, he tooke occasion to inuade Syria, and seized vpon the countrey about Damas, and then tried to extend his limits all he could, employing in the end of his dayes his Lieutenants to make his conquests, whilst that he rested at Mecque, which was in the beginning the seat of his Empire. In his later daies he made foure capitaines, the which he called the cutting swords of God, the common sort teamed them *Amiraux*; the which were *Ebubezer*, whom some call *Ybequar*, others *Bubacus* or *Eubocara*; then *Homar*, *Ozman*, and *Aly*. This last was son to *Salutaleby*, *Mahumets* vncler. *Ebubezer* was his father in law; for *Mahumet* had many wiues, and *Ebubezers* daughter was called *Aixa* or *Aissa*. This monster hauing reigned about ten yeares, hee died at Medinath Al-Nabi, in the house of this *Ebubezer*, of poyson, as some say: for hauing published among other articles, That he should rise againe within three dayes after his deccale, one of his disciples impatient to attend, and curious to see the experience of his doctrine, poysoned him secretly: and some say, That he kept him 12 daies, and in the end seeing that he was dead, and his bodie so corrupted and stinking, as no man could endure it, this disciple being forced to retire by reason of the abominable smel of carrion, and returning soone after, he found the dogs had torne it in pieces: wherefore hee gathered the bones together, the which were put in a coffin of yron, and in time caused a chappell to be built, vaulted with adamant stone, so as the cofer being put into it, the vertue of the stone drew it vp into the ayre, where it did hang, which seemed miraculous vnto the ignorant; yet such as haue trauelled into those countreies in our time, say there is no such thing now to be seene. He had one son called *Cacin*, who died before him, and many daughters, whereof *Fatima* is famous among the Arabians, as the stemme of the royall race of *Aben-Alabery*, & was wife to *Aly*, according to the most certaine. *Zeineb* also, another of *Mahumets* daughters, wife to *Ozman*, or (as some say) to *Muhauias* (it may be to both successiuelly) is honoured by this nation, and *Muhauias* her husband (as the beginning of another royall familie) called *Aben-Humeys*. There is mention made of *Imiculin* and of *Nephissa*, daughters or neere kinswomen to this false Prophet: The sepulchre of the last was found in Caire by Sultan *Selym*, Emperour of the Turkes in our fathers time, and in it about the value of 500000 duckats in gold coyned, with much other treasure, which was giuen and carried thither for almes.

*Cacin, Mahumets* sonne, *Fatima* and *Zeineb* his daughters.

*Ebubezer* Caliph or high Priest of the Arabians in the 11 yeare.

*Sarafins* why so called.

*Homar* Caliph the 14 yeare of the Arabians.

*Mahumet* had decreed, That *Aly* his cousin german, and sonne in law, one of the abouenamed *Amiraux*, should succeed him in the realme established by him: but *Ebubezer* his father in law, who was rich and mightie, and had *Ozman* and *Homar* on his side, brake this ordinance: for he pretended, that *Mahumet* had gotten a great part of that which he enjoyed at his death, by his means, credit, & wealth, & seeing that he died in his house, it was reason he should be his heire. *Ozman* and *Homar* were nothing discontented: for hauing also a desire to reigne, they were more willing the crowne should come to *Ebubezer* (who they did confidently beleue would soone die, by reason of his age) than vnto *Aly*, who was yong and in the prime of his age. *Ebubezer* therefore reigned, & was created High Priest of the Arabians, otherwise called *Sarafins*, as in the time of the Christian Emperors of the East, who did willingly entertaine this nation, they were commonly called. The name comes of the country *Saracena*, in Arabia *felix*, or the happie, in which region, according to the same author, was the towne of *Saraca*, but farre off from these other people. Howsoever it be, it seemeth this name comes from *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife, notwithstanding they auow themselves to be descended from *Ismael* the son of *Agar*: but they take no pleasure she should be termed a chambermaid. Hauing reigned 3 yeares, he died, not without suspicion of poyson: after which time these princes entitled themselves Caliphs, that is to say, *Gouernors*, *Rectors*, and *soueraigne Princes*, properly heires and successors.

After *Ebubezer*, *Homar* held the scepter ouer the Arabians, being sometimes called *Humar*, M sometimes *Humar*, *Hemer* & *Homer*, by writers, to whom is attributed the taking of the towne of *Bozra*, the chiefe of Arabia, of *Damas* and of *Ierusalem*, and in the end of all *Phenicia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Egypt*. And hauing vanquished *Orismada* or *Horismida*, King of *Persia*, in battaile, he seized vpon that great and mightie kingdome, to whose succour then came the Turkes from the *Caspian* ports and straits, but in vaine: so as the name of the Persians was then

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A extinguished, and they were all called *Sarafins*. He was suspected to be a Christian; for his father *Catab* was a friend and benefactor to the Christians, whom he drew to *Ierusalem*, and for that cause built the temple which remains vnto this day, with other shewes of superstition. *Homar* being in this esteeme with his people, he was slaine by a seruant of his, a *Pertian*, called *Amigira*, making his prayers vnto God. This prince was hardie and warlike, and did effect great matters: he reigned ten yeares. He died in the yeare of Christ 641, and the 24 of the Arabians raigne.

*Ozman*, or *Hotman*, *Asman* and *Autumar*, for this diuersitie of names are found in authors, sonne in law to *Mahumet* (for they hold, that he was married to two of his daughters, whereof it may be *Zeineb* was one) was the fourth Caliph of the Arabians. There was already growne great contention among this nation, touching matters of religion, it being vaine and without ground, by reason of many absurdities, which did contradict one another: which was no maruell; for *Mahumet* being ignorant of all learning, could not set downe his conceptions with any good method or order; but as they came into his braine he wrote them downe, and neuer perused them after: so as oftentimes forgetting what he had before set downe, preached, or otherwise published, he ordained diuers things which were repugnant and absurd. Whereunto the people which then followed him, being all giuen to armes, poore, needie, grosse and ignorant, tooke no good regard, their spirit being attentue to the exterior countenance; and if there were any more subtile, force and danger stoppt their mouthes. But after some yeares, they had more libertie and leasure to thinke thereof, and to examine *Mahumets* doctrine which was taught, so as they grew into many disputes. To remedie the which, *Ozman* caused the papers of the Prophet to be sought out, whereof they found a great cofer full in the house of *Aissa* his widow, with the helpe whereof he caused their *Alcoran*, or *Alfurcan*, to be compiled, shewing himselfe verie liberal to them that laboured therein. Yet some thinke, that this worke was begun by his predecesour *Homar*, and that he did reduce it into a better method, and into chapters.

*Mahumet* ignorant of all learning.

*Alcoran* of the Arabians.

*Hucha* one of his lieutenants inuaded *Africke*, and ruined *Carthage*, so as *Tunis* came then to be well peopled, and soone after *Cairoan*, an hundred miles vp in the countrey, and somewhat farre from the sea, was built, which since was a royall seat of the Arabians. *Muhauias* also who gouerned *Egypt*, went with an infinit number of vessels into *Cyprus*, which island he spoiled. This *Muhauias* was the founder of *Caire*, neere vnto the ruines of the auncient *Memphis*, the which from a little burrough came to the greatnesse and state wee haue seene it in our fathers time, and by his wisdome and conduct the estate of the Arabians was much augmented. He assailed the Romanes armie vpon the confines of *Lycia*, and put it to rout, so as the emperour *Constant* then raigning, was forced to flie in a disguised habit. *Muhauias* being puffed vp with this victorie, he besieged and tooke *Rhodes*, beat downe that great Colosse of the Sunne, being 70 cubits high, or 80, as some write, and sold the mettall to a merchant Iew, who laded 900 cammels therewith, and carried moreouer out of that island, infinit other goodly and rich workes, for it was replenished with such things, as *Plinie* writes, who wimetheth, that there hath bene numbered in it 73000 figures, or statues, and an hundred Colosses.

*Cairoan* built.

*Caire* built by *Muhauias*.

*Rhodes* taken by *Muhauias*.

E After these exploits he sent his armie at sea to the island of *Sicile*, from whence they were repulsed by *Olympius*, *Exarch* or *Gouernour* of *Italic*. He himselfe returned into *Syria*, and there raised a great armie by land, to inuade *Capadocia*, whither he marched. By these high exploits *Muhauias* was in great reputation among the Arabians, which made him aspire to the soueraigne dignitie, whereunto the death of the Caliph *Ozman* seemed to inuite him, wherefore he brought backe his armie.

*Ozman* dyed in the twelfth yeare of his raigne, the 653 of our Sauour, and the 36 of the Arabians, being set vpon in his palace by the *Sarafins*, which were of the faction of *Ali* his brother in law, they forced him to kill himselfe, for that hee would not fall aliue into their hands. Some write, that *Ali* himselfe slew him, by the persuation of *Aissa* *Mahumets* widow.

The miserable death of *Ozman*.

F There was great dissention then among the Arabians, vpon the election of a new Caliph: the competitors were *Ali*, *Muhauias*, and *Mahumet*: *Ali* obtained it by armes against *Mahumet*, but he was to trie it with *Muhauias*, who finding himselfe followed by a great armie of old



old fouldiors, Egyptians and Syrians, and himselfe being also and expert capitaine, hee gaue G him many crosses for the space of a 11 moneths, so as by a common consent their quarell was put to the arbitrement of *Alafates* and *Alafci*, two old men of great reputation among them; who notwithstanding could neuer agree, so as they returned againe to armes, till that *Alu* was slaine by the practises of *Muhauias*, neere vnto the towne of Cufa in Arabia, and there buried: wherefore the place is called vnto this day *Massad Ali*, that is to say, the house of *Ali*. The inhabitants of Cufa and Aratha, did chuse for Caliph in his place *Albacem*, eldest sonne to him and to *Fatima*, eldest daughter to *Mahumet*, who in his carriage and behauiour represented his grandfather by his mothers side. Being established, hee marched with an armie against *Muhauias*, but being one neere vnto another, when as euerie man attended a bloudie H battell, suddenly *Albacem*, either moued by feare, or pietie, and his natural mildnesse, came and cast himselfe at *Muhauias* feet, acknowledging him his superiour: so as they entred into Cufa, the which they did ranfome for a great summe of money; and being come from thence to Ietrib, *Muhauias* set the royall diademe with his own hands vpon *Albacem*'s head, and would haue him raigne, which he assured himselfe would not be long, for hee dyed within six moneths after. Thus *Muhauias* being freed from all competitors, raigned alone: he was (according vnto some) sonne in law to *Mahumet*, hauing married his daughter *Zeineb*, as it is likely, in her second marriage, from which mariage the royall familie of *Aben Humeia* is descended. It is hee which changed the Caliphes seat to Damas. He first inuaded the Romane empire with happie successe, *Constant* sitting in the imperiall seat, from whom hee did exact a tribute. He ouerrun Africke, from whence there were brought by the Sarafins about fourescore thousand persons, slaues: And in the time of *Constantine*, surnamed *Pogonat*, or the Bearded, hee tooke Cizicus a sea towne, from whence afterwards with a great fleet of ships he infested the prouinces of the empire, yea and Constantinople it selfe, but vnfortunatly for the Arabians: for after great losses both by sea and land, *Muhauias* remained tributarie to the Romanes, to whom hee promised to pay yearly three thousand pounds of gold, fourescore slaues, and as many hories, and withall to deliuer 50 Christian prisoners at the emperors choyce. By this meanes there was a peace, or truce concluded for thirtie yeares, betwixt the Romanes and Arabians; during the which *Muhauias* began to trouble the Potentates of his owne sect, reformed and subdued the Persians, and gaue them *Matur* for their G uernour.

*Muhauias* Caliph of the Arabians.

Damas the seat of the Caliphes.

Arabians tributaries to the Romanes.

A Council of *Mahumet* at Damas.

Four sects in *Mahumet*'s religion.

*Muhauias* vnlearned.

the 6 Caliph

*Mahumet*'s sect was spread farre into the East, but with great inconstancie, and mingled with heresies: by reason whereof hee called a Councell at Damas, of the Aliaquins of *Mahumet*'s law; whither he commaunded to bring all the writings that could bee recovered as well of their Prophet *Mahumet*, as of the Caliphes his successours, and other interpreters: but there was nothing but contention and confusion, without any resolution: Wherefore there were five of the most learned men chosen, that is, *Boar*, *Buora*, *Anocci*, *Atermunde*, and *Dauid*, who were enjoined to gather out of all the volumes (the which as they write would haue laden two hundred cammels) what they thought came nearest to their Prophets will, which they held the trueth. These being shut into a house, after they had turned ouer, and conferred these writings, they made six bookes of *Mahumet*'s doctrine, the which were presented by them, vnto the king or Caliph *Muhauias*, who published them, and by his authoritie caused them to be receiued, vpon paine of death to any one that should dispute the contrarie. The rest of the papers were tome in peeces, and cast into the riuer. From these six volumes there haue since growne foure sects among them, the Melicians, Afafians, Alambeilians, and Buanifians, the which maintaine themselves at this day in the great cite of Caire. After these things *Muhauias* dyed at Damas, an excellent prince, and verie warlike, of an active spirit, nature recompensing that which he wanted by art: for he could neither read nor write, to the great grieve of them of his sect, whom they held verie fit to haue advanced it, if he had been learned. He died in the threescore and seuenteenth yeare of his age, 678 M of our redemption, and sixtie one of the raigne of the Arabians, hauing raigned 24 or 25 yeares.

*Hizit* his sonne, or *Gizit*, or *Iezid*, was chosen Caliph after him, degenerating wholly from his father: For as he was active, resolute, and valiant, so this was base, voluptuous, and a coward: Whereupon *Matur* (whom his father had placed Gouernour of Persia) made himselfe

A himselfe king and Caliph, faining to be a Prophet; and of his race the Sophies which raigne there at this day are descended. The people of Cufa in Arabia, seeing the vnworthinesse of *Hizit*, chose *Hocem* the sonne of *Ali* Caliph against him; but he was slaine by *Abdalla* the son of *Hizit*, leauing twelve sonnes, which were, *Zemal Abadin*, *Zemal Muamed*, *Bagner Muamed*, of *Hizit*, leauing twelve sonnes, which were, *Zemal Abadin*, *Zemal Muamed*, *Bagner Muamed*, *Taguin Muamed*, *Giasar Cadene*, *Giasar Musa*, *Ali Mucerat*, *Alle Muamet*, *Taguin Muamet*, *Halmaguin Alle*, *Hacem Alquerin*, *Hacem Muamed Mahadin*, the which are buried in diuers places. The Persians beleue, that *Hacem Muamed Mahadin* alone of all the brethren, is not yet dead, and that he will come one day mounted vpon a braue horse, to conuert all the world, and to preach the law to all men, beginning with the towne of *Massad Ali*, where his grandfather was interred, where at this day they keepe a horse readie for him, the which they lead vnto their Mosquee, when they doe their seruice, with torches and lights in great pompe.

*Hocem* being slaine, and *Hizit* dead the third yeare of his raigne, *Abdalla* there raigned: *Civile warres in Arabia*. but for that he was a tyrant, they advanced *Marian* to the dignitie of Caliph, betwixt which two the warre continued two yeares: at the end whereof the Arabians held an assembly, in manner of a parliament, at Cufa, a towne in Arabia the happie, where *Abdalla* being deposed, *Abdimelec* was chosen in his place, who was verie young, of the race of *Ali*, and therefore much honoured by the Arabians: For, *Ali* (as we haue said) was appointed heire and successor of the kingdom, by the Prophet *Mahumet*, whereas *Abdalla* descended from *Ebubezer*, who had bene an vsurper. There was another nobleman of Arabia, called *Dadar*, which did bandie himselfe against *Abdimelec*, and was vanquished by him: but *Abdalla* did still hold the cite of Damas, and pursued another Caliph which was risen in Mesopotamia, which country is now called *Diarbec*. Against him *Abdimelec* sent a great capitaine, a kinsman of his, called *Ciasar*: who hauing encountered *Abdalla* vpon the riuer *Euphrates*, returning victoriously from Mesopotamia to Damas, fought with him, and defeated him, but with great effusion of blood. *Abdalla* being vanquished, thinking to saue himselfe in Damas, hee was kept out by the inhabitants, for his tyrannies: wherefore he fled to Caire, which at that time was not verie great, where they also refused him the entrie. Being therefore chased, and abandoned by all men, thinking to crosse ouer into Greece, he was slaine in a little island, whither a torment had cast him. With him ended the race of the Caliphes of Damas, called by the Arabians, *Marauians*, descending from *Muania* and *Ebubezer*. *Ciasar* pursuing his victorie, entred into Damas, and there vied all the cruelties he could against the *Marauians*, taking the bones of the Caliph *Hizit* out of his graue, the which he burnt publicly, and cast the ashes into the riuer. Yet one of *Muanias* descendants, called *Abedramun*, escaped, flying into the furthest parts of Libia, towards the West Ocean, into Mauritania Tingitana, whither the Arabians were newly come: For all the length of Africk, from Nile vnto the Ocean (except some places vpon the sea coast, which were yet subject vnto the Romane empire) had bene ouerrun and subdued by this nation. There this prince being acknowledged by the Sarafins to be of the race of the Caliphes of Damas, was well entertained and honoured by them: Wherefore taking courage, he erected an Estate, and built the towne of Maroc, which was afterwards the head of a great kingdom. He was the first which called himselfe *Miralumun*, that is to say, Prince of the beleueers. *Abdimelec* nor *Ciasar* pursued him not, being verie farre off, and for that he had limited his designs and ambition in those remote parts, not affecting to make himselfe greater: besides, the plague, famine, and many seditions, but about all the attempts of the Romanes, did much trouble *Abdimelec*, so as he was forced to renew a peace with the emperours of Constantinople, and make the Arabians againe tributarie to *Iustinian* the 2 then raigning, promising to pay him ten pounds of gold, a slaue, and a horse euery day: by reason of which peace so deerly bought, he conuerted his forces against Persia, whereas one *Abdalla Zubir* had newly seized vpon that region, after that he had vanquished and slaine *Matur*, who had vsurped it vpon the Caliph *Hizit*. *Abdimelec* sent all his forces against this *Abdalla*, and hauing chased him out of Persia, he recovered that prouince. Then he sent one of his captaines, called *Cagian*, to pursue *Abdalla*, who was retired to Mecque, where hee was besieged, the towne taken, and *Abdalla* slaine by *Cagian*, who then burnt the auncient idole, and the temple there.

After these things, the Caliph *Abdimelec* was againe ingaged in warre against the Christians, by the treacherie of *Iustinian*, who snarled for it: for being defeated with most of the Grecians,

*Abdalla* deposed and *Abdimelec* chosen the ninth Caliph.

Race of the Caliphes *Marauians* descended from Damas.

*Abedramun* the summe of the kings of Maroc.

A grievous tribute paid by the Arabians to the Romanes.

Roman chafed  
out of Spaine.

Grecians, he was forced to save himselfe by flight, and was afterwards chased out of the imperiall seat by *Leonce*, with great troubles throughout all the Easterne empire of the Christians: whereby the Caliph had not onely meanes to recover all that the Romanes had taken from him in Asia, but also to chase their Gouvernours and armies out of all Africke; so as there was nothing remaining of the Roman name: yet his lieutenants were beaten invading Cilicia, by the care and conduct of *Heraclius*, a Romane capitaine, about which time *Abdimelec* dyed, hauing raigned ouer the Arabians one and twentie yeares. Whilest hee was busie in these warres, the same of the sanctitie and iustice of *Abdramon* (who as wee haue said had built Maroc) grew so great, as he was held by those Westerne Caliphs, and more than a Caliph: and the opinion of his vertues passing into Arabia, and throughout all the East, it happened, that dying and leaving his sonne *Klis* successor of his goods and good fame, all the Arabians with one generall consent chose him for their Caliph in the place of *Abdimelec*, who dyed in the yeare seven hundred and seven. So the race of the Marauians raigned againe, which was the posteritie of *Zeineb*, daughter to *Mahumet*, ingendred (as some beleue) on *Aissa* the daughter of *Ebubezer*.

Klis Caliph of  
the Arabians,  
the 90 yeares of  
the Arabians,  
and the 707 of  
Christ.

*Klis* was the mightiest of all the Arabian princes, his predecessors, rainging in a maner from the Western Ocean, vnto the riuer Indus. He gaue the government of Africk to *Musa*, with the title of Admirall, and in a manner absolute power, all which was subject to his empire, except a small portion of the countrey which the Gothes held neere vnto the strait, whereas the towne of Cepta stands, the which is now called Ceura: all the rest had bin conquered by his predecessors, Caliphs. You must vnderstand, that the Arabians entring into Africke, they brought in *Mahumets* law, their language and their manners: so as the great number of Christians was much decreased, but not wholly extinguished, and many goodly churches came to ruine: the African tongue was in a maner lost, and the Arabian was made common. Yet there is at this day a certaine people found, which haue preferred the African tongue, as the Biscanes haue done the antient Spanish, as some hold. They dwell in the mountaines of the kingdom of Sus, about Cap d' Aguer, towards the Western Ocean, and call their language *Thamazel*, the which differs from the Arabian as much as the Biscane from the Castilian; and the Moors of qualitie in that countrey, learne the Arabic tongue in schools, or in courts, that they may be able to conuerse with them. It hath also appeared since, that many families haue retained the Christian religion, and the holy Scriptures, with some forme of Sacraments, but not altogether pure: for *Ferdinand* the third, called the Holy, rainging in Castille, and since in the raigne of *John* the first, there were found in the citie of Maroc, certaine antient families, called *Farfanes*, which retained still the name and profession of Christians, about 680 yeares after that the Sarafins had seized vpon Africk, whereof some came into Spaine, to Alcala de Henares. Moreouer, it was seene in our daies, that after that the citie of Tunis had been taken by the emperor *Charles* the 5, from *Haradin Barberousse*, there were many habitations of Christians in that citie, hauing retained, and as it were inherited from father to sonne, for the space of about 800 yeres, the articles of our Faith, not without great admiration of the diuine providence, who liued in a suburbe without the towne, at the South gate, men much esteemed of their kings, and valiant and hardie in the warres. They had a temple separated from the Moors, who called them *Rabatines*, and of them the gards of the kings person did consist. These *Rabatines* were afterwards transported to Naples by the emperor, that they might be instructed in the Romish religion.

The Arabian  
tongue common  
in Africke.

Christian religion  
preserved in  
Africke.

Rabatines Christians  
in Africke.

The wrath of  
God vpon states  
for their vices.

Faults in the  
warre.

3 Whilest that *Klis* raigned ouer the Arabians, and that *Musa* gouerned Africk, the Moors passed into Spaine, as we haue said, against the kingdom of the Gothes, whereby there followed a lamentable desolation: a nation without doubt fatall to Christendome, which had shewed it selfe rebellious, and to contemne so many graces it had receiued: For in that age, ambition and tyrannie did tread all diuine and humane lawes vnder foot, and all good order was peruerced, as well in Ecclesiasticall as ciuile governments. The bishops did then contend for the Primacie, being growne insolent, by the carelesse of princes, who had referred the whole charge of affaires vnto them, abandoning themselves in the meane time to pleasures and disorderly lusts, with an opinion to be absolved of all their excesses, in building of churches, conuents, and retreats for Clergie men, and endowing them with great reuenues, diuiding with them the spoiles they tooke from the people: who for their parts be-

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ing ill instructed, and corrupted with the superstitions and traditions of men, could doe no other seruice vnto God, but set vp Images and altars, seeke out the bones of dead Saints, and such other things, little seruing to true pietie; thinking the paine they tooke in these exercises, a good satisfaction for all their offences. To conclude, there was then so great a confusion (the which is not yet amended) as God being iustly offended, gaue scope to the furie of the Arabian nation, the which invaded the Potentates of Christendome with such furie, as in lesse than an hundred yeares they ouerthrew all the power and riches of the Romane empire, of the Persians, and of other Estates. This was not a passage, as that of the Gothes, Hunnes, Lombards, and other nations of Sithia: the which passed soone away, as an overflowing deluge, or if they stayed among vs, they soone conformed themselves to humanitie, pietie, and iustice: but this plague was durable, and did still increase; for the Turkes empire at this day is nothing but a remainder of the Arabians, mingled with the Hunnes, from whence the Turkes are come. There remaine few certaine families of that Turkish nation which came from the Caspian straits, in the time of *Orismada* the last king of Persia, who was defeated by *Haumai*, Caliph or king of the Sarafins, and the which did afterwards vanquish them: and yet they grew so familiar with them, as after that time the Turkes and Sarafins were reputed but one nation.

We haue thought it expedient, for the more light of our historie, to make this digression and to seeke out the beginning of this indomptible power of the Arabians, and to relate the succession of that Estate, vntill their entrie into Spaine vnder the conduct of *Tarif*, or *Tarif Aben Zerca*, who defeated king *Roderic*, as we haue shewed in the former booke, where this king dyed, and in a manner all the flower of the nobilitie of the countrey, in the yeare of our saluation seven hundred and fouretee, in Iuly, or according vnto some, in September.

Returning then to our historie, we say, That the Arabians, or Moors (as wee will rearme them indifferently hereafter) hauing obtained this great victorie, in a realme without forts, it was then easie for them to rauage and spoile the whole countrey at their pleasure, seeing there was no force to withstand them. They diuided their armie into many troupes, & at one instant assailed all the places which they thought to be of any strength. One of their armies went against Malaga, and tooke it: another marched to Cordoua, vnder the conduct of a Christian Kenigado, called *Magetard*. *Tarif* with another troupe tooke Iaca, then called Mentisa, which defended it selfe to the last extremitie, the which he rafed: then he tooke Toledo and Guadalaiaara. And passing on, hauing for his guide *Mugnuza*, or *Numatius*, a Goth, hee came vnto the Asturias, where he seized vpon Gigion and Astorga. Returning towards Catalogne, vnder the conduct of *Mugnoc*, earle of Cerdagne, he made himselfe master of that countrey, and left the earle there for Gouvernour. Another armie conquered the countie of Murcia and Granado, but not without resistance: for neere vnto Horiuela there was a cruell battell, the place carries the name vnto this day of the bloody field, yet the Sarafins were victors. Valencia yielded after that the inhabitants had beene beaten in field, yet vpon condition, to leaue a temple to the Christians, which is now that of *S. Bartholemew*, and was then a colledge of *S. Basil*. Among other riches, mention is made of a table of Emeraud, which they carried away, the which was in a place since called Medina Talmid, it is Siguenza, or Medina Zelin. It was rather a certaine kind of Indian Iasppe, very like vnto an Emeraud, and very common in the East, whereof they hold, that Catin to be, which is so famous at Genua. The greedinesse of spoyle was the reason they wanted not any souldiors, for all Africk posted thither. The taking of Toledo was vpon a Palme Sunday, in the yeare 715, by the treacherie of the Iewes, whilest the Christians were at a Sermon at *S. Leocades* church in the suburbe.

*Musa* Gouvernour of Africk, jealous of the fortunat successe of *Tarif*, came himselfe in person into Spaine, and would haue the best part of the spoile. Afterwards they made war joyntly together, notwithstanding that they were deadly enemies, and took *Sarragosse* & other towns. The reliques of Saints which they had so much reuerenced, and worshipped in stead of God, could neither defend the Spaniards, nor save themselves: for it is to be presumed, that these Barbarians did not bear them any great respect, after they had seized vpon the ornaments and chests of gold or siluer, where they had bin kept: yet if you wil beleue the monks and other their fauourers, they lost not many, the greatest part hauing bin preferred by the care of the Clergie

Arabian and  
Moors one na-  
tion in this li-  
storie.

Exploits of the  
Arabians in  
Spaine.

A table of Em-  
eraud.

The Moors were  
first conquerors in  
Spain.

The least care of  
conquering a  
religion.

Seven churches  
left to the Chris-  
tians at Toledo

The Moors are  
said to have  
followed by  
many Christians  
for spoyle.

Quiedo,  
Pelagius first  
Christian king of  
the Asturias.

Clergie, and other deuout men, who transported some into Fraunce, others into Germanie, England, and other places, where in the time of our predecessors they were yet worshipped. Some authors write, That the Moors were eight moneths about the conquest of Spaine, others foureteene, many two yeares; but the most probable, five yeares: for it is not credible, that so great a country, where there were so many Christians, and so many places of strength, at the least by nature, should fall in so short a time into the Infidels power, without any opposition: for they maintaine, That in diuers encounters, assaults, and sieges of townes and castles, there died about seven hundred thousand Christians. Tarracone among others defended it selfe virtuously, who shewed by their valour, that it was a true auncient Colonie of the Romanes. In the end God hauing decreed to punish this people for their sinnes, and to admonish the other profaners of his glorie, it was forced to yeeld.

All the regions, cities, townes, and castles of Spaine, except some places in the mountaines of Asturia, Biscaie, and Nauarre, were made subject and tributaries to the Moors; who had no great care at that time to force men in their religion, but did allow them the exercise thereof: and to some townes they granted many priuiledges, for that they would not vnpeople the country, burthening them with great tributes, which was all they sought.

The citie of Toledo among others had seven churches granted them for the exercise of their religion, which were, *S. Iuste, S. Luke, S. Torquat, S. Marke, S. Eulalie, S. Sebastian, and S. Marie*. Moreouer, it was granted, that they should haue judges of their owne religion and nation, and be gouerned by the lawes of the kings of Gothes, with other priuiledges. By this meanes the Moors retained an infinit number of Christian families, which liued and multiplied vnder them, else Spaine had bene left desart, for the Arabians could not people it. The Christians which liued among the Arabians, were called Musarabes (as it is likely) of the name of the Gouverneur *Musa*, who would bee famous by this conquest. These Musarabes Christians did celebrate their diuine seruice, as it had bene vsed in the time of the kings of Gothes, and according to the institution of *Isidorus* bishop of Seuille, or of *Leandre*, as they had accustomed to serue God in those times throughout all Spaine, and continued vntill the seruice, called Gregorian, or Romane, was brought in, as we shall shew hereafter. This Musarabic seruice, is entertained at this day for a marke of antiquitie, in the chappell of the companie of Christs bodie, in the great church of Toledo, and in other places of that citie. They hold it for certaine, that all the Moors and other Africanes which past into Spaine, were not of *Mahumets* sect, but a good number of them were Christians: For it is not credible, that the Africanes, who were made subject vnto the Arabians, a little before their passage into Spaine, borne and bred in the Christian religion, and vnder Christian princes, should so soone haue changed their religion: But it is probable, that being newly subjected to the Mahumetane kings, many followed their armies wherefoeuer they went, without any scruple of religion, although they were Christians, hauing no other end but spoile, as most souldiours doe commonly.

The kings and Caliphes of the Arabians, did not care to force people newly conquered, to change their religion, but suffered them to liue with libertie, least they should vnpeople the country, and diminish the fruits of their victories. And that Africke had preserved families of Christians, it is verified by experience, as we haue formerly shewed. The like was in Spaine, the which notwithstanding the gouernment of the Moors, did still retaine a great number of Christians, as well borne in the country, as others that came out of Africke to dwell there, holding the Moors partie, the which made the enterprises of the kings of Leon and Castille, and of other Christian princes, more easie to be executed, when following the steps of *Pelagius* (who first tooke arms against the Moors) they began to recouer the country.

### Pelagius first King of the Asturias, the deliuerer of Spaine.

4 *Pelagius* (as we haue said) was the footman of *Fasila*, Gouverneur of Biscaie, whom *Vitiza* before he was king had slaine, that he might more freely enjoy his vnchaste wife: After whose death *Pelagius* retired himselfe into a place of safetie in the mountaines, and there was pre-

A preserved through the fauour of his kinsmen and friends, by the prouidence of God, who had so decreed to giue a beginning to the deliuerie of Spaine. They say, that the Cantabrians were the last people of Spaine, which were made subiect to the Roman power; and the last also that were drawne away, to vndergoe the Gothes yoke: whom notwithstanding they could neuer so subiect, as they would euer yeeld to any other lawes and manners, than those that were fit for them. During the Moors conquest, it is also to be presumed, that they maintained themselves in some libertie; and in like manner all the other people of Spaine, where as the mountaines, and places of hard access, gaue them any meanes to defend themselves. Yet we must confesse, that they could not altogether assure themselves from that horrible inundation; but they escaped better then the rest of the Spaniards which were found in the champion country of more easie access. The which is euident, by the report which the Spanish Authors make of this *Pelagius*; saying, That after the Moors had reigned five yeres in Spaine, he hauing resolved in himselfe to giue some succours to the afflicted Christians, left his secret retreats, and came into the Asturias of Quiedo, where there was one *Nymistius*, otherwise called *Magnusa*, by corruption of the language; a Christian by profession, but seruing the Moors, and by them made Gouverneur of the country of Gigion, into whose friendship and seruice he did insinuate himselfe. Whereby we may coniecture, that betwixt the Moors and Cantabrians there was some commerce, some league, and (it may be) subiection, yet vpon honest and tollerable conditions, by reason of the strong situation of their country.

As lust had bene the cause of the ruine of the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine, so voluptuous desire made the Moors power decrease there. For *Pelagius* hauing a faire and louely sister in his house, this *Magnusa* grew in loue with her; and fearing he should not obtaine her, she being wife, and well bred, her brother being in the country, he resolved to giue him a commission, to goe to the great Admirall *Musa* in embassade, to Cordoua, during which voyage he forced this Gentlewoman. *Pelagius* aduertised at his returne of what had past, notwithstanding that all might be couered vnder colour of mariage, which *Magnusa* said he had promised to his sister, yet he held this rape and violence done to the contempt and dishonour of his house: but he dissembled it for the present, and when he found a conuenient opportunitie, he retired himselfe with his sister into the strongest parts of the mountaines of Asturia, watching meanes to reuenge himselfe. *Magnusa* incensed, for that he had taken her from him whom he loued, and who he said was his wife, and finding his honour thereby interested, he gaue the Gouvernors and Commanders of the Arabians in Spaine to vnderstand, That *Pelagius* made attempts against their State: wherefore thinking it needfull to prevent it in time, they sent great store of souldiers to *Magnusa*, to suppress him, who had almost surprised him: but it was the will of God that *Pelagius* should haue intelligence of this storme which was comming towards him: who hauing past the riuer of Ponia, he retired into the vallie of Cangas, where he found many wandring Christians, liuing in those places in great feare of the Moors. Whose wills he hauing founded, and exhorted them to be courageous, and to fight valiantly for the common cause, and to relie vpon the assistance of God, he found them readie to imploy themselves for the libertie of their country; and moreover they were so affected vnto him, as they chose him their capitaine and leader in this wortheie enterprise, giuing him then the title of King. And within few dayes the brute of this enterprise being dispersed through the mountaines, the Chrihians which lay hidden, came vnto him from all parts, so as in a short time he found himselfe strong ynough to defend himselfe against any that should come to assaile him. The Moors armie hauing failed at this time, returned to Cordoua.

We may well coniecture, that *Pelagius* was of the Gothick race, yet the Spaniards denie it, hauing no forcible argument, but that the name of *Pelagius* was not vsuall among the Goths, and they maintaine, without any other proofes, That he was defended of that country by long succession, whereof we can speake nothing assured: But whatsoeuer he were, that honor is due vnto him, as a valiant Prince: for although it seemes that he was forced to take armes for the private iniurie done vnto his sister, and himselfe; yet he shewed great discretion, that he could wisely ioyne the publick cause with his priuat interest, and pursue the reuenge of the one and the other, by all the iust meanes which opportunitie and the estate of their affairs did allow.

Magnusa a  
Christian ser-  
uing the Moors.

Magnusa fir-  
ceth Pelagius  
sister.

Pelagius persua-  
ded his sister  
into the  
mountaines of  
Asturia.

Pelagius chosen  
king of the Chri-  
stians dispersed.

Gar-

Garcia Ximenes first King of Sobrarbre,  
deliuerer of Spaine.

**A**T that time such as had retired, and preferred themselves in the Pyrennees, Nauarre, and the high country of Arragon, began to stirre; who chose *Garcia Ximenes* for their head, being a noble house among the Gothes, although the name seemes to come to contradict that opinion: who in the beginning gathered together 600 resolute men, with the which he did great exploits, as the Spanish Authors say; who report, That after he had recovered Ainsa from the Moors, & given them a great defeat, he tooke for the royall Armes of Sobrarbre, a red crosse planted vpon an Oke in a field, or, for that such a signe had appeared vnto him during the conflict before the which he caried only a field of gold. These were the beginnings of the realmes of Ouiedo and Nauarre, or Sobrarbre, as it was then called, about the year Anno 716. 716, and according to the computation of the Spaniards Era 754, or as some say, 718, and 756, the Moores being Lords and masters of all the good townes in Spaine.

In all places held by the Moores, there were many Christians, retained by their mildnesse, and the loue of their naturall country, which contended themselves to liue tributaries: to whom the Christian religion was allowed, wherein they had bene bred, and to celebrate that forme of seruice which had bene instituted by *Isidore*, or *Leandre*, Bishops of Seuille. These Christians, as we haue said, were called *Musarabes*, and their seruice *Musarabic*. The forme of their Masses and ceremonies is described by *Vasee* and others, to whom we referre the curious reader. Whilest that *Vrbain*, who had bene chosen Bishop of Toledo, liued, he was carefull of his flocke: but about all he had a care to transport the reliques of his church to Ouiedo. *Frodoaire* Bishop of Eccia, and *Euatius* Archdeacon of Toledo, were famous for their learning and integritie, with *Iohn* Bishop of Seuille, who translated the Bible into the Arabian tongue. The Arabians hauing settled their affaires in Spaine, and provided for the safetie of their places and forts, *Musa* and *Tarif* prepared to repasse the sea, being called home by *Vlit*, great *Miralmumin*, or *Miramamoln*, to giue him an account of their conquests, and government. Wherefore they left the gouernment of Spaine to *Abdulazis*, the sonne of *Musa*, who kept his court at Seuille, and there married the widow of king *Roderigo Egilone*: and to *Alcaman* a captaine of the Moores, there were great forces giuen both of horse and foot, to goe against *Pelagius*, who gathered souldiers together in the mountaines of Asturia.

*Abdulazis* first  
gouernor of the  
Moores, residing  
at Seuille.

Anno 618.

Ouiedo.

This *Alcaman* led *Oppa*, or *Olpa*, sometimes Archbishop of Toledo, in his companie. *Pelagius* in the meane time fortified himselfe, and being aduertised of the Moores approaching, he marched towards them with his troupes, and came & lodged at mount *Auseba*, and seised vpon the straits and passages thereof; where hee attended with a thousand choyce Christians, hauing disposed the rest (which were lesse assured, and worse armed) vpon the top of the rockes and eminent places, as he thought it fit, to annoy the Moores, if they came on.

*Oppa* Archbi-  
shop of Seuille,  
an Apostat.

A notable victo-  
ry of the Christians  
against the  
Moores.

He was first solicited by the Archbishop *Oppa*, to lay aside armes, and to submit himselfe to the mercie of the *Miralmumin Vlit*; assuring him that he should bee well intreated both in his goods and honour. That if he should persist in his rebellion, he should consider into what miseries he plunged himselfe, and what small likelihood he had to make head against the great power of the Arabians, whom the force of all the Gothes could not resist. Which persuasions *Pelagius* did virtuously reiect, so as comming to fight, God assisted him, and gaue him victorie ouer this multitude of Barbarians, of whom there were slaine (as they write) about twentie thousand vpon the place: not without some miracles in the furie of the fight; for they say, that the arrowes which were shot against the Christians, returned against the enemies themselves. *Alcaman* the Generall of this armie was slaine there, and no man knew what became of *Oppa*. This admirable victorie was the first testimonie which God gaue the afflicted Christians of their restauration, the which *Pelagius* obtained in the year 718, *Musa* and *Tarif* being not yet embarked, but they parted soone after, leauing the reuenge of this losse to *Abdulazis*.

Ta.

**A**Tarif got the start, and arrived at the Court of *Miralmumin Vlit*, before *Musa*, whom he accused of many abuses and exactions; and did so incense the Prince, as *Musa* at his arriuall was not onely disgraced, but condemned in a great fine, so as he died for griefe. His gouernment was giuen to *Alabor* by *Vlit*, or by his successor *Zuleima*, otherwise called *Zulcimin*: for they say that *Vlit* died in the same year 718. *Alabor* hearing of the defeat giuen vnto the Moores by *Pelagius*, had a conceit, that it happened by the fraud or trecherie of *Cont Julien*, and the children of *Vitiza*: whereupon he put them to death, and did forfeit their goods. *Abdulazis*, who held Seuille, being importuned by his wife, who was grieved, that from being a Queene she was now become the wife of a Viceroy, or Gouernour of Spaine, tooke vpon him the title and Royall Diademe, against the custome of the Arabians: but it lasted not long; for in the third year of his raighe he was slaine in a church as he was at prayers, by certaine Arabians, which had conspired against him, being persuaded that he was become a Christian. His wife was also slaine.

The Sarafines  
inuaide Languedoc.

After him *Aiub* raigned, who changed the royall seat from Seuille to Cordoua: some Authors say it was his successor *Alabor*. He built againe the towne of Bilbilis, which had bene ruined, and called it by his name *Calat Aiub*. The Sarafines were growne so proud, as not contenting themselves with the conquest of Spaine, they attempted to passe the Pyrennee mountaines, and inuaide the Gotick Gaule, which is at this day called Languedoc, all which they conquered in a manner, euen vnto the Alpes. And, whilest they fedd themselves with hope to become Maisters of all Gaule, they neglected the affaires of Asturia, and the enterprises of *Pelagius*: who hauing woon great honour by the victorie which he had obtained, he found himselfe fortified in a short time with a great number of Christians, which came vnto him from all parts, yea out of those townes which were held by the Moores: Wherefore he neither lost time nor opportunitie, but taking occasion when they were busied in their other warres, he tooke Leon from them, going on still in his course. This was in the year 722. Leon taken by the Christians. Then he left (as the Spaniards say) the Gothes Armes, and carried a Lion gueules in a field argent, which are at this day the Armes of Leon: Yet he called himselfe King of Ouiedo, without any other title. Yet it is not verie certaine, that these Armes of a Lion gueules were first of all carried by *Pelagius*; but it is without all question, that the Lion which is in the Armes of Leon, hath no reference to the name of the towne, which was in old time called Legio. Among others which had followed *Pelagius* in diuers encounters which he had against the Moores, there was a Nobleman of Biscaie, of the bloud royall, descended from *Ricarde*, named *Alphonfus*, sonne to one *Peter* gouernour of Biscaie, or Duke, as they were then called, who, it is likely, was substituted in the place of *Fasilla*, slaine by *Vitiza*. To this *Alphonfus* (for that he was wise and valiant, and had drawne many good offices from him) hee gaue his daughter *Ormisinde* in mariage; from whom and this *Alphonfus* are descended the kings of Leon.

*Alphonfus* a  
Biscaie sonne in  
law to *Pelagius*,  
the stem of the  
kings of Ouiedo  
and Leon.

On the other side there was some alterations in Nauarre, whilest the Moores were busie in Languedoc, and other parts of Gaule, so as *Garcia Ximenes* laid the foundations of his principallitie or kingdome in these mountaines. The histories of Arragon attribute the honour of the beginning of this royaltie to their country, calling it the kingdome of Sobrarbre, the which are mountaines at this present in the confines of Arragon: But we find that this *Garcia* was Lord of Amescua and Abarfusa, places neere vnto them, where as the towne of Estella was afterwards built. There were other enterprises made in Cattelognia, & elsewhere.

Moores.  
*Alabor* third  
Viceroy.

After *Aiub*, *Alor*, or *Alabor*, sonne to *Abderramen*, was Viceroy of Spaine, about the year 719, and the Era 757: who shewed himselfe rigorous to the Moores and Arabians, who had first taken and sackt Spaine: whom he intangled in diuers accusations, that he might spoyle them of the wealth which they had gotten. So as, if the Christian Spaniards were punished, those which punished them had no great content of the aduantage which God had giuen them ouer their people. To *Zubeima* the Caliph, there succeeded in the year 719, two of his nephewes, *Homar* the sonne of *Abdimazir*, and *Iziz*, or *Giziz*, the sonne of *Abdimetec*: but *Iziz* died soone after, and *Homar* raigned alone, who sent *Adam* the sonne of *Melic* into Spain for Gouernour, who (as they say) made the bridge at Cordoua. We haue said (according to the opinion of many graue Authors, well informed of the disposition of the Arabians) that it is a nation which hath euer bene enemie to rest, and to all good lawes and policie, the which can-

*Homar* and *Iziz*  
Caliphs.  
*Adam* fourth  
Viceroy of the  
Moores.

Q ij

cannot long containe it selfe in any good order, nor vnder one prince, or lawfull magistrat. According to their naturall disposition, those which inhabited Spaine, made hauocke of all things by their robberies and thefts: whereupon this Viceroy *Adam* punished many of them by pecuniarie fines, and thereby made himselfe partaker of their spoyle. They say he exacted the fifth part of their substance: the which he did also of the inhabitants of the townes and castles of Spaine, which he tooke by force, and the twentieth part of them which yielded willingly vnto him. He died at Tortose, returning from the spoyle of Tarraffone. At that time the Sarrafines made great conquests in Gaule; they tooke Narbone, and besieged Toulouse, vnder the conduct of *Zama*, who was slaine there. *Eude*, a Goth, a nobleman of Biscaye, Duke of Aquitaine in the right of his wife, kindled this warre, and perswaded *Muniz*, a Moore, making warre in Languedoc, to rebellion against *Abderramen*; giuing him a daughter of his to wife. By reason whereof he was assailed by *Abderramen*, besieged, and taken in Cerdagne, and his head sent with his wife into Africke. *Abderramen* pursuing his victorie against *Eude*, defeated him neere Arles, and gaue him another rout about Bourdeaux, spoyleing and burning all the countrey betwixt the Pyrenees & the riuer of Loire: Yet in the end they concluded a peace, the Moore fearing the French whom he had incensed by these spoyle.

*Abderramen's fifth  
gouernor of the  
Moors in  
Spaine.*

Anno 725.  
*Eucled Caliph.*

*Eude draws  
the Moors into  
Spaine, & then  
betrayes them.*

An. 730.

*Ishba 6 Viceroy.  
Moore.  
Adaisa 7.  
Hiemen 8.  
Autuman 9.  
Albatan 10.*

*The second en-  
trie of the  
Moors into  
Gaule.*

*Quiedo.  
An. 735.*

*Vertue is not  
aduaiced here  
at all.*

*Eude* died in the year 725, whom *Eucled* his sonne succeeded, and was vnsfortunate. During whose raigne, *Eude* Duke of Aquitaine, being threatened by the French, who raigned in Gaule, to whom he was suspect: and fearing their power, he called in against them that great multitude of Arabians, and Sarafines, which were defeated in Touraine by *Charles Martel*; which some affirme, were about foure hundred thousand men, who notwithstanding were betrayed, and abandoned to the slaughter, by *Eude*, hauing ioynd with *Martel* the day of the battell, and turned his forces against them who were come, by his persuation, to inhabit Gaule. Their Generall *Abderramen* gouernour of Spaine, was slaine there, with about three hundred thousand Arabians. This memorable battell, which faued Gaule and the kingdome of the French from vtter ruine, was fought in the year 730, or according to some Spanish Authors, 734: who say, That during these practises, Pope *Gregorie* the third then resident at Rome, had sent vnto *Eude* certaine hallowed sponges, the which being cut into small peeces, and distributed among the souldiers, preserved all such as carried them from being wounded, both in that battell, and afterwards in all other incounters.

*Eucled* sent *Ishba* into Spaine for Viceroy, who gouerned two yeares, and was the sixt, residing at Cordoua. To *Ishba* *Adaisa Alcazazim* succeeded, a rash inconsiderate man, and therefore soone deposed: whom *Hiemen* succeeded, who liued but six monethes; and then *Autuman* was aduanced, but he died within foure monethes after. *Albatan* followed him, who was cruell and inhumane, by reason whereof he lost both gouernment and life, by the commaundement of the great Emperor or Caliph, *Eucled*, hauing gouerned Spaine two moneths only. It may be it was in his time that the children of *Eude* Duke of Aquitaine deceased, being depriued of their possessions by the tyranie of the French, called the Arabians and Sarafines againe into Gaule, who spoiled the whole countrey betwixt the Pyrenees and the riuer of Loire, Languedoc, and Prouence, and seised vpon many strong places, whereof Auignon was one. The sons of *Eude* were *Hunola*, *Ysfar*, and *Azner*. The head of the Moores in this expedition, were *Athin* and *Amorree*: *Athin* was defeated by *Charles Martel*, and being chased out of Auignon, he fled to Narbone: where being besieged, *Amorree* comming out of Spaine to raise the siege, he was also defeated with all his armie, and pursued and slaine neere to Colible, at the foot of the Pyrenees. *Charles Martel* pursuing his victorie, committed greater spoiles then the Sarrafines and Infidels had done. *Athin* saued himselfe in Spaine, and hauing afterwards past into Africk, he died at the siege of Tanger.

This yere of Christ 735 king *Pelagius* died at Cangas, leauing to succeed him his son *Fasila*, and his daughter *Orsuinde*, or *Ormisinde*, the wife of *Alphonso* of Biscaye, one after another; hauing reigned 19 yeres, or 17 according to the most certaine. His wife was called *Gaudienfe*. They were interred in the church of S. *Zulalia* of Valania.

### Fasila second King of Quiedo.

**F** *Fasila* sonne to *Pelagius*, second king of Quiedo, reigned onely two yeares. He was not so carefull as his father, to aduance the Christians Estate in Spaine. The Moores in like maner

**A** ner did not arme against him, for they were much troubled with the French warres. Wherefore this king giuing himselfe to the pleasure of hunting, more then was fit for his estate (not yet settled) was slaine by a Beare, which he pursued in the mountaines, being abandoned by his followers: Which some hold was in the year 737, but *Garibay* sayes, that there is a great error in the computation of these yeares. He was married to a Ladie called *Froena*, and they are both interred at S. Croix neere to Cangas.

After the death of *Albatan* gouernour of Spaine, *Manes* succeeded, who continued not long: then *Mahomet*, who liued but two monethes: After him *Abderramen*, who gouerned three yeares; who being dead, *Abdemic* ruled Spaine foure yeares, who punished some pertie tyrants, and hauing drawne a new people out of Africke, he filled the townes that were made desolate by the about mentioned defeats. He was chased out of his gouernement by *Orba*, who held it five yeares: then *Abdemic* returned, and gouerned a yere and a halfe, in whose place *Alcataran* was gouernour: who seeking to free Spaine of many strange souldiers; who were entertained then by the Caliph, he was slaine by them: So as the gouernment was vsurped by *Aben Hax*, who was presently set vpon by the children of *Alcataran*; who hauing vanquished him, he died within 15 dayes after: and then there grew great diuisions and troubles in Spaine; to suppress the which, the Emperour of the Arabians sent *Zubeir* with great forces, who pacified all these diffinitions, and contented the mutined souldiers with great entertainments: to satise the which, he tooke from the Christians (which liued vnder the subiection of the Moores) the third part of their goods. This gouernour *Zubeir* meaning to enter into Gaule, was preuented by the king of the French, who it seemes was *Pepin*, and defeated beyond the Pyrenees. He also sent a captaine against *D. Alphonso* the first, king of Quiedo: but he was vanquished by the Christian armie; and in this battell were slaine all the Arabian souldiers which had mutined. After *Zubeir*, *Abderramen* came to gouerne Spaine: then *Iber* *Vzit*, who liued little, and to him succeeded *Abubacar*, but he was slaine there, and in his place *Rodon* gouerned at Cordoua. It was the seat for the generall Gouernor of all Spaine, of whom depended all other Gouernors, Captaines, or Admiralls.

### D Alphonso, the first of that name, and third King of Quiedo.

**7** *Alphonso* called the Catholicke, sonne to *Peter*, Duke or Gouernour of the Cantabrians, *Quiedo*. or Biscains (of the Gothes race) descended from king *Ricaredo*, succeeded *Fasila* in the kingdome of Quiedo, in the right of his wife *Orsuinde*, or *Ormisinde*, daughter to *Pelagius*, and sister to *Fasila*, in the yere of Christ 737, and of their Era 775. It is likely this was the first woman which did inherit the Crowne in Spaine, vnlesse *Alphonso* were chosen king by the Spaniards, the which is credible: for the right of succession was not then in vse among those people, in regard of kingdomes. It is likely the name of Catholicke was giuen to this *Alphonso*.

**E** *so*, by some writers, for that he was a deuout Prince, and verie curious to enrich temples: yet the title of Catholicke which is giuen to the kings of Spaine at this day, comes not from him, the which we know was granted by Pope *John* the eighth, vnto king *D. Alphonso* the third; and by Pope *Iulio* the second, vnto the king *D. Ferdinand* the fifth, in the time of our fathers, for some considerations which we will hereafter shew. This prince was warlike, and tooke from the Sarafines the townes of Lugo, Tuy, Astorga, and a great part of old Castille, the second yere of his raigne: then Porto, Beia, Flauia, Ledesma, Zamora, Cimancas, Duegnas, Saldagne, Miranda, Segobia, Ofme, Auila, Sepulueda, Birbiesca, and all the countrey of Bureba, Braga, Vila, Salamanca, and others, which at this day belong to Portugal, Leon, Castille, & Nauarre; restoring the Bishops to their auncient seas, cherishing the Clergie, and making libraries in many parts of his countrey: he also tooke the towne of Pampelone in Nauarre. All which conquests he made, the Moores being not onely busied in the warres of France, but in ciuile diffinitions among themselves; being also fauored & receiued by the Christians which were the inhabitants in many places, whom they called *Musarabes*, liuing tributaries vnder the Moores. In his time *Cixila* was Bishop of the *Musarabes* of Toledo, a holy and learned man, as they say, who succeeded *Yrbain*, & after him *Peter*, surnamed the Faire, gouerned that church.

Q iij

Anno 737

*The surname of  
Catholicke.*

*The conquests of  
king Alphonso  
the first.*

*Bishops of Toledo  
in the time of  
the Moors.*

The



Moors.

The estate of the Arabians was full of troubles after the death of the *Miralmurim Enclid*, being in contention for the government: in the which *Gizeis* the third was slaine, and *Hizes* his sonne remained Emperour, who reigned a yeare: After whom *Marnan*, of the race of *Humeis*, reigned six yeares. But there grew great civile warres by reason of these diuisions, the which in the end ruined their Estate. In the yeare 753 *Toaba* was sent to gouerne in Spaine, a souldier, and a man of worth; but he liued only a yeare. *Ioseph* was substituted in his place, a great enemy to the Christians: who hauing bene vnfortunate in his warres against king *Froila*, who slue about 50000 of his men in two battels: he was disdained by the Moores in Spaine, who called in *Abderramen* to rule ouer them.

Three Sunnes  
seene in Spaine.

Ouiedo built.

At that time there were three Sunnes seene in Spaine, and for the space of two yeres there fell not any raine from heauen, which caused a great dearth of corne, and of all other things: and soone after king *Alphonso* died. Some hold that this king was the founder of the towne of *Quiedo*, whereof he intituled himselfe king: others say it was *Pelagius*; and some make it more auncient. He reigned 19 yeares, and liued 64, and was buried with his wife in *S. Maries* monasterie at Cangas. They held him for a Saint, and they say, that at his funerall there were voices heard singing in the aire, this verse in Latine; *Ecce quo modo tollitur iustus, & nemo considerat, ablatus est à facie iniquitatis, & erit in pace memoria eius*: Behold how the iust man is taken away, and no man considers it; he is taken from the face of iniquitie, and his memorie shall rest in peace. He had three sonnes by his wife *Ormesinde*; *Froila*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Quiedo*, *Vimaran*, and *Aurelius*; and one daughter *Odesinde*: he had also one sonne I called *Mauuegar*, by a concubine.

## D. Froila fourth King of Ouiedo.

Anno 756.  
Priests forbid-  
den to marie.

8 IN the yeare 756 *Froila* was king in the place of his father *Alphonso*. They attribute to him, as a holy ordinance, that he did forbid the Clergie of Spaine to marie, the which they had vsed, and it may be abused since the raigne of *Vitiza*, and had made them subiect to the decree of Pope *Gregorie* the first, and the Councell of Rome. This act is written of him as good and holy, although in many other things he shewed himselfe cruell and wicked. *Ioseph* K gouernour for the Moores being in armes against him, and hauing spoyled the confines of *Gallicia*, they came to battell, which *Froila* woon: he slue 54000 Moores, and put the rest with their Commaunder to a shamefull flight.

A great defeat  
of Moores.Nauarro or Sa-  
brabre.

*Garcia Ximines*, who (as we haue said) had begun a principalltie or royaltie in *Sobrabre*, tooke to wife a Ladie of a noble house, called *Iniga*; by whom he had one sonne, called *Garcia Inigo*. He intituled himselfe king of that countrey: wherewith the *Nauarrois* being discontented, they abandoned him, and ioined to the king of *Quiedo*. The first occasion which the Christians (inhabiting in the mountaines of *Nauarre* and *Arragon*) tooke to erect an Estate, and make head against the Moores, was of an assemblie at the interment of an Hermit which liued in the rockes neere vnto *Iaca*. This Hermit was buried in the place whereas afterwards the monasterie of *S. Iohn de la Pegna* was built, the which at the first was a Colledge of Chanoins. *Garcia Ximines* reigned 42 yeares, and left his pettie kingdom to *Garcia Inigo* his sonne, to whom the *Nauarrois* submitted themselves againe: but *Froila* reigning in *Quiedo*, forced them by armes to returne to his obedience.

Ouiedo.

Title of Dom  
first vsed.Froilamurthers  
his brother.

*Froila* married the daughter of *Eude* Duke of *Aquitaine*, called *Menine*, or according vnto some, *Momerane*; by whom he had two sonnes, *Alphonso*, called the Chast, and *Bermond*, or *Veremond*, both which reigned, although that *D. Bermond* was made by the Clergie: and moreover he had a daughter by her, called *D. Ximina*, who was mother to *Bernard* of *Carpio*. This king did first vse the title of *Dom*, which the king and all the Noblemen of Spaine haue euer since obserued. What the furious desire of raigne is, and with what ielousie kings are often tormented, *Froila* shewed by the cruell parricide of his brother *Vimaran*, whom he caused to be slaine through ielousie, seeing him to be a gallant Knight, and generally beloued for his good parts; yet he repented the fact, but too late. For satisfaction whereof, they write, that he adopted the sonne of *Vimaran*, called *Veremond*, to succeed him in the kingdom: the which hath bred some doubt, whether this *Veremond* (which came to the Crowne in the fourth

A fourth place after *Froila*, were the sonne of *Vimaran*, or of *Froila* himselfe; who soone after was also slaine by his other brother *Aurelius*, in reuenge of the death of *Vimaran*, hauing reigned eleven yeares and a halfe, or thereabouts.

9 During the raigne of this king the Arabians of Spaine diuided themselves wholly from the Caliphs of *Damas*, vnder *Abderramen*, who chased and in the end slew the Gouernour or Viceroy *Ioseph*, made himselfe king, and *Miralmurim* or *Miramomelin*, and field Spaine with that title 33 yeares, not acknowledging the Emperour or Caliph of *Damas* in any thing. This was in the yeare 757 of our redemption, and 138 yeares after the Moores descent in Spaine; by reason of the diuision of the foueraigne dignitie of the Arabians in the East: for against

B *Marnan*, who had succeeded *Hizes*, Caliph of the Arabians at *Damas*, there had risen many tyrants, whereof he punished some, but *Asmulin* vanquished him. This was of the race of *Mutar*, who had reigned in *Perfia*, and followed his sect, maintaining that *Ali* had bene the true Prophet, and greater then *Mahumet*: he commaunded then ouer the *Corasenes*, a people in *Perfia*: He was aduised by *Caraban* his friend, to procure the slaues throughout all *Perfia* to kill their masters, and to rob them; the which they did, and came rich with their masters spoyles to *Asmulin*. Soone after being impatient of ease, they diuided themselves into two sects, the *Caismes* and *Lamonites*; *Asmulin* taking part with the *Lamonites*, defeated the others, and with his victorious bands assayed *Iolin*, Gouernour of *Perfia*, vnder the Caliph *Marnan*, whom he vanquished, and *Marnan* also, who came against him with aboute three hundred thousand fighting men, forcing him to flie into *Egypt*, whither he was followed,

Asmulin Caliph  
and his villo-  
ries.

C defeated, and slaine by *Salin*, the sonne of *Asmulin*, by whom through his victories the kingdom of the *Perfians* was setled in his familie. The rest of *Marnans* familie and followers were disperfed in *Asticke*, where they erected the kingdom of *Fez*, and some passed into *Spaine*, which might be that race of *Abderramen*, of whom we here intreat; who notwithstanding *Vasee* affirmes was basely descended: and *Garibay* on the other side sayes, that he was issued from the race of *Aben Humeis*, and from *Zaineb* the daughter of *Mahumet*. His father was called *Moabia*, and his seat was also at *Cordoua*: he brought his armie before *Valence*, which resisted him, and tooke it. They say, that the bones of *S. Vincent* were worshipped there, and that many families among these Christians, ill instructed, fearing the coming of this Saracene king, dislodged, and carried these relickes into the woods and mountaines, which lye betwixt *Valence* and the mouth of the riuer of *Guadiana*: and hauing passed vnto that point which in old time was called the holie Promontorie, they were encountered by a Moore of *Fez*, called *Alibouze*, who rauaged the countrey of *Algarbe*; he slew these men, tooke their children prisoners, and left *S. Vincents* bones vpon the field, where they were afterwards found, and thereof this Promontorie was called *Cap S. Vincent*.

whence came S.  
Vincent in Al-  
garbe took the  
name.

The Almighty God (although that he had deliuered his Church into the hands of *Barbarians* and *Infidels*, by reason of the prophanation of his name, and that the *Spaniards* made little vse of their chastisements) maintained alwaies some light of the Gospell among them, raising vp men, who entertained some order and shew of Christianitie, and had the Scriptures and their ceremonies throughout all the towne of the Moores jurisdiction. They make mention of *Venus* Bishop of *Seuile*, at that time a learned man, and of a good life. *Cixilas* was Archbishop of *Toledo*, to whom *PP. Adrian* (as the Spanish Authors say) did write a letter, blaming the custome of the Christians in *Spaine* to eat flesh on *Saterdayes*, wherefore they made an order, not to eat any that day but the entrailes, head, and feet of beasts, the which hath bene since obserued.

## D. Aurelius fifth King of Ouiedo.

F D *Aurelius* succeeded his brother *D. Froila* in the realme of *Quiedo*, hauing slaine him in the yeare 767. notwithstanding that, he left a sonne called *D. Alphonso* the chast, with other children: but the hatred which the noblemen of the countrey did beare vnto his father, was the cause of his reiection, being then also verie young: whereby it appeares, that the right of succession was not in those dayes practised in *Spaine*. This Prince was politticke, and of an active spirit, yet not giuen to armes: wherefore he made a peace with the Moores,

Ouiedo.  
An. 767.The right of  
succession in the  
Crown had  
yet no place in  
Spaine.

Moore, so as during his raigne they did not attempt any thing one against another. The G bondmen in his countrey being murined against their masters, and in armes, they were supprest by the wisdom of this king, and reduced to their first condition of seruitude. They report a shamefull and abhominable thing of him among Christians, That in his capitulation with *Abderramen* to haue a peace, besides that he made himselfe his tributarie, he promised among other things, to giue euery yeare to these Barbarians a certaine number of virgins, yet *Vascon* doth attribute it to *Mauregat*. He married his sister *D. Odesinde* or *Vsende*, to a renowned knight called *D. Sillo*: and hauing reigned six yeares and six moneths, this king *D. Aurelius* died. All these kings were in a manner buried in the towne of *Languas*, which many write *Cangas*: We do not find that he had either wife or children. H

### D. Sillo, sixt King of Ouiedo.

An. 774. 11 D. Sillo his brother in law, and his sister *Vsende* or *Odesinde*, obtained the kingdome of Ouiedo, in the yeare 774.

Arnar first  
Earle of Arra-  
gon.

12 In Arragon there was an Earle called *Arnar*, risen in armes: some hold, that he was sonne or grandchild to Duke *Ende* of Guyenne, who comming to serue *D. Garcia Inigo* king of Sobrarbre, tooke *Jaca*, and obtained of him in gift the countrey which lyes betwixt the two riuers, called Arragon, with the title of Earle or Gouernour: dying, he left two sonnes, *Galinde* and *Ximen Garces*.

Ouiedo.

As for *D. Sillo*, the beginning of his raigne was troublesome, many refusing to obey him: wherefore to assure his estate, he renewed the peace with the Arabians in Spaine, and subdued his rebels by a victorie which he got of them vpon the mountaine of *Zebrero* in *Gallicia*. In the end, seeing that he had no children, he resigned the charge of affaires to *D. Alphonso* the chaff, nephew to his wife, and to her, giuing himselfe wholly to a contemplatiue life.

Moore.

In his time the noblemen Arabians enjoying the townes and prouinces of Spaine, vnder the Miralmumin *Abderramen*, impatient one of another, according to the naturall disposition of this mutinous nation, they fell to warre among themselves: *Abubatar Denisfer*, K and others, had chased away *Ibnaballa* of Saragosse, who is also called *Abi Arabi*, who called in *Charlemagne* king of France to his aid, and he entred into Spaine with a great armie, besieged Saragosse, tooke it by composition, and settled *Ibnaballa* in his Seigniorie, making the noblemen Moores that were his neighbors, his tributaries. Among other conditions accorded betwixt *Charles* and the Moores, it was said, that they should suffer (others say heare) the preachings of the Christians, the seruants of God.

The French  
drawne into  
Spaine by the  
Moore diuisi-  
ons.

### D. Garcia Inigo, second King of Sobrarbre or Nauarre.

Nauarre or  
Sobrarbre.

13 IN this growing kingdome of Nauarre, *D. Garcia Inigo* had succeeded his father *Garcia Ximenes* in the yeare 758, who reigned 44 yeares. This king enlarged his limits by reason of the Moores dissensions, and tooke *Pampelone* from them; the which we read was also taken about that time by *Charlemagne*, king of France: so, as it seemes, that being readie to come into Spaine to succour *Ibnaballa*, the petty king of Saragosse, he would seize vpon *Pampelone*, to assure his passage; and then hauing restored *Ibnaballa*, and defeated *Abderramen*, killing about 30000 of his Moores, as the Spanish Authors report, he demanteled it in his returne into France, so as it was easie for *D. Garcia* to seize thereon. M

### D. Mauregat, seuenth King of Ouiedo.

Ouiedo.  
An. 783.

14 D. Sillo died in the yeare 783, hauing held the royall seat nine yeares and one moneth, and was interred at Ouiedo, in Saint *Johns* Church, which he had built,

A built, and was afterwards transported to S. Saluador: After whose decease, by a generall consent, the realme of Ouiedo was giuen to *D. Alphonso*, the chaff: but his vnkle *D. Mauregat*, bastard brother to his father, as he had beene vnlawfully begotten, so he shewed himselfe in his actions and affections, both to him and the State, without law, without piete, and without honour: for being desirous to raigne, he layed a plot with the Moores, and by their aide, chased *Alphonso* his nephew, out of the Asturias and Leon, forcing him to retire himselfe into the counties of Alaua, and Biscaye, where he had many allies, who preferred him from the treacherous practices of this tyrant. The accord hee made with the Barbarians, to procure succours from them, was villanous, and vnworthie of a Christian Prince: for hee bound himselfe to pay them a tribute contrarie to all law and honestie, which was, fiftie virgines of noble families, and as manie of baser condition, the which hee should send yeaerly: this impure and brutish king exposing those poore Christian creatures, by an expresse agreement, vnto the damnable appetite of Infidels: by reason whereof he was hated of all men, and (as it is likely) of God also. He reigned fise yeares and fise monethes, dying without children, and was buried at Prauia.

A detestable  
tribute payed  
by a Christian  
Prince to Infidels.

In his time *Abderramen* raigning ouer all the Moores in Spaine, he did wonderfully spoyle the Christians, being verie mightie; for he had thirtie thousand horse and two hundred thousand foet in his ordinarie warres: with which forces he draue the kings of Ouiedo into the mountaines of Asturia, and brought vnder his subjection *Gallafray* king of Toledo, who made head against him, with manie other noblemen of his sect. He caused the Mosque or Mosque of Cordoua to be built, of a rich and stately structure. The Cathedral Church of that citie, admirable for the greatnesse and number of goodly pillars: the gardens and castle called *Arrizaphe* or *Alixares*, are also his workes. This Prince died in the yeare 787, and 170 of the Arabians, leauing eleuen sonnes and nine daughters. He was interred in the castle of Cordoua, and had for his successor in Spaine his sonne *Izen*, or *Ixeza*, or *Ismen*, for so he is called by diuers Authors.

Moore.  
The power of  
Abderramen,  
His work,

### D. Veremond, first of that name, and eighth King of Ouiedo.

15 D. Veremond, or Bermond, the sonne of *Froila*, reigned after *Mauregat* in Ouiedo and Leon, hauing beene of the Clergie, and made a Deacon. Wherefore fearing to offend God, if he did forsake his Clericall profession to gouerne the kingdome, he left this dignitie, and resigned it to his brother *D. Alphonso* the second yeare, or as some write, the third, of his raigne. And moreover, being married to a Ladie called *Imoline*, from that time he did forbeare her companie, notwithstanding that he had had two children, *Ramer* and *Garcia*: He liued foure yeares and six moneths after that with *D. Alphonso*, and lyes interred at Ouiedo.

Ouiedo.  
An. 789.

A Prince too  
superstitious.

16 In his time, *Izen*, *Osmen*, or *Ismen*, the second sonne of *Abderramen*, reigned at Cordoua, who seized on the Crowne, to the preiudice of his elder brother *Zuleima*, who gouerned at Toledo. The inhabitants of Toledo, and all that iurisdiction, obeyed *Zuleima* still, who tooke vpon him the title of King, seeing himselfe assured of his people. *D. Hizen* being jealous thereof, came to assaile him, where there was a great and a bloudie battaile betwixt the two brethren, neere vnto a place called *Vilches*, in the which *Zuleima* was defeated, and all the passages being stoppt, that he could not fortifie himselfe in Toledo, he fled into *Murria*; from whence he afterwards passed into *Asticke*, to seeke in-vaine for meanes to recouer that which he had lost in Spaine. *Hizen* after this victorie marched towards Toledo, and did so terrifie them of the towne (who were neither well furnished with souldiors, nor victuals) as they yeelded presently, vpon honest conditions for the inhabitants. Thus *Hizen* remained peaceable king of Spaine, being wonderfully proud and haughtie, so as presently after he sought to continue the warre in *Languedoc*, which his predecessors had begun, where he did much annoy the Christians, and carried away great spoyle, with

Moore.  
Warre betwixt  
two brethren  
Moore.

The Moores  
make warre in  
Languedoc.

with the which he did enrich the Mosquee which his father had begun at Cardoua, especial-ly with the pillage of Narbone and Gironne. In Spaine he sent a great armie vnto the Asturias, against king *D. Alphonso* the chaste, who refused to send him that vnworthie and tyrannous tribute of virgines, whereunto king *Maurice* the bastard had submitted himselfe. He found the Christians in armes neere vnto a Bourg called Ledos or Alado, where they fought with such obstinacie, as there were slaine aboute seuentie thousand Moores vpon the place, with their Generall *Maugay*, by meanes whereof the kings of Ouiedo and Leon were from that time freed from that villanous tribute. This battaile was woon, whilest that *D. Bermond* or *Vermond* the Deacon yet liued. The Moores were afterwards set vpon by the French, vpon the confines of *Rosillon*, who did succour and fauour the enterprises of *D. Alphonso* the chaste, in Castille and Galicia, *Charlemaigne* then reigning. Wee read, that the French captaines forced *Zato* or *Saad*, Gouverneur of Barcelone, to yeeld himselfe tributarie to king *Charles*, and to receiue French garisons into many places of that countrey: as they of Huesca did also, who notwithstanding freed themselves soone after: for Huesca lying farre into the enemies countrey, they could not so easily keepe it as Barcelone, being a sea towne. There was then a battaile betwixt the French and the Moores in the valley of Currol, at this day Corbiere, in the countrey of Cerdane, which the Moores lost. This was the first Prince of the Moores, which set any fleet to sea in Spaine, hauing rigged forth many ships and galliots at Almerie, whereof he gaue the charge vnto a captaine called *Mahamet*, who sackt the Islands of Maiorca, Minorca, Iuiza, and Sardaigne.

A memorable  
defeat of  
Moores.

The Moores of  
Barcelone tri-  
butaries to the  
French.

Nauarre.

Aragon.  
An. 795.

*Don Garcia Inigo*, second king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, had some difference at the passage which they say had been made by the French into Spaine, vnder *Charlemaigne*; for which cause *Charles* demanteled Pampelone, the which he had seized on, comming to Saragosse. This *D. Garcia* reigned 44 yeares, and had one sonne called *D. Fortun* *Garcies*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Sobrarbre and Nauarre. He lyes at *S. John de la Pega*.

17 In Aragon there had succeeded to Cont *Aznar*, his sonne *D. Galinde*, surnamed *Aznarris*, in the yeare 795. This Earles seat was at Iaca, acknowledging the kings of Nauarre for Soueraignes. We find nothing memorable written of him, but that he was founder of some Monasteries, and built certaine forts, and among others the castle of Athares. He had one daughter called *Theude*, the which he married to *Don Fortun*, Infant of Nauarre: others say, that she was first married to one Cont *Bernard*, a vassale to king *Charlemaigne*, who hauing seized on the mountaines of Ribagorfa, did much annoy the Moores. This Earle *Galinde* had one sonne called *D. Ximen Aznarris*, Earle of Aragon after him, and another called *Endregot Galinde*: *D. Ximen* died in the battaile which *D. Fortun* king of Nauarre had against the Moores, who were entred into his countrey by the valley of Roncal, and left no children.

Cattlogne.

whence the  
name of Cattel-  
logne comes.

18 Cattlogne began also at that time to haue Christian Earles. It is one of the most fruitfull countries in Spaine both for men and all commodities, and these Princes haue been alwaies called Earles of Barcelone, without taking any royall title. The name of Cattlogne is drawne diuersly by writers: some deriue it from the auncient Castellans, which were vpon those marches neere to the Ausitanes: others from a captaine named *Catharlot*, or *Cartharlon*: others from the Gothes and Alains (people which inhabited there together) and make the word of Gottalania, since drawne to Catalania: others not from the Gothes, but from the Gattes, a people of Germanie, mingled with the Alains: and others will deriue it from the Catalonians, vpon the marches of Tolouse. The Christians inhabiting this countrey (after that vnfortunate yeare 714, when as the Moores made themselves masters of Spaine) solicited *Charles Martel*, (who then gouerned the French State, and had gotten many victories against the Moores) to be fauorable vnto them, and to helpe them to shake off these Infidels yoke, yea after that there was some forme of Estate erected by the Christians in Asturias and Nauarre; the which *Martel* graunted them, and when as his affaires in France gaue him leaue, he sent a Germane knight called *Otter* or *Oger Catharlot*, who was Gouverneur of Aquitaine, of which countrey *Martel* had seized after the death of Count *Eude*. This captaine, accompanied with some bands of Germanes and French, gathered together such of the countrey as were fit to beare armes, and tooke some frontier places from the Moores. Then died *Charles Martel* in the yeare 741, whose sonne *Pepin* obtained the crowne of France,

A France, through the counsell and fauour of Pope *Zacharie*, about the yeare 750. During all the raigne of king *Pepin*, the Cattelans maintained themselves in warre against the Moores, with the helpe of the French, without any great aduantage, or notable successe, that is recorded; for the histories of those times are rare. After *Pepin Charlemaigne* reigned, whose sonne *Lewis* came oftentimes into Spaine by Cattlogne, and there did some exploits of armes; as also *Charlemaigne* in person, both in Cattlogne, Nauarre, and Arragon: And for that the Cattelans were mingled still with the French, during these warres, the Romane tongue which they spake (as in a manner all the rest of the Spaniards) came to be corrupted among them, so as they made a diuers language to that which they vse in Castille, not much different to that they speake on this side the Pyrenees, in Aquitaine and Languedoc. The French made such warre in Cattlogne, as a Gouverneur of Barcelone, a Moore, called *Zato*, yeelded himselfe vassale and tributarie to the Emperour *Charles*: after whose death (for hee kept his promise, although he were a Mahumetist) *Bernard* was made Earle of Barcelone, counted by the authors for the first, carrying this title, who intituled himselfe also Earle, Duke, and Marquesse of Spaine, as it appears in some letters which are found of him in the monasteries of the country, in Ribagorfa, and at Saint Peters of Tauerna.

The Cattelans  
language.

Bernard first  
Earle of Barce-  
lone, subiect to  
the French.

### Alphonso, second of that name, ninth King of Ouiedo, called the Chaste.

19 IN the Asturias of Ouiedo, the yeare 795, *D. Alphonso* was sole king, without compani-  
on, *D. Bermond* being dead. He was called the chaste, for he liued holily and chastly, An. 795.

without the companie of any woman, although he were married to a Ladie called *Berthe*; a liberal Prince to the poore, and greatly fearing God, above all a friend to Monks, and a great builder of Couents; yet notwithstanding all these things, he was wise and valiant. He had (as we haue said) one sister, called *D. Ximena*, who seeing them carelesse to marrie her, she contracted her selfe secretly to *Don Sandias*, Earle of Saldagne, who was of good yeares; for he was about 29 yeares old when as the king *D. Froila* their father died: of which marriage came a sonne called *Bernard del Carpio*. King *D. Alphonso* (who thought his sister should haue bene chaste like himselfe) was verie much discontented at this marriage, and hauing caused *Don Sandias* to come to the town of Leon, whither he had called the noblemen of his realme, he condemned him as a traitor, to end his daies in perpetuall prison, in the castle of Lune, hauing put out his eyes, he caused his sister to be put into a Monasterie of Nunnes, and yet he gaue order that the infant *Bernard* should be nourisht in Asturia as his owne sonne, who afterwards proued one of the wisest knights of his age, but not verie fortunate. They attribute to this king the building of the chiefe Church in Ouiedo, called *S. Saluator*; yet others ascribe it was the worke of king *Sillo*. But howsoeuer it were, *D. Alphonso* did augment it, and enrich it with diuers jewels, yea with reliques which had bene transported from Toledo, and other places, whereof this Church was the store-house: moreouer, with a crosse of gold, which they say had been made by two Angels, the which presented themselves vnto the king *D. Alphonso* in the habit of pilgrims.

A secret mar-  
riage secretly pu-  
nished.

20 To this is added the finding out of the Sepulchre of the Apostle *S. James*, neere vnto Iria, by the Bishop of that place, called *Theodemir*, at the relation of two men, which the Historie of *Compostella* in Latine calls *personatos*, that is to say, masked, who said they had seene Angels and torches about the place where his bodie was found, in a coffin of marble, in a wood, in the yeare 797, whereat the Spaniards themselves do much wonder, seeing they find no mention in their Histories of *S. James* Sepulcher in Spaine, in all the time which past since his death vnto the raigne of this *Alphonso*: no nor in the time of *Miron*, the first Christian king of the Sueues in Galicia, who first erected the king of the Gothes that were Christians, nor yet since. It was reuealed at that time by such apparitions to *Theodemir*, who lieued it to be the verie bodie of *S. James*, and so perswaded the king *D. Alphonso*, who was wonderfull ioyfull thereof, and built a temple, endowing it with great reuenues, taking this manifestation for a singuler fauour of God. The Spaniards haue since made him their Patron and Protector of their Countrey, calling on him in all their necessities especially in the

Inuention of *S.*  
*James* Sepul-  
chre.

the warre. Neighbour Princes were amazed at this relicke: for we read, that *Charlemagne* (in whose time *D. Alphonso* began to raigne) being aduertised of this inuention, posted thither, and afterwards obtained from Pope *Leo* the third, sitting at Rome, That the Episcopall Sea of Iria should be removed to Compostella, vnder the Metropolitan of Braga, from the which it was since exempt, as wee will shew hereafter. In king *Alphonso* time, and (as some thinke) when *Charlemagne* was in Spaine, there were two Councils held against *Elipand* Archbishop of Toledo, and *Felix* first Bishop of Vrgel, and their followers, infected with *Nestorius* heresie, who imagined a double person in Iesus Christ, as he consists of two natures, diuine and humane: for this cause *Elipand* is not in the catalogue of the Archbishops of Toledo: *Felix* had tried in vaine to draw vnto his error *Odesinde* widow to king *Hillo*.

Moore.

*Halibatan* fourth king of the Moors: warre betwixt him and his vncler.

An. 799.

21 *Abizmen Hizen* or *Ixeta*, Miraluminum, deceased in the yeare 794, hauing reigned seuen yeares and seuen moneths; to whom succeeded *Halibatan* his sonne, who either for state, or for feare and distrust, had an ordinarie gard of five thousand horsemen, part Christian renegado's, part Eunuches. In the yeare 799 *Zuleima* and *Abdalla* his vncler hearing of the death of *Hizen*, came out of Africk into Spaine (from whence they had bene chased) to trie if they might enter into Toledo, whereas *Zuleima* had reigned: they came to Valencia, and armed themselves with the forces of that towne, and so went to field, giuing them of Toledo vnderstand (whom they knew to be affected vnto them) of their coming, and designe: who acquainting other Moores therewith, they tooke armes for *Zuleima*, chasing all such out of the towne, as they thought opposite vnto them, and then they did aduertise *Zuleima* how that all went well for him; who preparing himselfe to goe to Toledo, was encountred by the armie of *Halibatan* his nephew, by the which he was defeated and slaine, this yeare of 799. *Abdalla* fled, but afterwards considering that he had no meanes to rayse his decayed fortunes, he came and yeelded himselfe to his nephewes mercie, who receiued him, and vsed him honourably. So Toledo payed the second time to be made a royall seat, by the defeat and death of *Zuleima*: yet the inhabitants finding themselves guiltie, would not trust *Halibatan*, but maintained themselves in their rebellion, for the space of nine yeares. *Halibatan* being vnable or vnwilling to trie his forces against so great and well fortified a citie, sought in the meane time to win them by all mild and friendly meanes. Among others, he employed about this reconciliation a Moore, who was a knight, and borne at Toledo, yet then resident at Huesca, and Gouvernour of those marches: who being come into the citie with letters from king *Halibatan*, wrought so wisely, as in a short time the Toledanes returned to the kings obedience, to whom there was promised assurance, and forgetfulness of all they had done; but there was nothing obserued: for this *Hambroz*, to abuse the Toledanes, said, That he would not remaine in the castle, for feare to be surprisid by the kings men, which arriued dayly, but caused another lodging to be assigned him, in a street called Moutichel, neere vnto *S. Christophers* Church, in the which he made a caue vnder the ground, to murder them that had rebelled against the king. In the meane time, *Halibatan* vnder colour to make warre against the Christians, and to succour the frontier, caused his forces to approach neere the towne, vnder the command of a sonne of his called *Abderramen*, the which by the means of *Hambroz* entred quietly into Toledo, and without any shew to doe harme. *Abderramen* lodged with *Hambroz*, where shewing a good countenance to the chiefe of the Toledanes, Moores, he inuited a great number of them to a stately feast which he had prepared for them. As these Moores came one after another, thinking to make good cheere, they were presently layd hold on, and beheaded, by some that were appointed to that purpose, and then cast into the vault. There had bene many dispatcht in this manner, when as one of the guests which was inuited, discovering some bloud, grew amazed, and suddainly slipt out, and gaue an alarme to the towne, crying out, that they murdered the citizens in *Hambroz* lodging. The Toledanes being terrified with these newes, and hauing no meanes to make resistance, and without any captaine to lead them, found no better expedient then to crie out for mercie, but it was in vaine: for then they pursued them openly, so as there was about 5000 slaine, to punish their offence committed against *Halibatan*; against whom, they of Cordoua being also rebelled, he caused 300 of them to be hanged vpon the riuer side: there was a caprine called *Abdelcarin* appointed for this execution, who a little before had subdued Calaoarra. *Halibatan* growne proud with this

*Hambroz*, the Moore betrays the Toledanes.

A cruell revenge vpon the Toledanes for their rebellion.

A this successe, sent his capitaines to annoy the Christians frontiers, who entred into Galicia in the yeare 812, where he was vnfortunat in many encounters, by the prouidence of king *D. Alphonso*. The like happened to *Ores*, Gouvernour of Merida, who was defeated neere vnto Benevent, in the territorie of Leon. The yeare after 813, another Moore called *Alcama*, Gouvernour of Badaids, layed siege to Zamorra, but he was forced to retire. Not content with this, two armies of Moores entred into *D. Alphonso* his country, in diuers places, against the which he opposed 2 armies; the one led by himselfe, the other by *Bernard del Carpio* his nephew, who was growne of good yeares, in both which he was victor; so as the Moores did forbear for a time to annoy the Christians, and fell to spoile one another: whereupon a great nobleman among them, called *Mahomad*, came out of the quarters of Merida, to seeke refuge of king *D. Alphonso*, for that he was violently pursued, and could find no safetie in all the Moores country. *D. Alphonso* entertained him, and assigned him rents to liue on in Galicia: but he shewed himselfe ingratefull & trecherous, raising a great armie by the intelligence he had with other Moores, to inuade the country of his benefactor: but they were readie in time to resist him, and gaue him battaile, where there died about 50000 Moores. *Mahomad* their Generall being taken, was beheaded as a traitor. At that time *Marsil* or *Masile*, successor to *Ibnaballa*, reigned at Saragosse, who was at the battell of Ronceaux, where the French were defeated. It is certaine, as Authors write, that this battaile was giuen in the time of *D. Alphonso* the chaff, but the yeare is doubtfull, yet they hold it was a little before the death of *Charlemagne*, who died about the yeare 815.

A Moore seekes refuge of *D. Alphonso*: his trecherie and punishment.

C 22 If that which the Spaniards write be true, it is most certaine, that among these Priaces ambition went before, and religion followed after. *D. Alphonso* hauing lined chastly, being sorrie that he had no children, and for that he had receiued great aid from the Emperour *Charles*, and it may be presumed, that so mightie a Prince was most necessarie to restore Spaine to her beautie, and the Christians to their former possession, or else for some other consideration, he had a determination to make him heire of his estates after his death: but the Nobilitie of Spaine hauing notice thereof, did not allow it, refusing to be vassalles to any foraine Prince: yet *D. Alphonso* had by his letters and embassages giuen great hope thereof vnto *Charles*, who affected it, and had appointed the realmes of *Ouiedo* and *Leon* for *Bernard*, sonne to his sonne *Pepin*, and did prepare himselfe to come vnto *Alphonso*, vnder colour of succouring him against the Moores, but he had newes from him, that he was forced by his Earles and Barons to recall it, and therefore he entreated him to forbear his coming: the which *Charlemagne* taking for an affront, resolved to force him by armes, to performe his promise: wherefore he raised a mightie armie of French, Germanes, and Italians, which were vnder his Empire, and sent it beyond the Pyrenees, led by his best capitaines: yea, some (who haue not duly considered the age of *Charlemagne*, who was then 72 yeares old) say, that he was there in person; whereof the Spaniards being aduertised, they made a league of all the Christian Potentates, of Galicia, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, and others, and of some Princes of the Moores, to whom the government of the French in Spaine was suspected; among the which was *Marsil* of Saragosse. All these forces joyned together, stopt the passages, and forced the French to returne into their country, but with great disadvantage and disorder, through the straits of the mountaines, whereas the Spaniards hauing seized vpon the passages, the forward and battaile of the French were defeated, and their baggage taken, with such slaughter, as they write there were about 40000 men slaine that day: among the which was *Roland*, and all those whom fabulous writers call Peeres of France, with other great personages.

Ouedo.

*Charlemagne* made heire of *Ouiedo*, and afterwards relict.

League of Christian Princes and Spanish Moores against the French.

Defeat of the French at Ronceaux.

In this action, the valor and good conduct of *D. Bernard* of Carpio, nephew to *D. Alphonso*, was admirable, as also in his warres against the Moores, as the Spaniards write, who was for a long time held for the kings sonne, and he himselfe beleeued it: but being aduertised of his parents, and of the calamitie of the Earle of Saldagne his father, he made many petitions vnto the king, and vsed all the means he could to moue him to pardon the iniurie which he pretended had bene done him, and to free him after so many yeares imprisonment; the which he could not obtaine: wherefore being discontented, he retired from Court into his country of Saldagne, where he shewed himselfe as much as he could an enemy to king *D. Alphonso*.

R

D. Fortun,

## D. Fortun, third King of Nauarre:

Nauarre.  
An. 802.

23 D<sup>V</sup>ring the raigne of this king of Ouiedo and Leon, *D. Fortun* was the third king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, who came vnto the Crowne in the yeare 802, after the decease of *D. Garcia Inigo* his father. He was not onely to make head against the Moores, but also against the French, who spoyle the countries of Nauarre and Arragon, as well as those of the Mahumetists: for souldiours hold nothing holie, but that which is barren, and yeelds no bootie. During the raigne of this king was that famous defeat at Roncevaux, where he was with his Nauarrois, and other confederates, for the Spanish partie, where the French hauing bene defeated and stripped of their baggage, they afterwards did all they could to annoy Spaine. This king was married to *Theude*, daughter to *D. Galinde*, by reason whereof he did inherite (as some say) the countrey of Arragon: yet this vnion of Arragon and Nauarre is not receiued by all Authors; but is referred to a later time, and there are memorials found of other Earles in that countrey, after *D. Galinde*.

Of this marriage came the infant *D. Sancho Garces*, successor in the realme of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, to *D. Fortun* his father, whom it may be this *Theude* had had to her second husband: for some Authors say, that he had bene formerly married to one of *Charles* his captaines, and of his blood, called *Bernard*, not he which gouerned Cattelogne. *D. Fortun* had great warres against the Arabian Moores, to whom, with the Arragonois, and other his allyes, he gaue battaile, at a place called Olcassa, or Olcast, in the which died *D. Ximen Aznar* Earle of Arragon, brother to *D. Theude*, the which some maintaine did happen vnder *D. Sancho*, sonne and successor to *D. Fortun*, who was vanquished and slaine by *Musa Aben Cacin* or *Heazin*, king of Saragosse. The Christians woon this battaile of Olcassa, by the valour of them of Roncal, who had for a testimonie thereof, the title and priuiledges of Gentry, which they enjoy at this day.

## D. Sancho Garces, sixt King of Nauarre.

An. 815.

24 D<sup>V</sup> *Fortun* hauing raigned thirteene yeares died, and there succeeded him, in the yeare 815, his sonne *D. Sancho Garces*, who continued the warres against the Moores with good successe. There is mention made of a battaile he woon against them, in the yeare 821, nere vnto Ochauiere; in the which the inhabitants of the valley of Roncal behaued themselues so valiantly, as they deserued a new confirmation and enlargement of their priuiledges of Nobilitie. These people although they were subjects of Nauarre, yet they leuie an annuall tribute of the French, their neighbours, by an accord made in old time. It is a place vnder the iurisdiction of Sanguette, situated in the Pyrene mountains of Nauarre, confining vpon them of Val Breton, which are of France, from whom they exact three Cowes euerie yeare, on the third day of Iune, with certaine ceremonies obserued of old time. Some thinke this tribute grew by reason of the warres which this king had with the Gascoines and French, who being incensed with the Count of Roncevaux, did vssually invade the territories of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, who after they had bene vigorously repulsed by him and his successors, they were forced to make the abouementioned peace, and doe the homage.

Arragon.

25 In Arragon, *D. Ximen Aznar*, the sonne of *D. Galinde*, hauing commaunded with the title of Earle (a gallant knight, who died in the battaile of Olcassa, following the partie of *D. Fortun Garces* of Nauarre, or else in the seruice of *D. Fortun* his sonne, about the yeare 803) to him succeeded his vnclie, called *D. Ximen Garces*, notwithstanding that he had a brother, whose name was *Endregot*, whether it were by force, or otherwise, the Histories make no mention. This *D. Ximen Garces* liued little, he was wise and valiant, and was slaine

Diuerse Earles  
of Arragon.

A slaine in an encounter against the Moores. After him *D. Garcia Aznar* was fift Earle of Arragon, who also did not long enjoy his estate, and was slaine fighting valiantly against the Moores in Spaine. *D. Fortun* his sonne did inherite the Earledome of Arragon, who imployed himselfe valiantly in the warres against the Moores: he died without any sonne, so as Arragon was then vnitd to Nauarre, by the meanes of *D. Vrraca*, daughter to *D. Fortun*, or as somewrite, of *D. Endregot Galinde*, who was married to *D. Garcia Inigo*, second of that name, king of Nauarre, sonne to *Inigo Arista*, the which was the first woman which did inherite this Countie of Arragon, and brought in a custome, that the women should succeed.

Succession of  
women in Ar-  
ragon.

B 26 Another *Bernard*, of whom we haue made mention, who intituled himselfe Earle of Barcelone, Duke and Marquesse of Spaine, gouerned Cattelogne, about the yeare 796, for the French, after the death of *Zato* the Moore, being their vassale and tributarie. He had bene Gouvernor of Prouence and Languedoc vnder the Emperour *Charlemaigne*. In Cattelogne he made sharpe warres against the Moores, wherein he was assisted by a Spanish knight called *D. Geoffrey*, the hairie, which succeeded in the gouernment of Barcelone. This *Geoffrey* was Lord of the castle of Arria, in the territorie of Conflent, and Countie of Barcelone, with the helpe of which *D. Bernard* he tooke from the Moores all the countrey which lyes betwixt the two riuers of Nogueta and Lobregat: but after the death of *Charlemaigne*, lyes betwixt the two riuers of Nogueta and Lobregat: but after the death of *Charlemaigne*, a Gouvernor of Guienne, called *Ayman*, hauing rebelled against the Emperour, *Lewis* his sonne and successor, besides the hurt he did in that Prouince, entred into Cattelogne, and tooke townes and castles, being fauoured by *Abderramen* king of the Moores at Cordoua: and in the yeare 820, these rebellious French and the Moores hauing joyned their forces together, they came and besieged Barcelone.

Cattelogne.

C 27 This *Abderramen*, second of that name, had succeeded his father *Halihatun*, who died in the yeare 819, and of the Arabians 302, hauing raigned 24 yeares, who of many wiues, which *Mahumet* law doth allow, had left 19 sonnes and 21 daughters. This warre of Cattelogne was one of *Abderramens* first exploits, in the which Barcelone was taken in the yeare 820, but soone after recovered by the Christians.

Moores.

In the yeare 824 died *Don Alphonso* the chaff, hauing instituted for his successor *D. Ramir*, sonne to *D. Bermond* or *Vermond* the Deacon, rejecting *D. Bernard* of Carpio his sisters sonne, who was his lawfull heire. This Prince raigned 29 yeares, and was buried at Ouiedo, in *S. Maries* Church, which he had built. He was a great benefactor of the Clergies. Wee find a donation made by him to the Church of Compostella, of about a league of ground about *S. Iaques* sepulchre, but the date of these letters are of the yeare 835, which agrees not with that which Authors write of the death of this king.

Ouiedo.  
An. 824.

Letters of dona-  
tion subscrit.

## D. Ramir, first of that name, and tenth King of Ouiedo.

E

28 D<sup>V</sup> *Ramir* was sonne to the king *D. Vermond*, called the Deacon, and adopted by *D. Alphonso* his vnclie, a generous and worthie Prince, and not inferior to any of his predecessors in vertue. In the beginning of his raigne he married a Ladie, called *D. Vrraca*, borne in old Castile, of which were borne two sonnes, *D. Ordogno* who raigned, and *D. Garcia*. This king did that which all other Princes abhorre, for he receiued his sonne to be a companion with him in the kingdome, and caused his brother *D. Garcia* to raigne with him, so as there were two courts and two kings in Ouiedo and Leon. The first warre which troubled this king was ciuile, by the rebellion of a nobleman of Asturia, called *Nepotian*, against whom *D. Ramir* assembled his armie, in the towne of Lugo, and being come to battaile, he vanquished him, and put his men to flight: himselfe being taken some few dayes after, had by the kings commaundement his eyes put out, and was put into a cloister of Monkes; an vsuall punishment in those dayes for traitors and rebels.

Offede.

Two brothers  
kings in one  
kingdome, and  
agree well; a  
rare example.

F

In this kings time, the fame of the miracles which *S. Iaques* did at Compostella, began to be spread ouer all Europe, so as many pilgrims came thither both by sea and land, from all parts of Christendome: but about the yeare 827, the coasts of Galicia were annoyed with Nor-

A rebell puni-  
shed.

An. 827.



Norman pyrats  
defeated upon  
the banks of  
Gallicia.

An. 828.

Moore.

Christians de-  
feated.

Moore de-  
feated.

Apparition of  
S. Iaqués, as the  
Spaniards say.

Ouiedo.

Tribute called  
vow payed to S.  
Iaqués Church.

man pyrats, a people of the North, who since vnder *Rollo* and other captains, invaded France, and planted themselves in the Prouince, called by that name Normandie. These pyrats, moued with another zeale than to visit *S. Iaqués*, kept the sea, and spoiled the coast with a great number of ships. *D. Ramir* came and charged them at a place called *Far*, where he made a great slaughter: those which remained, recovered their ships, and came into the mouth of *Guadalquivir*, where having landed, they spoiled *Seuile*, and the countrey thereabouts, and then returned into their countrey. This king *D. Ramir* was troubled with another sedition: *Alderred* and *Piniol*, two Earles of his countrey, being risen in armes against him in the year 828, against whom he marcht with his armie, tooke these two rebels, slew *Piniol*, with his seven sonnes, confederates of his rebellion, and caused *Alderred* eyes to be put out, and call him into prison.

*Abderramen* Miralminin of Spaine, had continued long in peace with *D. Alfonso* king of *Ouiedo* and *Leon*: but some yeares after his decesse, he had a desire (for that he had had some good success against the Christians in Spaine, and also at the persuation of *Abria*, who reigned then in *haz*) to demand of king *D. Ramir* the tribute of a hundred virgines, which king *Mairrat* had promised to pay to his predecessors, kings of *Clondoua*: the which was denied, as vnjust and vnworthie, by a generall consent of the Prelates and Nobilitie of the countrey, assembled to this end in the towne of *Leon*; where by the same meanes there was a warre concluded against the Moores, to abate their pride. King *D. Ramir* having then called all the Nobilitie of his countries of *Asturia*, *Leon*, *Gallicia*, and other places vnder his obedience, and leuied great numbers of souldiours, he entered into the Moores countrey, by *Rioje* to *Nogera* and *Aluenda*, and came and encamped nere to *Logroge*, whither the Moores armie came soone after, where there was a cruell battaile, to the great losse of the Christians; so as without the approaching night it is thought, they had bin all defeated: the king rettyred to a place called *Clauijo*, where at this day there is a Bourg nere to *Logroge*. The night gaue the Christians means to retyre, and to rallie themselves, who by the will of God resumed courage in such sort, as the next day they presented themselves againe in battaile. The Moores contemning them whom they had vanquished the day before, came to charge them without any great order; but they found such resistance, as they were forced to leaue the field, and to flye; where they lost (as Histories report) about 60000 men, and as it is set downe in a Charter which is the Treasurie of *S. Iaqués* of *Compostella*, in the which mention is made of an apparition of the Apostle to king *D. Ramir*; the night after his men were defeated, who encouraged him to affront the enemy againe, promising him victorie, and that he himselfe would be in the battaile, as Patron and Protector of his kingdom: and they affirme, that the armies being joyned the next day, *S. Iaqués* appeared againe, mounted vpon a white horse, carrying a white standard, with a red Crosse, fighting and encouraging the Christians as he had promised. Such apparitions will be receiued according to euerie mans pietie and good instruction. There are yet at this day found heads of darts and of lances in the place whereas *D. Ramir* obtained this victorie: by fauor whereof, he tooke *Calaorra* from the Moores, with other places along the riuer of *Ebro*; but they returned soone vnder the dominion of the Moores, whose commaund was great at that time in Spaine.

After this victorie, *D. Ramir* being at *Calaorra* with his brother *D. Garcia*, the Queene *D. Vrraca*, and the infant *D. Ordogno*, being accompanied with the chiefe Prelates and Noblemen of the countrey, it was held fit to acknowledge the fauour and assistance, which they did beleeue *S. Iaqués* had done them. Wherefore this king being perswaded either by his dreames, or by his Priests, ordained, That all such as dwelt about *Compostella* should pay yearly a certaine measure of corne and wine to that Church, out of their reuenues, for the yow, for so this tribute was called; the which is payed at this day. Moreover, that after any victorie gotten against the Moores, when as they came to diuide the spoyle, *S. Iaqués* Church should hold the place of a knight, and haue a share. The letters graunted by king *D. Ramir*, beare date in the year 834, at which time we find by the Histories, that he was not liuing. It is called *S. Iaqués* yow, it was confirmed by Pope *Celestin*, then holding his See at *Rome*. Some haue written, That in this kings time the Order of the Knights of *S. Iaqués* began, but it was later, as we will shew.

In

In *Cartellogne*, the Christians being much oppressed by the Moores, vnder the Miralmin *Abderramen* the second, the Emperour *Lewis* the gentle sent an Abbot to comfort them: for he could fend them no souldiours (say the Spaniards.) This Abbot was called *Elizachar*, who encouraged the Christians in such sort, as *Abderramen* returning to the siege of *Barcelone*, accompanied with *Cont Aymon*, they found such resistance, as they were forced to abandon it, about the year 830. *Bernard* being much esteemed for his valour, he was called home by the Emperour *Lewis*, who made him his Chamberlaine, and graunted him then (as some say) the title of Earle of *Barcelone*, and for this cause is accounted the first Earle of the *Cartelanes*: but it appears elsewhere, that he had this title of Earle, yea of Duke and Marquesse long before, the which was nothing but Gouvernor of the Countrey, or Prouince.

### D. Ximen Inigo, fift King of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.

TO *D. Sancho Garces* king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre (who died, as some report, in an encounter of the Moores, led by *Musa Aben Casin*, petty king of *Sarragoffe*) succeeded his sonne *D. Ximen Inigo*, in the year 832. Of the deeds and manners of this king the Histories make no mention, yea many Authors passe ouer these first kings of Sobrarbre, and begin the Historie of this Kingdome with *D. Inigo Arista*, who came afterwards to the Crowne. They hold, that *D. Ximen* is interred in the Couent of *Saint Sauior of Leyre*, with *D. Nugna* his wife.

### D. Ordogno, eleuenth King of Ouiedo.

ORDOGNO, which is as much to say as *Fortun*, sonne to *D. Ramir*, came vnto the Crown of *Ouiedo* and *Leon*, in the yere 831, according to the common opinion. Being entered into the government of the State, he had warre with some people of the mountaines of *Cantabria* (which are not specified) whom he vanquished, and brought vnder his subjection. He married a Ladie called *D. Monadona*, or *Munia Donna*, that is to say, *Donna Nugna*, by whom he had five sonnes, *D. Alfonso*, who was king after him, *D. Bermond*, *D. Nugno*, *D. Odoire*, *D. Fruela*, and one daughter. He did enlarge and beautifie the buildings of the townes of *Leon*, *Astorgo*, *Tuy*, *Amaya*, and others.

They make mention of a miracle in his time, in the person of a Bishop of *Compostella*, successor to *Theodorice*, and second Prelate of that Church, named *Ataulphe*; who being accused of Apostasie, and that he had revolted from the Christian religion to that of the Moores, being called to Court to purge himselfe, he came to *Ouiedo* vpon a holie Thursday, when as they did bait a Bull with dogs, hauing an intent to expose the Bishop to the furie of this beast as soone as he should arriue. But the Bishop hauing said Masse (as the storie reports) attyred in his Episcopall robes, came boldly to the kings palace, and passing by the place where they did hunt this Bull, as he saw him comming towards him, he opened his armes to take him, relying in God and his owne innocencie: but the beast came quietly vnto him, and suffred him to take him by the hornes, who led him vnto the king: whereat the king and all the assistants were so amazed, as they did presently judge that he had beene wrongfully accused. But this holy man leauing his Church and flocke, rettyred himselfe into the deserts, there to liue with beasts, and became a Hermite. Of this Bulls hornes they afterwards made reliques in the Church of *S. Sauior* at *Ouiedo*. *Sisenand* succeeded in his Bishoprick, and was so vehement to pursue the punishment of such as had falsely accused *Ataulphe*, as he neuer ceased vntill he had gotten a graunt from the king, that all their kinsfolkes should be deliuered for slaues to the Church of *Compostella*, although they were not guiltie.

About the beginning of this kings raigne, there were great ciuile dissensions among the Moores. A nobleman among them, a Goth by nation, but a Moore by profession, called for this cause *Musa Aben Casin*, that is to say, *Musa* of the lineage of the Gothes, rebelled against *Abderramen* Miralminin. He reigned at *Sarragoffe*, & drew to his partie *Huesca* and *Tafalla*, and by his example he caused the of *Toledo* to take armes, being ill affected to *Abderramen*, by reason

R iij

of

of the rigours which his father *Habibatan* had used against them. This Moore fortified with these townes, rayled a great armie, and caused a sonne of his called *Aben Lope* or *Lath*, to enter into Toledo, and then to overrun the countreies of Nauarre and Castellogne, and so passed the Pyrenes, into the territories of the French. At his returne he caused himselfe to be proclaimed King and Miralmumin of Spaine, and tooke a towne belonging to the king *D. Ordogno*, called Albayda, fortified it, and put a garrison into it: but his furie was stayed by *D. Ordogno*, who came & besieged Albayda, and then with part of his forces he went to encounter him, as he advanced to succour the besieged, fought and vanquished him, killing 12000 horse Moores, and an infinit number of foot, with *Garcia* sonne in law to *Aben Lope*; he himselfe escaped, being wounded in three places. The spoyle of this armie was great, and *Albayda* returned to the Christians: After which rout, *Lope* who had beene left Gouverneur at Toledo, made a league with *D. Ordogno*, the which he faithfully maintained both in warre, and all other things during his life. This *Lope* is numbered for the third king of Toledo, being a Moore. *D. Ordogno* did soone after assaile *Ceyt*, Gouverneur of Coria, and *Museres* or *Micandi* of Salamanca, Moores, whom he vanquished, and tooke their Townes and Governments.

Moores defeated.

Aben Lope king of Toledo.

An. 839.

The qualities of Abderramen 2.

About the yeare 839 *Abderramen* died, leaving by his wives 87 children, that is, 45 sonnes and 42 daughters, having held the realme of Spaine at Cordoua twentie yeares. It was in the 222 yeare of the Arabians. This Prince was full of state, and was much pleased to make great buildings: he caused the places and streets of Cordoua to be paved, and brought a great fountain thither through pipes of lead, whereof some markes are yet to be seene about the Cathedrall Church, which was then the Mosquee. He was politicke, and was somewhat inclined to justice: he reformed the vnjust law of the Gothes, by the which the brother did succeed the brother, although he had children: he suffered the Christians which were vnder his commaund to liue in great libertie, so as in the chiefe citie of Cordoua they had many Churches, as that of the *Ajile*, *Zoilus*, *Fauslus*, *Iannarius*, *Martial*, *Cyprian*, *Genesius*, and *Eulalie*. And in the suburbs, or neere vnto, there were eight Monasteries; that of *S. Christopher*, of the virgin *Marie*, called *Cuteclair*, *S. Sauueur*, *Zoilus*, *Felix*, *Martin*, *Iustus*, and *Pasteur*. He brought the making of silkes, with many other handie trades, into Cordoua: he caused money to be coyned with his name thereon.

Mahumet Miralmumin at Cordoua.

Mahumet's victory.

Castellogne.

D. Geoffrey Earle or Gouverneur of Barcelona.

Ouiedo.

His eldest sonne *Mahumet* succeeded him, who was the first Miralmumin in Spaine of that name, and the fifth king of Cordoua. Being seiled, he marcht with an armie into Nauarre, from whence he was repulled: wherefore he turned his forces against Toledo, which was in league with king *D. Ordogno*. Wherefore the Christians who desired to abate the power of the Moores, and to keepe them diuided all they could, came to succour the Toledanes, being led by one of the sonnes of king *D. Ordogno*: both armies met not farre from the citie; neere vnto the riuer of Guadacette, but *Mahumet* had the victorie: there were slaine in this battaile 13000 Moores of Toledo, and 8000 Christians; yet all this could not make him master of the towne. *Mahumet* being victor, he caused the heads of his enemies to be carried into diuers townes, to strike terror into those that would rebell; for it was the custome of that nation at the change of Princes to stirre vp new troubles. This warre continued three yeares, vnto the death of the king *D. Ordogno*.

33 Cont *Bernard* of Barcelona liued at this time, much fauored in the Court of the Emperour *Lewis* the Gentle, not without enuie, especially of such as had had the government of Prince *Bernard* the sonne of *Pepin* king of Italie, in his youth. He was accused to haue committed adulterie with the Empreffe *Judith*: whatsoeuer the cause were, *D. Geoffrey* of Ania succeeded him in the Countie of Barcelona, in the yeare 839.

In the yeare 841, king *D. Ordogno* being much afflicted with the Gout, and other infirmities, was withall oppressed with griefe for the rout of his men which he had sent to succour the Toledanes, whereupon he fell grievously sick and died, having gouerned the realme of Leon and Ouiedo tenne yeares. The letters and titles of the Church of *S. Iaques* of Compostella, giue longer liues to these kings: for there is one found of king *D. Ordogno*, of the yeare 854, and another of the yeare 862, yea of 874, wherefore there is no great certaintie of the time in the reignes of the kings of Ouiedo and Leon. These letters and titles differ about 33 yeares from the common opinion.

D. Alphonso

## D. Alphonso, third of that name, twelfth King of Ouiedo.

34 *Alphonso* the Great, sonne to *D. Ordogno*, was but foureteeene yeares old, or ten, as some say, when he began to raigne: a prince endowd with all royall vertues, whose life and government was long. His entrie was disquieted by a knight of Galicia, called *D. Froila Bermudes*; who contemning the kings youth, did rise and seile vpon the Crowne. *D. Alphonso* being retired to Alaua, to preserve himselfe against this tyrant, as he was busie to raise an armie of his friends and subiects, he had newes, that *D. Froila* being come to Ouiedo, the chiefe towne of the whole realme, to be crowned there, he had beene slaine by the Senators, and Councillors, which had conspired against him; wherefore he came thither, was received, and recovered his realme in peace. Then was there gouernour in Alaua a knight, called *Eylo*, or *Zeybon*, brother to one *Zenon*, which some Authors say, had beene Lord of Biscaie. This *Eylo*, as soone as *Alphonso* was seiled in his realme of Ouiedo, rebelled against him, and drew from him all which the kings of Ouiedo held in that prouince. *D. Alphonso* (who was then at Leon) being aduertised of this disorder, marcht with such forces as he could gather readily together, towards Alaua, where his presence caused him to be generally obeyed. He tooke this gouernor and carried him to Ouiedo, where he ended his dayes in prison.

Anno 841 Ouiedo.

Tyrannie and usurpation instantly punished.

*Mahumet*, first Moore of that name, raigned then in Spaine; against whom the earle of Barcelona made sharpe warres, but with small successe. He sent an armie against the Christians, led by two captaines, *Imundar* and *Alcama*, the which came and lodged about Leon, as if they would besiege it, in the yeare 842. But king *D. Alphonso* succoured it; and forced the Moores to retire. In the end of *Abderramen's* reigne there had beene a great persecution against the Christians, which dwelt in the Moores' countreies; whereof their insolencies and rebellions was the cause. They had, as we haue said, libertie of their religion, and they were suffered to build Temples and Monasteries at their pleasures; their Priests and Monkes did freely vse their seuerall habits: They had Iudges and Rectors among them to administer iustice, vnder the authoritie of the Mahumerane kings: onely they were forbidden to enter into the Mosquee, and not to speake ill of their Prophet *Mahumet*. They payed tributes of their kings. Whereupon many Christians tooke occasion to murmure, and to make bitter complaints, the which did incense the Moores. Some Christians of more iudgement exhorted the rest to patience, foreseeing the mischief, but it was in vaine; yea *Acassaf* a Bishop, and *Seruand* an Earle, who were of these moderators, were condemned by a Councell, and are blamed by the Authors of Histories, who haue made no scruple to put in the number of Martyres those rebells which perished in this massacre, the which was great, and continued ten yeares, for an aduertisement to all others, not to rise against their priuice, to whom they are made subiect by the will of God, especially for their temporall goods.

Anno 842.

The libertie of Christians among the Moores in Spaine.

In the meane time the quarell betwixt this Miralmumin and them of Toledo, continued; and their obstinacie was such, as *Mahumet*, seeing they would not acknowledge him vpon any conditions, he sent a mightie armie against them, vnder the conduct of his brother, or as some hold, of his sonne, called *Almondar*, who spoiled, rased, and burnt all that was within the territorie of Toledo, and yet no man durst make head against him, his forces were so great. King *D. Alphonso* embracing this occasion of the Moores diuisions, being entred into league with the French and Nauarrois, he entred and spoiled their countrey. They hold that *Bernard* of Carpio was chiefe of this armie. *Mahumet* did about all things desire to subdue them of Toledo, the which was a great and strong citie, and therefore hard to be forced: Wherefore he resolved to reduce it to extremitie of victuals, by a long siege, and so force them to yeeld. And having raised a great armie in the yeare 848, he led it himselfe in person against the Toledanes, who issued out of the towne, resolving to fight with him, but it was to their losse and confusion, for they were forced to retire with shame; the towne was besieged, the bridge vpon the riuer of Tayo (the worke of king *Hisem*) was beaten downe (the Moores call bridges *Alcantara*) and all meanes of succours taken from the inhabitants. Wherefore they began

D. Alphonso spoyle the Moores' country.

Anno 848.

Toledo reduced  
under the obe-  
dience of the  
Moors at  
Cordoua.

began somewhat to yeeld, and to talke of a composition, wherein they were heard and satisfi-  
fied: so as *Mahumet* entred the citie with great ioy, hauing reduced so great a people vnder  
his obedience: From whence he sent some troups to spoile the Christians countrey, as far  
as the riuer of Duero; who were charged, repulst, and forced to leaue their bootie, by *D. Ber-  
nard* of Carpio, and others. *Lope*, who called himselfe king of Toledo, faued himselfe, and  
fled with his brethren, and *Abdalla* his sonne, to the king *D. Alphonso*, who receiued them  
courteously, and made such esteeme of these Moores, as he gaue them his sonne *D. Ordoño*  
to instruct in armes and ciuilitie. *Abdalla* made no long abroad there, for being thrust on with  
enuie against his vnclcs, he made his peace with king *Mahumet*, and retired to Cordoua, from  
whence he made great spoile vpon the Christians countrey: but he was incountred and de-  
feated at a place called Cillorico, and forced to raise his siege from Pancoruo with shame. Af-  
terwards he came to fight with two *Zimaels*, the one his vnclc, the other his brother, in the ter-  
ritorie of Toledo, whom he vanquished, and tooke prisoners: And as he was of a stirring spi-  
rit, and enemie of all rest, he drew vpon him both the Christians and Moores, by the surprise  
he made of Sarragosse, where he maintained himselfe, notwithstanding all the forces of *Ma-  
humet*, who sent *Almundar* his sonne, and *Aboaly* a capitaine, against him, with great forces.  
And although that *Abdalla* were on the other side molested with the forces of *D. Alphonso*,  
(who during these warres had seene the monasterie of *S. Facunde* burnt, the which he after-  
wards caused to be built vp againe) yet his posteritie reigned at Sarragosse. *Mahumet* hauing  
disposed of this new conquest, returned to Cordoua, vnder whose commaund Toledo remai-  
ned for some yeares.

After these happie exploits the Moores were content to rest a while, and to suffer the Chri-  
stians to liue in peace, and *D. Alphonso* in the meane time gaue himselfe to works of pietie, ac-  
cording to the inclination and instruction of those times. He caused *S. Jaques* church to be new  
built of free stone, and inrich with pillars and other workes: imploying therein part of the  
spoile which he had taken from the Moores; for this church at that time was but of earth. He  
bestowed great almes of the poore, and widowes. He was solicited by *Bernard* of Carpio, to  
deliuer the earle *D. Sandiæ*, his father, out of prison, where he had remained so many yeares:  
but (notwithstanding all the great seruises which he pretended to haue done) he could not  
preuaile. Wherefore he resolved to declare himselfe an enemie to *D. Alphonso*, retiring to  
Salamanca, where neere vnto it he built a fort, which he called Carpio, of his owne name,  
from whence he did much annoy the Asturians, and them of Leon. It was situated three  
leagues from Salamanca, vpon the riuer of Tormes.

### D. Inigo Arista, sixt King of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.

Nauarre.  
An. 940.

**36** *D. Inigo*, surnamed *Arista*, came to the Crowne of Nauarre about the yere 840. Some  
say he was sonne to *D. Ximenes* aboue mentioned; others (among the which is *Su-  
rites* the Spaniard) affirme, that he was son to the earle of Bigorre, called *Simon*; and that he  
was chosen by the suffrages of the men of war, king of Sobrarbre, by reason of his vertues and  
valour: so little certaintie there is in antiquitie, especially of the beginning of races and fami-  
lies. The name of *Arista* was giuen him, by reason of his vehemencie and heat in war. The Spa-  
niards call a courageous and hardie man *Aristo*. He was the first of the kings of Nauarre, that  
was annointed and crowned after the maner of our kings of France, the which was obserued  
in the other following kings, although some beleue, that this custome came onely into Na-  
uarre, after they had kings of the house of Champagne. The French, among other Christian  
nations, haue retained it of the ceremonies of the ancient law of the Iewes, by the aduice of  
their Bishops. He tooke for his Armes a Crosse argent in a field azure. During his reigne, and  
some yeres after, the Episcopall seat of Pampelone was in the royall abbey of *S. Saluator* of *M  
Leyra*, yet holding the title of Bishop of Pampelone, or of *Iruña*, by reason of the warre and  
spoyle which the Moores made. There is no great certaintie among writers of his deeds, the  
time of his death, nor of his funeralls, nor yet of his wiues familie, whom some call *Oneca*,  
which is to say, *Iniga*; others *Theude*: bringing the one from Pampelone, the other from  
Biscaye. It may be he had two so named.

The custome to  
annoint kings  
taken from the  
Iebrewes.

D. Geof.

Catlogne.

**A** *D. Geoffrey* of Arria was earle of Barcelona after the death of *Bernard*, about the yere  
840, by the liberalitie and grant of the Emperour *Lewis* the Gentle. He was married to a French  
ladie, called *D. Almiria*, by whom he had a sonne called *D. Wiffred*, or *Geoffrey* the haire, who  
was the first proprietary earle after his father, but not immediate. Catlogne was then vn-  
der the soueraintie of France; and there are priuiledges found, granted by king *Charles* the  
der the soueraintie of France, in the yere 844, whereby the inhabitants of Barcelona  
bauldy sonne to the Emperour *Lewis*, in the yere 844, whereby the inhabitants of Barcelona  
are made as free as the French, hauing libertie to administer iustice, and to liue according to  
the ancient lawes of the Gothes. This Count *Geoffrey* imployed all his meanes to make war  
against the Moores; he attempted the towne of Tortosa, but in vaine: yet hee tooke from  
them and from the tyrant and rebell *Aymon*, that which they had vsurped of his gouernment  
some yeares before. He was pursued by a Castellain knight, called *D. Salomon*, earle of *Cer-  
daigne*, who enuied him, and slandered him to the king his Soueraigne: wherefore being cal-  
led to Court, as he was going vpon the way, he was slaine in Auvergne, in the yere 858, ac-  
cording vnto some.

Catlogne vn-  
der the soue-  
raintie of  
France.

Earle of Cat-  
logne murde-  
red.

During these yeres king *D. Alphonso* was much troubled with the war which *D. Bernard* of  
Carpio made against him, who gaue him diuers routs; so as he was forced to leaue the Lions  
skin, and to vse the Foxes, at the least there was great shew of deceit: for the king seeing that  
he could not suppress *D. Bernard*, he offered to releafe his father, who was now verie old, if  
he would deliuer into his hands his new fort of Carpio: the which *Bernard*, by a singular pie-  
tie, did willingly grant, and was ready to deliuer his fort into the kings hands, the which he  
did presently take. Those which went to the castle of Lune, to draw *D. Sandiæ* out of prison,  
found him dead, as they reported: wherefore *Bernard* holding himselfe abused, made great  
complaints vnto the king; but he was commaunded to depart out of the territories of Ouie-  
do and Leon, and the dependances thereof. Whereupon he retired into Nauarre, and then  
into France: yet some say, that he returned into Spaine, and there died, and that he was buri-  
ed in the monasterie of Aguilar del Campo.

Custome of king  
D. Alphonso.

*Zeno* brother to *D. Eyo*, or *Zethon*, whom we had confined into Ouiedo, in the beginning  
of the reigne of this *Alphonso*, who being made earle or gouernour of Biscaye, by the kings  
bounty, would rebell as his brother had done, forcing the king to send an armie against him,  
by the which he was vanquished, taken, and led to Ouiedo, where he ended his dayes in pri-  
son. This *Zeno* left two daughters, the one called *Theude*, was married (according vnto some) to  
*D. Inigo Arista*, king of Nauarre; and the other *D. Iniga*, to the infant *D. Sarria*, of whom we  
shall hereafter speake. This was in the yere 856.

Rebellion of the  
yere: nor of  
Biscaye.

All this time, and to the yere 859, there had bene a suspension of armes, betwixt king *D.  
Alphonso* and the Moores; but that yere king *Mahumet* went to armes, and came and besieged  
the towne of Coimbra, belonging now to Portugal: but *D. Alphonso* forced him to raise his  
siege, and not content therewith, entred into the Moores countrey, wasted it, and returned  
with great spoyles, continuing euery yere to annoy them in such sort, as they were constrain-  
ed to accept of a truce for three yeares, with the preiudice of their reputations, and great dis-  
advantage in their iurisdiccions. Then there reigned in Sarragosse a Moore, called *Aben Al-  
faie*. The rest of *Mahumet*'s reigne vnto his death, was spent in voluptuous lust and idlenesse.  
In his time there was a great earthquake in Spaine, and a little before his death light-  
ning entring into the Mosque, where he was, slew two Noblemen Moores, neere vnto  
him.

Moores.  
Anno 859.

### D. Garcia Inigues, third of that name, and se- uenth King of Nauarre.

**F** 37 About the yere 867, as some Authors write, died *D. Inigo Arista*, king of Nauarre, to  
whom succeeded *D. Garcia Inigues*, his sonne, the third of that name, who vniued the  
country of Arragon to Nauarre, by marrying with *D. Vrraca*, daughter to *D. Fortun*, the last  
earle, or of *D. Enaregot Galinde*, of the same house and familie of Arragon. He had two sons  
by this Ladie, *D. Fortun*, and *D. Sancho Abaca*; and one daughter, called *D. Sanctina*, or *San-  
cha*. They write this fable of *D. Sancho*, That the king going inconsiderately with his quene  
through

Nauarre and  
Arragon united.

through the mountaines of Nauarre, he was surpris'd by certaine Moores, and slaine, and the queene ouerthrowne, being thrust into the bellie with a Moores launce, at such time as she was great with this *D. Sancho*. Some houres after, a knight whom they called *D. Sancho* of Gueuara, passing that way, met with this pitifull spectacle, and saw that the child had thrust forth a hand by the mothers wound, and had laboured to come forth there: wherefore this knight lighting from his horse, made the wound greater, so as he drew forth this infant alive, without any harme: then he carried it to his house with good witnesss, where he caused it to be nourished according to his degree, vntill he grew great, and then he presented him to the Estates of the realme, and made him be acknowledged for their lawfull king. But, as we say, it is like to be a fable, and hath no great authoritie; yet they say, that the surname of *Ladron*, which is peculiar to the house of Gueuara, came for that this knight did secretly nourish the infant *D. Sancho*. *D. Sanclina* the daughter, was married to king *Ordogno* the second, sonne to *Alphonso* the great.

38 They hold opinion, That the lords of Biscaie had their beginning at this time in *D. Suria*, whose posteritie was famous for many years: for after that *D. Zeno* had bene vanquished, and led prisoner, as we have said, the Biscaines seeing themselves without a head, fell to murinies and feditions. Thither was sent *D. Ordago*, sonne to king *D. Alphonso*, whom they called Earle of Asturias, who began to overrun and spoyle the countrey. The townes and comminalties affembled to make head against him, chusing *D. Suria* for their capraime, who was defended from the blood royall of Scotland, by his mother; and had married a daughter of Count *Zenos*, called *D. Iniga*, but at that time deceased. The forces of either part came to fight, in a place called then Padura: The battell was sharpe and cruell; and for that the whole countrey did swim with blood, the place was from that time called *Arrigoriaga*, which in the countrey language signifies, a vermillion stone. The Biscaines, with the aid, and by the valour of *D. Sancho Effiguiz*, Lord of Durando (who ended his dayes in this battell) won it; which was in the yeare 870. After this victorie the Biscaines chose *D. Suria* for their Lord, as well for that he was sonne in law to their last Earle and gouernour *Zeno* (by his daughter, notwithstanding we doe not read that he had any children) as for the valour and good conduct they had seene in him in this warre. This *D. Suria* did presently after marie the daughter of *D. Sancho Effiguiz*, in whose right he got the Seigniorie of Durando, which was vniuer vnto Biscaie: whose posteritie did enioy those lands, vntill the time of *D. Henrie* the second of that name, king of Castille and Leon. The lineage of *D. Suria*, was called de *Harro*. Castille the old had also an Earle, called *D. Diego Porcello*.

39 *Mahumet* Miralimum of Cordoua, having liued some time in peace, by reason of the old had alio an Earle, called *D. Diego Corcua*.  
*Anno* 874. the last truce made with the Christians, died in the year 874, leauing 54 children by his wiues, whereof 34 were males, and 20 females. He had held the kingdome 35 yeares, and his death was in the 257 year of the Arabians raigne. His sonne *Almundir* succeeded him, who liued but two yeares, hauing done nothing worthe of memorie against whom they of Cordoua rebelled, notwithstanding that he offered to free them of the tenth part of their tribute, which they paid. He left six sonnes, and seuen daughteis.

Such was the estate of Spain in the time of king *D. Alphonso*, who had to wife a Ladie of the bloud royall of France, called *Ameline*, but they changed her name to *D. Ximena*; by whom he had foure sonnes, *D. Garcia*, *D. Ordogno*, *D. Fruela*, who reigned, and *D. Gonfalo* the Archdeacon. This king in his later dayes gaue himselfe wholly to workes of pietie, building of churches and monasteries, indowing them with rents and great reuenewes, and adorning them with iewels, vessels of gold and siluer, and precious ornaments, according to the ceremonies brought in and maintained in the Church.

In the year 877 the church of *S. Jaques* was consecrated at the instance of this king, and by the authority of Pope *John* the eighth, where many Bishops were present. And it is to be noted, that in those dayes the citie of *Ouiedo* was full of Bishops without any flockes; for they did chuse Bishops of towne that were in the Moores possession, keeping an account of their successions; all which did live in *Ouiedo*, and therefore it was called the Towne of Bishops.

Quiedo the  
towne of Bishops  
Quiedo made an  
Archbishopricke.

This king being verie desirous to aduance the Hierarchie of the Clergie, laboured to haue the Episcopall see of Ouidoe, and the Cathedrall church of S. *Sauuour*, made an Archbishopricke Metropolitane; and the first Archbishop thereof was *D. Hermenegilde*, who was Bishop thereof

ib. 6. The general kinship of the  
therof before: in which towne of Ouidoe there was a Councell celebrated. Whilest this  
prince was thus buſied in theſe workes of pietie, D. Garcia his eldeſt ſonne, by the bad aduice  
of D. Ximena his mother, rebelled againſt him: but the father cauſed him to be ſurprized in  
Zamora, and to be brought priſoner to the caſtle of Gordon. This towne of Zamora was  
called Sentica, or Sarabris, and had bene held, and in a manner ruined by the Moores, who  
called it Medina Zamorathi, that is to ſay, the citie of Lazul, or Turkiſh: for about it there are  
certaine mountaines hauing many veines of ſtones, which we call *Lapis Lazuli*, or azure  
ſtones.

The imprisonment of D. Garcia incensed the other brethren against the king their father, being alwaies animated by the counsell of the queen their mother, who loued not her husband. These princes, with D. Nuno Fernandes, father in law to D. Garcia, and other noblemen of this conspiracie, made warre against D. Alphonsq; the which continued two yeares, and in the end forced him to leave his Crowne and royaltie. These troubles gaue meenes to D. San-  
ria, now earle of Biscaia, to settle his estate. King D. Alphonsq being thus forced, resigned  
his Scepter to his sonne D. Garcia, in the year 886, having reigned 46 yeares. To D. Ordag-  
no, his second son, was assigned Galicia, with the title of a Royaltie. And in this manner these  
wicked children, by the instigation of an indiscreet, and ill affected mother, diuided the spoyle  
of their liuing father. You must obserue, that the yeares of the decess of these kings of Qui-  
edo, are verie vncertaine, for if we shall beleue the letters of donation, and priuiledges, which  
are extant in the churches of Spaine, it will appeare that this king reigned in the year 899.  
Galacia was great, and carried the title of a kingdom in those times among

The prouince of Alaua was great, and carried the title of a kingdom in those times among the Moores, who enjoyed a part thereof, residing in the vallie of Burunda, against whom the kings of Nauarre had continuall warre; and especially in the time of *D. Garcia Inigues*, mention is made by some writers, and also by the titles of the Church of Pampelone, of a battell fought in the vallie of Lunquera, betwixt *Abderramen* king of Cordoua, and the Christian kings, *D. Ordogno*, and this king *D. Garcia*, the which, was lost by the Christians: But the computation of times contradi&it it: of which famous battell there shall be more ample mention made in the life of *D. Ordogno*. The most approved Authors write, that *D. Garcia Inigues* died in the vallie of Ayuar, in a battell against the Moores, in the yere 883; whereof the inscription vpon his tombe makes mention, at *S. Iohn de la Pegna*, the *Æra* 923.

D. Garcia the first, and 13 King of Ouiedo.

40 **D** Garcia was the first of that name which reigned in Ouiedo. There is no mention *Ouiedo*.  
 Garcia was a brave and generous deeds: it may be by reason of his impie-

made in stories of his virtues and generous deeds; it may be reason of his impetu-  
ous, having dispossett his father D. *Alphonso* of his kingdom, who of a king became his sons  
lieutenant, if it be credible, that being desirous to advance the Christians affaires, he deman-  
ded forces of D. *Garcia* to invade the Moores, the which the sonne raigning granted him, re-  
lying in the bountie of his deposed father. And in this qualirie D. *Alphonso* did many exploits  
of armes, gaue routs, and did much harme to the Infidels. We read, that about the year  
887 this deposed father died in the towne of Zamora, and was buried at Altorga, and some  
time after transported to Ouedo.

time after transported to Ouedo.

After the decease of *D. Alphonso*, the king *D. Garcia* led an armie against the Moores, and spoyled much of their country; against whom came a great captaine of that nation, called *Ayola*, so as there was a furious battell, but *D. Garcia* had the victorie. The Moores defeated, and their captaine prisoner, as they led him away he escaped, for want of good gard. *D. Garcia* having reigned three years, he died at Zamora, in the year 889, having no children.

41 At that time *Abdalla* was Miralumin, or Soueraigne King in Spaine over the Moors, who had succeded king *Almundir* his brother, in the year 876. In the first year of his reigne there was a surcease from armes, betwixt the Mahometists and the Christians, untill the yere 886, that *D. Alphonso*, no more king, but in qualitie of his sonnes lieutenant, began to annoy the Moores, and after his death *D. Garcia* his sonne, gaue the foresaid rout to *Ayola*, whom some call *Ayaya*. King *Abdalla* died in the year 889, according to the most approued, leaving 11 sonnes, and 12 daughters, having reigned 13 yeares.

**D. For-**

### D. Fortun, second of that name, eighth King of Nauarre.

Nauarre.

42 **T**HE Scepter of Nauarre, after the death of D. Garcia Inignes (although that some haue written of an Interregnum of many yeares, whilst that D. Sancho was yet vnknowne, and bred vp in the house of *Guenara*) came without all doubt to his eldest sonne D. Fortun the second of that name, in the yeare 885; after whose decease there could be no Interregnum, seeing he had a daughter married to D. Ordogno the second, of Ouiedo, who without doubt should haue succeeded her father: for the right of succession had euen then taken place, euen of women, about the election, which had been accustomed in all auncient time among those people. There is a testimonie of this king D. Fortun, in a Charter of donation which he made to the monasterie of Leyre, in the *Ara* 939, which comes to be the yeare 901. It is written in the remembrances of the house of S. Saneur of Leyre, That when as the king D. Garcia his father was slaine, he was at Cordoua. Whereby it appears, that the Moores which slew him, were not of the league with the kings of Cordoua, but some theues, or factious persons, as this nation had beene accustomed to liue in perpetuall diuision and quarels. D. Fortun being king of Nauarre, he was also earle of Arragon, by succession from his mother. There is not any notable thing written of this kings geits, but that he was verie deuout, and did cherish Monkes, and religious persons, to whom he gaue great gifts.

Barcelone.

43 In Cattelogne after the death of Cont Geoffrey, who was slaine in Auvergne, D. Salamon, earle of Cerdagne, who had beene his competitor, and enuied him, was made earle and gouernour. The Spaniards hold, that Cattelogne, and the countie of Barcelone, was then fallen to the Soueraignie of Prouence and Bourgongne, whereof Charles, sonne to the Emperour Lothaire, and nephew to Lewis the Gentle, was king; by whose grant this earle of Cerdagne did for his life-time inioy that title and dignitie, whilst that the son of D. Geoffrey (who carried the fathers name, and was afterwards surnamed the Hairie) was bred vp in Flanders, in a knights house, to whom king Charles had recommended him. About the yeare 864 kings Charles died, and Prouence came to the hands of the Emperour Lewis the second, his brother, who also died in the yeare 876, and the empire fell to Charles the Bauld, his vnkle, king of France, and by consequence Prouence and Cattelogne, which depended thereon: during whose empire D. Geoffrey the Hairie, being now great, came to Barcelone, whereas the countesse Almira, his mother, yet liued, by whom he was knowne, and made knowne to the chiefe men of Barcelone, who had been friends to his deceased father: who made no delay to conspire with D. Geoffrey, for the killing of the earle D. Salamon, the which they did presently effect in the place of *Bercas* in the yere 877: and by that meanes D. Geoffrey the Hairie was restored to his fathers dignitie. Whilst he was bred vp in the house of this Flemish knight, they say, he fell in loue with one of his daughters, with whom he contracted a secret marriage, the which notwithstanding came to the knowledge of the mother, who could well conceale it vntill a fit opportunitie. Finding himselfe settled in his estate and dignitie, at Barcelone, he sent for his wife, and confessed the marriage vnto his father in law, who was nothing displeased therewith; by whose meanes he obtained pardon for the murther which he had committed on the person of Cont Salamon, of the king of France, and Emperour Lewis the Stuttering, successor to Charles the Bauld, his father, by whom the Flemish knight was much fauoured. And the Spanish histories report, That the Emperour Lewis received good seruice from Geoffrey the Hairie, in the warres he had against the Normans, whither he led a goodly troupe of horse out of Barcelone, and shewed great proofes of his valour and conduct; so as he was greatly esteemed, and beloued. And as in a certaine defeat of the Normans he had beene wounded in diuers parts of his bodie, so as his Armes were all couered with blood; shewing himselfe in this estate before the Emperour Lewis, he besought him to giue him Armes, which he and his posteritie might lawfully carrie. The Emperour being glad of his demaund, stretching forth his foure fingers, he dipt them in the blood which ran from the earls wounds, and made foure markes vpon a golden shield which he carried, being plaine, without any deuice; and said vnto him, Earle, hereafter these shall be your Armes. For the which he most humbly thanked the Emperour:

44 D. Geoffrey the Hairie, first earle in proprietie of Barcelone.

A Emperour: so as euer since they haue carried foure bloudie strokes, which we call *Guenales*, in a field Or. This is the beginning of the Armes of the earles of Barcelone, and since kings of Arragon, although that their beginning was from Cattelogne.

The Armes of Barcelone and Arragon.

He did likewise serue king Charles the Grosse, who was Emperour after Lewis the third, in his warre against the Normans: but in his absence the Moores entred the territorie of Barcelone, and committed great spoyles. Whereof Cont Geoffrey being aduertised, he demaunded leaue, and besought the king to grant him men and money, to repulse the Infidels out of his gouernement: but not able to obtaine it, by reason of the weakenesse of his affaires, he had a better condition: For in consideration of his valour and good seruice, king Charles gaue the countie of Barcelone in proprietie to him and to his heires for euer, in the yeare 884, reseruing onely the soueraignie to the kings of France: the which continued vnto the time of Lewis the ninth. We will therefore place this earle for the first of them of Barcelone, for that he was a Proprietarie.

Cattelogne given in proprietie to Geoffrey the Hairie, under the soueraignie of France.

Returning to Barcelone with this grant, he brought with him many strange knights, with whose helpe he recovered all that which the Moores had vsurped vpon the territories of Barcelone, and Cattelogne. He is commended for his religion, for that he did build (to burie himselfe and his successors in) the monasterie of our Ladie of Ripol, where his eldest sonne Rodolphus made himselfe a Monke; who, they say, was borne in Flanders, before the marriage was published; and was Abbot of Ripol, and afterwards Bishop of Vrgell. Others say, That this monasterie was founded by D. Geoffrey of Arria, his father. He had other children by this Flemish ladie, which were D. Geoffrey, who died of poison, being but young; D. Mir, who succeeded him in the earldome; D. Sumer, or Seniofrid, who was earle of Vrgel; and one daughter. He was founder of the monasterie of Monferrat, and did many such like workes.

### D. Ordogno, second of that name, and 14 King of Ouiedo and Leon.

45 **T**O D. Garcia his brother D. Ordogno had succeeded in the realme of Ouiedo, in the yeare 889. The bountie of this prince made the Spaniards thinke that his father D. Alphonso was risen againe, he did so well imitate his vertues in all the course of his life. His religion, after the manner of those times, is commended, for that hee caused Mondognedo to be made a Bishopricke, and did much good to churches. He was married first to D. Munia, whom others call D. Eluira, by whom hee had foure sonnes, D. Sancho, D. Alphonso, D. Ramir, D. Garcia, and one daughter, D. Ximena, whereof D. Alphonso and D. Ramir were kings of Ouiedo. For his second wife hee married D. Arragonde, or it may be, Radegonde of Gallicia, whom he did repudiat for certaine causes. Lastly, he tooke to wife the Infanta of Nauarre and Arragon, D. Sancha, or Sanctina, daughter to king D. Garcia Inigo, and of D. Vrraca.

The first exploits of Armes he did, were in Galicia, when as he was but a pettie king or gouernour, ouerrunning the Moores countrey confining vpon him, euen vnto Andalouisia, and carried backe great spoyles, with the which he retired safely to Visco, which is at this time in Portugal.

At the same time Abderramen, the third of that name, came to bee king of the Moores; hee was surnamed *Almansor*, and *Ananzer Ledin Alla*, which signifies, Defender of the Law of God. Some are of opinion, that he was the sonne of Mahomet, the sonne of Abdalla, to whom hee succeeded: against whom D. Ordogno raised an armie, and entring the territories of Toledo, came and besieged Talauera, which is now called de la Roine. Hee defeated the succours of Moores which Abderramen sent, tooke the Generall of this armie, and forced the place and sacked it. Wherewith Abderramen being much moued, meaning to reuenge it with assurance, hee demaunded succours from Almotaraph, king of Mauritania Tingitana, where the kingdomes of Fez and Marocco are at this present. And hauing by that meanes assembled a great armie of Moores,

Moores. Abderramen Almansor, king of the Moores at Cordoua.



Moors defeated.  
Anno 894.

Moore, Africans, and Spaniards, he spoiled the Christians country, as farre as the riuer G of Duero, and the towne of S. *Stephen de Gomas*, where there was an encounter, and the Moores vanquished; and the Generalls and Lieutenants of the two kings, *Abderramen* and *Almotaraph*, slaine; which incouraged D. *Ordogno* to proceed: so as in the year 894, hee entred the country called *Estrema-dura*, croising the riuers of Tayo and Guadiana, vnto Merida and Badaios, the territories of which townes he spoiled. The Moores inhabiting these townes, not daring to sallie forth, they purchased a truce of some monethes, for a great summe of money.

This losse tormented *Abderramen*, and inflamed him to reuenge; wherefore in the yere Anno 895. 895 he entred Galicia with a great power, where he committed infinit spoyle. In the end both armies being met, there was a bloudie battell, which continued almost a whole day, with vncertaintie which had the victorie. *Abderramen* being afterwards fortified with new succours from Affricke, he came againe to wast the country of king D. *Ordogno*, and entred by the prouince of Alaua, into the territories of the king of Nauarre, which should be at that time D. *Sancho Abarca*, or rather his brother D. *Fortun* the second, and not D. *Garcia Inigues*, their father, who they hold died in the year 885: And then there was a great battell giuen in the vallie of Ionquera, in the which many braue Christian knights were slaine. The Mahumetists being victors, many townes and forts of Nauarre fell into the Infidells hands. King *Abderramen* returned victor vnto Cordoua, leading with him many prisoners, and a rich bootie. In this troupe of prisoners were the Bishops of Salamanca and of Tuy. He of Tuy, called *Hermogius*, not able to endure the hardnesse of the prison, being old, laboured to get out, giuing for hostage of his ranfome a nephew of his, called *Pelagius*, a goodly young youth, about fourteene yeares old, who had bene bred vp religiously, and in the feare of God. Being come into the Moores hands, king *Almanzor* being thrust on with a detestable desire, would haue abused him at his pleasure, and haue persuaded him to follow *Mahumets* sect: the which this holy youth did vertuously resist. Wherefore the king being enraged, he caused him to be murdered with many torments, and to be cast into the riuer of Guadalquivir, where his bodie being found, it was buried by the Christians: Whose memorie, for his great vertues in so tender yeares, merits to liue for euer.

Battell of Ionquera lost by the Christians.

Pelagius a holy youth cruelly murdered.

Quiedo and Leon.  
Anno 896.

King D. *Ordogno* desirous to reaire the losse which the Christians had receiued in the vallie of Ionquera, entred in the year 896, into the Moores country with great forces, where hee tooke and ruined many townes; and meeting no incounter, hee returned to Zamora. As for the religious deeds of this king, they make particular mention of the building of S. *Maries* church, in his owne royall Palace of Leon, which he made the Cathedrall church of that towne, and indowed it with reuenewes, and many iewels; inducing the other noblemen, by his example, to doe the like. He caused himselfe to be crowned in this new Temple with great solemnitie, being the first of those kings which intitled himselfe king of Quiedo and Leon: for vnto these times they hold, That these kings reared themselves onely kings of Quiedo, without any addition of Leon. Before the Cathedrall church of Leon, were those of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, without the circuit of the walls in those times, the which he did enlarge, and made the towne much bigger, enriching it with many buildings, exemptions, and priuiledges.

We haue said before, That there was a great error in the computation of the raignes of these kings of Quiedo, and great confusion in conferring them with those that haue reigned in Nauarre, and the other Potentates of Spaine: for the Authors doe ill agree with the Charters and titles of priuiledges, donations, and foundations, which are found in the true stories of Monasteries, and other churches of Spaine: especially it is vncertaine what kings of Nauarre were in the time of king D. *Ordogno*, nor when he married his last wife D. *Sanctiua*, daughter to king D. *Garcia Inigues* the second, whether in his life time, or during the raigne of D. *Fortun*, and D. *Sancho Abarca*, his children: the fact is cleere, but the time is doubtfull. Some Authors write, That this king D. *Ordogno*, made this league with D. *Sancho Abarca*, king of Nauarre; and that hauing ioyned their forces together, they invaded the country of Rioje, which the Moores held, and hauing foraged it, they returned with great spoyle, hauing found no resistance.

The worthie and memorable deeds of this king are blemished with the cruelties hee vsed against the earles of Castille.

A 47 The worthie and memorable deeds of this king are blemished with the cruelties hee vsed against the earles of Castille. We haue made mention of Cont D. *Diego Porcello*, or *Lechon*, in the Spanish tongue, who gouerned Castille in the time of king D. *Alphonso* the great: besides there is mention of other earles and gouernors of the country, the which for that it was great, and compassed in by the Moores country, had need of many heads and captains to defend the frontiers of Quiedo and Leon, vnder whose foueraigntie Castille was. Among others, we find D. *Nugno Fernandes*, who it is likely was father in law to D. *Garcia*, king of Quiedo, brother to this king D. *Ordogno*, D. *Almondar le Blanc*, D. *Diego* his sonne, D. *Fernando Anzuers*: all these commaunded there, and were great noblemen in the said country of Castille, about the year 889, which they hold to be the first of D. *Ordogno*, king of Quiedo and Leon. It is not verified vpon what subiect they fell in disgrace with this king, if it were not by reason of the practises of D. *Nugno Fernandes*, and D. *Garcia*, against king D. *Alphonso* the great; kings being alwayes iealous of their estates, and enemies to them that attempted against their Soueraigne Princes, the which in some is accompanied with an enuie of their glorie, whom (being their subiects) they know to be aduenturous, fit for great enterprises, and to execute them happily. So it may be D. *Ordogno* fearing that these earles (who had fought valiantly against the Moores, and well defended their prouinces; for the which they were beloued, and respected of the people) should grow too great, to the prejudice of his royall Maiestie, he meant to murder them. He therefore called them vpon a safeconduet to a place called Regular, vpon the riuer of Carrion, making shew, that he would treat secretly with them of matters of great importance. Whither being come, he caused them to be apprehended, and carried with good guards to Leon, where some dayes after, without any forme proceeding, he caused them to be murdered in the prison. D. *Diego Porcello*, as some thinke, was of this number. D. *Nugno Bellides* married his daughter D. *Sulla*, of whom were borne two sonnes, D. *Nugno Nugnez*, *Razura*, grandfather to the earle D. *Fernand Gonfales*, and the other was *Iustus Gonfales*, grandfather to the Lord of Lara.

Ennie and iacobine familiar passions in great men.

Earles and gouernors of Castille murdered.

D. Diego Porcello the Remune of the princes of Castille.

A year after this tyrannous action, the king D. *Ordogno* died, according to the common opinion, in the year of our saluation 897; but according to the letters and titles of donation of the abbeyes and churches of Spaine, he liued in the year 919, as *Garibay* saith, who hath made a diligent search: Of the authoritie and truth of which charters we may iustly doubt. This king reigned eight yeares, and was buried at Leon, in the new Cathedrall church of Saint *Marte* the great; the first of those kings which had bene interred at Leon.

### D. Froila, second of that name, and 15 King of Quiedo and Leon.

E 48 After the death of D. *Ordogno*, the realme was held by his brother D. *Froila*, who vsurped it from his nephewes, D. *Alphonso*, and D. *Ramir*, sonnes to the deceased. He is not put in the catalogue of the kings of Quiedo, it may be by reason of the shortnesse of his raigne, or in detestation of his cruelties, which purchased him the surname of Cruell; or for some other considerations. He had married a ladie called D. *Munina*, or D. *Nugna*, by whom he had three sonnes, D. *Alphonso*, D. *Ordogno*, and D. *Ramir*; and by a concubine, a bastard called D. *Fruela*. Of this bastard issued D. *Pelagius*, called the Deacon, who married D. *Aldonsa*, grand child to D. *Bermund* the Goutie, whereof we will make mention. King D. *Fruela* was a tyrant, and therefore fearefull and suspicious, so as he vsed great crueltie against the noblest personages in Spaine, he put some to death, banished many, and afflicted euerie estate. Among the rest he put to death the children of a noble knight, called D. *Olmunde*, or *Dimunde*, banished D. *Frominio* their brother, who was Bishop of Leon, and committed many other such outrages; yet couered with the cloke of iustice, as tyrants doe vsually.

Genealogie of Quiedo and Leon.

Tyrants alwayes feareful, suspicious, and cruel.

49 The people of Castille incensed at the crueltie vsed against their earles by D. *Ordogno*, change of the rebelled against the Crowne of Quiedo and Leon, and made an Estate apart, chusing two Go-

*Judges chosen  
in Castille.*

Gouernors or Iudges among them, whereof the one should haue charge of the war, and the other should take knowledge of ciuile causes. These were *Nugno Razura*, and *Flauin Caluo* his sonne in law. *Nugno Razura* was sonne to *Nugno Bellides*, a German knight, who they say was the first founder of the citie of Burgos, so called by him, of a German word, signifying a habitation of people. This knight comming into Spaine vpon deuotion, to visit *S. Iaques* sepulchre, was there married to *D. Sulla*, daughter to *D. Diego Porcello*, and had by her this *D. Nugno Razura*, a knight, who was wise, valiant, and much esteemed, by reason of his modestie. He had one sonne and one daughter by his wife, *D. Gonfalo Nugnes*, and *D. Eluira Nugnes*, or else *D. Theresa Nugnes*, surnamed *Bella*, either for that she was exceeding faire, or to seeme to be so: for the custome of the auncient was to giue their children pleasing names and surnames, thinking they should thereby purchase fauour with men; and that a goodly name gaue some marke or impression to the person conformable to that which it did signifie. This ladie *D. Bella* was married by her father, to *Flauin Caluo*, a knight of Castille, lord of Biuar, by whom descended by fiue degrees, *Cid, Ruys, Diaz*, who was a wise and valiant knight. By these two Castille was gouerned without opposition: for that the king *D. Fruela* being hated, and ill obeyed, by reason of his tyranie, and tormented with continuall distrust, being also growne a leaper, could not bring any armie against them. Wherefore this manner of gouernement was settled among the Castillians, and the countrey was dismembred from the Crowne of Ouiedo, for a time; and the riuer of Pisorga diuided Castille the old from the kingdome of Leon. *D. Nugnes* determined of ciuile causes with great equitie and iustice. *Flauin Caluo* managed matters of state, and warre.

Mention is made in certain priuiledges giuen by the first kings of Castille, to certain towns of that countrey, of a volume of the Castilian Lawes, according to the which iustice should be administred, called the booke of Iudges: the which was of great authoritie, vnto the time of king *D. Alphonso* the Wise, sonne to *D. Fernand* the third, that the Lawes of the seuen parties were brought in, according to the which this realme was afterwards gouerned.

*Ouiedo and  
Leon.*

King *D. Fruela*, without rest among his subiects, without warre against the Moores and Infidels, without honour in any of his actions, and without health in his person, infected with leprosie, reigned onely foureteene monethes, and was interred at Leon, in the chiefe church, in the yeare 898, according to the common opinion: but there are letters in the treasure of *Saint Iaques*, of a donation, of twelue miles of ground to this church, made by this king, dated the 28 of Iune 924, which *Garibay* saith he hath seene.

## THE



## THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

### The Contents of the seuenth Booke.

- 1 **D** Sancho Abarca, second of that name, and ninth king of Navarre.
- 2 **D** Alphonso, fourth of that name, and 16 king of Ouiedo and Leon.
- 3 **D** Ramir, second of that name, and 17 king of Leon, leaving the title of Ouiedo.
- 4 **D** Gonfalo Nugnes, Iudge of Castille: his vertues.
- 5 **D** Fernand Gonfales, first earle proprietarie of Castille.
- 6 **D** Mir, second proprietarie earle of Barcelone.
- 7 **D** Ordogno, third of that name, and 18 king of Leon.
- 8 **D** Garcia Sanches, fourth of that name, and 10 king of Navarre.
- 9 **D** Seniofrid, third earle of Barcelone, sonne to **D** Mir.
- 10 **D** Sancho, first of that name, and 19 king of Leon, called the Fat.
- 11 **H**ali Haran, ninth Soueraigne king of the Arabians or Moores in Spaine.
- 12 **D** Ramir, third of that name, and 20 king of Leon.
- 13 **D** Garcia Fernandes, second proprietarie earle of Castille.
- 14 **H**izen, second of that name, and 10 king of the Moores at Cordoue.
- 15 **D** Bermund, second of that name, 21 king of Leon, from whom the citie of Leon was taken by the Moores.
- 16 **D** Sancho, third of that name, and 11 king of Navarre.
- 17 **D** Borel, fourth proprietarie earle of Barcelone.
- 18 **D** Alphonso, fifth of that name, and 22 king of Leon.
- 19 **D** Sancho Garcia, third earle of Castille.
- 20 **D** Raymond Borel, fifth earle of Barcelone.
- 21 **E** Decay of the Moores power in Spaine, by their ciuile dissensions.
- 22 **Z**uleima and Mahumet, 11 and 12 kings of the Moores at Cordoue.
- 23 **D** Garcia, fifth of that name, and 12 king of Navarre.
- 24 **D** Sancho, fourth of that name, and 13 king of Navarre, surnamed the great, who inherited Castille by his wife.
- 25 **C**onfusions and ciuile warres among the Moores in Spaine, among the which there reigned, **H**ali, **C**acin, **H**iaja, **A**bderramen, **M**ahomad, **H**izen, **I**oar, and **M**ahumet, who was the 20 and last Soueraigne king of the Moores at Cordoue.
- 26 **D** Bermund, third of that name, and 23 king of Leon.
- 27 **D** Garcia, fourth earle of Castille: and the union of the earldome to the house of Navarre.
- 28 **D** Berenger Borel, sixth earle of Barcelone.
- 29 **F** Union of Leon and Castille in **D** Fernand, sonne to the king **D** Sancho of Navarre, the fourth of that name.

**The names of the Kings and Princes of Spaine, mentioned in this seuenth Booke.**

**OVIEDO and LEON.**

**Kings.**

- 16 *Alphonso* 4.
- 17 *Ramir* 2.
- 18 *Ordogno* 3.
- 19 *Sancho* 1.
- 20 *Ramir* 3.
- 21 *Bermund* 2.
- 22 *Alphonso* 5.
- 23 *Bermund* 3.

**NAVARRÉ.**

**Kings.**

- 9 *Sancho Abarca* 2.
- 10 *Garcia* 4.
- 11 *Sancho* 1.
- 12 *Garcia the trembling* 5.
- 13 *Sancho* 4.

**CASTILLE.**

**Iudge.**

*Gonsal Nugnes.*

**Earles.**

- 1 *Ferdinand Gonsales.*
- 2 *Garcia Fernandes.*
- 3 *Sancho Garcia.*

**4 *Garcia.***

*D. Nugnes* married to King *D. Sancho* the Great, of Nauarre, who inherited the Earldome of Castille, and vnited it to Nauarre.

**BARCELONE, or CAT-TELOGNE.**

**Earls.**

- 1 *Mir.*
- 2 *Seniofrid.*
- 3 *Borel.*
- 4 *Raymond Borel.*
- 5 *Berenger Borel.*

**MOORES.**

- 9 *Hali Hatan* 2.
- 10 *Hizen* 2.
- 11 *Zuleima.*
- 12 *Mahumet* 2.
- 13 *Hali.*
- 14 *Cacin.*
- 15 *Hajja.*
- 16 *Abderramen* 4.
- 17 *Mahumet* 3.
- 18 *Hizen* 3.
- 19 *Ioar.*
- 20 *Mahumet* 4.

*We haue apparent Arguments in this seuenth Booke, of the religious disposition in auncient Princes, in the resolution which two Kings of this age tooke, the one of Nauarre, the other of Leon, to leave their regall Scepters and become Monkes: A president which was not rare in that age, but was afterwards imitated by others. Whether this proceeded from zeale of Religion, grounded upon any certaine knowledge, or from busenesse, and want of courage, or from meere ignorance of their rankes and royall callings, they can best iudge, who know by good and holie instructions, what ordinarie occasions Kings, and other Soueraigne Magistrates, haue in their lawfull calling, to shew themselves, and to be, truly religious.*

**D. Sancho Abarca, second of that name, and ninth King of Nauarre.**

*Nauarre.*

*D. Fortun king of Nauarre, makes himselfe a Monke. An. 901.*



After the death of King *D. Garcia Inigues*, his sonne *D. Fortun* being come to the Crowne in Nauarre and Arragon, about the yere 885, as we haue said in the former Booke, hauing reigned some years, being moued with deuotion, and seeing himselfe without children, and old, he became a Monke in the monasterie of *S. Sauour* at *Leyre*, the which they hold was in the yere 901, leaving the realme of Nauarre, and the earldome of Arragon, to *D. Sancho Abarca*, his brother, so called by reason of a certaine kind of breech which he ware: Who, they say, being come with the queene *D. Toda* his wife, to the said monasterie of *Leyre*, receiued the blessing

of his brother *D. Fortun*, from whom also they receiued a Crowne, with many other precious jewels.

The king *D. Sancho* had by this wife a sonne called *D. Garcia Sanchez*, bearing his grandfather and fathers names together: some giue him three sonnes more, *D. Ramir*, *D. Gonsal*, and *D. Ferdinand*. He had fife daughters by her, whereof the eldest, called *D. Vrraca Ximenes*, was wife to *D. Alphonso* the fourth of that name, king of Ouiedo and Leon: the second, *D. Maria*, Countesse of Barcelone, being married to *D. Seniofrid*, the fift Earle: the third, *D. Theresa*, who was married to *D. Ramir*, king of Ouiedo, brother to *D. Alphonso*: the fourth, *D. Sancha*, Countesse of Castille, the second wife of *D. Fernand Gonsales*: and the youngest was *D. Blanche Velaque*, whose marriage is vncertaine. This was a generous and worthie king, and in continuall warres against the Moores reigning in Alaua, and vpon the confines of Nauarre, whose lands he did often ouerrun, razed many places, and built others: the particularities whereof are vncertaine, by reason of the negligence or defect of writers of those times: but in generall they hold, that he did subject vnto his Crowne and made tributarie all the people which were betwixt his confines and the mountaines of Oca, of either side, following the course of Ebro vnto Tudele, and from the mountaines to Huesca: yea, passing the Pyrenees, he conquered from the French that part of Gascoine where the Basques are, which is at the foot of the mountaines: but whilst he was thus busied, the Moores came and besieged Pampelone, thinking to take it before that the king *D. Sancho* should come to succour it; but it happened otherwise: for the besieged were not onely relieued, but the Moores chased away, and pursued farre into their country, with great losse of their men. In these warres the vertue and prowesse of them of Sobrarbre and Ribagorça was great, especially of a captaine called *Centullo*.

*The auncient confines of Nauarre.*

**D. Alphonso, fourth of that name, and 16 King of Ouiedo and Leon.**

By the death of king *D. Fruela*, the kingdome of Ouiedo and Leon came to the children of *D. Ordogno*, and *Alphonso* the fourth, called the Monke and the blind, reigned: who hauing held the Crowne little aboue fife yeares, and had had a sonne by *D. Vrraca Ximenes* his wife, which he called *D. Ordogno*, afterwards surnamed the bad, had a desire to become a Monke, and for want of courage to passe his life in idlenesse, leauing the charge which God had giuen him, to rule and gouerne the Christian people preferred in Spaine: wherefore he gaue his brother *D. Ramir* to vnderstand thereof, who was then resident at Viseo, one of the frontiers of the Moores countrey, persuaading him to come vnto him, meaning to resigne the Scepter of Ouiedo and Leon. These newes were not a little pleasing vnto *D. Ramir*, who presently came to Zamora, where king *D. Alphonso* remained, and was there seated by him in the royall throne. *D. Alphonso* retyred himselfe into a Monasterie called *Dominus Sanctus*, at this day Sahagun, vpon the riuer Cea, a house built by king *D. Alphonso* the great, the third of that name.

*Ouiedo and Leon.*

*D. Alphonso leaves his Crowne to become a Monke.*

**D. Ramir the second, and 17 King of Ouiedo and Leon.**

Thus *D. Ramir* became king beyond his expectation, in the yere 904, of Ouiedo and Leon. From that time the royall title was attributed to the citie of Leon, suppressing *Ouiedo*, for that it was the greatest towne, and best peopled of all this kings Estare. *D. Ramir* had by his wife *D. Theresa*, daughter to king *D. Sancho Abarca* of Nauarre, three sonnes, *D. Bermundo*, *D. Ordogno*, and *D. Sancho*; and one daughter *D. Eluira*, who was professed a Nunne in the Monasterie of *S. Sauour*, in the citie of Leon, built by the king her father for her sake. The warres betwixt the Christians and the Moores, which had lyeu long dead, were now reuiued at the comming of this king, for the which he prepared himselfe. *D. Alphonso* (soone

*Leon. An. 904. Ouiedo suppress in the kings titles.*

*D. Alphonso repents that he became a Monke.*

*D. Alphonso besieged and taken by his brother.*

*D. Ramir puts out his brothers and his nephews eyes.*

*Castille.*

*The commendable and fatherly care of a Prince.*

*D. Ferdinand the first Earle of Castille.*

(soone wearie of his Monkish life, into the which he had rashly entred) repenting himselfe, that he had resigned his kingdome, meant to recouer it by armes, seizing vpon the towne of Leon, where he fortified himselfe with his confederates. *D. Ramir* hauing leuied a great armie, with a designe to imploy it against the Infidels, was forced to turne head against his owne subjects, and came to the siege of Leon, the which continued two yeares: in the end *D. Alphonso* being vnfurnished of all necessities, as well as of judgement, yeelded to his brothers discretion, who kept him prisoner.

The children of king *Froila*, by reason of the warres betwixt the two brethren, did rise in Asturia, and the eldest, whose name was *Alphonso*, caused himselfe to be called King: the rest, with most part of the Asturians, did honour and reuerence him as their king. The confederates of this *Alphonso*, sonne to *Froila*, desirous to surprise king *D. Ramir*, gaue him to vnderstand, That if hee came with a small traine, they would turne to him: but *D. Ramir* considering wisely what was most profitable and safe, would not goe without great forces, with the which he vanquished the Asturians, and tooke the children of king *Froila*, the which he sent prisoners to Leon, with his brother *D. Alphonso*, whereas soone after he caused all their eyes to be put out, then (as if he had repented him of this rigour) he drew them out of prison, and confined them into the Monasterie of *S. Iulien*, not farre from the citie of Leon, the which he caused to be built for them, and there entreated them honourably, during their liues; where they were buried, with *D. Vrraca Ximena*, wife to king *Alphonso*.

These diuisions did the more assure the revolt of Castille, and the new Estate of that countrey, vnder Iudges elected, whereof the two first being dead in the time of *D. Alphonso* the Monke, *D. Gonfalo Nugnes* had succeeded in the gouernment of Castille. This knight was bred vp in all vertue, ciuilitie, and good behauiour, by the care of *D. Nugno Razura* his father, who being wise and vertuous, was carefull to giue him good masters, in all commendable exercises, worthie of a child issued from a noble familie: and moreover, had made all the best families of the countrey partakers of this happinesse, causing the gentlemens sonnes of Castille to be bred vp with his sonne in the same discipline; so as in a short time the Court of Castille was furnished with as many gallant young gentlemen as any countrey in the world. Thereof grew a great loue and respect of the noblemen and knights, both fathers and sonnes, vnto their Gouernour, proceeding from the bond they had, to haue receiued by his meanes so good education and instruction; a benefit, which to speake truth doth exceed all the gifts and fauours a Prince can doe vnto his subjects. Stories are defectiue in relating the particular acts of these Earles or Iudges of Castille, although it be most certaine, that they wanted no subject of warre to defend themselves as well against the Moores, as against them of Leon and Ouedo. Their residence and iudiciall seat was at Bourgos, and in another towne of Castille the old, called in respect of them *Vijuefes*. *D. Gonfalo Nugnes* had to wife *D. Ximena*, daughter to Cont *D. Nugno Fernandes*, who was slaine in prison, with the rest, by king *D. Ordogno*, and of them was borne the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales*, first proprietarie of Castille, one of the discreetest and best accomplished knights of his age; who succeeded his deceased father, about the yeare 910, who for his interment caused the Monasterie of *Arlansa* to be built, as the Monkes of that place report, who shew many markes and resemblances of this Earle or Gouernour *D. Gonfalo*, and of his wife *D. Ximena*, but ill agreeing with the computation of times, and the truth of the Histories. *D. Fernand Gonfales* being established Earle and Iudge of Castille, during the time that king *D. Ramir* was at strife with his brother, and the children of king *D. Fruela*, he gouerned the estate of that Prouince in such sort, as peace and abundance lodged there, and the people held themselves most happie to haue such a Commaunder. He did wonderfully affect religion, according to the time, and hauing no better instruction from the Pastors in those dayes, then it is to be presumed, he gaue himselfe superfluously to the works of pietie of that age, which was wholly imployed to build Churches, and to giue reuenues, for the entertainment of Priests and Monkes, and of their ceremonies. He had a particular deuotion to *S. Peter* and *S. Emylian*, whom the Castillians had chosen for their Patron and Protector of their countrey, as they of the kingdome of Leon did to *S. Iagues*. The Monasterie of *S. Peter* of Cardegna was his worke. He was iust of his word, faithfull in his promises, and endowed with manie other

other good gifts, which purchased him the fauour and loue of all men, and aduanced him to the dignitie of soueraigne Earle of Castille. He married twice: his first wife was *D. Vrraca*, by whom he had one daughter of that name: after whose decease, he tooke to wife *D. Sancho*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king *D. Sancho Abasca*: he had many sons, but it is vncertaine by which of these two wives they were borne, there remaining in a manner no other memorie of them, but the inscriptions of their tombes obserued by writers, at *S. Peters* of Cardegna: the names of his sons are, *D. Gonfalo Fernandes*, *D. Sancho Fernandes*, *D. Garcia Fernandes*, who was Earle after the father, it may be by the death of the two elder, *D. Pedro*, who had two sons, as it appeares by the tombes at *S. Peter* of Cardegna, *D. Gonfalo Nugnes*, and *D. Fernando Gonfales*, and for the last *D. Baldwin*. Now this Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales* began to carrie himselfe as a companion in armes, and no more subject to the kings of Leon: yet king *D. Ramir* hauing

(after that he had subdued his rebellious kinsmen) led his armie into the territories of Toledo, taken the towne of Madril from the Moores, of whom (as we haue said) *Abderramen* was Miralumin and king at Cordoua, and razed the walls thereof, the Moores being desirous to be reuenged of the Christians for this affront, being entred with a great armie into the territorie of Castille, which was neere vnto them, and there done exceeding great harme, the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales* was forced to entreat *K. Ramir* to joyne his forces with them of Castille, and to oppose them against the common enemy: the which he did, and hauing encountered the Moores neere to the towne of Osme, these two Princes gaue them battaile, and woon it, with

great slaughter of the Infidels. *Aben-Aya* reigned at Saragosse, vnder *Abderramen Almanfor*, whereof some refusing to submit themselves to the Christians yoke, and rebelling against *Aben-Aya*, were forced to obedience by the Kings and Earles armie, who were no sooner retyred into their countries, but *Abderramen* incited at the revolt of *Aben-Aya*, ran vpon him with all his power: but the Moore, who had not yeelded vnto the Christians, but to auoid the present danger, submitted himselfe presently to the Miralumin, and returned to his seruice and obedience as before: then both together, with a mightie armie, entred the country of *K. D. Ramir*, spoyling it as farre as the towne of Simancas, whereas the Christians armie presented it selfe in battaile, the which was one of the most memorable that hath beene in Spaine, betwixt the Christians and the Mahumetists, where the Moores were defeated, and so great a

number of them slaine, as many Authors affirme, they exceeded 80000. *Aben-Aya* was prisoner, and *Abderramen* forced to saue himselfe by flight with twentie horses onely. They hold, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 914, but there are letters of priuiledge and donation, for which they call vow, made by Cont *D. Fernand Gonfales*, in the Monasterie of *S. Emylian*, for this & other victories dated in the yeare 934, where it appeares, that king *D. Ramir* was alone in this first battell, without the Castillians, and that he hauing put to rout a part of the Moores armie, the rest which retyred by Castille, were encountered by this Earle and his armie, who wholly defeated them; and then was the vow to *S. Emylian* accomplished, which seemes had

beene made in the beginning of this warre, by all the Christian Princes reigning in Spaine, for there is a confirmation thereof made by *D. Garcia Sanchez*, king of Nauarre. Euerie familie in Castille payed vnto the said Monasterie, by reason of this vow, some sheepe, some oxen, corne, oates, wine, oyle, fish, waxe, cheefe, flax, yron, lead, and other things contained in their letters, from the riuier of Arga, which is in Nauarre, vnto that of Carrion, and from the mountaine of Araboya vnto the Biscane sea; whereby it appeares, that that yeare 934 the country of Guisafcoa was vnto the countie of Castille, being withdrawne from the realme of Nauarre, to the which it was afterwards annexed againe. The yeare of this battaile of Simancas, the Sunne was darkened for the space of an houre, and the starres were seene glistering, and as it were mouing in the firmament.

King *D. Ramir* after this victorie retyred into his countrey, carrying with him *Aben-Aya*, and a great number of other prisoners, with rich spoyle; but soone after he found himselfe ingaged in a new warre by the practises of some knights of Leon, ill affected vnto the king, or ill rewarded by him: whatfoeuer the subject were, they conspired with a captain of the Moores, called *Accipha*, who entring into the countrey by the riuier of Tormes, spoyled all the territories of Salamanca and Ledesma: *Garibay* calls these knights

*Genealogie of castille.*

*Moores defeated.*

*Battaile of Simancas, and the great victorie of the Christians.*

*An. 914.*

*Guisafcoa a member of the realme of Nauarre.*

*Leon.*

*D. Alphonso repents that he became a Monke.*

*D. Alphonso besieged and taken by his brother.*

*D. Ramir puts out his brothers and his nephews eyes.*

*Castille.*

*The commendable and fatherly care of a Prince.*

*D. Fernand & S. Emylian, first parts of Castille.*

(soone wearie of his Monkish life, into the which he had rashly entred) repenting himselfe, that he had resigned his kingdome, meant to recouer it by armes, seizing vpon the towne of Leon, where he fortified himselfe with his confederates. *D. Ramir* hauing leuied a great armie, with a designe to imploy it against the Infidels, was forced to turne head against his owne subjects, and came to the siege of Leon, the which continued two yeares: in the end *D. Alphonso* being vn furnished of all necessaries, as well as of judgement, yeelded to his brothers discretion, who kept him prisoner.

The children of king *Froila*, by reason of the warres betwixt the two brethren, did rise in Asturia, and the eldest, whose name was *Alphonso*, caused himselfe to be called King: the rest, with most part of the Asturians, did honour and reuerence him as their king. The confederates of this *Alphonso*, sonne to *Froila*, desirous to surprise king *D. Ramir*, gaue him to vnderstand, That if hee came with a small traine, they would turne to him: but *D. Ramir* considering wisely what was most profitable and safe, would not goe without great forces, with the which he vanquished the Asturians, and tooke the children of king *Froila*, the which he sent prisoners to Leon, with his brother *D. Alphonso*, whereas soone after he caused all their eyes to be put out, then (as if he had repented him of this rigour) he drew them out of prison, and confined them into the Monasterie of *S. Iulien*, not farre from the citie of Leon, the which he caused to be built for them, and there entreated them honourably, during their liues; where they were buried, with *D. Vrraca Ximena*, wife to king *Alphonso*.

4 These diuisions did the more assure the reuolt of Castille, and the new Estate of that country, vnder Iudges elected, whereof the two first being dead in the time of *D. Alphonso* the Monke, *D. Gonfalo Nugnes* had succeeded in the gouernment of Castille. This knight was bred vp in all vertue, ciuilitie, and good behauiour, by the care of *D. Xugno Racura* his father, who being wise and vertuous, was carefull to giue him good masters, in all commendable exercises, worthie of a child issued from a noble familie: and moreover, had made all the best families of the country partakers of this happinesse, causing the gentlemen's sonnes of Castille to be bred vp with his sonne in the same discipline; so as in a short time the Court of Castille was furnished with as many gallant young gentlemen as any country in the world. Thereof grew a great loue and respect of the noblemen and knights, both fathers and sonnes, vnto their Gouernour, proceeding from the bond they had, to haue received by his meanes so good education and instruction; a benefite, which to speake truth doth exceed all the gifts and fauours a Prince can doe vnto his subjects. Stories are defective in relating the particular acts of these Earles or Iudges of Castille, although it be most certaine, that they wanted no subject of warre to defend themselves as well against the Moores, as against them of Leon and Ouiedo. Their residence and iudiciall seat was at Bourgos, and in another towne of Castille the old, called in respect of them *Viuufes*. *D. Gonfalo Nugnes* had to wife *D. Ximena*, daughter to Cont *D. Xugno Fernandes*, who was slaine in prison, with the rest, by king *D. Ordogno*, and of them was borne the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales*, first proprietor of Castille, one of the discreetest and best accomplished knights of his age, who succeeded his deceased father, about the yeare 910, who for his interment caused the Monasterie of *Arlansa* to be built, as the Monkes of that place report, who shew many markes and testimonies of this Earle or Gouernour *D. Gonfalo*, and of his wife *D. Ximena*, but ill agreeing with the computation of times, and the truth of the Histories. *D. Fernand Gonfales* being established Earle and Iudge of Castille, during the time that king *D. Ramir* was at strife with his brother, and the children of king *D. Fruela*, he gouerned the estate of that Prouince in such sort, as peace and abundance lodged there, and the people held themselves most happie to haue such a Commander. He did wonderfully affect religion, according to the time, and hauing no better instruction from the Pastors in those dayes, then it is to be presumed, he gaue himselfe superfluously to the works of pietie of that age, which was wholly imployed to build Churches, and to giue reuenues, for the entertainment of Priests and Monkes, and of their ceremonies. He had a particular deuotion to *S. Peter* and *S. Emylian*, whom the Castilians had chosen for their Patron and Protector of their country, as they of the kingdome of Leon did flye to *S. Iaques*. The Monasterie of *S. Peter* of Cardegna was his worke. He was just of his word, faithfull in his promises, and endowed with manie other

other good gifts, which purchased him the fauour and loue of all men, and aduanced him to the dignitie of soueraigne Earle of Castille. He married twice: his first wife was *D. Vrraca*, by whom he had one daughter of that name: after whose decease, he tooke to wife *D. Sancha*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king *D. Sancho Abarea*: he had many sons, but it is vncertaine by which of these 2 wiues they were borne, there remaining in a manner no other memorie of them, but the inscriptions of their tombes obserued by writers, at *S. Peters* of Cardegna: the names of his sons are, *D. Gonfalo Fernandes*, *D. Sancho Fernandes*, *D. Garcia Fernandes*, who was Earle after the father, it may be by the death of the two elder, *D. Pedro*, who had two sons, as it appeares by the tombes at *S. Peter* of Cardegna, *D. Gonfalo Nugnes*, and *D. Fernando Gonfales*, and for the last *D. Baldwin*. Now this Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales* began to carrie himselfe as a companion in armes, and no more subject to the kings of Leon: yet king *D. Ramir* hauing (after that he had subdued his rebellious kinsmen) led his armie into the territories of Toledo, (taken the towne of Madril from the Moores, of whom (as we haue said) *Abderramen* was Miralumin and king at Cordoua, and razed the walls thereof, the Moores being desirous to be reuenged of the Christians for this affront, being entred with a great armie into the territorie of Castille, which was neere vnto them, and there done exceeding great harme, the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales* was forced to entreat *K. Ramir* to ioine his forces with them of Castille, and to oppose them against the common enemy: the which he did, and hauing encountered the Moores neere to the towne of Osme, these two Princes gaue them battaile, and woon it, with great slaughter of the Infidels. *Aben-Aya* reigned at Saragosse, vnder *Abderramen Almanfor*, and was assailed by the victorious Christian armie, and forced to come to composition with king *D. Ramir*, by the which he made himselfe his vassale, and all his subjects, in the yere 912: whereof some refusing to submit themselves to the Christians yoke, and rebelling against *Aben-Aya*, were forced to obedience by the Kings and Earles armie, who were no sooner retyred into their countries, but *Abderramen* incensed at the reuolt of *Aben-Aya*, ran vpon him with all his power: but the Moore, who had not yeelded vnto the Christians, but to avoid the present danger, submitted himselfe presently to the Miralumin, and returned to his seruice and obedience as before: then both together, with a mightie armie, entred the country of *K. D. Ramir*, spoyling it as farre as the towne of Simancas, whereas the Christians armie presented selfe in battaile, the which was one of the most memorable that hath beene in Spaine, betwixt the Christians and the Mahumetists, where the Moores were defeated, and so great a number of them slaine, as many Authors affirme, they exceeded 80000. *Aben-Aya* was prisoner, and *Abderramen* forced to saue himselfe by flight with twentie horses onely. They hold, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 914, but there are letters of priuiledge and donation, which they call vow, made by Cont *D. Fernand Gonfales*, in the Monasterie of *S. Emylian*, for this & other victories dated in the yeare 934, where it appeares, that king *D. Ramir* was alone in this first battell, without the Castilians, and that he hauing put to rout a part of the Moores armie, the rest which retyred by Castille, were encountered by this Earle and his armie, who wholly defeated them; and then was the vow to *S. Emylian* accomplished, which seemes had bene made in the beginning of this warre, by all the Christian Princes raigning in Spaine, for there is a confirmation thereof made by *D. Garcia Sanchez*, king of Nauarre. Euerie familie in Castille payed vnto the said Monasterie, by reason of this vow, some sheepe, some oxen, come, oates, wine, oyle, fish, waxe, cheefe, flax, yron, lead, and other things contained in their letters, from the riuier of Arga, which is in Nauarre, vnto that of Carrion, and from the mountaine of Araboya vnto the Biscane sea; whereby it appeares, that that yeare 934 the country of Guipuscoa was vnited to the countie of Castille, being withdrawne from the realme of Nauarre, to the which it was afterwards annexed againe. The yeare of this battaile of Simancas, the Sunne was darkened for the space of an houre, and the starres were scene glistering, and as it were mouing in the firmament.

King *D. Ramir* after this victorie retyred into his country, carrying with him *Aben-Aya*, and a great number of other prisoners, with rich spoyle; but soone after he found himselfe engaged in a new warre by the practises of some knights of Leon, ill affected vnto the king, or ill rewarded by him: whatsoeuer the subject were, they conspired with a captain of the Moores, called *Acipha*, who entring into the country by the riuier of Tormes, spoyled all the territories of Salamanca and Ledesma: *Garibay* calls these knights

*Genealogie of Castille.*

*Moores defeated.*

*Battaile of Simancas, and the great victorie of the Christians.*

*An. 914.*

*Guipuscoa a member of the realme of Nauarre.*



God is not  
pleased with  
rebellion, no  
though the  
Trince be a  
tyrant.

An. 915.  
Moore.

Nauarre.

warre betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Castille, for in-  
iurie done to  
the embassadors  
of Castille.

D. Sancho A-  
barca king of  
Nauarre slaine  
by the Castilians.

The worthie  
memorie of D.  
Sancho Abarca.

Leon.

An. 923.

Moore's de-  
feated.

which had conspired against their king, D. *Fernand Gonzales*, D. *Diego Nugner*, and D. *Ro- drigo*, who did great harme with their owne forces, in the Asturias: but king D. *Ramir* (al- though it may be he had giuen subiect of these rebellions, by his austeritie, or ingratitude) surmounted them: being often scene, that God doth most commonly fauor and support the royall Majestie against rebellious subiects, how just soeuer their cause be; referring to himselfe the immediate punishment of tyrants. Wherefore the Moores were not onely repulsed, but also these knights were taken and brought to Leon, and to the castle of Gor- don, from whence notwithstanding the king freed them within few dayes after, without any other punishment, than their promises and oathes, to continue loyall and faithfull. So as hauing been too rigorous against his owne blood, he was too mild and remisse to these, who had conspired with the Mahumetists, enemies of the Christian religion. These things past in the yeare 915.

King *Abderramen* grieved, that the warre against the Christians succeeded not well for the good of his Estate, he began to persecute the Christians which liued vnder his commaund, yet some attribute this persecution to his sonne and successor *Halihatun*.

The generall Historie of Spaine makes mention of a warre betwixt D. *Sancho Abarca* of Nauarre, and D. *Fernand Gonzales*, Earle of Castille, grounded vpon the reparation of many domages done by the Nauarrois, passing and repassing through the countrey of Castille, vnder colour of making warre against the Moores: with whom the king D. *Sancho* made a peace, to the prejudice of the Castilians and others their neighbors; the which did much dis- content them. Wherefore the Earle D. *Fernand* demanded restitution of the spoyle and exceffe which had bene committed in his countrey: but his messengers were sent backe with injurious words and disgrace; by reason whereof they came to armes, and there was a sharpe encounter of two armies, in a place called Era de Gollanda, where there was much blood spilt. The two Princes D. *Sancho* and D. *Fernandes* encountering during the fight, they ran one at another with such animositie, as both horse and men were ouerthrowne to the ground. The king D. *Sancho* was found dead with the charge of a lance, and D. *Fernandes* sore wounded. This misfortune being knowne in the Nauarrois armie, daunted their coura- ges, so as the Castilians woon the field. The same generall Historie reports, that an Earle of Tolouse being come with a great armie to succour the king D. *Sancho*, being desirous to re- uenge the death of his friend and allie, and hauing joyned with the remainders of the forces of Nauarre, he was againe fought withall, vanquished, and slaine by D. *Fernand*, who deliue- red the bodies of these Princes thus slaine to their subiects to burie them. Of the time of this defeat, or of the manner of D. *San. Abarcas* death, there is no great certaintie in that which is related in this generall Historie, yet they conjecture it was about the yeare 920. It is with- out all question, that he was a valiant and courageous Prince, and so famous, that even at this day there is not so poore a woman in the kingdome of Nauarre, nor any other person (al- though he be ignorant of the name of other kings) which knowes not that of D. *Sancho A- barca*; all which speake and make an honourable mention of him, as of a wife and vertuous Prince. He did enlarge the limits of Nauarre, conquering much on euerie side from the Moores, euen along the riuer of Ebro, whereof a castle neere vnto Sarragosse doth beare witnesse, which carries his name vnto this day. There are many other markes found of him in Spaine: the castle of Ses, and that of Arrafate (since called Mondragon) in Guipuscoa, (but ruined at this day) are his workes. They hold, that he did people the towne of Logrog- no in Rioje, and walled it about. There is ample mention made of him in a Charter of pri- uiledge and donation, of the places of S. Vincent and Ledena, to the Monasterie of S. Salua- tor de Leyre, dated in the yeare 919, whereby many things which are written doubtfully of this king, are made plaine and confirmed: among others, it appears thereby, that he was sonne to D. *Garcia Inigues*, brother to D. *Fortun*, and husband to D. *Toda*.

About this time, king D. *Ramir* desirous to enlarge his kingdome, and to diminish the power of the Moores in Spaine, led a mightie armie into the countrey of Toledo, so as in the yeare 923 he besieged Talauera, called at this present, La Roina: and as the Moores came to succour it, he gaue them battaile, where he slew twelue thousand, and tooke seuen thou- sand prisoners. This was the last exploit of warre which this king did. A little before he had married his sonne D. *Ordogno* to D. *Yrraca*, daughter to the Earle of Castille, D. *Fer- nand*

and *Gonzales*, and by this marriage he confirmed a peace, and renewed the accords made with the Castilians. The rest of his dayes, which were but short, he employed in religious works, according to those times, and as he was persuaded by the Pastors and Bishops. This king cau- sed the Monasterie of S. Sauueur of Leon to be built, there to lodge his daughter D. *Eluira*. The religious deeds of D. *Ra- mir* of Leon.

Moreover, he founded a Monasterie to S. *Andrew*; one of S. *Christopher*, vpon the riuer Ceaz; one of the virgin *Marie* vpon Duero; one of S. *Michel* called Destriana, in the valley of Or- ne: in which things he was diligent and prodigall, and alwaies assisted by D. *Theresa* the queene his wife. He died in the yeare 924 of his naturall death at Leon, where he was buried in S. Sauueurs Church. An. 924.

In this kings raigne, Cont *Geoffrey* the hairie died at Barcelone, hauing enjoyed the Principalltie of Cartellogne (since the renounciation made vnto him of those lands in pro- prietie, by *Charles* the Grosse, Emperour and King of France) thirtie yeares, and lyes at S. Pa- blo. After him, his sonne D. *Mir* was Earle, in the yeare 914, of whom we read no memo- rable thing. He married somewhat late, and begatt three children, the first was called D. *Se- niofrid*, who was Earle of Barcelone after his father, the second D. *Oliban*, he was surnamed *Cheurette*, by reason of a bodily infirmite, whereunto he was subiect; for when he would speake, he must of force scrape the earth, before he could pronounce a word, he had such an impediment in his speech: he had for his portion the Countie of Cerdagne and Besalu, after the decease of his father. The third called D. *Mir*, was Earle and Bishop of Girone. All his children were young at the decease of the Earle their father, who made D. *Seniofrid*, Earle of Vrgel, his brother, executor, to order his childrens portions: he ruled Cartellogne fiftene yeares, and lyes in the Monasterie of Ripol. Cartellogne.

### D. Ordogno the third, and 18 King of Leon.

7 T O D. *Ramir* of Leon succeeded D. *Ordogno* his second sonne, in the yeare 924, but the titles and letters of Monasteries and Churches of Spaine, as of S. *Iaqués* of Compo- stella, of S. *Emylian* of Cogolla, of S. *Felix* of Oca, of priuiledges, donations, and confirma- tions granted vnto them by king D. *Ramir*, and other noblemen of his time, shew, that he was yet liuing in the yeare 934: but there is little certaintie in the computation of these kings raignes, nor in the charters which are produced by men of our time. This Prince D. *Or- dogno* is commended by the Spaniards to haue bene mild and courteous, so as he was great- ly beloued of his subiects. He had some crosses in the beginning of his raigne, by the flatter- ers and corrupters of young Princes (an ordinarie plague in Courts) who debauched his younger brother D. *Sancho*, and persuaded him to rebell against him, who fled into Nauarre, to be assisted with the forces of that kingdome to execute his designe. Flatterers make D. *Sancho* re- bell against the king his brother.

### E D. Garcia Sanches, fourth of that name, and tenth King of Nauarre.

8 T Here are some errors which are remarkable in this place in stories; that is, who raig- ned at that time in Nauarre: for some hold, that the young Prince D. *Sancho* had re- course vnto king D. *Sancho Abarca*, his grandfather by the mothers side: others say, it was to his sonne *Garcia Sanches*, the which is more probable, the most diligent Authors affirming, that the king D. *Sancho Abarca* died during the raigne of D. *Ramir*, father to this king D. *Or- dogno*, about the yeare 920, hauing raigned twentie yeares or little lesse ouer his subiects, and valiantly repulsed the Infidell Moores, gouerning in Alaua, and elsewhere in his coun- tie of Arragon. Wherefore without all doubt Prince D. *Sancho*, brother to D. *Ordogno* of Leon, had recourse vnto him, and by his meanes was also fauoured by Cont D. *Fernand* of Castille, the warres being pacified betwixt the Castilians and the Nauarrois: of which na- tions hauing raised a great armie, these three Princes entred the territories of king D. *Or- dogno*, and marcht as farre as the royall citie of Leon: but king D. *Ordogno* had so wisely prou- Nauarre.

*D. Ordogno king  
of Leon puts a  
way his wife  
D. Vrraca.*

provided for his affaires, as they were forced to returne, and to abandon their enterprise, reaping nothing for their paine, but the hatred of the king of Leon; the which did so incense him, as he put away his wife *D. Vrraca*, daughter to the Earle *D. Fernand Gonzales*, and married a Ladie called *D. Eluira*, by whom he had a sonne, called *D. Bermund*, which came to the Crowne of Leon. By reason of these troubles, the Gallegos, or they of Galicia rebelled against king *D. Ordogno*; but he soone reduced them to their obedience by armes: and being encouraged by this happie successe, he entred into the Moores country, and passed the riuers of Duero and Minio, waisting the countrey with fire and sword, euen vnto Lisbon, finding not any one to make head against him, so as he returned safe with his armie, laden with great spoyle; and without any great stay being incensed with the iniurie which he had received from *Fernand* Earle of Castille, who had fauored and succoured *D. Sancho* his brother, who was rebelled, marcht with his forces towards Castille, with an intent to doe him all the harme he could.

*Castille.*

The wisdome and dexteritie of *D. Fernand* was such, as of an enemie he made him a friend, so as he returned into his countrey well satisfied, and after that time they joynd their forces together to annoy the Moores: whose king *Abderramen* residing at Cordoua, desirous to reuenge the outrages which the Christians and their king *D. Ordogno* had done in the territories of Lisbon, and others of those marches, hauing also a new subject by the taking of his castle of Carranfo, by the Earle *D. Fernand*, he rayed a mightie armie of Moores, in the which they say was about 80000 fighting men: and hauing giuen charge thereof to a Moorish knight much esteemed, whom they called *Alhagib Almanzor*, he sent him into the territories of Castille, the which did much trouble *D. Fernand*, for that all his forces of Castille were small to oppose against so mightie a power as that of the Moores, wherefore he demanded succours, and obtained them from king *D. Ordogno*; yet Castille was ouerrun by the Moores armie, from *S. Steuen* of Gormas vnto Burgos. In the end, *D. Fernand* did so pursue them, as hee forced them to fight, neere vnto a place called Dozio, where the Moores were defeated, with great slaughter of their men. The Spaniards report, That *D. Fernand* was foretold of this defeat of the Moores by a holie hermit, dwelling neere to *Lara*, called *Pelagius*, and that the armies being farre one from the other, *D. Fernand* being encamped in that place, he had a desire to hunt, and hauing rowzed a Boare, he pursued him to the hermits cell, where he shut him vp. There was a Chappell and an Altar dedicated to *S. Peter*, for the reuerence whereof the Earle would doe no harme vnto this beast. Whilest he stayed there, the hermit arriued, who entreated the Earle to lodge that night with him and his religious, being late, the which he did. In the morning the hermit *Pelagius* revealed vnto the Earle, that he should be victor ouer this great armie of Moores, exhorting him to take courage, and to trust in God, and aboue all to remember the poore Friets, when he had gotten this victorie. So the Earle returned to his armie so full of hope, as no counsell could dissuade him from the Moores armie, being great and mightie, with a handfull of men, and he had the victorie, as we haue said. Returning to Burgos, he remembered the religious, whom he made partakers of the spoyle, and in time built a Monasterie for them to *S. Peter*, L vpon the riuier of Arlançe, and gaue it good reuenues, where this Earle and his successors were afterwards buried. The Moores hauing leuied new troupes, returned into Castille, and were againe vanquished by the Castillians and Nauarrois, about the year 927, and neere vnto the towne of *S. Steuens*, vpon the riuier of Duero.

*Monasterie of  
Peter of Ar-  
lançe, built by  
Fernand  
infantes.*

*Leon.*

*An. 929.*

The king *D. Ordogno* hauing rayed a new armie a little before, to invade the Moores, he was surprised with sickness in the towne of *Zamora*, where he died the fift yere of his raigne, and of our redemption 929, which opinion is not verie certaine.

In which yere they hold, that *D. Mir* Earle of Barcelona also died, and to him succceeded his sonne *Senioffid*, according to his will and testament.

### D. Sancho the first, and 19 King of Leon.

*Leon.*

10 TO *D. Ordogno* there succeeded in the realme of Leon *D. Sancho* his brother, who was surnamed the fat, for that he was exceeding corpulent; wherefore it seems he

A he was more carefull to pamper his bodie, then to attempt any great actions: and for that in those dayes the Arabians had the same to be verie expert in the art of Phisicke, and that the towne of Cordoua was full of such people, especially the Court of king *Abderramen*, he entertained friendship with this king, and went to Cordoua, that he might haue aduice and helpe for his indisposition; wherein *Abderramen* shewed himselfe courteous and faithfull, receiuing him with all the honour fit for such a king, and furnishing him with the best Phisitians of his Court, by whose diligence and iudgement he was freed from the infirmities which had long troubled him.

*Arabian Phisitians  
in great  
request.*

Whilest that *D. Sancho* was in the Phisitians hands at Cordoua, the Leonis conspired against him, and did aduance to the royall throne *D. Ordogno*, surnamed the bad, sonne to *D. Alphonso* the Monke, whereunto they were sollicitated by *D. Fernand Gonzales*, Earle of Castille, whose daughter *D. Vrraca*, who had beene rejected by *D. Ordogno* last deceased, they caused this other *Ordogno* to marrie: but *D. Sancho* being aduertised of these newes at Cordoua, he entreated king *Abderramen* to continue him his fauour and friendship, and as he had beene the meanes for the recouerie of his bodily health, so he would also assist him to maintaine his estate and dignitie: Whereunto the king did verie kindly consent, and gaue him great troupes of his nation and sect, with the which he marched towards his countrey, the which he recovered without any great difficultie, for that the conspirators of the countrey could not of themselves resist so great forces. And as for the Earle *D. Fernand*, he had worke ynough in his owne countrey, whereas a nobleman, called *D. Bela de Nagera*, had put all in trouble and sedition during his absence, in laying the plot against the king *D. Sancho*, with them of Leon; who being vnprovided of force and counsell, retired with *D. Ordogno* into the Asturias, to liue there in the mountaines and places of strength: but *D. Ordogno* not finding himselfe safe ynough in those parts, he fled into Castille, to his father in law, who obserued in that, and other actions of his, a notable cowardise: whereat he was so incensed, as he tooke his daughter *Vrraca* from him, and chased him out of his countrey. So *D. Ordogno* not knowing whither to flye, went vnto the Moores, but he was slaine neere vnto Cordoua.

*Rebellion in  
the kingdom  
of Leon.*

*D. Bela de Na-  
gera troubles  
the estate of  
Castille.*

This partie of the Moores had beene embraced with better successe, a little before, by *D. Bela de Nagera*, who had rebelled against the Earle *D. Fernand*, and was expelled by him; who it may be perswaded the expedition which was made into Castille, in the yere 931, by king *Abderramen*, vnder the commaund of *Alhagib Almanzor*, who had already (to his losse) tryed the force of the Christians, as we haue said: against whom, *D. Fernand* hauing fortified himselfe with the succours of the Biscaines, and of their Lord *D. Lope Diaz*, who was grandchild to *D. Suris*, and sonne to *D. Inigo*, surnamed *Esguerra*, which signifieth deafe in the countrey language, and with other friends his neighbors, he presented himselfe in bataille neere to *Hazignas*, where they fought three seuerall daies, with great obstinacie on either side: but in the end the Moores were vanquished, and lost more men than they had done in the former battles. The Spanish writers make mention here of another apparition of *S. Iaqués*, fighting for the Christians against the Infidels, to whom they attribute the honor of this victorie.

*An. 931.*

*Moores de-  
feated.*

E The king *D. Sancho* being restored, he married *D. Theresa*, and hauing punished some confederats of this rebellion, he made a generall assemblie of noblemen, both of his subjects and allies, at Leon. *D. Fernand Gonzales* could not well excuse himselfe, wherefore he went well accompanied, and was notwithstanding verie honourably entertained by the king. They report, That among other exquisite things which *D. Fernand* brought out of Castille, to make shew of in that Court, he had a goodly horse, and one of the best Goshawkes that could be seene, whereof the king was wonderfully desirous, causing some to entreat the Earle to sell them to him, and that he should aske what price he pleased. The Earle answered, That he would willingly giue them vnto the king, but he would not sell them: but the king would not receiue them of gift, but made such meanes by his friends to buy them, as in the end there was a price set, which was to be payed at a certaine time, vpon condition, That if the king failed at the day of payment, the summe agreed vpon should be doubled, to the benefit of the creditor: of which accord there were letters drawne and signed. The rest of the time which *D. Fernand* remained in the king *D. Sancho* his Court, was spent in pleasure.

*Leon.*

*A costly bargaine  
made betwixt  
Princes in Court,  
and entertain-  
ed by force.*

T

In

In the end of the Assembly, there was a particular treatie of the marriage of *D. Fernand*, a widower, with *D. Sancha* the Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to *D. Sancho Abasca*, and sister to *D. Garcia*, then reigning in Nauarre, and Arragon. This marriage was proposed by the Queene *D. Theresa*, mother to the king *D. Sancho Gordo*, and sister to *D. Sancha*; not for any loue she bare to the Earle of Castille, but to intrap him in the snares which she had prepared for him, in hatred and reuenge of the death of king *Sancho Abasca* her father, whom he had slaine in warre, as we haue said before. The Earle consented to this marriage, and tooke his leaue of the King and Queene, and of the Noblemen of the Court, and went into Castille, to prepare himselfe for his future marriage: but he found, that during his absence the Nauarrois had spoyled his countrey, and done manie acts of hostilitie against his subjects; whereof he complained first by embassages and messages, and demanded restitution of that which had beene taken, but it was in vaine: Wherefore being a Prince full of courage, he went presently to armes, and entred into the territories of Nauarre, where he encountered an armie of Nauarrois, and defeated it, and so righted himselfe.

Warre betwixt  
Castille and  
Nauarre.

Nauarre.

*D. Fernand*  
Earle of Castille  
surprised in Na-  
uarre, and de-  
tained prisoner.

*D. Fernand* of  
Castille deliue-  
red out of pri-  
son.

One of his  
subjects to  
their Prince.

Castille.

Nauarrois de-  
feated, and the  
king *D. Garcia*  
Sanches taken  
prisoner.

The treatie of marriage was still continued, by the meanes of the Queene mother of Leon, sister to *D. Sancha*, Infanta of Nauarre, who had plotted with the king *D. Garcia Sanches*, her brother, to entrap the Earle vnder this colour of marriage, and to be reuenged of him at their pleasures. There was such sending on either part, as in the end the Earle was perswaded to goe into Nauarre to conclude this marriage, and hauing agreed with *D. Garcia*, king of Nauarre, That their enterview should be at a place called Circugna, either of them accompanied with five knights onely. The Earle being arriued, the king came with five and thirtie horsemen: wherefore the Earle seeing himselfe thus surprised, thought to saue himselfe in an hermitage neere adioyning, but the holinesse of the place could not defend him, but he was besieged, and forced to yeeld, vpon condition they should not put him to death. Being taken, he was shut vp in a fort called Chasteau Vieil, or the old castle, and but hardly entreated. A while after, an Italian knight of Lumbardie, going in pilgrimage to Saint *Jaques* of Compostella, that way, and hearing that the Earle *D. Fernand* was detained prisoner there, he was verie desirous to see him, for that he had heard so much fame of his vertues and valour, and at length found meanes to speake with him. At his departure from thence, this knight went to the Infanta *D. Sancha*, who was both faire and louelie, whose heart he did so mollifie with good words, as she began to loue, and to desire *D. Fernands* libertie and companie. This Ladie moued with this affection, wrought in such sort, as one night she deliuered him out of prison, hauing plighted their faithes, and promised marriage one vnto the other, without the priuie of the king *D. Garcia Sanches*, and together tooke their way to Castille, where they had scarce entred the limits, but they met with great troupes of souldiours. These were the Earles subjects, who vpon the newes of his imprisonment had assembled themselves together in armes, and hauing made an Image like vnto their Lord, they had all taken a solemne oath before it, That not any one of them should returne vnto his house, vntill the Earle were deliuered, and that whosoever should doe otherwise, should bee held for a traitor. Being thus resolved, they came into Nauarre, when as they had this happie encounter of the Earle *D. Fernand*, and the Countesse *D. Sancha* his spouse, whom they receiued with all the honour and signes of joy, that the place and their furniture would permit.

The king *D. Garcia Sanches* being aduertised of his sisters flight, and the Earles deliuerie, was wonderfully incensed; he leuied an armie, and entred into the territories of Castille, whereas the Earle came to encounter him with a great power, and gaue him battaile, in the which the Nauarrois were defeated, and the king *D. Garcia* taken prisoner, being overthrowne with the blow of a lance, by the Earle himselfe, who had sought for him, and encountered him in the fight. So he was led to Burgos, and there remained thirteene moneths in safe keeping. Then at the entreatie of the Countesse *D. Sancha* he was set at libertie, and sent into his countrey honourably attended. Yet for all this, the quarrels betwixt Castille and Nauarre were not ended: for a while after, the Earle *D. Fernand* being gone to Leon,

the

A the king of Nauarre came againe with an armie, by the mountaines of Oca and Bureua, and ran as farre as Burgos, doing what he could to perswade the Countesse *D. Sancha* to goe away with him, but she would giue no care to him; wherefore he returned with a great bootie, hauing much spoyled the countrey. The Earle at his returne being informed of all which the king of Nauarre had attempted, complained first by embassages, and demanded reparation of damages which his subjects had endured, and hauing no reason done him, nor any good answer made, he tooke the course of armes, and led an armie into Nauarre, where he gaue battaile vnto his enemies on the plaines of Valpierre, neere to Nagera and Brion, where the Nauarrois were manie in number, and well appointed. Those of Castille were in great danger, yet the equitie of their quarrell gaue them force and courage, so as they remained victors, and the Earle had full satisfaction of the wrongs and injuries which the king of Nauarre had done him. Such were the occasions, progresse, and end of the quarrels, betwixt Nauarre and Castille, according to the Spanilh Chronicles, to the yeare of our Lord 934. After this, the countrey of Castille was in peace for a time, and the Earle *D. Fernand* had no other care, but to gouerne his subjects well, vnder good lawes, when as in Leon there was great trecherie practised against him, by the king *D. Sancho*, who was sorrie that the designes of Nauarre had not succeeded as he desired.

Another defeat  
of Nauarrois.

An. 934.

This king made an Assembly of all the Earles and Noblemen, and appointed his Court in the citie of Leon, whither the Earle of Castille was also called: who although hee were sufficiently informed, whence all the wrongs came that were done him, and of the little good they wight him in that Court, yet could he find no meanes to excuse himselfe, and (which was worse) there were verie few of his friends. Being come to the gates of the citie, he might easily perceiue that he was not welcome, for that no man came to meet him, as they had done at other times; wherefore he entred into the citie like a priuate man, and of meane estate. Comming to kisse the kings hands, he was receiued with a frowning countenance, and sower speeches, telling him, that he detained the Earle-dome of Castille from him: Whereupon the Earle seeking to satisfie the king with good reasons, hee was not heard, but put in sure guard, and kept in the citie of Leon, in the year 936.

The Earle of  
Castille kept  
prisoner in Le-  
on.

An. 936.

The newes of his restraint did much trouble all Castille, but especially the Countesse, whom the good and well affected knights of Castille sought by all meanes they could to comfort, promising all their meanes for the Earles deliuerie. This Ladie being of a noble courage, and confirmed by the loyaltie she found in his subjects, put her selfe presently vpon the way, being accompanied by the chiefe of the nobilitie of the countrey, and going by secret and vnknowne passages, shee came neere vnto the citie of Leon; where shee left her troupes in ambush, and taking the habit of a pilgrime, pretending to goe and visit the sepulchre of *S. Jaques*, shee entred into the citie, being accompanied onely with two men. The king being presently aduertised of the Countesses arriuall, he came vnto her, and desirous to doe her honour, being his aunt, he suffered her to see her husband who was prisoner, and to remaine that night with him, and commaunded for her sake, that they should take off his yrons, wherewith he was bound. These two louers passed that little time which was allowed them to be together, in comforting one another, and in praying vnto God; and hauing concluded betwixt themselves what was to be done, this vertuous Princeesse *D. Sancha* gaue an example to all her sex, of what power conjugall loue is in a generous heart: for the attyred her husband so handsomely in her pilgrimes weed, as the keepers of the prison being deceiued therewith, let him goe, thinking it had beene shee. The Countesse in the meane time remained prisoner: so as before they could discouer the fraud, *D. Fernand* had meanes to get out of the towne, and to come vnto his knights, which lay in ambush, by whom hee was conducted into his countrey. This fact of the Countesse being reported vnto the king, he was so farre from blaming her, as admiring the force of so holie a loue, he deliuered her, honoured her, and sent her home to her husband, with a traine fit for her calling, although he were verie sorrie that the Earle had so escaped.

A rare example  
of conjugall  
loue.

Vertue is re-  
uenced euen of  
enemies.

T ij

The

The king D. *Sancho* was still a debtor to the Earle of Castille, not only for the price of his horse and hawk, but also for the multiplication thereof, the day of payment being long before expired: wherefore the Earle sent to demand his money of the king: and hauing neither payment, nor good wordes, he began to spoyle the territories of Leon: whereupon the king commaunded his Treasurers to verifie this debt, and to seeke for meanes to discharge it. The summe was so often doubled and multiplied, from day to day, after the terme prefixed; as they reported vnto the king, That all the wealth of the kingdome of Leon would not be sufficient to pay that which was due vnto the Earle of Castille: wherefore after manie consultations and messages sent on either part, the king D. *Sancho* and the Earle D. *Fernand* fell to an agreement, That the king to be freed of this excessive summe of money, did remit vnto the Earle D. *Fernand* the lands and feignories of Castille, to enjoy them absolutely, without any reseruatiō of fealtie, homage, nor vassallage to the Crowne of Leon, but freely and as Soueraignes, he, and his in perpetuities, whereof letters were passed in the yeare 939. This was the meanes, as the Historie of Spaine report, of the Soueraigntie of Castille, and separation thereof from the realme of Leon and Oniedo, the which countrey from an Earledome became a royaltie, and in the end the mightiest of all that Continent, as we see it in our time. The Earle D. *Fernand* did at that time hold in the Prouince of Rioje, the lands of *Cerezo* and *Granon*, and by many letters of donation graunted by him to the Churches and Couents of his countrey, he is intituled Lord of Alaua: whereby we must note, that the countrey of Alaua was in his time of a larger circuit then it is now: for the kings of Nauarre held much of it, and did also tearme themselves Lords: so did the Moores, disperfed ouer all Spaine, and holding great Scigniories, townes, and forts there, vnder their king *Abderramen*, being resident at Cordoua.

Castille exempt  
from all sub-  
ditiō by a subtil  
bargaine.  
An. 939.

Moores.

This Arabian king, for his last exploit of warre, had sent an armie of Moores into the territories of Leon, which layed siege before the citie, from whence notwithstanding they were forced to retyre, by the vertue and good gouernment of those that were within it, as well fouldiors as citizens. Soone after this king died, the which, according vnto some, was about the yeare nine hundred thirtie nine, and of the Arabians raigned three hundred twentie two, hauing raigned fiftie yeares in Spaine. Hee was a louer of learning, so as in his time, Philosophie, Phisicke, and all other Arts, did flourish at Cordoua.

Hali Hatan  
9 Soueraigne  
King of the  
Moores in  
Spaine.

Leon.  
Sedition in Ga-  
licia.

11 *Hali Hatan* his sonne succeeded him, to whom king D. *Sancho* sent a great embassage, to treat a peace betwixt the two kingdomes, whereof D. *Velasco*, Bishop of Leon, was the chiefe, who had charge to demand the bodie of the infant *Pelagius*, slaine by king *Abderramen*, to make a relicke thereof.

During this time, there arose a great tumult and sedition in Gallicia, vpon certaine priuate mens quarrells, who slew one another cruelly, without any respect vnto the king nor iustice: Wherefore the king D. *Sancho* was forced to lead an armie thither, with the which he did punish some of the mutines, and did force some of the rest to leaue the countrey. They passed the riuer of Duero, and yet retyred into a countrey which did belong vnto the iurisdiction of Leon, in that quarter, the which was gouerned by an Earle, or Gouernor, called D. *Gonsales*, vnder the king D. *Sancho*. This bad vassale, in stead of supporting the kings iustice against these mutines, tooke armes in their fauour, and was so rash as to oppose himselfe against the kings forces, which pursued them into his gouernment: but remembering his owne follie in time, he had recourse to the kings clemencie, who pardoned him, making him onely to confesse his fault, and to take a new oath of fealtie: yet this trecherous and ingratfull wretch, smothering in his breast the venome of treason, within few dayes after poysoned his king and naturall Prince with an apple which he gaue him. The king, who distrust nothing, did presently bite of M it, but his heart being suddainly infected with the poyson, he began to shake, and to shew other signes that he was stricken with death: wherefore he made hast to returne to Leon, but he died vpon the way, in the twelfth yeare of his raigne, and of our redemption 941, and lyes at S. Sauours in Leon. He had by his wife D. *Theresa* one sonne, called D. *Ramir*,

Notable dis-  
loyal-  
tie.

A D. *Ramir*, who succeeded him in the realme of Leon. They find it written, That a little before his death there were great flames of fire seene rise out of the Ocean, the which being carried vp into Spaine, burnt a great countrey, and manie villages, as farre as Zamora.

In the meane time the Earle of Vrgel gouerned in Barcelone and Cattelogne, as tu-  
tor to his nephewes, sonnes vnto the Earle D. *Mir*, the last deceased, being vnder age, whereof the eldest, to whom the Earledome belonged, was called D. *Sancho*, as his tu-  
tor was. Of this Earle of Vrgel issued two sonnes, D. *Borel*, who was the first Earle of Barcelone, and D. *Armingand* Bishop of Vrgel, who was reputed a Saint. The State of  
B Barcelone and Cattelogne was gouerned by him in qualitie of tutor, for the space of  
twentie yeares.

The religion of Spaine in those times was wholly reduced to the seeking out of Mar-  
tyrs bones, and other relickes. The building of Monasteries, gifts, and foundations, were  
held most meritorious, as well for the liuing as for the dead. The inuocation of Saints  
deceased, whose victories, peace, and other prosperities, well knowne to the world, were  
then in credit. Most of the Bishops and Pastors were either verie prophane, or exceeding  
superstitious and ignorant.

Religion in  
Spaine in those  
times.

In the raigne of D. *Ramir*, *Ordogno* the third, and *Sancho* the first, there had bene Bi-  
shops of Compostella, after *Sisenand* the fourth, *Gundesin*, who was much vnlike vnto his  
predecessor in holiness of life, whose health was obtained by the prayers which his mo-  
ther (a verie deuout woman) made continually (as the Spaniards say) before S. *Iaques* Se-  
pulchre, which the Angelicall voices (heard at the Bishops decease) did witnesse; after  
whom, *Hermigild* was chosen, a verie prophane man: then came *Sisenand*, as bad as the other.  
You may coniecture, that the other Bishopricks were no better furnished then that of  
Compostella. These kings made foundations, and gaue infinite priuiledges to Abbots  
and other Clergie men, for the redemption of their soules, and of their predecessors, as  
their letters aboue mentioned containe.

The Bishops of  
Spaine in those  
dayes.

D. *Garcia Sanchez*, king of Nauarre, did also confirme the vow of S. *Emylian* in his  
country, by letters dated in the yeare nine hundred thirtie foure. The Bishops did the  
D like for their parts. *Galinde* Bishop of Pampelone, for the great deuotion which he had vn-  
to the Couent of S. Sauour of Leyra (where sometimes had bene the Episcopall seat of  
Pampelone) gaue vnto the Abbot and religious of that place all the titles of the Archpre-  
biterie of the valley of Onfella, by an Instrument dated nine hundred thirtie eight. The  
king D. *Garcia*, and D. *Theresa* his wife, gaue Villar de la Tour, neere vnto Nagera, with all  
the territorie and iurisdiction, to the same Monasterie, in the yeare nine hundred fortie  
three. Moreouer, by other letters, dated in the yeare nine hundred fortie foure, D. *Garcia*,  
and the Queene his wife, and D. *Galinde* the Bishop, (who is there called by the King, his  
lord and master) confirme the donation of part of the titles belonging to the Bishop, of the  
places aboue mentioned: And besides, there is another donation made of all that the king  
E of Nauarre should conquer from the Moores, Infidels, and Barbarians.

## D. Ramir, the third of that name, and twentieth

King of Leon.

12 IN the yeare nine hundred fortie one, D. *Ramir* was setled king at Leon: at whose  
comming the Norman pyrats did much annoy the coast of Gallicia. This king being  
verie young, he was gouerned by the Queene D. *Theresa* his mother, and by D. *Eluira*,  
F sister to the deceased king his father, being a religious woman. The peace which had  
bene treated with *Hali Hatan*, was confirmed by the mediation of the Bishop D. *Velasco*,  
who was at Cordoua, at the death of D. *Sancho*, and had brought with him the bodie  
of the infant *Pelagius*, the which was layed in a Monasterie built to that end by the de-  
ceased king.

Monasterie of  
S. Pelagius.

T iij

The

The Normanes which came into Galicia, being led by a captaine called *Gundred*, spoyled all along the sea shore; and entring into the maine land, they burnt townes, villages, and castles, spoyling and putting all to the sword they encountered, holding as it werethe possession of Galicia for the space of two whole yeares, the which the king *D. Ramir* had no meanes to resist, by reason of his nonage: yet in the end he was perswaded to send some troupes of souldiours, vnder the commaund of an Earle called *D. Gonfalo Sanchez*, who watched his opportunitie so well, as he defeated the Normanes, slew their captaine *Gundred*, and burnt their shippes. *D. Sisenand* second Bishop of Compostella, had bene slaine by these pyrates: he was a turbulent man, and an vnworthie Prelate, of whom Histories report, that for his vices, prodigalitie, and lewd life, the king *D. Sancho* the fat had caused him to be put in prison; in whose place *Rodofinde* was chosen, a holie man and of good fame, a Monke of the Order of *S. Benet*: but after the death of *D. Sancho*, *Sisenand* being gotten out of prison, he came with force to enter his Bishopricke, being resolu'd to kill *Rodofinde*: the which he had effected, if this holie man had not willingly quit the place, returning to his Monasterie, where he ended the rest of his dayes. Afterwards, *Sisenand* pursuing the Normanes, being more fit to commaund souldiours then to gouerne the Church of Christ, hee was slaine with an arrow neere vnto *Fomellos*. Such were the Bishops for the most part in those times. The Estate of Leon was by this meanes peaceable, both within it selfe, and in regard of enemies abroad, hauing peace with the Moores.

King *Hali Hatan* being loth that the beginning of his raigne should passe without some famous exploit, being also sollicit for *D. Bela* of Nagera, a knight of Alaua, who (as we haue said) had bene expelled by *D. Fernand*, Earle of Castille, and was rettyred to the Moores Court at Cordoua, hee raysed a mightie armie, the which hee sent to ruine the Earle of Castille (against whom he had a spleene, for the former warres) and tooke from him *Sepuluedas*, *S. Estienne* of Gormas, and other places, about the yeare 942, the which the Earle of Castille could not suddainely preuent, whereat he was so much discontented, as within few dayes after he died in Burgos, to the great griefe of all the people of Castille, and was interred in the Monasterie of Arlanfa, which he founded. There is some reason to doubt of the yeare of his death, for that there is found in the Instruments and Titles of donation made by him, to the Monasterie of *S. Emylian*, of the towne of Saint Marie de Pezuegos, dated in the yeare 944; to the Church of *S. Martin* of Granon, the yeare 945; of certaine houses in the towne of Salines; of the Church of *S. Stephen* of Sabredo, dated 947, to the same Monasterie: of the Church of *S. John Baptist* of Ciguri, vpon the riuer of Tiron, the which runnes into the riuer Ebro, neere vnto the towne of Haro: where it is expressly said, that the Earle *D. Fernand* and *D. Sancho* his wife make this donation to the Abbot and religious of the said Monasterie, and to their successors, for the loue of the glorious Confessor *S. Emylian*, that at the dreadfull day of judgement they might deferue to heare that comfortable voice of the Lord, *Come ye blessed of my father, &c.* In these letters *D. Ferdinand* did intitle himselfe Earle of Castille, of Alaua, and of Nagera.

There are registers and memorials found also in the Monasterie of *S. Emylian*, making mention of the Earle *D. Fernand* and of *D. Vrraca* his first wife, of the yeare 964, the which without doubt is false and counterfeit, as in truth there is no great certaintie in any thing which the Monkes produce of their priuiledges, donations, exemptions, and other graunts of auncient kings. It is to be scene vpon the tombe of *D. Sancho*, Countesse of Castille, in the great Chappell of *S. Peter* of Arlanfa, that she died that yeare 964: and in the *Era* 1002, to Count *Fernand Gonfals* succeeded his third sonne *D. Garcia Fernandes*, the first of that name in the Earledome of Castille, and other places aboue mentioned, in the yeare, according to the common opinion, 942.

13 The Moores being masters of the field in Castille, there being no forces together to withstand them, being puffed vp with successe, they entred the territories of Leon, breaking the peace which they had with the king *D. Ramir*, without any subiect, and came and besieged the towne of Zamora, the which they tooke, and ruined. Vntill that time, which was about the yeare 950, the Christians dwelling vnder the gouernment of the Arabian Moores, whom

*Sisenand* bishop  
of Compostella,  
was slaine  
by them.

Castille.

An. 942.

Donations, pri-  
uiledges, and  
other titles of  
Monasteries  
vnder sainte.

Moores.

Zamora taken  
and ruined.  
An. 950.

whom they called for that respect *Musarabes*, had remained in great tranquillitie and peace, without forcing them in their religion in any sort whatsoeuer: Moreouer, they had iustly administred, paying the pensions and tributes which were imposed vpon them, whereby they were assured from all violence. But *Hali Hatan* being come to the Crowne, he was so zealous in his religion, and conceived so great a hatred against that of the Christians, as he published an edict, by the which all Christians dwelling vnder his iurisdiction, were commanded to abiure the religion of Iesus Christ, and causing themselves to be circumcised, to imbrace that of *Mahomet*, vpon paine of death. Then did the spirit of God quicken in the hearts of many, the fire which had bene smothered by the humane traditions; and instructing them inwardly (seeing that ordinarie meanes failed, or were corrupted) made it appeare vnto the world, that the true religion hath no better meanes of propagation, than persecution: for loue and charitie surmount nature, making the dull quick-witted, causing them which were in a manner dumbe to speake, and giuing force and courage to the simple and weak. Many Christians of all sexes and ages, did virtuously confesse the saluation we haue in Iesus Christ, by his onely merit and satisfaction, before the Inquisitors and Iudges, which were sent by this barbarous king. The names of which holie martyrs are worthe of memorie, to be a president to all the faithfull; but we haue too few of them. In the citie of Cordoua there were put to death, for the testimonie of Christs truth, *Aurelius*, *Gregorius*, and *Felix*, with their wiues, *Natalia*, *Crescencia*, and *Liliofa*. In the territorie of Rioje, *Vitor*, borne at Cerezo (who had long defended his fellow citizens from the violence of the Moores) was beheaded. At Bosca, neere to Nagera, *Nunilla* and *Alloaia*, two holy sisters, suffered death: Yet by the letters and priuiledges of the kings of Nauarre, giuen to *S. Saniour* in Leyre (where they say they were buried) it seemes their death was long before this persecution. In Arragon, in the towne of Iaca, the holie virgine *Eurosa* suffered: and many others in diuers parts of Spaine, where the Moores commaunded. Thus were the Christians afflicted both in peace and warre, by armes, and by vniust proceedings.

The Authors of the Spanish Historie make no mention, that the king *D. Ramir* had any great care to suppress the insolencie of these Arabian Infidels, nor to be reuenged for their breach of peace, and the ruine and euerion of such a towne as Zamora was: but they onely say, That about the yeare 955, being of full age, he married with a ladie called *D. Vrraca*, by whom it is not found that he had any children: and abandoning himselfe to a voluptuous life, he contemned all good counsell: so as the earles and noblemen of Galicia, seeing his follie, and discontented with his vices, they scorned him, and would no more acknowledge him for their king. Whereupon they did chuse *D. Bermund*, sonne to the last king *D. Ordogno*, and intituled him King of Galicia: which title and countrey he enioyed ten yeares, notwithstanding all the attempts of *D. Ramir*, who made warre there two whole yeares, with great losse of his best men.

*D. Garcia Fernandes* new Earle of Castille, resisted the Moores valiantly, and being also inuited by the basenesse of king *D. Ramir*, and it may be by the remembrance of the injuries done by the king *D. Sancho* to the Earle *D. Ramir*, and the wrongs done by him also vnto the Earle *D. Fernand* his father, he entred the territories of Leon, and withdrew some places from him, so as falling to an accord, the riuer of Carrion was made the bounds betwixt the Estates of Leon and Castille. They hold, That this earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, did build in Curuas Rubias, the monasterie of *S. Cosme* and *Damian*, and indowed it with great priuiledges, lands and possessions: retaining such a right of patronage, That if any gentlewoman of his familie should want meanes to marie them according to their estates, or would liue vnmarrid, they should be provided for, and entertained: leauing to the religious which serue in the monasterie, a competent pension to nourish them. This earle did augment the number of horsemen in Castille to six hundred, which at his fathers death were but two hundred. He married twice to French ladies, but vnfortunatly: his first wife was called *D. Argentina*, daughter to a French earle, with whom hee fell in loue, when as in the compaignie of her father and mother, hee past through Castille, in pilgrimage to *S. Iaques* of Compostella, and demanded her of her father: but she proued vnchaste, abandoning her selfe to a French knight, who came from *S. Iaques*, and carried her away into France, the earle being sicke in bed, six yeares after their marriage. The Spaniards report, That being cured, and much incensed at the

A cruell edict  
made by Hali  
Hatan against  
the Christians  
his subiects.

Martyrs under  
the Moores.

The vices of  
princes causes  
offension.

Galicia made  
a kingdom.

Castille.

Basenesse of  
king Ramir oc-  
casion of new  
tumults.

A marriage for  
loue vnfortunat



the wrong this knight had done him, he went out of Castille, and left the gouernement of his countries to *Gilperez* of Bauardillo, and *Fernand Peres*, two of his vassalls; and went into France in a disguised habit, where as this knight dwelt, and enjoyed *D. Argentina*: where he wrought in such sort, as he woon the fauour of his daughter, called *D. Sancha*, or according vnto some, *D. Ogna*, with whom he laid a plot (vpon promise that he should take her to wife) That one night he should giue him entrance into her fathers house to reuenge his wrongs: Where as the earle slue those two adulterers in their bed, and so returned into Castille, carrying with him *D. Sancha*, or *Ogna*, his new spouse, whom he married in the citie of Bourgos. The name of this second wife is diuersly set downe by Spanish writers; some call her *Sancha*, others *Ogna*: the inscriptions of *S. Peter* of Arlanca, name her *Abba*. *D. Garcia Fernandes* the earle, had one sonne by her, called *D. Garcia Roldanis*, who died young, as it appeares by the inscriptions of the said monasterie. Moreouer, he had another sonne, called *D. Sancha Garcia*, who was earle. In the inscriptions of *Saint Peter* of Cardegná (where he was buried with her husband) it is said, that she was neece to the Emperour *Henrie*: and is in all places called *Abba*, or *Ogna*. Besides these two sonnes, shee had one daughter called *D. Praca*, who was profest in the monasterie of *S. Cosme* and *Damian*, about Arlanca. During the time the earle was in France to seeke meane to be reuenged, and to get his new wife, the Moores entred into Castille, and spoiled all the countrey euen vnto Bourgos: and they write, That in the way they forced the monasterie of *Saint Peter* of Cardegná, and slue the Abbot and three hundred Monkes; some Authors write but two hundred, and that the destruction of this monasterie was some yeare before. But this place was reedified by the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, and enriched with rents and jewels more then before. This happened during the time that *D. Ramir* king of Leon made warre against his rebellious subjects in Galicia.

Generall of  
Castille.

A great slaughter  
of Monkes  
made by the  
Moores.

Moores.  
Anno 956.

Moores drawne  
into Galicia by  
the faction of a  
Bishop.

14 About the yeare 956 died that cruell enemie of the Christian Religion, *Hali Hatan*, king of the Arabians at Cordoua, the sixteenth yeare of his raigne, and 339 of the Arabians: to whom succeeded *Hizen* his sonne, the second of that name, called by others *Izica*. The forces of this king of the Moores, were drawne into Galicia, by the factions of a Bishop of Compostella, who had bene depofed for his vices. The zeale of their ambition was such, as they made no conscience to expose Christians to the crueltie of Arabian Mahumetists. It is written in the Spanish Histories, that *D. Bermond* raigning in Galicia, by an accord made with *D. Ramir* king of Leon, and making his ordinarie residence in the towne of *S. Iaques*, there came to the Episcopall dignitie of that place, *D. Pelagius*, Bishop of Lugo, sonne to *Cont Roderigo Velasques*: who shewing himselfe a prophane man, and disposing of Ecclesiasticall dignities to vnworthie men, deserued to be expelled, by the king *D. Bermond*, who advanced in his place a Monke of *Saint Benoist*, called *D. Pedro* of Monforio, of a reasonable good life. *Cont Roderigo* and his followers being incensed at this disgrace done vnto his sonne, called the Moores into Galicia, to be reuenged of the king *D. Bermond*. King *Hizen* was verie young at the decess of his father *Hali Hatan*; wherefore a nobleman among the Moores, valiant, and verie famous, called *Mahomad Ibne*, *Aben Hamur*, and by surname *Alhabib Almanfor*, tooke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of Cordoua, and of all Spaine vnder the Moores iurisdiction, the which he held fise and twentie yeares: and they report, that during his life, they entred two and fiftie times into the Christians countrey; and that he was of such credit among the Moores, as all was done by his aduice and counsell, *Hizen* hauing nothing but the bare name. Considering the name and surname of this great captaine, it is to be presumed he had bene sent out of Affricke, by *Manfor*, Miralumin of Maroc, then raigning, to gouerne Spaine during the minoritie of the king of Cordoua: for *Alhabib Almanfor*, is interpreted, Captaine, or protector and defender of his king *Manfor*: *Almanfor* signifies victorious. The proper name of the Miralumin was *Baharabo*. The Moores in Spaine drew great succours from Affricke, in manner of a Croisadoe, and vnder the title of religion. The first passage of the Moores into the Christians countrey, in the raigne of this king, was in the yeare 963, at the instance of *Roderigo Velasques*, into Galicia, where he committed infinit spoyle, and ruined part of *S. Iaques* church. But the plague being in his campe, he was forced to retire, and could not wholly ruine the countrey, as he had intended.

The

A The king *D. Bermond*, and the noblemen of Galicia, after the Moores retreat, repaired the spoyle which they had made, as well as they could. In the meane time the king *D. Ramir* died without children, in the yeare 965: so as the kingdome of Leon came to the king *D. Bermond*. *D. Ramir* was interred at *Destriana*, a monasterie of a royall foundation, and a long time after transported to *Astorga*. *S. Iaques* church being repaired, and newly consecrated, *D. Pedro* of Monforio, the Bishop, died; and in his place *D. Pelagius Diaz* was chosen, a lewd man, and a contemner of all religion; wherefore he was iustly expelled, and *Pimare* his brother advanced in his stead, who for his vices deserued by a iust judgement of God, to be drowned in the riuer of *Minio*. There was another substituted to him of as bad a life, the which was put in prison by the king *D. Bermond*. Thus was the church of *S. Iaques* still furnished with bad Pastors.

Prophane Bishop  
at Compostella.

### D. Bermond, second of that name, 21 King of Leon, called the Goutie.

15 On *Bermond*, or *Veremond*, or *Bermund*, sonne to king *D. Ordono* the third, vnited the two realms of Leon and Galicia, being receiued after the death of *D. Ramir*, without any difficultie. Anno 965.

C In the beginning of his raigne, or thereabouts, *Alcorrex* was famous: hee was the first Moore (of whom any mention is made) that was called King of Seuille, since the Monarchie of the Arabians in Spaine: who spoiled all that part of Galicia which now belongs to Portugal, and lyes betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio; and passing on he wasted all the countrey vnto *S. Iaques*, the which he sacked, and ruined. His armie was infected with the plague, as that of *Almanfor*, or *Mahomad Ibne*, *Aben Hamur*, had bene; who returned into the territories of Leon, and that knight of Alaua, aboue mentioned, marching with him, accompanied with a band of Christians his friends and partisans, he defeated the king *D. Bermond* in battell, at the riuer of *Eftolle*, beyond Duero, and besieged the citie of Leon, from whence he was forced to raise his siege, by reason of the waters and Winter. In the Spring he returned to this siege, into the which the king had put an earle, called *Don Guillen Gonfales*, gouernour of Galicia, who did his best indeuor to defend it: for being sicke in his bed, he caused himselfe to be carried in a litter, to the place where as the Moores made their greatest attempt, and defended it three dayes: but in the end, not able to resist so great a power, the towne was taken, *D. Guillen*, and many other braue men, were slaine, and the sacke giuen to the souldiers. *D. Bermond* had bene careful to retire the bodies of kings his predecessors, and especially the reliques and other jewels of the temple, the which he caused to be transported to *Ouiedo*. This calamitie happened in the yeare 968, the which fell also vpon *Astorga*, *Valence de Campo*, *Sahagun*, *Gordon*, *Albe*, *Lune*, and other townes which were ruined. Then the Moores entring Castille, they tooke and sacked the townes of *Osma*, *Berlanga*, *Atienza*, and other places, whereof some were ruined and some made tributarie. And with this successe they returned with their victorious armie to Cordoua, with great spoyle, and (which was most lamentable) a great number of poore Christian slaues of all sexes and ages: and to increase their miseries; and to aggravate their guilt, they were for the most part so carelesse of God and all religion, as they betrayed their brethren and companions vnto the Moores, without respect of blood, countrey, profession, or honour.

Leon the capital  
citie of the  
Christians, taken  
by the Arabians

Disfession of Christians  
gives an  
entrie to the  
Infidels.

Castille.

F In Castille there was a knight called *D. Ruy Velasques*, lord of Villaren, whose sister *D. Sancha* was married to *D. Gonfal Iuste*, sonne to that *Iuste Gonfales* who was issued from a daughter of *D. Diego Porcellos*, and who enjoyed the Seignories of Salas and of Lara. *D. Gonfal Iuste*, and *D. Sancha* his wife, had seuen sonnes, whom they commonly called the children of Lara, or of Salas, bred up in all vertue, by a discrete knight, called *Nugna Salido*, who was valiant and hardie; all which were made knights in one day, by the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, vnto whom they were allied: It happened, that *D. Ruy de Velasques*, their vnckle by the mothers side, married a ladie borne in Bureua, the chiefe towne of which countrey is *Birbieca*: her name was *D. Lambra*, allied also to the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*: he was young, indiscreet, proud, and high minded. Whose marriage was celebrated with great pompe in the citie of Burgos, whi-

Disposition of a  
woman inclined  
to revenge.

A notable trea-  
son and impietie  
of a Christian  
knight, against  
his owne blood  
and religion.

A Mahometist  
more courteous  
to a stranger, than  
D. Roy de Ve-  
lasques a Chris-  
tian, to his own  
blood.

The lamentable  
death of the se-  
uen brethren of  
Lara.

Humanitie of  
king Hizen to  
his prisoner.

whither came many knights from Castille, Leon, Nauarre, and other places, and among others, D. Gonfal Iuste, and his wife D. Sancho, with their seuen sonnes assited. During the solemnitie of this marriage, which continued five weekes, the younger brother of the seuen had some vnkind speeches with D. Aluaro Sanchez, cousin to D. Lambra the Bride, who were for that time reconciled by the meanes of the earle D. Garcia, and of D. Gonfal Iuste, father to one of the contendants. But the new married wife was so incensed for this breach with her cousin, as she conceiued a deadly hatred against all the house of Lara. The marriage being ended, D. Sancho went with her seuen sonnes, to accompanie the married couple to their house at Barbaddillo, whereas D. Lambra espying one day the younger brother (which had the quarrell with her cousin) in an orchard, bathing a Goshawke, she commaunded a grooms to call a filthie Cucumber at him, to doe him a despight: wherewith the knight, and his brethren, who were present, being moued, they pursued this grooms in such a rage, as thinking to saue himselfe by the fauour of his ladie, he was slaine nere vnto her, who could not saue him.

At the same time neither D. Ruy Velasques, nor D. Gonfals Iuste, were with their wiues, for they did accompanie the earle D. Garcia, who presently after this marriage, went to visit his countrey, and the sorts of Castille: but when as they were returned to Barbaddillo, they vnderstood (to their great griefe) of this outrage. Euerie one retires to his own house; D. Lambra mad with rage & impatiencie, wept, & exclaimed continually, saying vnto her husband, That if he did not revenge this affront done vnto her selfe, she should neuer liue contented. And such was the importunitie of this woman to her indiscreet & ill aduised husband, as, to satisfie her, he resolved to commit an act, vnworthie not onely of a Christian knight, but of any one that carried but the shape of a man: For he had secret intelligence with Almanzor, Constable of Cordoua, vtterly to ruine this familie of Lara. Making shew therefore to haue some businesse of importance with this Moore, and his king Hizen, he intreated his brother in law D. Gonfals Iuste, to goe to Cordoua, with letters which he gaue him; whereunto he offered himselfe willingly. In the meane time the traitor Velasques had written to Hizen and Almanzor, That they should put him to death; & moreover, that if he sent any one with a good troupe into Castille, he would deliuer the seuen sonnes vnto him, which were the most redoubred knights, and the greatest enemies to the Arabians, that the earle of Castille had in his Court. D. Gonfals Iuste being arriued at Cordoua, and hauing presented his letters vnto the king, he was presently put in prison: for the king being wise, although an Infidell, would not altogether countenance so great a treason. Wherefore he kept this embassadour aliuie; yet he sent presently towards the countrey of Almenar (where these brethren should be deliuered vnto him) a capitaine with a great troupe of souldiers, where (as they write) D. Ruy de Velasques gaue such order, as the seuen brethren fell into an ambush of Moores, being accompanied onely with two hundred horse, which made resistance: but the enemies were so many, as one of the brethren called Fernand Gonfals, and all the two hundred, with Nugno Salido, were slaine vpon the place: the other six escaped, and hauing drawne together three hundred horse more, and returned to the combat, they were againe defeated, and taken by the Moores, who cut off their heads, and sent them all to Cordoua, as well those of the seuen brethren, as that of their Gouverneur Nugno Salido.

The king was verie glad to see himselfe freed from such redoubred enemies; and to assist the father, who was prisoner, he caused these heads to be shewed vnto him: who knew them, and was so opprest with griefe, as he fell downe dead vpon the place. Being taken vp, and reuiuied, he made such pitifull lamentations, as euen the barbarous king himselfe was much moued, and thought euen then to set him at libertie, detesting the wickednesse of that traitorous Christian D. Ruy de Velasques.

They say, That whilst D. Gonfals Iuste was detained in prison, but not verie straitly, being often visited by noblemen and ladies, that were Moores, there grew so great familiaritie betwixt him & one of the chief ladies of the kings house, which, some say, was his sister, as he got her with child: which perceiuing, about the time of his deliuerie, they tooke good order for the infant, when it should be borne. It was a sonne, whom they called Mudarra Gonfals, who reuenged the treason of D. Ruy Velasques, committed against his father and brethren. D. Gonfals Iuste returned to Salas, with gifts from the Moorish king. As for the bodies of the dead, they were interred, but no man knowes where; for there is some question about it, betwixt the

the Monkes of S. Peter of Arlanza, and those of S. Emilian of Cogolla, the which we cannot deside, either of them maintaining to haue in their churches and conuents, the tombes of these seuen brethren, their father, and Gouverneur, without any great prooffe of their assertions, as in other things. Such was the disposition and affection of men of that age, who called themselves Christians. They hold, that these things happened in the year 969; some say it was some yeares before. But euerie one to reuenge his priuate quarels, did hazard the publick: and not able to oppresse their enemies by open force, they vsed vnlawfull and damnable meanes, to wrong one another, making way for the Moores, or rather inuited them, to inuade the Christians countrey.

In the year 975 a great armie of Moores, both Spaniards and Affricanes, led by that famous capitaine Alhabib Almanzor, inuaded the countrey betwixt Duero and Minio; and from thence into Galicia: so as the rowne and church of S. Iaques was taken by them, sacked and ruined. Yet the Spaniards say, That the Apostles sepulchre could not be violated, being certified with a great light which came out of it: but they onely tooke the little bells in the steeple, and carried them away with the rest of the prey to Cordoua, where they made them serue for lampes to their great Mosque. In the meane time (as Authors write) the Moores armie was so afflicted with the plague, and bloudie flux, as being forced to disperse themselves, they were cut in peeces by D. Bermonds troups, which he had sent to follow them in their retreat: So God by his power did supplie the defects of indiscreet and cowardly Christian Princes.

The king D. Bermond, as the Spanish Histories write, was wise, but withall had great defects. He was light of beleefe, and soone incensed; and withall, so much giuen to his delights and pleasures, as he had both bodie and mind corrupted. He did incestuously entertaine two sisters for his concubines, before he married; by the one of which he had a sonne called D. Ordognos; by the other a daughter named D. Eluira. After which he married D. Velasquita, whom he put away, after that he had had a daughter by her, called D. Christina. To his second wife he married a ladie called D. Eluira, by whom he had D. Alphonso, who was king after him, and one daughter called D. Theresa, who was profest a Nunne, and was borne before her brother D. Alphonso. He became full of the gout, by reason of his excesse, so as he was lame of his limmes, and therefore was called the Goutie.

Velasques cor-  
rupt both mind  
and bodie.

### D. Sancho Garces, third of that name, and eleuenth King of Nauarre.

There is no great certaintie of the exploits of the kings of Nauarre in these times, either through the negligence of Historians, or the losse of their writings. They coniecture, that the king D. Sancho Garces liued vnto the year 969; and that he was interred in the monasterie of S. Saniour of Leyre: to whom succceeded his sonne D. Sancho Garces; whom he had by D. Theresa, by whom he had also D. Ramir his second sonne, who gouerned the prouince called Vicaria. He had daughters, D. Vrraca, Ermesilda, and Eximena. The king had to wife a ladie called D. Vrraca Fernandes, by whom he had three sonnes, D. Garcia, D. Gonfals, and D. Ramir.

This king D. Sancho Garces, the third of that name, raigning; the king D. Bermond seeing the great miseries which fell daily vpon the Christians, by reason of their diuisions, whereof the Infidell Moores made their profit, he sought by all meanes possible to make a good vnion betwixt Leon, Nauarre, and Castille: the which tooke good effect, for all the Princes and Lords of these Estates, shewing themselves readie, and desirous to be reuenged of the wrong which the Moores had done in Galicia, Castille, and elsewhere, they vnited their forces, and came to encounter the Moores, with a goodly armie (theirs being not lesse) at a place called Calacanafor, an Arabian word, which signifies yoake: where there was a memorable battell, and great effusion of blood, especially of the Moores: and yet the fight hauing continued a whole day, the victorie seemed doubtfull. But Alhabib the Arabian hauing gathered his forces together, and viewed his great losse, he dislodged in the night, with so great griefe, as he died within few dayes after, at a place called Begalcoraxo, or Borgecorex. The Christians at the

Battell memo-  
rable at Calaca-  
nafor.

breake of day, seeing their enemies dislodged, sacked their campe; and by the conduct of G of D. *Garcia Fernandes*, earle of Castille, who was the chiefe Commander in this warre (for the king D. *Bernard*, although he caused himselfe to be carried in the armie, was vnable, by reason of his gout) pursued the Moores, whereof they made a great slaughter, putting all the rest to flight in great confusion. This *Alhabib* the Arabian, was without doubt a great soldier; and, they say, that for griefe of this losse he would neither eat nor drinke, and so aduanced his owne death. The Moores carried him to Medina-Celi, then called Zelim, where they buried him. He left one sonne, called *Abdemiclic Abundafin*, who had accompanied him in all his warres, and was in like manner a braue and valiant knight; who had the same charge of Capitaine generall, as his father: and being desirous to reuenge this losse, led an armie the same year towards Leon, the which he ruined, euen to the verie foundations. D. *Garcia Fernandes*, earle of Castille, gathered together all the forces he could in Leon and Castille, fought with him, and put him to rout: so as after that time the Moores came into the dominions of Christian Princes with more respect. After which things, the two Princes restored the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, to their possessions and rights which belonged vnto them, and sought to giue euery man contentment, in regard of priuat quarels, that by these occasions the Mahumetists might not attempt against their Estates. These spoyles which the Moores had made in the countries of Leon and Castille, were the cause of a great dearth, the land being vnto peopled both of men and cattell, so as it lay wast: And withall there was a great drought, the wrath of God hauing shut vp heauen for many dayes, without sending any raigne in that region. And for that in those dayes they held no crime so capital, as to lay hands vpon Clergie men, the Spaniards did beleue, that these calamities had fallen vpon them, besides the warres, for that the king D. *Bernard* had caused D. *Gudesteo*, Archbishop of Ouedo, to be put in prison, or giuen him in gard to D. *Ximeno*, Bishop of Astorga, vpon some slanderous accusations, wherewith this Prelate was charged, and too lightly beleueed by the king, who was much subiect to that vice of credulitie. And thereupon they say, That God had reuealed to certaine religious men, that he was resolved to send the plague for a third scourge, by reason of the vnjust imprisonment of this Bishop. Whereof the king D. *Bernard* being aduertised, he was verie sorrowfull for his offence, and repenting, demanded pardon. Wherefore vpon the Bishops deliuerie the wrath of God was appeased, and it began to raine. From that time the king gaue himselfe to all workes of pietie, and did, as well as he could, repara the ruines which had bene made by the Moores throughout his kingdome; especially of the church of Saint *Jaques*. He gaue many gifts, and did almes deeds, yet with the aduice of the Prelates of those times. As for iustice, he had alwayes a care thereof; and, as they say, restored the auncient lawes of the kings of Gothes, and the decrees of the Church, commanding that iustice should be done to euery one throughout his realme accordingly. His death, according to the common opinion, was in the year 982, at a place called Berizo, otherwise the good towne of Beresto; where he was interred, and three and twentie yeares after taken vp, to be laid in the church of Saint *Iohn Baptist* at Leon. Among his children we haue made mention of one daughter, D. *Christina*; she was married to a nobleman, or Prince of the bloud L royall, called D. *Ordogno*, who was blind; by whom she had three sonnes, D. *Alphonso*, D. *Ordogno*, D. *Pelagius*; and one daughter, D. *Aldonsa*. This *Aldonsa* married D. *Pelagius* the Deacon, sonne to the Infanta D. *Fruela*, bastard to *Fruela* the second king of Leon: of which marriage issued D. *Pedro Ordognes*, D. *Pelagius*, D. *Nugno*, and D. *Theresa*, who was ladie of Carrion, where she caused the church of Saint *Pelaio*, or *Pelagius*, to be built.

In Cattelogne the State was quiet, during the minority of the earle D. *Seniofrid*, vnder the gouernement of the earle of Vrgel, of the same name: from which earle issued D. *Borel* and D. *Armingol*, or *Ermengaud*, Bishop of Vrgel, reputed a Saint. His regencie continued two and twentie yeares, which ended in the year 950. When as hee resigned the gouernement of the Estate to his nephew, the earle D. *Seniofrid*, who was married to D. *Maria*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to D. *Sancho Abarca*, by whom hee had not any children; and dying about the year 967, he left for his successor his cousin D. *Borel*, sonne to the earle of Vrgel, for that his brother D. *Oliban* was vnfit to gouerne such an Estate, by reason of many imperfections; besides that of his speech, as the Spaniards write: Yet this D. *Oliban* did rise in Armes against his cousen, and was the cause of great diuisions and factions in the country:

Death of Alhabib Almanfor.

Anno 982.

Genealogie of Leon.

Barcelone.

A trey: by reason whereof the Arabians watching still their opportunitie to annoy the Christi-  
ans, entred the territories of Barcelone, where they committed infinit spoyles. This D. *Lo-*  
rel remained earle in the end, and is numbred the fourth proprietarie of Cattelogne. He had  
one sonne, called D. *Raymond Borel*, who was borne in the year 970, of the countesse *Leo-*  
on, his first wife, and was earle after him. To his second wife he married *Amperude*, and  
degarde, his first wife, and was earle after him. To his second wife he married *Amperude*, and  
by her had D. *Ermengaud*, or *Armingol*, who was earle of Vrgel, and one daughter, named  
*Borella*, or, as some say, *Engelrade*, who was profest a Nunne. He defended his countrey va-  
liantly against the incursions and furie of the Arabians, but with no great successe. He cau-  
ted forts to be made where need required, to stop their incursions, and assure his countrey.  
D. *Oliban*, his cousen, resigned his interest, for that he would not fauour the Infidels by a ci-  
uile warre, and giue them meanes to inuade Cattelogne, contenting himselfe with a pri-  
uate life. He was father to D. *Bernard*, surnamed *Brisefer*, or Breake-yrone, who was earle  
of Besalu, of D. *Geoffrey* earle of Cerdagne, and of a third sonne, called D. *Oliban*, who was  
Bishop of Vic d'Olana, and had bene Abbot of Ripol, a monasterie reedified in the year  
976, by the earle D. *Borel*: In the which year the Nunnnes of Monserat were transported  
to the Monasterie of Mon-luby, nere vnto the castle of the Port, built by the same earle;  
and in Monserat were placed the Monkes of Saint *Benost*: to which place the earle  
D. *Borel* gaue great lands and possessions, which he bought from priuate men. D. *Oliban*  
his cousen, was also founder of the monasterie of Saint *Benost de Bages*, in the Baronie  
of Pinos. About the year 979, D. *Garcia Fernandes* gaue the towne and church of Ez-  
guerra to Saint *Michael de Pedroso*; and a little before, D. *Sancho*, king of Nauarre, had gi-  
uen to the house of Saint *Emilian*, for the health (as he said) of his soule, the place of Vil-  
lar de Monte; and to the Monasterie of Saint *Sauitor de Leyre*, the towne of Arpados, and  
other spoyles of his sonne D. *Ramir*, who died before him. These Princes sought to win  
Paradise by their workes.

Genealogie of Cattelogne.

Foundations of monasteries by the Princes of Spaine, in those times.

## D. Alphonso, fift of that name, and 22

King of Leon.

D

18 A fter king D. *Bernard*, D. *Alphonso* his sonne did inherite, being the fift of that Leon.  
name, and two and twentieth in order of the kings of Leon, in the year 982, be- Anno 982.  
ing onely foureteeen yeares old. His father had giuen him, to breed vp, to the earle of Gal-  
licia, called D. *Melendo Gonsales*, and to his wife D. *Maïor*, whose daughter, D. *Eluira*,  
he married, when he came to age: of whom descended D. *Bernard*, who succeeded his father  
in the realme of Leon, and D. *Sancho* promised after the decess of the king D. *Alphonso*,  
vnto D. *Garcia*, earle of Castille; but he dying, she was wife to D. *Fernand* the Great, the first  
which carried that title of king of Castille, sonne to D. *Sancho* the elder, king of Nauarre. In  
the time of this king D. *Alphonso*, *Zephirus*, Bishop of Astorga liued, who writ some Histories  
of Spaine.

We haue heretofore made mention of the loues of *Gonsal Iuste*, being prisoner at Cor-  
dona, with a Princeesse, a Moore; the which proceeded so farre, as when he was set at li-  
berie by king *Hizen*, she was with child, and was brought in bed of a sonne, named *Mu-*  
darra Gonsales. Those that haue written the Histories of Spaine, say, That he was nouri-  
shed and instructed in the citie of Cordoua, by the diligence of his mother (whom they  
make sister to king *Hizen*) in all things befitting a Prince; so as hee was much beloued by  
the king his vnle, by whom he was armed a knight, at the age of tenne yeares, and became  
valiant and redoubted, as much as any of his time.

F

When he came to yeares to iudge of honour, his mother told him who was his father,  
and by what meanes shee had bene familiar with him; and especially the death of his seuen  
brethren of Lara, by the treason of D. *Ruys Pelagius*, and the damnable appetite of reuenge  
of D. *Lambra* his wife. Wherefore this young nobleman, had a wonderfull desire to see and  
know D. *Gonsal Iuste*, his father. Hauing therefore not onely obtained leaue, but also an ho-  
nourable

V

nourable traine of noblemen and knights from the king, he came to Salas, where the father and the sonne had meanes to know and aduow one another, to their great joy and content: and soone after *Mudarra*, hauing left the law of *Mahomet*, was baptizd, and made a Christian. Then he came in companie with his father to Burgos, to kisse the hands of the earle *D. Garcia*, and to watch an opportunitie to kill his vncl *D. Ruiz Velasques*, and to reuenge the death of his seuen brethren, the which he did execute in time, as *D. Ruiz* went from Burgos to his house of Barbadillo: and finally, hee found meanes to get *D. Lambra* into his power, whom he caused to be hungvp, and then burnt her bodie: but it was after the death of *D. Garcia*, earle of Castille, to whom shee was allied. And for that he was verie like to the youngest of the seuen sonnes of *D. Sancho* his mother in law, H shee did loue him as deere as if she had beene his owne mother.

O'f offences p-  
misled.

Posteritie of  
Mudarra Gon-  
sales, from  
whence are de-  
scended the Ma-  
riques of Lara.

Rebellio of the  
son against the  
father.

Defeat of the  
Castilians, and  
death of their  
earle.

An. 990.

A disonest de-  
sire of a coun-  
sell of Castille,  
and her impatie  
against her son.

Custom to make  
the women  
drinke first in  
Spaine.

The Monkes of Saint *Peter* of Arlanfa shewa tombe in their church, without any inscription, the which, they say, is the tombe of that knight *D. Mudarra*: of whom they make this Genealogie, or descent; which is, That he had one sonne, named *D. Ordogno de Lara*, from whom issued *D. Diego Ordogno de Lara*, who did fight a combat at Zamora, against *D. Arias Gonzales*: from *D. Diego Ordogno* descended *D. Pedro de Lara*, and from him the earle *D. Almaric* of Lara, whom others call *Malrique*, or *Manrique*, who was lord of Molina des Comtes: and from him, they say, are descended, the *Manriques* of Lara in Castille. This earle *D. Almaric*, or *Manrique de Lara*, had one daughter, called *D. Malfada Manrique*, who was the first queene of Portugal, wife to *D. Alphonso Henrie*, king of Portugal, of whom we will speake hereafter.

About the yeare 982, whenas king *D. Alphonso* came to the Crowne of Leon, there were great alterations in Castille; for that *D. Sancho Garcia*, sonne and heire to the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, rebelled against his father, and put Castille into factions. Whereupon the Moores failed not to enter the countrey of Castille, destroyed the citie of Auila, tooke Saint Estienne de Gormas, and Crugna in the bishopricke of Osma, lue, spoiled, and burnt all where they past.

*D. Garcia Fernandes* being gone to field with those souldiers of Castille whom hee thought to be best affected vnto him, being but few, in comparison of the Moores, hee did hazard a battell; in which fighting valiantly, hee was eniured by a multitude of his enemies, where his men were cut in peeces, and hee himselfe taken aliue by the Moores, but so sore wounded, as he died within few houres after. His bodie was afterwards redeemed for a great summe of money, and buried in the monasterie of Saint *Peter* of Cardegna, reedified by him seuentene yeares before. This happened about the yeare nine hundred fourescore and ten, or according to the inscription of his tombe, nine hundred fourescore and fiue. Then *D. Sancho* his sonne, surnamed *Garcia*, was earle, without any contradiction; and, except this disodience against his father, he was a good Prince, and loued his subiects.

19. Whosoeuer was mother to *D. Sancho*, either *Abba*, *Ogna*, or *Sancha* daughter to the knight which was slaine by *D. Garcia*, or else allied to the Emperour *Henrie*, there is a tragicall act reported of her in the Histories of Spaine: That, being widow to her husband *D. Garcia Fernandes*, shee fell in loue with a Prince of the Moores, whom shee had heard was verie sufficient in *Venus* sports: so as shee had a secret treatie with him, to marie him; promising (to the end they might with more ease effect their designe) to make away her sonne, by poyson, vpon the first opportunitie: But God would haue this wickednesse discovered to the earle *D. Sancho*, the day before it should bee put in execution. Wherefore being verie carefull of all things, as the mother and the sonne dined together on the day appointed; the earle calling for drinke, they brought him a cup full of wine, mingled with poyson: Then dissembling what hee knew, he intreated his mother to drinke first, as if hee would doe her honour; but shee refusing it, hee still persisted, and in the end forced her to drinke this poyson, whereof shee died. The generall Chronicle sayes, That thereof grew a custome in Castille, to make the women drinke first, the which is obserued at this day in Biscaie, and other parts in Spaine, by way of ciuilitie.

This

A This accident was the cause which made the earle *D. Sancho* to build the conuent of Saint *Santour* of Ogna, where he placed Nunnes, and made a daughter of his, called *D. Tygrida*, Abbess; thinking thereby to expiate his offence, for that he had hastened his mothers death. Since there were Monks put in this monasterie, and the women were transported elsewhere, by the king *D. Sancho* the elder, sonne in law to this earle *D. Sancho Garcia*, and husband to *D. Nuega*: for the earle had by his wife *D. Vrraca*, one sonne, who was called *D. Garcia*, who was earle of Castille after him; and three daughters, *D. Nuega*, who was queene of Nauarre, *D. Theresa*, queene of Leon, wife to *D. Bermond* the third, and last of that name, these two sisters were elder than the Infant *D. Garcia*; and the third was the about named *D. Tygrida*, Abbess of this monasterie of *S. Saviour*.

Genealogie of  
Castille.

Cateloigne.

Barcelone laid  
and ruined by  
the Moores.

Earle of Barce-  
lone slaine by  
the Moores.

Castille.

The exploits &  
conquies of  
Sancho, earle of  
Castille, vnto the  
Moores.

20. Whilest these things past in Castille, the Moores entred Cattelogne with a great power, about the yeare 986, and gaue a great rout to the earle *D. Borel*, who thought to repulse them neere to Moncada and Matabous: After which they besieged Barcelona, and took it by force, with all the pitifull spectacles of crueltie, couetousnesse, and infamie, that are vied in the like case; doing the like in many other places. Then laden with spoyles, and drawing after them an infinit number of poore Christian slaues, they returned into their countrey. The earle, who was retired into the mountaines, hauing gathered together all the horse and foot he could, returned to Barcelona, tooke it againe, and recovered all the places which the Moores had taken. Cattelogne was againe invaded by the Moores which held Tortosa, Lerida, Fraga, and other places, being joynd with them of the Isle of Majorca, who once againe defeated the earle *D. Borel*: and thinking to saue himselfe with about threescore horse, he was pursued; and being forced to shut himselfe vp in the castle of Gautha, neere to Galdes, he was forced, and slaine there, with all those that were in his companie, in the yeare 993, hauing beene earle of Barcelona six and twentie yeares, where his sonne *D. Raymond Borel* succeeded him. We find, that *Lothaire* king of France (vnder the soueraigntie of which kingdome the earledome of Barcelona was at that time) granted a great priuiledge to the monasterie of *S. Cucufat*, in the vallies neere to Barcelona, given at Compiagne, in the yeare 987.

But returning to *D. Sancho Garcia*, earle of Castille, he being loath to leaue his fathers death vreuenged, confirmed the league which his predecessor had made with Leon and Nauarre, and in the yeare 992 entred into the Moores countrey, by the realme of Toledo, with a great armie, ruining and spoyling all where he past, as the enemies had done in Leon and Castille: passing on into diuers other iurisdiccions, where he had good opportunitie to ruine, burne, kill, and carrie away what he pleased, for that the Arabians were then full of factions for the soueraigntie. There was no head, order, nor councill, to oppose against the violence of this incensed earle, so as hee ranfomed many townes, and drew great summes of money from them, as well to spare their countrey, as to redeeme prisoners. He tooke the towne of Sepulueda, which was then a frontier for the Moores towards the strait of Sumosierra. Hee granted many priuiledges to the inhabitants thereof, restoring them to their ancient iurisdiccions. Hee recovered the townes of Pennasiel, Maderuelo, Montorio, Gormas, Osma, and Saint Esteua; which places had beene lost after the battell where his father *D. Garcia* was slaine. The earle did all these braue exploits against the Moores: but some hold, and not without reason, that they were before the death of the countesse his mother; who at the returne of this voyage (which was in the yeare 992) had newes what this about mentioned Prince of the Moores could doe with women: of whom she grew so far in loue, as she forgot all pietie, and honour, and in the end lost her life. His name is not written by any Author. If the earle did much annoy the Moores by open warre, hee did no lesse by secret practises, entertaining factions among them, to trouble their estate, and make them more easie to be spoiled.

21. There were great seditions among the Arabians after the death of *Abdemic Abun-dafin*, Captaine generall, or Constable to king *Hixen*: for hauing beene substituted in the place of his brother, called *Abderramen*, and shewing himselfe too seuer and proud in his commands, his place seeming also to be of too great authoritie, he was slaine by the souldiers: which bred great quarels and factions. *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille, and *D. Alphonso*, king

V ij

The declining  
of the Moores  
Monarchie in  
Spaine, by their  
divisions.

king of Leon, sought by all meanes possible to entertaine these diuisions, sometimes fauouring one partie, sometimes another: so as from that time the Arabians power began greatly to decline in Spaine, as it had beene already dismembred in the East, by their discord and furious desire of raigne, the which we will hereafter relate in a more convenient place. The Estate of Miralumin *Hizen* was wonderfully troubled in those times, by many which desired either to raigne, or to haue the greatest charges in the kingdome of Cordoua, namely, the dignitie of Alhabib: among the which there was a Moore, called *Zuleima*, stronger than the rest, by the support and fauour hee had from *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille: He tooke and shut vp *Hizen*, after that he had raigned three and thirtie yeares, foure monethes, in the 379 yeare of the Arabians, and made himselfe king of Cordoua, in the yeare of our redemption 989. He was an African, or Barbarian, and was much fauoured from beyond the seas. In his raigne was the last rout giuen to the Cartellans, and their earle forced, and slaine, as we haue said. But he did not long enjoy this Estate of Cordoua; for another nobleman of great power, called *Mahumad Almedhi*, or *Almohadi*, of the linage of *Aben Humeia*, rose vp against him, and deprived him of his kingdome in Spaine, in the yeare of our Lord 993, which he had maintained foure yeares, with great toyle and difficultie.

*Zuleima* 11  
king of the  
Moores at Cor-  
doua.

*Mahumad* the  
third, the 12  
king at Cordoua.

*Abdalla* king of  
Toledo.

In his time there raigned a Moore at Toledo, called *Abdalla*, who was solicited in such sort by *D. Alphonso* king of Leon, as they contracted together, and did sweare a perpetuall offensive and defensive league betwixt them: the which was so strongly confirmed, as *D. Alphonso* gaue his sister *D. Theresa*, a Christian, in marriage to *Abdalla*, an Infidell king, and sent her to him to Toledo, notwithstanding that she did contradict it all she could. They say, That this Moore being readie to consummate the marriage, he was admonished by the Ladie, that it was not lawfull to doe it, seeing they were of two diuers religions; and that for so prophane a contempt, he might assure himselfe God would punish him grieuously, if he refused to proceed. But notwithstanding all her allegations, the Moore would not forbear to accomplish his desire; but he was presently surprised with such a terrour and amazement, as if death had approached. Wherefore repenting himselfe, he sent backe *D. Theresa* to Leon, to the king her brother, with great store of treasure, and rich jewels, for that he would not touch her. This princeesse liued long in Leon, in the habit of a religious woman, and in the end put her selfe into the monasterie of *Saint Pelagius*, where she died, and was interred.

Marriage be-  
twixt a Christi-  
an and an Infidell  
approved of  
God.

In the meane time *Mahumad* the third, or *Mahumet*, of the race of *Aben Humeia*, surnamed *Almohadi*, setled himselfe in the realme of Cordoua, and was Miralumin of the Arabians in Spaine; who shewed himselfe so cruell in the beginning, against the inhabitants of Cordoua, partisans to *Zuleima* his predecessor, of the linage of *Aben Alameci*, that many of them fled out of the citie, and liued in banishment. By reason of this diuision, many other noblemen, Moores, seised vpon places and prouinces in Spaine, of the iurisdiction of the Miralamins of Cordoua: as *Abdalla* did, who (as we haue said) had seised vpon the citie of Toledo, & restored the royall seat there, where he was the fourth king: since which time it continued a royaltie, and returned no more vnder the soueraigntie of the kings of Cordoua. In some Authors we find a tale of a Gentlewoman called *Galiens*, daughter to *Galafrey*, king of Toledo, who by her beautie drew *Charlemaine* out of France to Toledo, where he did fight with a knight called *Bramante*, that would haue married her: and, they say, that *Charles* being victor, he led faire *Galiens* into France. But there is no great probability, that this happened to *Charlemaine*. It may be that since there was a *Galiens*, daughter to some Gouernour of Toledo, called *Galafrey*, famous for some like act: For we find in the citie of Toledo, a place called *Galiens* Palace, where as now the Monasterie of *S. Foy* is; and in like manner at Bourdeaux in Guienne. Which shewes, that some ladie of fame came out of Spaine into France, but conducted by some other *Charles* than he that was king and Emperor, surnamed the Great *Zuleima* being expelled by *Mahumet*, fled from towne to towne, being accompanied by many Moors and Barbarians, who conspired against him, in fauour of a consen of his called *Marwan*, whom they would chuse for their captaine: but being ready to kill him, *Zuleima* being aduertised, and prepared, slue them which pretended to murder him: As for his coulen

Fable of *Ga-  
liens*.

roan,

*A* roan, he saued his life, but he kept him in a strait prison. Being enuironed with so many miseries, chased from Cordoua, a vagabond, and not safe among his owne followers, he had recourse vnto *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille, crauing succours from him, to recouer his Estates. Wherewith the earle was verie well pleased, and led a great power of Christians into the Moores country; and with him *D. Raymond*, earle of Barcelone, as some write. *Mahumet* did also make great leues of souldiers, whereof the Alhabib, or Generall, was *Albaharin Almaharin*, who did reside at Medina Zelim, or Celi; and had commaundement to come and joyne with the armie, with all the forces he could make. Their forces being joyned of either side, there was a fierce and bloudie battell, betwixt *Zuleima* and *Mahumet*; whereas *Zuleima* (who had the forces of Castille with him) was victor, haining slaine five and thirtie thousand of his enemies vpon the place: and pursuing his victorie, he chased *Mahumet*, and those which remained, as farre as Cordoua. And whilst that *Zuleimas* men and the Christians were busie at the spoyle of the suburbs, the Alhabib *Albaharin* abandoned his king, and tooke his way to Medina Celi, with those that would follow him. It was then a great sort and rampart of the Moores Estate, against Castille, Arragon, and Nauarre. *Mahumet* seeing himselfe defeated, and abandoned, was so faint-hearted, as he shut himselfe vp into the fort of Cordoua, resolving to deliuer king *Hizen*, who was a prisoner there: chusing rather to see *Hizen* raigne than *Zuleima*. The people of Cordoua hearing speake of their true king *Hizen*, made so great an exclamation of joy, as *Mahumet* thinking himselfe lost, and fearing to die, fled and hid himselfe in a Moors house, who was borne at Toledo, and verie confident vnto him, with whom that night he fled to Toledo. Wherefore *Zuleima* entred into Cordoua, and raigned againe, *Mahumet* hauing beene king but one yeare, which was in the yeare of Christ 994, and of the Moores 377. A memorable date, for that this yeare the seuen Princes Electors in Germanie were instituted at the instance of the Emperour *Otho*, and Pope *Gregorie* the sixth.

Cruell warres  
betwixt the  
Moores.

Anno 994.  
Institution of  
the Princes Ele-  
ctors in Germa-  
nie.

King *Zuleima* being reestablished in Cordoua, he sent backe *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille, and his men, well satisfied, rewarding euerie one according to his degree. Yet he was not receiued, nor obeyed, throughout all the townes of his iurisdiction, but some maintained *Hizens* partie, who was prisoner at Cordoua. *Mahumet Almohadi* being come to Toledo, *Abdalla* raigned there, but not verie quietly in the beginning; but the hatred the Toledanes did beare to the kings of Cordoua, made his way the more easie. Neither of these two tyrants raigned long; for *Albaharin* the Alhabib, who liued at Medina Celi, hearing that *Zuleima* was much troubled to subdue the people of the iurisdiction of Cordoua, which were rebelled against him, he made a leue of souldiers, both Moores and Christians, and came to *Mahumet Almohadi*, at Toledo, who had beene newly made king of that citie; but the manner how is not specified in Histories. There hauing raised a great armie, they tooke their way to Cordoua, to deliuer king *Hizen*, who was prisoner. Whereof *Zuleima* being aduertised, he resolved to defend himselfe, calling all his friends and vassals together, whereof most of them excused themselves, shewing that they were naturally bound vnto king *Hizen*, for whose deliuerie they knew *Mahumet* had taken arms, with *Albaharin*, and some Christian captaines which were in their armie, whereof two are called *Bermondo*, and *Argomento*. Notwithstanding this refusal, *Zuleima* relying vpon the forces of Barbarie, who assured him that they would neuer forsake him, sallied out of Cordoua, and came and affronted the enemy, nine leagues from the citie, at a place called *Hacantalbasar*; where his first charge was so furious, as he put the foremost of the enemies squadrons to rout, and slue so many, as hee thought all had beene defeated, and *Mahumet* dead: but the Christians which were in *Mahumets* armie, rallied their disordered battell, and charged *Zuleimas* men with such violence, as they made them quit the field, with great slaughter of the Barbarian Africans. *Zuleima* saued himselfe with a small troupe in the fort of Casra. They write, that in this battell there died thirtie thousand Moors, and nine thousand Christians; among which were *D. Arnoul*, Bishop of Ausa, *Etius* Bishop of Barcelone, and *Orbo* of Girone, who carried armes for the Moores quarels: by the losse whereof *Zuleima* left the realme of Cordoua the second time, where hee had raigned a yeare. This was in the yeare 995. *Hizen* was restored to his royall Estate by the victors, the people

Battell betwixt  
the Moores.

*Hizen* a priso-  
ner restored to  
realme of Cor-  
doua.



of Cordoua being affected to him, and did murine to haue him: and *Mahumet* was the more inclined to him, for that he was seled at Toledo. The victor prepared to besiege *Casra*, to expell *Zuleima*, and to spoyle the treasure that was within it: but foreseeing the danger, he dislodged, and carried away with him what he could.

The castle being abandoned, was taken by them of Cordoua, and that which remained spoiled, and the souldiers which were found in it, slaine: The bootie which was taken in this castle, was carried to the great Mosque at Cordoua, and there consecrated. This done, *Albaharim* the *Alhabib*, led the armie against some places in Andolousia, which continued in their rebellion since the former diuisions; he besieged *Alnerie*, which was defended by *Afla*, a Moore of a great house, and battered it twentie dayes: the which in the end was forced, and *Afla*, with some of his children, drowned. The like happened to the townes of *Iaen*, *Bacsa*, and *Ariona*, the which were kept for king *Hizen*. In this manner did the Moores make warre, being diuided into two factions, whereof the one held the partie of *Hizen*, and of the Moores in Spaine, and the other of the Barbarians, and Moores of *Africk*, of whom *Zuleima* was the chiefe in Spaine.

*Mahumet Almohadi* reigned at Toledo after *Abdalla* verie little; for the Historians make present mention of his sonne *Obeidalla*, sixt king of Toledo: against whom king *Hizen* seeing himselfe now settled in his kingdome, sent his lieutenant with a great armie, to reduce them of Toledo vnder his obedience: who made a sallie vpon them of Cordoua, where there was a cruell combate: but the end was shamefull for the *Toledanes*, who lost their king *Obeidalla* there, and many of their men. Yet were they not daunted, neither did they abate any thing of their rebellious contumacie against *Hizen*, and the Estate of Cordoua, whom they did hate extremely: For presently after their defeat, and the death of their king *Obeidalla*, they chose another of the same linage of *Aben Humeya*, called *Haïram*, the seuenth king in number, who left the Scepter of Toledo to his descendants, vntill it was conquered by the Christians. This past about the year 1008, when as king *Hizen*, thinking himselfe to be in more quiet and securitie then euer, he found himselfe plunged in greater troubles then before: for the Moores were so greedie of commaund, as those which had any authoritie or power, would make head against whom soeuer that would commaund them. The which was no wonder, for that in the citie of Cordoua, and the iurisdiction thereof, there were infinit families descending from kings of the Moores, issuing from the race of *Aben Humeya*: which grew by reason of their pluralitie of wiues, which their sect allowed; which was the cause of seditions and reuolts, for the desire of rule.

During these ciuile warres, the Cattelans and Barcelonians had bene in peace, and free from the Moores inuasions, and had rather sought to annoy them, or inuade them, either alone, or joyntly with the Castillans. *D. Raymond Borel*, the earle, who had succeeded his father, did burie, in a manner at the entrie of his principallitie, his cousin *D. Oliban Cabrica*, earle of Cerdagne and Belsu, at our Ladie of Ripon, in the year 994: whose Estates were diuided among his children *D. Bernard Brisefer*, and *D. Geoffrey*. This new earle had fortified Barcelona, and repaired all the spoiles which the Moores had made during the warre against *D. Borel* his father; joyning the Monasterie of Montjuhy to the walls of Barcelona, and called it *S. Peter* of the virgines, to gratifie *D. Borella* his sister, whom some call *Engelrade*, Abbess of that place. There is no mention made of him in Histories, but that he had one sonne called *D. Berenger Borel*, in the year 995, who succeeded him after his death.

### D. Garcia, called the Trembling, fift of that name, and 12. King of Nauarre.

*Nauarre.* 23] IN the same yere of the deace of the earle *D. Borel*, which was 993, died (according to the common opinion of writers) *D. Sancho* the 3. sonne to *D. Garcia Sanchez*, king of Nauarre; but it is most vncertaine: for the computation of the liues and reignes of these first kings of Nauarre, Leon, and other Princes and Potentates of Spaine, is so diuers and confused in their writings, as no man can judge rightly of them. *D. Sancho* gaue for the

soules

A soules health of his sonne *D. Ramir*, to the Monasterie of *S. Emylian*, the towne of Cardegnas, with all the appurtenances. Afterwards *D. Garcia* his sonne, surnamed the trembling, succeeded him in the kingdome of Nauarre, and the Countie of Arragon. This surname was given him, for that when he entered the combate, he did tremble, not for feare, but by a natural custom: the which did afterwards turne into force and valour, being a little heat. In a certain priuiledge and donation made in the year 996, of the towne of Herreiro, granted by this king *D. Garcia* to the Monasterie of *S. Emylian* of Cogolla, mention is made of *D. Sancho* and *D. Garcia* his nephewes, who were sonnes to *D. Ramir*, his brother, whom they called king of Arragon: it may be it was onely in title; he died in the life time of *D. Sancho* their father, and by his death *Gonsale* their other brother is said also to haue reigned in Arragon with *D. Ramir*, Queene mother to these three Princes, and not the children of *D. Ramir*, the which is a stronger argument, that they were but titles. To which place of *S. Emylian*, this king *D. Garcia* and *D. Ximena* his wife make another donation of the water, which comes from the valley of Alanon, to water their fields and orchards one day and a night in the weekes; to which titles *D. Ximena* is alwaies set: for it was alwaies a custome of the Princes in Spaine, for honours sake, to name their mothers and wiues, in all letters of donation and priuiledges which they graunt; for they soule (say they) and that of their father, and they make this donation to *S. Emylian*, whom they call their Patron, as they had bene taught. Without doubt their deuotion in those times to *S. Emylian* had bene verie great, who was called on as an Aduocate and Patron by the Christians in Spaine, from Burgos vnto the Ocean: of the which there are two Monasteries, the one called the higher, the other the lower.

*D. Garcia* the trembling married *D. Ximena*, and yet there is great diuersitie among Authors touching the name of this Ladie, by whom he had *D. Sancho*, who was king after him. He recommended his education and bringing vp to *D. Sancho*, Abbot of Saint Saluator of Leyre, who was afterwards Bishop of Pampelone. The qualities of this king are little knowne, for want of auncient records, whereof they commend one, the which is questionable, whether it be a vertue or a vice, that he could neuer refuse any thing that was demanded of him: but they chiefly merit to be held liberall, when as they giue, with judgement, measurably to men of merit, otherwise they are reamed prodigall, ignorant, carelesse, and contempters of the chiefe point of their charge, which is, to distribute rewards and punishments equally. There is no mention made of his warres and enterprises. He reigned, as they esteeme, seuen yeares, and so he died in the thousand yere of our Saujour. His bodie, as some hold, was buried at *S. Iohn de la Pegna*; others say, at *S. Saluator* at Leyre, which place was more famous, and of greater authoritie.

Rewards and punishments maintaine all Estates.

### D. Sancho, the fourth of that name, and thirteenth

#### King of Nauarre.

E 24] *D. Sancho* succeeded his father *D. Garcia* the trembling in his Estates, accounted the thirteenth king of Nauarre; a vertuous and valiant Prince, and famous for his great exploits; during whose raigne, the Historie, and especially the computation of times, begins to be more plaine and certaine, than in the time of his predecessors.

25] In the year 1001 of our redemption, and the 384 of the Arabians Empire, and 287 Moores. of their entrie into Spaine, *Zuleima* being abandoned by the Castillans, he had recourse to the king of Sarragosse and Carrace, with whose aid he recovered Cordoua, and made himselfe king againe, *Hizen* being fled into Africke; one of whose captaines, called *Hali Hatan*, holding Orichela, called *Hali* Governor of Ceuta, and caused him to passe with some forces into Spaine, in hope to raigne there. These two did besiege and take Cordoua, and *Zuleima* in it, whom *Hali* slue with his owne hands: but it was not long before *Hali Hatan* did rise againe *Hali*, whom he troubled much for the space of two yeares, and after some battailes won and lost on either side, he caused him to be secretly slaine in a bath, in the towne of Iauon, by some of his Eunuches, whom he had corrupted, in whose place, the noblemen and knights

*Hali* 13. king of Cordoua.

Confusion and ciuile warres among the Moores.

knights of the Moores which were at Iahen, chose his brother *Cacín*, who kept at Seuille, in the yeare 1003, and 386 of the Arabians raigne. Manie African Moores of Barbarie, (some sent for, some voluntaries, to seeke their aduentures) passed daily into Spaine, by reason of these conspiracies and ciuile dissensions; of which, *Cacín* the new king had manie which followed his partie, as his deceased brother had. Being come to Iahen, he caused a diligent search to be made for those trecherous Eunuches which had slaine the king, but they could find no more but two, whom he put to death, and then it behooded him to defend himselfe: for *Hali Hatan* seeing that he could not raigne, procured him great enemies, that is, *Abderramen Almorada*, of the blood royall of *Aben Humeia*, who gouerned in Murcia, sending messagers with all kinds of persuations, and other meanes, to induce the pettie Arabian kings, which held Sarragosse, Valence, Tortosa, and other townes and forts in Spaine, to joyne with him, to resist (said he) the Barbarian Moores which came to inuade Spaine: wherefore *Abderramen* was created King and Miralumin by them, but hee neuer held the chiefe towne of Cordoua. Having raysed an armie of all those of his faction, he besieged and tooke the towne of Iahen, cutting the Moores in peeces, which held it against him, and from thence went to other places, which hee seized on, and in a short time became Lord of a great countrey; the which *Hali Hatan* and another capitaine of his traine, called *Almundar*, *Aben Alsie*, did verie much enuie, and as they had helped to raise him to that height, so they sought all meanes possible to pull him downe, and not onely to deprive him of his estates, but also of his life, saying, That it was not reasonable any other than themselves should reape the fruits of their labours, and the conquests gotten with the price of their bloods. For the effecting whereof, they filled the kings Court and campe with quarrells and discontents, among the commanders and captaines, watching some fit opportunitie to execute their malicious designe. King *Abderramen* pursuing his good fortune, came to besiege Grenado, the which at that time was reasonably great, and well peopled, and commanded by a pettie king, a Moore, called *Bedei*, *Aben Abus*. There these two conspirators, *Hali Hatan* and *Almundar* (making shew to imploy themselves faithfully in any thing that might annoy the besieged) had secret conference with some Moores of the towne, and layed a plot, That they should make a sallie vpon *Abderramens* armie, the which they would saucour in such sort, as most of his best men and hee himselfe should either bee taken or slaine; and having instructed them where they should charge, and of the situation of the kings lodging (which was vpon the side of a hill, called *Senesta*, two leagues from Grenado) they held themselves readie, attending the alarme; the which being giuen verie hot, and at a fit time to strike terror, they joyned with the Grenadines, where they made a great slaughter of *Abderramens* men, he himselfe being in like manner slaine, and the rest of the armie disperfed and put to flight, abandoning their Engines of batterrie, and all their baggage, the which was spoyled, and carried into Grenado, with great joy. This treason was practised by these two captaines through enuie, together with a distrust of king *Abderramens* good successe; wherefore after this goodly exploit, they resolved to send part of the bootie, with manie heads of the chiefe of the Moores, slaine in this surpris, to king *Cacín*, in signe of triumph; the which was verie pleasing to this king, who was then at Cordoua, and making vse of this good fortune, he went to field, to reduce vnder his obedience manie townes and forts which had reuolted to king *Abderramen*, when as hee was aduanced to that dignitie; the which he did to manie; but he wanted force and time to finish it: for having raigned scarce three yeares, he died in the yeare 1007. The Moores of Barbarie, which had for a time followed the partie of the kings of Cordoua, were then in great authoritie in the citie, and therefore had the meanes and credit to chuse *Haya*, the sonne of *Mahumet*, for king: the which did much discontent the ancient Moores borne in the countrey, who sought some good opportunitie to be rid of these Berberuzes (as the Spaniards called them) by killing or chasing them out of the towne, to the end that the gouernment thereof might returne into their hands, as before. A fit occasion was offered: for the new king *Haya*, who before his election to be king was resident at Malaga, having a desire to haue that towne at his deuotion, for that it had not obeyed the precedent kings of Cordoua, since their troubles and feditions,

Enuie and trecherie among the Arabians.

A tions, went forth of Cordoua, leading with him great troupes of souldiours, especially of that race of Moores which came out of Barbarie. Comming to Malaga, he was received without any contradiction: but whilest hee was busie there, the inhabitants of Cordoua, who had intelligence with *Buz* of Grenado, drew certaine troupes, which hee had sent, into their towne, being led by two of his captaines, *Hayan* and *Mogid*, by whose helpe they cut the throats of about a thousand African Moores, who were left for the gard of the citie. At this bruite, king *Haya*s lieutenant was so amazed, as he got out of the towne, with all the ministers of justice, and fled to Malaga, to carrie these troublesome newes to the king his master; who within few dayes was slaine by a Moore, called *Ismael*, hauing raigned onely three moneths and some dayes. *Abderramen* the fourth of that name was aduanced in his place: he was king but a moneth and seuentene dayes, and we doe not read, whither he died, or were expelled his kingdome. After him followed *Mahumet*, great Miralumin of Cordoua, who raigned not long, for that being rich in treasure, by his good husbandrie, before he came to be king, it was a cause to shorten his life; by the trecherie of his household seruants, who conspired to murder him for his treasure, wherefore they poysoned him, hauing held the kingdome a yeare and foure moneths: He died in the yeare one thousand and nine, and of the Arabians raigne three hundred ninetie two. He left this place to *Hizen* the third of that name, who liued long at Seuille, being desirous to raigne, the which he now obtained. In the meane time a Moore, who called himselfe king of Ceuta, passing the strait, came to Malaga, where he tooke the fort of the towne. He was called *Esfariz*, and brought with him a great number of the Moores of Africke: with whom *Buz*, who tearmed himselfe king of Grenado, joyned at Malaga, and called himselfe his vassall, doing him homage. Being thus fortified with the Moores of Spaine, he came to Carmona, the which he tooke: then passing on by Alcaladel Rio, he burnt the suburbs of Triana, and seized vpon Seuille. Many other tyrants did rise in diuers places, so as all Spaine, vnder the Moores jurisdiction, was full of seditions, and ciuill warres, and the estate of Cordoua was spoyled by him that could get it: but the kings of Toledo made their profit more than any other, who meddling not with other mens quarrells, kept themselves quiet, and assured with their owne limits. After the death of *Obeidalla* (as we haue said) *Hayan* raigned, of the lineage of *Aben Humeia*, who dying left the scepter to his sonne, called *Hizen*, who raigned in the time of this other *Hizen*, king of Cordoua, and was the eight king of Toledo.

King *Hizen* of Cordoua was of as small continuance as his late predecessors; for the Moores his subjects expelled him, in hatred of the robberies and extortions committed by his Alhabib, or Constable, who from a base place was aduanced to that dignitie: so having held the kingdome twentie moneths and some dayes, he gaue place to *Almondar*, follicie, in the yeare one thousand and eleuen. *Almondar*, who was of the lineage of *Aben Humeia*, put himselfe forward (being desirous to raigne) in this sedition and popular tumult, and hauing gathered some of his friends and kinsfolkes together, he came vnto the castle of the citie, entreating them to receiue him, seeing they would not haue king *Hizen*: Whereupon being aduertised by some one well affected, that he offered himselfe in an vnseasonable time, the people being in armes, and incensed against a king, wherefore hee should doe wisely to retire, and to keepe himselfe from murdering in this tumult: but being mad with ambition, he persisted in his demand, adding therunto, that he did not care, so as they created him king that day, if they slue him the next. Which words were so odious vnto all that heard them, as without any further delay, or giuing him that fading contentment to see himselfe king that day, they slew him vpon the place, presuming by the words which he had vttered, that he would be an vnprofitable and bad king: such was the reward of his furious desire to raigne. This being done, they did forbear to kill *Hizen*, and being resolved not to haue him for their king, they let him vnderstand, That if he would saue his life, he should quit the fort, and retire where he pleased: whereunto he obeyed, and retired himselfe, with some of his friends, into another strong house of his, joyning vnto the citie, of a contrarie humor to *Almondar*: but the Moores of Cordoua not thinking themselves secure, he being so nere them, and being resolved not to endure any more kings

The furious and vnrestrained ambition of *Almondar*.

Year 19 king at Cordoua.

Hali Cacin residing at Seuille.

Mahumet the 20. and last king at Cordoua.

kings of the linage of *Aben Humeya*, they besieged him in this house, tooke him, and imprisoned him in Cordoua, from whence he escaped, and fled to Sarragosse, where he liued in a priuate estate. Then a Moore of great power, called *Joar* of Algazur, seeing the citie without a king, embracing this occasion, with the helpe of his friends which did affect him, tooke vpon him the title and royall authoritie at Cordoua: but on the other side, one *Hali Cacin*, or *Aben Cacin*, residing at Seuille, a man of a great house, and mightie, seized vpon the towne of Seuille, where he did remaine with the Moores of his faction, and enjoyed the soueraigntie fiftene yeares; yet taking no other title vpon him, but as Iudge and Gouverneur; but he prepared the way for his successours to make it a royall feat. *Joar* reigned but two yeares, and *Mahumet* his sonne succeeded him, being the twentieth and last king of the Moores at Cordoua, and in whom the maiestie of the Miralmumins of Spaine (which had beene great) was extinct: from the which grew so many pettie kings, as there was scarce any good towne in Spaine but had a particular king, which made strict alliances among themselves for the preservation of their estates, and maintained themselves vntill the coming of the Almorauides, Moores, which came out of Africke, as we will shew. This king *Mahumet*, desiring rather to hold that little of the estate of Cordoua, which remained, than to seeke after that which was drawne away, enjoyed it in peace thirtene yeares; the which fell out, according to the common opinion, about the year 1027, and of the Arabians 415: So as the royall seat of the Miralmumins of Spaine (accounting from *Abderramen* the first, who did begin it) had continued in the citie of Cordoua 269 yeares. The Moores affaires in Spaine being in this confusion, the Christians neglected this fit opportunitie, to recouer all Spaine, and to root out the sect of *Mahumet*: but they had their infirmities in like manner. *D. Sancho* king of Nauarre made some attempts, but as it seemes ill pursued, being not mentioned in the Histories.

Leon.

An. 1006.

D. Alphonso 5 king of Leon, a lover of iustice.

*D. Alphonso* king of Leon, made an enterprize against them that gouerned in Lusitania, and besieged the towne of Viseo, but as he went inconsiderately about it, to view the place, being vnarmed, hee was shot with an arrow from the towne, whereof hee died soone after: this was in the year 1006, as the Spanish Histories report: But the letters and titles of Chapters and Couents say, he liued vnto the year 1028. A little before his death, he had receiued into his countrey the children of *D. Bela* of Nagera, a knight who as we haue said, had beene chased out of Castille, by the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfalez*: which were *D. Roderigo*, *D. Diego*, and *D. Inigo Bela*, who would neuer be reconciled vnto *D. Sancho* Earle of Castille, their Lord: wherefore hauing liued a wandering and vagabond life for a time among the Moores, and elsewhere, in the end they came into Leon, whereas the king *D. Alphonso* receiued them, honoured them, and gaue them lands and reuenues, in the quarter of Somocas. This Prince was carefull to administer iustice to his subjects; and therefore did reuiue and restore the ancient lawes of the Gothes, and did correct and moderate them with new decrees fit for the time, and all by the aduise of the generall estates, assembled at Ouedo, in the year 1003. He repaired the ruines of the Citie of Leon, and there built a Church to Saint *Iohn Baptist*, whither he caused the body of *D. Bermond* his father, and many others, to be brought, and there interred. In his time liued *Athilan*, Bishop of Leon, and *Florian*, a great Preacher in Galicia, both held for Saints in Spaine. They write, that *Florian* meaning to trie if his Sermons were pleasing to God, put burning coales into his mouth, and had no harme.

Nauarre.  
D. Sancho Emperour of Spaine.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

As for *D. Sancho* fourth king of Nauarre, he was surnamed the Great, chiefly for his great dominions, and for his great exploits, both in peace and warre; by reason whereof he intituled himselfe king of Spaine, the which the Gothes with all their greatnesse and power durst not doe. He married *D. Nugna*, eldest daughter to *D. Sancho Garcia*, Earle of Castille; yet the Histories of Arragon call her otherwise, & say the king had a former wife, which was, *D. Caya*, Ladie of Ayuar, the which was rather a concubine, than a lawfull wife, of whom *D. Ramir*, first king of Arragon was borne. By this Ladie *D. Nugna*, he did inherit the Earldome of Castille, and by her had *D. Garcia* king of Nauarre, after him *D. Fernand*, first king of Castille, and *D. Gonfalo* king of Sobrarbre, and Ribagorfa. He was either in person, or sent to all the warres betwixt the Christians, and the Moores, whose estate was much shaken in his time, by reason of the diuisions of that mutinous nation; and this king was more fortunate abroad, than in his owne house.

The

The Histories which treat of his deedes, say, That being absent in some warre against the Moores, his sonne *D. Garcia* demanded a goodly horse of his mother, out of the kings stable, the which he loued aboue all the rest, and had straitly commanded his wife not to suffer any one to ride him: yet shee desiring to please her eldest sonne, graunted him; but being afterwards dissuaded by a knight, called, *Pedro de Sese*, or as some write *Fernand* of Ordognana, master of the kings horse, shee would haue auoided it, considering the charge the king had giuen her: whereat *D. Garcia* being too much incensed for a matter of no moment, began to imagine that there was some dishonest familiaritie betwixt this Master of the Horse and his mother; whither that he believed it, or did maliciously inuent it, forgetting God, and all filiall respect, he resolved to accuse them of adulterie: and hauing conferred this designe with his brother *D. Fernand* (who was of a better disposition) he would haue forced him to serue as a witness, or assistant in this wickednesse, the which he refused, and did often dissuade *D. Garcia* from so vile an enterprize, but it was in vaine. In the end *D. Fernand*'s youth was vanquished by the importunitie, or rather feare of his elder brother, promising not to reueale the fraud and lye, which he had discouered vnto him. The king being returned to his castle of Nagera, this peruerse sonne *D. Garcia* failed not to accuse his mother: whereat the king was wonderfully amazed, for that he had neuer scene any cause to suspect his wife of any dishonestie, neither would he lightly belieue that which his sonne had said, but examining this businesse carefully, he sought by all means to discouer the truth: yet he caused the Queene to be put in prison in the castle of Nagera; then taking *D. Fernand* his second sonne apart, he examined him vpon this fact, who answered the king doubtfully, the which increased his suspicion more than before: wherefore the king called an assemblie of noblemen, and of his Council, to whom he propounded this pitifull case, demanding their aduice. They answered, that the Queene must purge her selfe by contrary proofes, according vnto the Lawes, or according to the custome which was then in vse, shee should finde a knight to defend her cause by armes, else she must suffer the punishment due to such an offence, which was to be burnt. The poore Ladie attending this sentence, made her continuall prayers vnto God, to make her innocencie knowne, who heard her prayers: for after some daies, no man daring to present himselfe to defend this princeesse honor, *D. Ramir* the kings bastard son offered himselfe to enter combat for the Queene; against any that would maintaine the accusation which was layed against her. As they prepared themselves to the combat, there was a religious man of good fame, and much respected in Nauarre, who doubting of this fraude, or otherwise aduertised by the prouidence of God, came vnto *D. Garcia* and *D. Fernand* the kings sons, whom he perswaded with such liuelie reasons, as they were toucht in conscience, and began to apprehend the foulness of their offence, to haue sought her death who was the cause of their being, against all truth, and for a matter of so small moment; wherefore casting themselves at this holy mans feet, they confessed their fault, demanding pardon of God, and intreating him to finde some means that this pursute might cease, the Queenes innocencie knowne, and that they might be restored to the kings fauour. The religious man hauing comforted them, went vnto the king, to whom he declared what he had done, and what he vnderstood from his sonnes, intreating him to pardon their offence, whom youth and choler had thus transported. The king being joyfull of the innocencie of his wife, deliuered her out of prison, and meaning that the fauour which they pretended to recouer, should depend wholly of their mother, he sent them vnto her: but she shewing her selfe a true mother, did forget the cause she had to dislike her ill aduised sonnes, and pardoning them with a motherlie affection, shee restored them to the kings fauour: In this action, *D. Ramir* shewed himselfe both vertuous and valiant, wherein hee purchased the more honour, by this circumstance, That hee being sonne of an other woman, would defend the reputation of his mother in law against her owne children: in recompence whereof, the king *D. Sancho*, assigning portions for his children in his life time, gaue after his death the Earldome of Arragon to *D. Ramir* with the title of king. By this diuision of portions made by the king *D. Sancho*, and *D. Nugna*, *D. Fernand* was also graced with a royall title, in the succession of Castille, which fell vnto her by the violent death of her brother *D. Garcia*, as we will shew: Nauarre remayning to *D. Garcia* the elder brother, and the ancient realme of Sobrarbre to *D. Gonfalo*; meaning

Notable treason of a sonne against his mother.

Queene of Nagera accused of Adulterie.

The vertue of D. Ramir the bastard condemning the lawfull children of Nauarre.

Queene of Nagera innocencie iustified.

Affection of a mother.

to honour all his children with the names and titles of Kings, which was the cause of great divisions among these brethren, which haply had ceased, if one of them had bene made foueraigne King over the rest, the which had maintained the Christians estate in Spaine better vnited, and of more force to repulse the Moores. The time of this action of adulterie is vncertaine.

Religious deeds  
of D. Sancho the  
great.

The king D. Sancho was a very deuout and religious Prince, after the manner of those times: for besides the confirmation of gifts which he and his wife gaue to S. Emylian, of the towne of Ventose (annexed to this place by D. Garcia his father and others) he made a vow, to giue vnto the Coucat of S. Saluator of Leyre, the tenth of bread and wine, and the herbage of such places as he should take from the Moores: and with this hope, in the year 1015, he raised an armie to inuade the Infidels by the frontier of Funes: at which place of Funes he gaue to the same Monastrie a field of Vines which he had of the inhabitants, for that he had slaine tenne Moores in the time of peace, for the which they ought a thousand solz, for a fine, which were so many crownes, or thereabouts. More, in Falles he gaue a possession, house, vine, and other apputenances: and in Nagera, the houses, vines, and fields of king *Antrago*, but what he was, we haue no certaine knowledge. These things he gaue to the Church of S. Saluator of Leyre. It is not knowne what was the successe of D. Sancho's warre against the Moores, but that by conjecture it was good, for that in that time there is a confirmation made by him, of nobilitie, and exemptions graunted by his predecessors to the inhabitants of Roncal. The zeale of this religious Prince was such, as he called a Councell at S. Saluator de Leyre, in the year 1022, but the chiefe decree was, a confirmation of priuiledges graunted to this Monastrie by his grandfather D. Sancho, and D. Vrraca his grandmother, and D. Garcia and D. Ximena his father and mother, which confirmation was signed by the king and all his children. The year after 1023, there was another Councell held in Pampelone, where the Bishoprick was transferred to S. Saluator of Leyre, where it continued some time. There enquire was made of the auncient limits of the iurisdiction of the Bishopricke of Pampelone. This was the subject of Councels in those dayes. Then was D. Sancho the elder (who had bene schoolemaster to the king) Bishop of Pampelone, and Abbot of S. Saluator, but he could not see this alteration, for that he died this year: but his successor carrying the same name, surnamed the younger, saw it in the year 1026, being the seventh Bishop of that Church, being vacertaine to what Archbishop it was then subject. In our time it is so that of Saragosse.

Councels in  
Nauarre.

An. 1023.

Castille.

An. 1028.

The auncient  
way from  
France to S.  
Jaques.

This year 1026 was borne that great captaine, a Castilian, called *Roderigo Dias* of Biuar, who was afterwards called *Cid Ruy Dias*, the Camper, of whom mention shall be made. In the year 1028 they hold (and it is verified by titles and auncient records) That D. Sancho Garcia Earle of Castille died, hauing ruled nine and thirtie yeares, and was buried in the Monastrie of S. Saluator of Oña, founded by him. He was an vnfortunate Prince in his house, by reason of the miserable death of his mother; otherwise he was wise and valiant, and a great louer of his nobilitie, to whom he gaue great priuiledges and exemptions, yea, he dispensed with them from going to the warre without pay and entertainment, and that they should not be taxed for any imposition which should be leuied vpon the publike. And as he was verie deuout, after the manner of those times, he made manie reparations and orders, to make the wayes more easie for them that went in pilgrimage to S. Jaques of Compostella: for in the beginning, the ordinarie and most vsuall way was by the Prouinces of Guipuscoa and Biscaye to the mountaine cuntry, then to the Asturies of Sentillana, then to Ouiedo, from whence they entred into Galicia; and since the way being mountainous, although it were short, being left, by reason of the difficult and hard passages, they came from France by Nauarre into Alaua, and then through the Asturies; a longer, but a farre more easie voyage than the other: but the Earle D. Sancho caused a way to be made euen, from Nauarre by Rioje and Burea, to the citie of Burgos, the which is frequented at this day, to the great ease of such as make this voyage to S. Jaques. They call this the French way. This Earle gaue Quintanilla to the Monastrie of S. Emylian, and did many other works for the redemption of his soule, as appeares by the letters and titles of that age.

D. Ber-

D. Bermond, third of that name, 23.  
King of Leon.



ON Bermond, sonne to D. Alphonso succeeded his father in the Realme of Leon, in the year 1028. being but a young Prince at his first entry to the Crown, he began to follow the religious steps of his father, causing churches, monasteries, & other buildings which had bene ruined by the Arabians in the former wars, to be repaired. And moreover, was very carefull to maintaine good orders among his subiects, and to do them iustice, punishing the disordered with great severity. An argument that he had good and vertuous men in his Court, and of his Councell, who honored both themselves and their Prince, in the due execution of their charges, and discharging of their consciences: so as it followed, that all the subjects governed themselves by their kings example: yea the Noblemen and Knights of his Court. The beginning of which reigne could not but be held most happie. Hee married with D. Theresa, second daughter to D. Sancho, last earle of Castile, by whom he had one son, called D. Alphonso by his grandfathers name, who died before his father.

Rem.

A religious  
king and lover  
of iustice.

27 By the same treatie of marriage with the yongest daughter of Castile, after the decease of D. Sancho Earle of Castile, by the aduice of the country, there was a marriage propounded, betwixt D. Garcia successor to the sayd earle, and D. Sancho sister to the K. D. Bermond. Both parties being agreed, D. Garcia went to Leon, to consummate this marriage, being accompanied by D. Sancho k. of Nauarre his brother-in-law, who had married D. Nugna the eldest daughter of Castile. The Court being full of Noblemen and Ladies to honor this marriage, which should be performed with state; and the Earle D. Garcia hauing no other thoughts but to court his mistris; there came vnto him the 3 brethren of Bela about mentioned, who were banished out of Castile, & fled into Leon: D. Roderigo, D. Diego, and D. Inigo, who making a shew to desire the Earles fauor, came to kisse his hand, offering him all seruite & homage, as his naturall vassals, craving pardon for that was past: to whom D. Garcia being courteous, gaue good reception; and presuming they had nothing hidden in their hearts, but what their countenances shewed, and their tongues vttered, he assured himselfe of them, going without any guard, like a priuate man that had no quarrell: so as these traitours found oportunitie to murder him, in reuenge that the Earle his father had banished them out of Castile, and confiscated their goods: so the innocent suffered for the offendor, if we may call it an offence to do iustice vpon rebels. He that gaue him the first blow with his sword, was D. Ruy, or Roderigo his god-father. Such excesses did the Christians then commit. The murderers did then escape, but afterwards they fell into the hands of D. Sancho King of Nauarre, who tooke a worthy reuenge. There was great heauinesse in Court for this wretched murder: but D. Sancho lamented more than all the rest, to see her selfe a widow before she was a wife: who seeing her spouse interred at S. John Baptist in Leon, intreated them that they would burne her aliue with him. By the death of D. Garcia, the Earle dome of Castile fell to the k. of Nauarre D. Sancho, who had married D. Nugna the eldest sister of D. Garcia, and tooke peaceable possession thereof in the same year 1028.

D. Garcia k.  
Earle of Castile

D. Garcia  
Earle of Castile  
murdered by the three  
brethren of  
Bela.

Castile united  
to Nauarre.

28 After the death of D. Raymond Borel Earle of Barcelone, which was in the year, 1017. D. Berenger his son governed this principality, as proprietarie, vnder the Soueraignie of France, being the sixt in number, and was surnamed Borel, as his father: but of a contrary disposition to his father: for by his idleness, he gaue entry to all vices into his Court: war and all exercises of chivalrie were contemned by him, which bred him great troubles. We find that this Earle had three sonnes, the first called D. Raymond Berenger succeeded him: the second, D. Guillen or Guillaume Berenger, was Earle of Manrese, and the third sonne, Don Sancho Berenger Prior of the Monastrie of

Genealogie of  
Barcelone.  
S. Be.

Saint *Benoist* of Bages: Who after the decease of *D. Guillen* the 2. brother, which died A without children, left his habit, and succeeded him in the Conty of Manrese, & died also without children. In the year 1020. *D. Bernard Brisefer*, cousin to the Earle *Berenger*, riding through Prouence, was drowned in the riuer of Roine: And for that hee was a braue Knight, the Moores hauing notice of his death, grew so hardie and courageous, as they did ouer-runne the countrey of Cattelogne, entring by Cerdagne: but they were repulsed and chased, by *D. Geoffrey* Earle of that place, brother to *D. Berenger*. This *D. Geoffrey* was founder of the Monasterie of Saint *Martin* of Canigo, and mention is made of fise sonnes issued from him. *D. Raymond Geoffrey*, who was Earle of Cerdagne and Befalu, after the father: *D. Geoffrey Guinar*, Archbishop of Narbon: *D. Berenger Geoffrey*, Bishop of Giron: *D. Guillen Geoffrey*, Bishop of Virgel: and the last *D. Geoffrey*, Earle of Bergada: Hauing sogoodly an issue, he dyed in the yere 1025. and was interred at Saint *Martin* of Canigo, which hee had built. His eldest sonne and heire in the Countie of Cerdagne, did little enioy it, for hee dyed two yeares after, leaving two sonnes, *D. Guillen Raymond* Earle, and *D. Henry*.

The Moores by another Inuasion into the territories of Cattelogne, ruined the Monasterie of Ripol; but by the care of *D. Oliban*, sonne to *D. Oliban Cabrisa*, they were repulsed, and the Monasterie repayed and fortified by him, in the yeare 1035. in which yeare the Earle *D. Berenger Borel* dyed, hauing gouerned fise and thirty yeares without any fyne, beeing scarce forty yeares old, and was buried at Ripol.

Nauarre and Castile.

After the death of *D. Garcia* Earle of Castile, and the perception of the succession by *D. Sancho* the Great, king of Nauarre, in the name of *D. Nugna* his wife, beeing C eldest sister to the deceased, the first woman which succeeded in Castile, there grew a warre betwixt him and *D. Bermond* king of Leon, who had married the Earles other sister, called *D. Theresa*: in the which the King of Leon lost the countrey which lyes from the riuer of Cea, vnto the auncient limits of Castile: but by the mediation of some Noblemen, and good Councillers, these two Princes were reconciled and concluded a peace, by the which there was a marriage contracted betwixt *D. Fernand*, second sonne to the king of Nauarre, and *D. Sancho* sister to the king *D. Bermond*, who had beene promised to *D. Garcia*, Earle of Castile. By this Treatie the lands which the King of Nauarre had taken from the King of Leon, should bee giuen to *Fernand*: and it was sayd, that the Earledome of Castile assigned to him, should haue the title of a D Kingdome, when hee should beginne to enioy it. Thus they were good friends, and maintained peace betwixt these two Estates of Leon and Castile, till after the death of the King *D. Sancho* the Great: Who about the yeare 1033. restored the towne of Palence, vpon an opinion which he had to haue beene miraculously cured, (hauing put his arme out of ioynt, striking at a wild Boare) in the ruines of this towne, which was sometimes destroyed by the Moores, and at a place where as Saint *Antolins* church had beene. To this place he restored the auncient Episcopall seate, and gaue great gifts vnto it. The Bishops of Palence, call themselves Earles of Pernia since that time. Hee gaue much to other Monasteries, as it was the custome of those times: and that for the deuotion hee had to the Reliques of *Ouiedo*, he went thither as a pilgrim, but he was slain E by the way, as we haue sayd, and was buried at *Ouiedo*, & afterwards transported to *Ogna*, in the yeare 1034. After his decease, his children tooke possession of the Realmes assigned vnto them by their father and mother: *D. Garcia* of Nauarre, *D. Fernand* of Castile, *D. Gonçalo* of Sobrarbre and Ribagorça, and *D. Ramir* of Arragon.

Death of D. Sancho king of Nauarre. An. 1034.

Thus a great Estate (by reason whereof *D. Sancho* had called himselfe Emperour of Spaine, and was surnamed the Great) was dismembred, to the great preiudice of Christendome. Beeing dead, his brother in lawe *D. Bermond*, would not obserue the conditions concluded by the Treatie of marriage betwixt his sister and *D. Fernand* the new King of Castile, seeking to take from him the Land which did confine vpon the Riuer of Cea, conquered and ouercome by *D. Sancho* the Great, the which he afterwards left vnto *D. Fernand*, and to his wife, his sister, in making of the marriage. F *D. Fernand* hearing that hee prepared and addressed himselfe to Armes, with an intent and resolution to annoy and trouble him, hee also, on the contrarie, put himselfe in defence

A defence, beeing supported by his brother *D. Garcia* King of Nauarre, with great troupes of souldiers, the which he ledde himselfe in person, to a place called Llantada. The two armies encountred neere to the Riuer of Carrion, where there was a furious battaile, with great slaughter of either side: But *D. Bermond* lost his life, beeing runne thorough with a Lance, by whose death (for that hee had no lawfull children) the succession of Leon and *Ouiedo*, fell to *D. Fernand*, husband to *D. Sancho*, sister to the deceased. This was in the yeare 1037.

D. Bermond king of Leon, beates the peace, is defeated and slain.

that the two Estates of Leon and Castile were ynted. *D. Bermond* was interred at Leon with his wife *D. Theresa*, who was dead before.

Prison of Leon and Castile.

The end of the seventh Booke.

X 2

THE



# THE EIGHTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

## The Contents.

- 1 D. Ferdinand, first king of Castile.
- 2 D. Raymond Berenger, 7. Earle of Barcelona.
- 3 D. Ramir, first king of Arragon.
- 4 D. Garcia, 14. king of Navarre, the sixth of that name.
- 5 D. Sancho, fift of that name, and fiftenth king of Navarre.
- 6 Division of the Estates of D. Fernand the first king of Castile, among his children, giving B Castile to D. Sancho, to D. Alphonso that of Leon, and to D. Garcia, Galicia, with the like title.
- 7 D. Sancho Ramires, king of Arragon, 2. and the inuasion of Navarre by him, wherefore he was numbred for the 16. king of Navarre, and the sixth of that name.
- 8 Estate of the Arabians in the East, their divisions and quarrels, from whence sprung 4. mightie Monarchies.
- 9 D. Alphonso the sixth, called the Brave, king of Castile, Leon, and Galicia, uniting these three Estates.
- 10 Exploits of Cid Ruis Diaz, a valiant Captaine of Castile.
- 11 D. Raymond, eighth Earle of Barcelona.
- 12 Vsurpations of the King of Castile, upon Navarre.
- 13 Conquest of the cittie and kingdome of Toledo, from the Moores. Re-establishment of the Archbishops seat and primacie of Spaine, and other things belonging to the dignitie of that Cittie.
- 14 D. Raymond Arnoul, ninth Earle of Barcelona.
- 15 The royall Seate restored to Cordoua, by Ali-Aben-Axa a Moore, who united all the Princes and Potentates of that Sect in Spaine, under the Empire of the Almorauides: his rebellion and death.
- 16 Passage of Ioseph Aben-Tefin, Miralmumin, or king of Maroc in Spaine: reduction of all the Moores of Spaine under one Empire.
- 17 Henry of Lorraine, or of Besançon, Earle of Linbourg, the Stemme of the royall family of Portugall.
- 18 Spaine furnished with French Prelates.
- 19 D. Pedro first of that name, 17. king of Navarre, and third of Arragon.
- 20 Ali-Aben-Tefin-Miralmumin, or king of the Arabiens Almorauides.

This eighth Booke contains the beginning of the Realmes of Castile and Arragon, erected by D. SANCHE 4. king of Nauarre, and the continuance of their Princes, and other Potentates of Spaine, as followeth:

### LEON. Kings.

- 24 D. Fernand 1.
- D. Alphonso 6.

### NAVARRRE. Kings.

- 14 D. Garcia 6.
- 15 D. Sancho 5.
- 16 D. Sancho Ramir 6.
- 17 D. Pedro the first 1.

### CATTELOGNE. Kings.

- 7 D. Raymond Berenger.
- 8 D. Raymond.
- 9 D. Raymond Arnoul.

### CASTILE. Kings.

- 1 The same 2.
- 2 D. Sancho 2.
- 3 The same 1.

### ARRAGON. Kings.

- 1 D. Ramir the first 1.

The same 4.

The same 1.

### PORTVGAL. Earles.

- 1 D. Henry of Lorraine, or of Besançon, first Earle under the Soueraignie of Leon.

D. Fer-

D. Fernand, 2. of that name, first king of Castile, and 24. of Leon.

**D.** Fernand had reigned 2. yeares in Castile, when as the quarrell grew betwixt him, and D. Bermond king of Leon, whereof followed the defeate of Llantada, and the death of the king D. Bermond: after which the two breethren, D. Garcia king of Nauarre, and D. Fernand of Castile, led their victorious armie before the city of Leon, where the remainders were that had escaped from the battaile. The Leonois would haue made some resistance against D. Fernand heire to the Crowne: but fearing they should not be able to hold out long, they receiued him: and beeing crowned in Saint Mary de la Regle, the Cathedral church of Leon, in the yeare 1037. he reigned in peace. Thus these two Estates of Leon and Castile were vnited, about an hundred yeares after they had bene diuided, in the time of D. Fernand Gonçales: and they came into the masculine line of the house of Nauarre, in D. Fernand, the second sonne, by the hereditarie right of women: that is, Castile by his mother D. Nuzga, and Leon, in the right of his wife D. Sancha, for want of heires males of the direct line in these two houses. Before he came to these great successions, during the life of the king D. Sancho his father, he had had by his wife D. Sancha, presumptiue heire of Leon, one daughter called D. Yrraca, then a sonne D. Sancho, and after him another daughter named D. Eluira, beeing King of Castile, she bare him D. Alphonso, in the yeare, 1035: and for the last of all their children D. Garcia: All which were well instructed and bred vp like kings children according to their sexe.

The first royall act which D. Fernand did, was to dispose of Iustice, fortifying by his authoritie the ancient lawes of the Goths, with some necessarie additions or reformations: he was much renowned, not onely for that respect, but also for his Religion, and valour in warre, whereof he shewed good prooffe against the Moores, who inuaded his dominions in the yeare 1038, by the frontiers of Galicia, and the countrey which is properly called Extremadura, the which lyes vpon the banks of Durio, whence it takes the name, not that which they thinke at this day lyes betwixt Tayo and Guadiana where the good woad grows. D. Fernand did not onely repulse them, but also pursued them vnto Merida and Badajos, then entering into the countrey, which is now called Portugall, hee tooke from them the townes of Cea, Gana, Viseo, Lamego, the castle of Saint Martin, Tarança, and in the end after a long and difficult sege, the city of Coimbra, where his armie was in great distresse for victuals; whereof they were releued (as the Spanish Histories say) by certaine religious men of that countrie, who had secretly gathered together (if it be credible) great store of victuals, wherewith they did furnish the campe. The Spanish Authors write, that the king D. Fernand had (at the taking of Viseo) gotten the Moore, which had slaine the king D. Alphonso his father in law, whose eyes he caused to be put out, and both his hands, and one of his feet to be cut off, wherein he rather shewed a base, then a generous disposition. In that war he layed the bounds of his countrey beyond the riuer of Mondego, which is in the midst of Portugall: and leauing for Gouvernour of Coimbra, (beeing the greatest towne in all the countrey) a Knight called D. Sisenand: hee returned into his countrey, and went to visit S. Iagues Sepulcher, offering part of the spoiles which hee had taken in the warre, as to the Patron and Protector of Spaine, according to the manner of the Religion in his time. After which he continued eight yeares without any warres against the Moores, who hauing dismembred their monarchie of Cordoua, which had so long maintained the name and glorie of the Arabians in Spaine, to the great ruine of the Christians, did now busie themselves to make pettie Royalties: whereof the most famous in those times were Seuille and Toledo; that of Seuille extended his Iurisdiccions vnto the countrey called Algarbe, beyond Guadiana,

1037.  
Succession of  
the Estates of  
Castile and  
Leon by women.

Which is the  
countrey of Ex-  
tremadura.

Revenge  
worthy of  
royal mind.

X 3

2 Other

2 Other Moores neighbours to *Catallogne*, having entred the Contie of Barce- A lone, in the time of D. *Berenger Borel*, were stayed by his son and successor D. *Raimond Berenger*, whom they called the Elder, for that he had a sonne of the same name, who succeeded him. This Earle was of a small stature; but in this little bodie there lodged a great courage, vnlike therein vnto his father, hauing no delight but in action and arms. By his iudgement and valour, the Moores were dispossessed of the Castell of Manresa, of the Townes of Cerucra, Segarra, Tagarra, Verdun, Tous, Lacuença of Odena, and of many other places: and subiected some of the Moores vnto him, and made them Tributaries. With this Warlike vertue, he was wise for the well gouerning of a quiet estate, louing Iustice, beeing religious, honourable, and liberall to his Nobility, the dignitie of which Estate he did much augment. Hee was twice married: his first B wife, called *Radalmurs*, brought him two sonnes, the one called D. *Pedro Raymond*, who was much hated of his father, for some reasons which we will hereafter shew: The seconds name was D. *Berenger Raymond*, who slue his brother; and for that hee was exceeding proud, he lost his Estate. To his second wife he had D. *Almedia*, or *Almadis*, a wife Ladie and vertuous, by whome he had D. *Raymond Berenger*, who was Earle after him, surnamed (for that his haire was white and thicke) *flaxen haire*.

## D. Ramir, first King of Arragon.

3. T He Arragonois their neighbours, began at that time to haue Kings, the coun- C trie hauing that title giuen it, in fauour of D. *Ramir*, a Bastard of Nauarre, in the yearre, 1304, the Countrey hauing continued with the title of an Earledome about 250. yearres, by which meanes it was diuided from Nauarre. This title of a King was confirmed to D. *Ramir*, by Pope *Benedict* the ninth, and the Armes of these first Kings of Arragon, weare a Crosse argent in a field azure. D. *Ramir* did soone after seaze (I know not by what right) of the Realme of Sobrarbre, and Ribagorça, by the death of D. *Gonzalo* his brother, who had beene made King by the will of D. *Sancho* their father, he beeing slaine passing the bridge of Montclus, by a household seruant of his, called *Raymonet*, and left no children. This succession did more rightly belong to D. *Garcia*, the lawfull sonne of D. *Sancho*, and brother by father and mother to D. *Gonzalo*. What D foeuer they say, that D. *Ramir* was a Prince indowed with great vertues, yet would hee haue dispossessed his brother D. *Garcia*, who was at Rome, of the kingdome of Nauarre, where their father died. For the effecting whereof, hee demaunded succours from the Moores, which held Tudella, Saragosse, and Huesca, and besieged the towne of Talla, but D. *Garcia* arriuing at that instant, had meanes to make D. *Ramir* to raise his siege with dishonour and losse. He had to wife D. *Ermisenda*, daughter to the Earle of Bigorre, by whom he had D. *Sancho Ramires*, who was King of Arragon after him, D. *Garcia*, Bishop of Iacca, D. *Sancho* Countesse of Tholoufa, D. *Theresa* Countesse of Prouence, wife to the Earle *Guillen Bertrand*, and one Bastard sonne, called D. *Sancho*, Lord of Ayuar and Xauierre. The time of this Kings Raigne, or the maner of his death, E whether it were in warre, or by sicknesse, is doubtfull amongst Authors, the common opinion is, that he died about the yearre 1063, being at the sege of the Castell of Grados, or Iraos, of a wound which he receiued, beeing in armes against the Moores of the Country: for that leauing the protection of Arragon, they had put themselues vnder that of Castille, and that he is interred at S. *Iohn de la Pegna*.

## D. Garcia

D. Garcia Sanches 6. of that name, and 14.  
King of Nauarre.

4. A S for D. *Garcia* heire of the Realme of Nauarre, he came to the crowne as his Nother brethren in the yeere 1034, the Queene D. *Nugna* his mother, yet lying: he was surnamed *Sanches* of Nagera, for that he was bred vp there, & made his ordinary residence there vntil hee died; and was buried there. The portions giuen by D. *Sancho* the Great, their father, were very preiudicial vnto him, for that as the elder, the fo- uerainty of all those Estates did belong vnto him, of all which D. *Garcia* had nothing but the crowne of Nauarre, the country which is from Bureua and Ogna, running from the country of Frias, conteyning seuen iurisdiccions, in ancient time called Castillia the old, and moreouer Alaua, Nagera and a part of Biscay. In the beginning D. *Garcia* was in reasonable good termes with his brother D. *Fernand* King of Castille, and did assist him as we haue sayd, in the warres he had against D. *Bernand*, to settle him in the Realme of Leon: but afterward there grew diuisions betwixt them, as also betwixt him and D. *Ramir*, so as during his life they were neuer reconciled. Hee was married whilest hee was Infant of Nauarre, to a French Lady called *Estienne*; of the house of Foix, as the Spaniards say, yet is it doubtfull, for there is no mention in those times of any Earles of Foix, it may bee shee was of the house of Carcaffone, or Beziers, from whence the Earles of Foix did afterwards descend. By this wife hee had four sonnes: D. *Sancho Garcia*, who was King after his father: D. *Ramir* Lord of Calorra, Torrefilla, de los Cameros, Riuafrasca, Lea, Villoria, Trebejan and others: D. *Fernand* the third Lord of Iubera, Lagienilla and other places; and D. *Raymond* the fourth Lord of Murillo, Agon and Agoncillo, and foure daughters, D. *Ermisenda* or *Ermisenda*, who was Lady of Villa Mediana and Matres: D. *Ximena* Lady of Corcerous and Hornos. The third D. *Mayor* of Ianguas, & D. *Vrraca*, or according vnto some *Oguenda*, Lady of Aluerite, Lardero & Mucrones, such was the issue of D. *Garcia Sanches* of Nagera: During whose raigne the Spaniards set vp the inuention of the image of the Virgin *Mary* of the royal Monastery, in the towne of Nagera; in honour of whom, D. *Garcia*, and his wife D. *Estaphana*, or *Estienne* caused the Conuent of the order of Saint *Benet* to be built: and moreouer the King did institute the order of the knights of the Lilly, for that in the same picture there was a pot of white Lillies, and would haue the Knights carry vpon their cloakes, Lillies imbroidred with the needle. This was the deuise of the Knights of the order of Nauarre, wherewith the Kings children, and many Knights of Nauarre and strangers were honoured, the which continued in this house of Nauarre.

The King D. *Garcia* did greatly honour his nobility, and did confirme in the yeere 1043, the preuiledges of the gentlemen in the Valley of Roncal, in testimony of their perpetuall fidelity to the Kings of Nauarre their Princes, who had done him great seruices against the Moores his neighbors. He tooke Calorra from them, in the yeere 1044, a more fortunate warre, out of doubt, then that which hee had against D. *Fernand* King of Castille his brother, a fatall man to all his kinsfolkes and allies. Enuy which torments man, by reason of an others prosperity, bread a hatred in D. *Garcia*, against his brother D. *Fernand*, the which was augmented by some dispute that was betwixt them for the towne of Nagera in Rioje, whereas D. *Garcia* kept his Court, and the Lands of Bureua, which D. *Fernand* maintayned did belong vnto the crowne of Castille. The first and most vnworthy effect, whereby this hatred was discovered, was a treason plotted against D. *Fernand* in the towne of Nagera; for being come in brotherly loue to visit D. *Garcia*, who was sicke in bed, hee was aduertised that by his commandement they ment to stay him, and in truth hee had beene put in prison if hee had not escaped: this did so incense them one against an other, as falling to armes, it was one of their deaths.

This treacherous part was long dissembled by D. *Fernand*, attending some opportunity

The bounds of  
the realme of  
Nauarre vnder  
D. Garcia  
Sanches.

Genealogie of  
Nauarre.

Knights of the  
Lilly in Na-  
uarre.

An. 1044.

Quarrels be-  
twixt the  
Kings of Cas-  
till and Na-  
uarre.

D. Garcia  
practise a-  
gainst his bro-  
ther.

nity of reuenge, notwithstanding any excuse D. Garcia could make, seeing his designe A had failed. Thus the King of Nauarre liued in continuall hatred with his brethren. D. Ramir, and D. Fernand, as hee had purchased by his bad disposition, the dislike of his father and mother: a Prince in truth vnworthie to make warre against the Moores, for the advancement of the Christian religion: against whom (notwithstanding that hee was in bad termes with his brethren) hee sent an army, and tooke from them the towne of Funes, in the yeere of our Lord 1045. For the recovery of his health, hee had sent messengers to all the famous Bishops and Abbots of Spaine, that by their prayers to God hee might be cured: with this deuotion hee caused himselfe to be carried to the Monastery of Saint Sauneur of Leyre, where hee did beleue that by the prayers of those religious men, his health was restored; in recompence where- B of, he gaue to that house the Conuent of Centurifontes, and many other things: all this did nothing abate the spleene hee had against his brother D. Fernand, who would not be surprized.

Castille.

Being returned into his country, dissembling the wrong which had beene done him, he made warre against the Moores, vpon the frontiers of Castille, where he tooke the townes of Goruas, Vado del Rey, Aquilera, Berlanga, and other places, passing vnto Tarrassone and then hee returned by Medina Celi, ruining the forts, and watch-towers which the Moores had built in those countries; the which he did with lesse difficulty, for that the Moores estate was in great confusion, by reason of the seditions and tiranies which were practised amongst them. They write that this Prince did also that yeere C (which was 1047) chase the Moores out of the mountaines, of Ora and Ouan. Some time after, continuing the warre against the Mahumetists, hee past the mountaines with his army into the realme of Toledo, he spoiled the country about Talamanca and Vzeda, whereas the riuer of Henares passeth to Alcalá, and Guadálajara: he entred the territory of Madrid, and made such a general spoile of townes and people, as the King of Toledo, a Moore called *Aly Maymon*, was aduised to pacifie him by presents, yea to promise him tribute: the which hee did, sending home D. Fernand rich with gold and siluer, and of all other spoiles, into his countries of Leon and Castille.

Moore.

This King *Aly Maymon* was the ninth of those which had rained at Toledo of the royall race of *Aben Humeya*, sonne to King *Hizen*, and grand-child to *Hayran*. Hee had one sonne amongst others, carrying his grand-fathers name *Hizen*, and one daughter D called *Casilda*, who was a Christian, as you shall heare. At that time there dwelt many Musarabes in Toledo, who God left not vnfurnished of Pastors, among the which *Ar-chiques* the Arch-deacon is famous, who encouraged the Christians of that city, and instructed them in the grounds of their faith: arts and liberal sciences were in like manner maintained and honored among the Arabians, and in those daies their liued many learned men of that nation, whereof the most renowned were *Haly Albuacem*, and *Aly Aben Ragel*, very learned in Astrology. The occasion which drew the Princesse *Casilda* to the Christian religion, is thus related by the authors of the Spanish History. She fel (say they) very sick of a bloody flux, for whose recovery her father had in vaine im- E ployed the skill of all the Arabian Physitians, and others that were expert in that faculty: but in the end shee had a reuelation, that if shee did wash her selfe in the waters of Saint *Vincent's* Lake, which is in the territory of Bureua, nere vnto Briuesca, she should be cured: the which shee presently declared to the King her father, who was very well pleased: and hauing written to the King D. Fernand, hee sent this Virgin well attended vnto him, and presently set many Christian slaues, at liberty, vpon this occasion D. Fernand entertained her with great honor, & caused her to be furnished with all things necessary. Being bathed in those waters she recovered her health, wherevpon the Spaniards say, she would returne no more to Toledo, but caused her selfe to be baptized and built an Oratory with a little chamber vpon the Lake, where shee made her aboad, and there spent the remainder of her daies, in prayers and other religious exercises, and was there buried after her decease.

Cast de a Prince of the Moores baptizd.

But the same author said, that being at Toledo, before she came into Castille she was full of charity and compassion to Christian captiues, to whom she gaue great almes, which

A which was a signe that there were in her some good seeds of better instruction, the which by the recovery of her health was confirmed. There was also an other Prince of the Moores called *Alay Maymon* (nor he which was King of Toledo) against whom D. Garcia King of Nauarre had a sharpe incounter, at Ricorbaesca, where the Moore was vanquished and slaine.

These Christian Kings, ambitious and treacherous one against an other, not sparing their owne blood, thought to expiate all their offences, in building of Churches, and in dowing them with great reuenues, in enuy one of an other, with this opinion, D. Garcia gaue many gifts, and granted many preuiledges to the Church of Saint Mary the Royal of Nagera, which hee had caused to be built, for his funerall: declaring that these B gifts were for the health of his soule, of his fathers, of the Queene his wiues, and of his children, with the approbation of the chiefe noblemen of his Realme: which donations and preuiledges, hee thought should continue vnto the end of the world, vpon a penalitie, to him that should breake them, of a thousand tallents, to be applied to the Monasterie. In these termes they are exprest in the letters which are found in the said Monasterie, dated in the yeere of our Lord 1052. and seene by Garibay.

Nauarre.

Donations to churches.

By the like perswasion, D. Fernand King of Castille built the Church of Saint *Isidore* in the city of Leon. And to make that place of more authority, hee resolved to get his body, which hee thought was yet in the city of Seule, where hee had beene Bishop,

Castille.

C for this cause hee proclaimed warre, against *Almuncama*, called by others *Benabet*, *Aben Amet*, who at that time was King there, wasting and spoyleing his country, on this side the riuer of Guadiana, towards Portugal, where hee tooke the towne of Montmaior, and pursuing his enemy, hee sent him to the like conditions, as hee had done *Aly Maymon*, King of Toledo, and besides hee made him to deliuer Saint *Isidore's* bodie, or some thing in stead thereof, the which was receiued by D. *Auito* Bishop of Leon, and D. *Oydogno* Bishop of Astorga, which relieke hee caused to be carried to Leon. This King D. Fernand, at the suite of his subiects of the Kingdome of Leon, caused the towne of Zamora to be new built, which had remayned a heape of stones, since the raigne of D. Ramir the third. D. Garcia King of Nauarre did in like manner build the towne of D. Peralta, and other workes. And to returne to the hatred which continued betwixt these two brethren, it burst forth in the yeere 1054. so as the King D. Fernand being faine sicke at Burgos, he required D. Garcia in the like manner: for D. Garcia being come vnto him, to visit him, and to take from him all suspicion that hee had attempted against him, hee was seized on and caried prisoner vnto Cea.

Exploits of D. Fernand against the Moores.

1054.

Detention of D. Garcia King of Nauarre in Castille.

D. Garcia, wrought in such sort with good words and money, as his gard suffred him to escape, and so being full of wrath and indignation, he returned into Nauarre, where hee leuied a mighty army of his subiects, of Gascons and of Moores, allies or mercenaries, the which he led by the mountaines of Oca, vnto Atapuerca within foure leagues of Burgos: whereof the King D. Fernand being aduertised, hee had raysted great troupes E in Castille, Leon and Asturia to resist him. Yet before they came to ioyne in bataille, hee did solicit the King D. Garcia, by many messengers to retire, intreating him to forget all things past, and that from thenceforth hee would remaine his good brother and friend: but D. Garcia was so incensed, as he would not giue eare to any good counsell, wherefore both armies aduancing, there was a furious bataille, in the which there was much Christian blood spilt: but D. Garcia was so vnfortunate as he was incountered in the charge, by two Knights of Nauarre, who being discontented with him, had retired to D. Fernands army; these two ranne vpon him and slue him; wherevpon the Nauarrois army was soone put to reute, and defeated. The King D. Fernand did greue at D. Garcias death, and deliuered his bodie to his people to bury it, leauing to pursue any but the Moores, who were come to this warre. Such was the end of D. Garcia King of Nauarre, in the yeere 1054. hauing raigned twenty yeeres. His bodie was interred at Saint Mary the royal in Nagera. Hee intituled himselfe King of Pampelone, Nagera, Alaua, Oca, Bureua, of Castille the Old, and of Biscay, where in truth he held most part of the country.

Nauarre.

VVarrs betwixt Nauarre and Castille.

Death of D. Garcia Sanchez King of Nauarre.

In

In witnesse whereof there are letters found, conteyning, that in the yeere 1053. D. A *Nugno Sanches* Earle of Durango, and D. *Legunzia* his wife, indowed a church of Saint *Augustine*, the which is now called Saint *Augustine* of Echaurri, nere vnto the place whereas long after the towne of Helorrio was built, which letters were confirmed by the King D. *Garcia*, as rainging in that country.

Castille.

Usurpations of  
the King of  
Castille upon  
Nauarre.

After this victory the King D. *Fernand* seized vpon all Castille the Old, of the territory of Bureia, of Mont Oca, and of part of Rioje, vnto the waters of the floud Oja, which fall from the mountaine of Eucimi, where now stands Saint *Dominique* de la Calçada, and fals into Ebro at the towne Haro. In confirmation of the Monkes good husbandry, mention is made, of a controuersie betwixt the deceased King D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre and Saint *Dominique*, called of *Silos*, who was a religious man, botne at Cagnas, in Rioje, and of a sheapherd became a Monke; hee was bred vp in the Monastery of Saint *Emilian* of Cogolla, where hee tooke the habit of the order of Saint *Benedict*, and liued there so religiously as he was made Abbot: but for that he was a stout protector of the rights of the Abbay, and of their exemptions, he fell in disgrace with the King, who expelled him out of all his dominions: the which hee afterwards repented.

This good father went into Castille, where D. *Fernand* receiued him courteously, and gaue him commission for the restoring of the Monastery of Saint *Sebastian* of *Silos*, in the valley of Toblatello, the which had bene destroyed by the Moores. In those times there beganne to bee great fame of the valour of D. *Roderigo Diaz*, called by the Arabians, *Cid Ruis Diaz*, against whom he made long and sharpe warres, beeing a new knight desirous of honour, and ready for all vertuous exercises. After that D. *Fernand* had subiected vnder his obedience, the territories of Rioje and Mont Oca, which had bene held by the Kings of Nauarre, the Moores made many roades ther, being their neighbours, and did daylie carry away great spoiles, whereof they were often stript by *Cid Ruis Diaz*; and amongst others mention is made of a route which he gaue them vpon Mont Oca, where he tooke fine of their commanders or petty Kings, the which hee afterwards deliuered vpon ransome, and promise of a yeerely tribute. This *Cid Ruis* had a quarrel with D. *Gomes* Lord of Gormes, the which had bene conquered by D. *Fernand* from the Moores, few yeeres before, so as entring into Combate, D. *Gomes* was slaine; hee left one daughter called D. *Ximena Gomes*, who made great and continual complaints for the death of her father: but soone after shee her selfe intreated the King, to make a marriage betwixt her and *Cid*, the which he did, and so this Lady was comforted. Hee purchased this name of *Cid*, which in the Arabian tongue signifies Lord, in the towne of Zamore, when as the messengers of these five petty Kings, aboue mentioned, bringing the tribute contracted with them, presented it in the presence of the King D. *Fernand*, they called him *Cid Ruis Diaz*: wherefore the King would haue this braue Knight carry this title still, who by his right name was called *Roderigo Diaz de Bivar*.

Cid a title gi-  
uen to Roderi-  
go Diaz.Race of Cid  
Ruis Diaz.

The towne of Calaoarra beeing taken by the Moores, and recovered againe by the King D. *Fernand*, there grew some controuersie betwixt him and D. *Ramir* King of Arragon, for that place; for the deciding whereof either should bring a knight to the combate, vpon condition that the victor should purchase the right to his party. For D. *Fernand* *Cid Ruis Diaz* was armed, and for the King of Arragon came a knight called *Martin Gomez*, the author (as they say) of the house and family of *Luna* in Arragon; Who beeing vanquished and slaine vpon the place, Calaoarra remained in the iurisdiction of Castille. The race of this knight D. *Roderigo Diaz*, descended of *Flauin*, whom others call *Layn Caluo*, Iudge of Castille, sonne in law to *Nugno Nugnes Rasura*, who had by his daughter D. *Eluira Nugnes Bella*, or *Theresa Bella*, as some say, foure sonnes, *Fernand*, *Bermond*, *Layn* and *Diego*, surnamed *Laynes*. Of *Fernand* the eldest was borne, *Layn Fernandez*, of him *Nugno Laynes*, who begat *Diego Laynes*, father to *Cid Ruis Diaz*: whose mother was called D. *Theresa Nugnes*, daughter to D. *Roderigo Aluarez* Earle and Gouvernor of the *Asturies*, by others called D. *Nagna Aluarez*, & *Amays*. Of *Cid Ruis*, and of D. *Ximena Gomes* aboue named was borne D. *Diego Roderi-*

A *Rodriguez*, who died in his fathers life time, in the warres against the Moores. And moreover they had two daughters D. *Eluira*, and D. *Sol*, whereof mention shall be made in the relation of the affaires of Castille and Nauarre.

### D. Sancho Garcia the fifth of that name, and the fifteenth King of Nauarre.

B 5. D. *Sancho Garcia*, succeeded D. *Garcia Sanchez* his father in the realme of Nauarre, who could not stoppe the course of D. *Fernand*'s conquests, hauing after the battaile of Atapuerca, taken from him a good part of the country which his father enioyed: wherefore he made a league with his vnkle D. *Ramir* King of Arragon, against D. *Fernand* King of Castille: By this alliance the Spanish authors say, that these Kings gaue diuers townes and forts in pawne one to another, and that the King of Nauarre did quit to him of Arragon, and to his for euer, the townes of Sanguessa, Lerda and Ondues. This King had to wife a Ladie called D. *Plaisance*, by whom hee had children, but there is no certaine mention made of them. Hee was of little valour, and therefore D. *Fernand* of Castille his vnkle, had meanes to restraime him in his Realme of Nauarre, at his pleasure, were it either right or wrong.

C In the meane time the King D. *Fernand*, to purge and expiat these outrages, gaue bountifullly to the Cathedral churches, colledges, parishes and monasteries of his realme, and to others without it; for they say hee gaue euery yeere to the Abbay of Clugny, a thousand peeces of gold, out his treasury and infinite almes deeds to the poore in particular. The tribute which hee demanded of the King of Toledo, was denied him a little before his death: but hee went in person against him, forced him to acknowledge him for his Lord, and to doe him homage, and in like manner the other Moores, who after his example had rebelled: and they hold that hee also led his army along the riuer of Ebro, by the confines of Cattelogne to Valence, where D. *Fernand* having taken great spoiles from the Moores, which reigned in those Marches, hee returned victorious into his country. His residence was for the most part at Leon, for certaine reasons.

And although that homebred examples did warne him to keepe his Estates vnited in one bodie, to haue the more power and authority, to withstand the attempts of all enemies, yet hee was resolu'd to assigne his children their portions in his lifetime: To D. *Sancho* hee appointed the realme of Castille, vnto the riuer of Pisuerga, towards Leon; and towards Nauarre limited by the riuer of Ebro, as hee had augmented it on that side, with the preiudice of his Nephew D. *Sancho Garcia*: To D. *Alphonso* his second sonne, he assigned the Kingdome of Leon in the *Asturies*, and E *Tramiera*, vnto the riuer Deua, which passeth by Ouiedo: and moreover hee gaue him part of Campos, and the towne of Astorga, and other lands in *Galicia* with the towne of Zebrero: To D. *Garcia* the youngest the realme of *Galicia*, withall that hee had conquered in Portugall. Hee did also indowe his two daughters, assigning to D. *Yrraca* the eldest the city of Zamora, and to D. *Eluira* the yongest, the city of Toro: but this diuision was not allowed, nor kept by his sonne D. *Sancho*, after his death, the which many say, was in the yeere of our Lord 1059.

A remarkable yeere by the credit which was giuen to the Cardinals of Rome, by the diligence of Pope *Nicholas* the second, a Sauoyard borne, who hauing called a councell at Saint *Jean* de Latran in Rome, provided that from thence forth the Pope should not be chosen but by the suffrages of the Cardinals, grounding this decree vpon the corruptions, troubles and seditions, which grew ordinarily vpon the election of Popes; holding it lesse dangerous to haue these indirect courses practised by few, then by the whole Clergy, or the people of Rome. This Decree is inserted in the three and twenty distinction, and begins. *In nomine domini &c.*

The

The writers of the Spanish History are not very certaine of the time of *D. Fernand*'s death; for those which seeme most exact, prolong his life vnto the yeere of our Lord 1067. The place where he died is also very doubtfull: but all agree that he was interred at *Saint Isidore* of Leon, dying full of contrition and repentance for his sinnes, as they hold his body for a holy relike, in the Kings chappel in that church. By this computation he should haue reigned two and thirty yeeres in Castille, and thirty or thereabouts in Leon. Wee finde no other thing touching the affaires of this King with foraine Princes, but only a contention betwixt his Ambassadors, and those of the Emperor *Henry*, at the councill of Florence, vnder *Victor* the second, the Emperor pretending that the Kings of Spaine should acknowledge his Maiesty and doe him homage as to their soueraine: but this question was decided by the councill, where it was sayd, B that seeing the Kings of Spaine had defended and conquered their Realmes by armes, without any aide from the Emperors, they were free and exempt from al acknowledge-ment or subiection to the Empire: whereof wee may read the glosse, vpon the Chap. *Adrianus Papa*, Distinc. 63. the like preiudice haue the Kings of France, the State of Venice, the Kings of England, and some others.

The Kings of  
Spaine doe not  
acknowledge  
the Empire.

Cattlogne.

*D. Raymond Berenger* the elder, Earle of Barcelona, a wise and valiant Knight, of whom we haue made mention, defended his country by his armes and wisdom, and enlarged his limits to the preiudice of the Moores, by the fauour of the other Christian Potentates of Spaine, which made warre against them, and the diuisions which were among these Arabian *Mahumetists*. At that time was Seneschall in Cattlogne (which was a dignity equal to that of the Constable or Marshalls in France) one called *Raymond Myron*. In his time *D. Guillen* the fat was Earle of Besalu, sonne to *Bernard Brisefer*, who dying in the yeere 1052. *D. Bernard Guillen* his second sonne succeeded him: at the same time was Earle of Cerdagne, *D. Guillen Raymond*, son to *Count Raymond Grefry*, who held it long, and had two sonnes, *D. Guillen Iordain*, who was Earle after him, and *D. Bernard Guillen*, who was also Earle of Cerdagne: and to make cleere the alliances of this house of Cattlogne, we finde that *D. Almodis*, wife to *Count Raymond Berenger*, was issued from the house of the Earles of Carcaffone, being strongly allied, especially with the Lords of Bearne and Narbone, and the Earles of Tolouse, Bigorre and other great houses of France. From the same house of Carcaffone, was issued *Emengarde*, married to the Vicont of Besiers, both which in the yeere of our Lord 1068. yeelded vnto *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelona, all the interest and right which they might pretend vnto the Earldomes of Carcaffone, Tolouse, Cominges, Rodes and Minerue: by meanes whereof, this house of Barcelona, had great Siegneuries, and pretensions in France, and from that time did enioy the towne of Carcaffone: about which time the towne of Perpignan was built.

### D. Sancho Fernandes the second of that name, and the second King of Castille.

E

Castille.  
An. 1067.

6. IN the yeere of our redemption 1067. the realmes of Castille, Leon and Galicia, were diuided betwixt the children of *D. Fernand* deceased, and Castille fell to *D. Sancho Fernandes*, furnished the valiant. Leon to *Alphonso Fernandes* the second, whom they called the Braue: and Galicia to *D. Garcia*, with that which hee had conquered in Portugal. Adding vnto these *D. Sancho Garcia*, who held the Kingdome of Nauarre, and *D. Sancho Ramires*, reigning in Arragon, wee finde that at one instant there were reigning in Spaine, three grand-children to *D. Sancho* the Great, King of Nauarre. The Kings of Nauarre and Arragon last named, made a league against *D. Sancho* King of Castille, but their quarrels and exploits are obscure and vncertaine, at the least they did him no great harme. Whilst that *D. Sancho*, the mother of *D. Fernand*: F three children liued, they continued in reasonable good termes, for hee remained at Leon her owne inheritance, so as *Sancho* durst not attempt any thing against *D. Alphonso*,

A *Alphonso*, to whom it was assigned, hee being dead, which was the second yeere of *D. Sancho Fernandes* King of Castille, they fought all occasions to spoile one another. *D. Garcia* King of Galicia began first, taking from his sister *D. Vrraca*, Lady of Zamora a part of her territorie, the which hee vsurped. *D. Sancho* King of Castille, who demanded no better subiect, embraced his sisters quarrel; and for her cause refused to make warre in Galicia; but the Noblemen and Knights of his counceel, were not of opinion, that hee should goe to armes, for a matter which might bee reconciled by some milder course. Amongst those which did contradi& the Kings ambitious desire, were *D. Garcia de Cabra*, and *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, saying, that if, contrary to their aduice, hee were resolved to inuade Galicia, hee should first provide to bee in good termes with *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, that hee might haue free passage for his army through his country, and to conduct his victuals and munition from Castille into Galicia. To this end the two Kings had two enteruewes at Sahagun, where in the beginning *D. Alphonso* seemed intractable: yet in the end hee yeelded to giue his brother *D. Sancho* passage; and whatsoeuer hee demanded: wherefore in the yeere 1071. warre was begunne against the King *D. Garcia* who had recourse vnto his brother. *D. Alphonso* of Leon, to bee aided by him; but hee excused himselfe, saying that hee would remaine indifferent, and not deale, for the one nor the other: so as *D. Sancho* entering Galicia with great forces, after many encounters hee became master thereof, dispossessed his brother of all his country, and tooke him prisoner. So the raigne of this King ended the C fourth yeere after his coming to it: yet some authors say, that this was done, after *D. Sancho* had dispossessed his brother *D. Alphonso* of the Kingdome of Leon, and forced him to become a Monke, and to take vpon him the habit of *Saint Benet*: the which they report after this manner: *D. Sancho* being discontented with the diuision of portions which *D. Fernand* had made betwixt him and his brethren, thinking that they had done him wrong to take from him the souerainety of these Kingdomes, being the eldest. As soone as *D. Sancho*, their mother was dead, hee set vpon his brother *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, and at his first entry wonne a battaile at a place called Plantaca: but the Leonois rallied againe together, they gaue an other battaile to *D. Sancho*; and defeated him vpon the river of Carrion neere to Gulpejora, whereas the King *D. Alphonso* commanded that they should not pursue the Castillians.

Vrraca be-  
twixt the  
three brethern  
sonnes to *D. Fernand*,  
King of Ca-  
stille.

*D. Garcia*  
King of Gal-  
icia dispossessed.

*D. Alphonso*  
King of Leon,  
dispossessed by  
his brother.

Then was *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, in *D. Sancho*'s army, as his vassall, who excusing this losse with good reasons, and comforting his King, hee reuiued his courage: so as hauing gathered his troupes together, he came and charged the Leonois the morning following, being heauy with sleepe, hauing made good cheere for their victory gotten the day before, and not doubting any enemy, putting them all in disorder, and to a shamefull flight, hauing slaine and taken many; then hee pursued this aduantage in such manner, as hee besieged the King *D. Alphonso* in *Saint Maries* Church of Carrion, where he thought to saue himselfe, and carried him away prisoner to Burgos.

A while after at the sute and instance of *D. Vrraca*, sister to these Kings, and of E *D. Pedro Ansures*, hee was set at liberty vpon condition: that hee should goe into the Monasterie of Sahagun; and take vpon him the habit of *Saint Benet*: but hee staid not long there, being forced to enter into it: for by the aduice of the same *D. Pedro Ansures*, hee left Sahagun, and went to Toledo, to King *Almon* or *Almeon*, a Moore, who receiued him verie courteously; and intreated him honourably, whilst hee remained with him, hauing taking an oath of fidelitie of him.

Hospitality of  
King *Almeon*,  
a Moore,

Hee lodged him in a faire great house; heere vnto his Palace, which they imagine was in that place where as now the Monasterie of religious women of the conception doth stand, to the end that hee might there enioy the company of the Christian Musarabes, which dwelt in that city.

Y Thether came three Knights, sent from his sister *Vrraca*, to keepe him company. *D. Pedro*, *D. Gonçal* and *D. Fernand Ansures*, brethren, of the country of Leon, who brought with them many other Christians, the which were entertained by the King *Almeon*: During this exile *D. Alphonso* gaue himselfe to hunting and country



country sports: and taking great delight in a certaine place of the territory of Toledo, A where there were the ruines of old buildings, the King D. *Almenon* to gratefie him, gaue him leaue to build them vp againe, and to plant it with Christians, the which is at this day called *Bribuega*, yet D. *Alphonso* grew to bee suspected of the Moores, who feared that hee sought meanes to seize vpon the citie of Toledo, wherevpon *Almenon* was perswaded to kill him, notwithstanding hee would not violate the lawes of Hospitality, although hee were a *Mahumetiste*, but was content onely to take a new oath of him.

Whilest that the King D. *Alphonso* past his timethus in exile, D. *Sancho* his brother, made himselfe maister of the citie, and of all the Kingdome of Leon, where hee caused himselfe to bee crowned King. Hee beeing thus dispossessed, they say hee went against D. *Garcia* King of Galicia, to intreat him after the same manner. The diuision which was then in Galicia, betwixt the King and a great part of his Nobility, made the enterprise more easie; for D. *Garcia* beeing growne a tyrant, spoiling and treating his subjects vnworthely, hee gouerned himselfe after the appetit of a slaue more then was fit. This woman (who some say, was a slaue infranchised) put the Nobilitie and gentrie, in fauour or disgrace with the King (most commonly by false reportes) as hee pleased, which was the cause of many inconueniences: So as in the end growing insupportable, certaine knights slue her in the Kings presence.

Vpon this occasion the Nobilitie was diuided, and the Realme full of troubles and factions, some following the Kings party who would reuenge this murder, and others supporting the murderers. The affaires beeing in this Estate, the King D. *Sancho* entered Galicia with a mighty army, against whom D. *Garcia* finding himselfe too weak, hee abandoned his country, and had recourse vnto the Moores, demanding aide of them for the recovery thereof, promising to make them strars of that which hee should get from D. *Sancho* his brother: but the Moores answered him wisely, that hee who had not the heart to defend his owne, should not bee able to inuade an other: yet the Moore beeing liberall and courteous, gaue him rich presents, and sent him backe, refusing to ingage himselfe in that action. D. *Garcia* hauing gathered some men together, but not sufficient to effect any matter of importance, doubtfull what course to take, hee fell to spoile his owne country, and making his retreat into Portugal, where hee had recovered some places, hee did mightily annoy D. *Sancho*s garisons, but it continued not long: for D. *Sancho* hauing raised an army, came against D. *Garcia*, fought with him, defeated him, and tooke him prisoner, neere vnto Saint *Iren*, and sent him to the castle of Lune, with a good gard, from whence hee departed not vntill his death, the which happened in the time of D. *Alphonso* his Nephew about the yeere of our Lord 1081. who commanded hee should bee buried with irons on his feete, at Leon, in the Church of Saint *Isidore*: by this meanes the King D. *Sancho* remained Lord and Maister of all Galicia, and other lands of that partage. By this it appeeres there is difference in the time, and in the meanes of their dispossessing. All this did not satisfie D. *Sancho*s ambition, for hee would in like manner stripp his sisters, D. *Vrraca* and D. *Eluira*, of the lands and places which they held, by their fathers will, and laied siege to the towne of Zamora.

The inhabitants much affected to their Princeesse, doing their indeauors for the defending of her rights, had with her consent chosen for their captaine a knight, called D. *Arias Gonçales* who had nourished her, vnder whose conduct they made many gallant sallies vpon the besiegers, with losse of either side. Whilest that D. *Sancho* was busie at this vaine attempt, a desperat knight of Castille, called *Vellides Asaulphe*, or *Delphos*, went out of the city with a resolution to kill the King, and found such an opportunity, as hee strooke him dead with a boarpeare, without any let, and then retired himselfe to the place from whence hee came, notwithstanding that hee was pursued by *Cid Ruiz Diaz* and others. Thus the valour and conquests of D. *Sancho* King of Castille (which could not bee restrained by two great Kings) were made vaine, when as hee would attempt against a woman: an argument of the vanity

D. Garcia King of Galicia made a prey to his enemy, by reason of his tyrannies.

D. Sancho's ambition stayed by the judgment of God.

A vanity of humane enterprises, and that there is a greater power which controules them. This death happened in the yeere of our Lord 1073: hauing reigned in Castille about fixe yeeres and nine monthes: by reason whereof the army disbanded, euery one returning to his home, except the Castillans, who would needes continue the siege before Zamora for a time. The Kings body was carried to the Monastery of Saint Saluador of Oña. The inscription which is in that Monastery shewes that hee died fixe yeeres later, but there is an error, for that *Garibay* affirms, that hee had seene ancient writings, witnessing that D. *Alphonso* his brother reigned then in Castille.

If the Castilian brethren were at discord, they of Nauarre had as little charity amongst them: for betwixt D. *Sancho Garcia*, and D. *Raymond*, there was enuy and secret hatred, the which burst out in time: for D. *Raymond* holding some strong places, and some in his brothers gouernment, and hauing by his bounty drawne many vnto him, who were discontented with the present Estate of the realme, he rebelled, meaning to defend these places hee held: but the King D. *Sancho*, and the Nobility of Nauarre did easily expell him. But there fell out a new trouble for the Nauarrois, to demand reason of the Kings of Castille, who detained from him the territory of Bureau, Castille the old, and other places.

D. *Raymond* beeing thus expelled, had no recourse to any Christian Princes his neighbours, who (as hee doubted) would detest his attempts, but hee fled vnto the Moores, the enemies of our faith, and making warre with them against his brother, there was a battaile giuen neere to Rueda, or Penalen, in the which D. *Sancho* was slaine: this was about the yeere of our Lord 1076. hauing reigned two and twenty yeeres: he had by his wife D. *Plaisance*, amongst other children, D. *Ramir Sanchez*, and two D. *Garcias*: D. *Ramir* being very young, vpon the newes of his fathers death, put himselfe vnder the protection of D. *Sancho Ramires*, King of Arragon, whom also the Noblemen and Knights of Nauarre called to raigne ouer them, by reason of the minority of their King to oppose him against the enterprises of the bad. D. *Raymond*, who pursued his designe to make himselfe King of Nauarre, and had already seized vpon *Pampelone*, and vsurped the title of King there, but hee was vertuously repulst, so as beeing deceived of his ambitious hopes, not knowing what to resolute, hee retired to the King of Saragosse, a Moore, where hee past his banished life, and by the bounty of this Pagan, enioyed certaine Lands and places, which descended afterwards to a Niece of his called *Marquise*, wife to *Aznar Lopez*, a Knight, who made a donation of Saint *Maria Maior*, to the Collegiall Church of Saragosse, in the time of D. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre, called the Warrior: the two *Garcias* bretheren, sonnes to the deceased King of Nauarre, fled into Castille, to the King D. *Alphonso*, the mightiest Prince at that time in Spaine.

Nauarre. The Brethren of Nauarre at discord,

D. Sancho King of Nauarre slaine. An. 1076.

D. Raymond of Nauarre retires to the Moores.

## E D. Sancho Ramires the second King of Arragon, and chosen sixteenth King of Nauarre.

7. D. *Sancho Ramires* had reigned some yeeres in Arragon, when as hee was called to the crowne of Nauarre. Hee had married a Lady, daughter to the Earle of Virgel, called D. *Felicia*, by whom hee had three sonnes. D. *Pedro* who succeeded in his Kingdome. D. *Alphonso* who reigned after his brother, and D. *Ramir*, a religious man in the Monastery of Saint Ponce of Tomeres, neere to Besiers, and afterwards King by the decease of his brother D. *Alphonso*, who left no children. Hee had also one bastard, called D. *Garcia* who was bishop of Iacca. In this Prince the two realms of Nauarre and Arragon were vniued, 42. yeeres after the separation thereof: he was warlike and polittique, and withall very zealous in the Romaine religion: for hee changed the ceremonies of the Gothes, which the Christians vsed, and brought in those of the Romish church, it may be by the counsell held at Iacca, vnder this King, when as the Bishoprike

An. 1073.

Genealogie of Arragon and Nauarre.

of Arragon was first established there: to enrich which feat, besides the tithes, there A  
were certaine portions appointed out of the conquests which they should get from  
the Moores of Sarragosse and Tudele: and in steed of the ciuill Lawes of the Gothes,  
hee brought in the common law of the Empire into his iurisdiction. There is a vo-  
lume extant of particular lawes, giuen by this King to them of Iacca, which is inserted  
amongst the customes of Nauarre at this daie: but the chiefe acts of religion done by  
him, and other Princes in his time, were to indow churches, for the Monasteries, Col-  
ledges and Bishopricks of Spaine, haue thousands of preuiledges, donations and ex-  
emptions granted vnto them.

Catallogne.

A council at  
Barcelone.The Countesse  
Almodia of  
Barcelone pos-  
sessed by her  
sonne in 1170.

Arabians.

Seditions, re-  
uoltes and in-  
surractions a-  
mongst the Ara-  
bian Princes.

There is mention made of a counsell assembled in the towne of Parcelone at the  
pursute of D. Raymond Berenger, the elder, and at the request of D. Almodia his wife, B  
whereas Cardinal Hugues, Legatto Pope Alexander the second, or Gregory the seuenh  
did precede, for the certaine time is not set down, but it is only said, that it was celebra-  
ted about the yeere 1071. there it was decreed that Clergy men should liue chastly,  
for that (as the History saies) many of them were married, according to the introduc-  
on of King Viriza the Goth: and after the example of the Arragonois, the seruice of  
the Musarabes was left, and the Romaine of Saint Gregory receiued in Catallogne.  
In the same council they treated of secular affaires, as of the gouernment of the coun-  
try of Catallogne, of the Earles house, of the Estate of the Nobles, of their names and  
titles, distinguished by this Earle, into Viconts, Barons and Vauassours: and such like.  
During the assembly of this council D. Pedro Raymond, eldest sonne vnto the Earle D. C  
Raymond Berenger, poisoned D. Almodia his mother in law, fearing that shee should  
labour to deprive him of his fathers succession to aduance her owne children: where-  
vpon hee was iustly disinherited: thus the wicked reaped what hee feared. In the same  
country died D. Armingol Earle of Vrgel, in the yeere of our Lord 1075. to whom  
his sonne succeeded, carrying the same name: and the yeere following 1076. died the  
Earle D. Raymond Berenger, the elder, hauing gouerned in the county of Barcelone  
longer then any of his Predecessors, that is one and fortie yeeres. Hee diuided his  
Earldome betwixt his two sonnes, D. Raymond Berenger, and D. Berenger Raymond, so  
the great hindrance of the commonweale, giuing moreover vnto D. Raymond Beren-  
ger the Earldome of Carcaffone. By this Earle D. Raymond the customary lawes  
were ordained, taken out of the volume of the old Gothique lawes, amended and re-  
formed.

8. The diuisions of the Moores in Spaine, aboue mentioned, doe admonish vs to  
speake some-thing of the turbulent Estate of the Arabians in the East, and in like man-  
ner of them of Maroc, which was the cause of a great alteration in Spaine. Returning  
then to the Caliphe Marwan, who was in armes against Salin, the sonne of Asmulin,  
who had seized vpon the Regions of Persia and Syria: wee say that by the defeat of  
Marwan, and his death, Egypt was also conquered by Salin: so as all that which the  
Arabians held in the East, did obey Asmulin and Casaban his companion and  
councellor.

They beeing dead, Abubalan surnamed Muamat, was Caliphe of Persia and Syria, E  
and Salin the sonne of Asmulin kept Egypt to himselfe, and gaue the beginning to a  
soueraigne feat in that country, the which hee established at Caire, cauting himselfe  
to be called Caliphe. Against Abubalan, did rise many enemies in Syria and Ara-  
bia, of the faction of Marwan, whom they did beleue was yet liuing, so as there  
died great numbers of that nation, in diuers encounters.

After the death of Abubalan, his brother Abdala succeeded in the Easterne Empire  
of Sarrazins or Arabians, but an other of the same name aspiring to that dignity, flue  
him, and held the throne about the yeere 756. at which time there were great troups of  
Turkes begonne to disperse themselves ouer all Armenia, the which did ouerrunne  
and spoile the Sarrazins country, who incountred them in diuers sharpe and blou-  
die batailles. After this Abdala, who reigned about some twentie yeeres, his F  
sonne Mada Amadi was Caliphe, who held the Royall seate nine yeeres, and Moysé his  
sonne succeeded him, who liued but two yeeres, and left the place and dignity to

A to Aaron Caliphe, who they write was very iust and charitable to Christians, and had  
sought the friendship of Charles the Great, King of France, of Alphonso the Chast raig-  
ning in Spaine, and of other Christian Princes of his time, to whom hee sent Amba-  
sadors and presents, and they to him.

Hauing reigned three and twenty yeers, he left, after his death, the dignity of Caliphe  
in question betwixt his two children, Muamat and Abdala, who after great effusion  
of blood, agreed to raigne with equall title and authority. Muamat transported the  
seat of his Empire to Bagadat, a towne built by him, neere vnto old Babylon, and  
would reside no more at Damas. At that time the Empire of the Arrabians and  
Sarrazins was diuided into foure great Potentats, wherof that of the East and of Bag-  
B dat, retained the title of Caliphe, which signifies King or ruler. That of Egypt called  
himselfe Sultan, which is as much to say, as Emperour. At Cairon, a great and migh-  
ty towne, built within the country of Affricke, in the time of Oaxen, some fise and  
twenty leagues distant from Tunis, reigned an other Caliphe, and at Maroc (which E-  
state was come to them of the family of Aben Alabeci) reigned a Miralmumin, from  
which great Potentats did afterwards grow, the Kingdomes of Fez, Alger, Tunes and  
others. After Mahumad reigned Impracl, who left the Empire of the East to his  
sonne Mamum, who held it with great reputation: but after him the Sarrazins power  
began to decline in the East, by their continuall seditions and ciuill dissensions, where-  
by the Turkes had meanes to settle a Monarchie, the which beganne about the yeere

Foure great  
Potentats of  
Mahumet  
sett in Egypt  
and Affricke.

C of Christ one thousand, being called by Mahumet Prince or Gouernor of Persia, who  
made warre against the Caliphe of Bagadat, in which they serued him: but falling after-  
wards to quarrel with him, they defeated him, and seized vpon Persia, where they did  
choose for their first King, their General Tangrolipix, and fence partly by force, and  
partly by an accord, they delt so with the Sarrazins, as their power declining, the  
name and Empire of the Turkes hath continued to firme and mighty, vnto our daies.  
The Miralmumins of Maroc, being farre from these tempests of the East, maintained  
their dignity in their race, and nation, but not without the like furies and inraged ap-  
petites of rule: so as hauing beene held many yeeres by them of the lineage of Aben  
Alabeci, they were set vpon and subdued by an other race of Princes Moores, called  
D Almorauides, wherof Isaph Aben-Tefin was the chiefe, who made himselfe Monarke  
in Affricke, ouer all the Kings and Potentats which did raigne there, about the yeere  
1068. and extended his power into Spaine, as we will shew.

### D. Alphonso the sixth of that name, the third King of Castille, and fise and twen- tith of Leon.

E

9. D. Sancho Fernandes, King of Castille, being slaine as we haue sayd, by the treason  
of Velldes Dolphos, or Ataulphe: D. Vrraca did presently aduertise her brother  
D. Alphonso, who remained at Toledo vnder the protection of King Almenon. This  
Moore hauing many spies amongst the Christians, had already intelligence of the  
murther, and obseruing the actions of D. Alphonso, hee was resoluéd to stay him, if hee  
should offer to depart without his priuity and leaue. D. Alphonso was wonderfully  
peruaded by D. Pedro d'Ansures (who walking about the towne had by chance met  
the messenger which brought him the newes of the death of the King his brother) so  
depart as secretly as he could, fearing some trechery in the Moorish King, but D. Al-  
F phonso did otherwise, wherein he wrought wisely for himselfe, for he doubted that the  
King Almenon hauing aduice of what had past, did watch him at the passage: where-  
fore comming freely vnto him, hee read D. Vrracas letters in his presence, demanding  
his aduice, leaue and aide, to goe and take possession of the Realme of Castille. King  
Almenon was much pleased, in that hee did not distrust him, imbraced him  
lovingly

Griefe of the  
bounty of King  
Alphonso 6.  
King of Cas-  
tile and Leon.

lously, reioyced with him at the change of his estate, suffered him to depart at his pleasure, and furnished him with money and other things necessary to honour his voyage, and to assure his affaires, telling him freely what his intent was, to stay him prisoner if hee had shewed himselfe so ingrate, as to distrust him who had honored him, and entertained him so lovingly during his exile: and before his departure hee caused him to renew the oth, neuer to bee contrary to him, nor to his sonne *Hizen*. Whilest that *D. Alphonso* prepared himselfe to come into Castile, to enioy his new Kingdom, the siege of Zamora continued: for the Knights of Castile and the Prelats, hauing performed the funerals of the deceased King, in the Monastery of Ogna, were returned before the city, vnder the conduct of *D. Diego Ordognes*, Earle of Lara, beeing much incensed, that the murthrer of the King had laued himself within their walles: wherefore they were resolu'd to batter it all they could.

The law of de-  
fying a town.

Combat of one  
Knight against  
many.

They write that *D. Diego Ordognes* desired the citie, according to the Lawes of duels or combats, amongst the which it was decreed, that any knight that would defende a chiefe towne, was bound to fight against fise knights, one after another, changinge every time his armes and horse, and taking (if hee pleased) bread dipped thrice in wine or water: wherefore *D. Diego* submitting himselfe to the rigour of this Lawe, offered to fight against fise knights, whereof hee slue three, the which were sonnes to *D. Arias Gonçales*: *D. Pedro*, *D. Diego* and *D. Roderigo Arias*; and that then the Iudges appointed, made the combats to cease, not declaring who was victor, notwithstanding that the Earle *D. Ordognes*, offered to end it, and to fight against those two which remained: some say, that *D. Roderigo* beeing wounded to the death, strooke at his aduersarie with all his force, thinking to part him in two, but the sword falling vpon the horse-neck cut the reines; and hurt him verie sore; wherewith the horse beeing moued, carried the knight out of the lists, the which was not lawfull for him that would haue the honour of the combat. Heerevpon the King *D. Alphonso* came to the campe before Zamora, where hee was receiued without any contradiction for King of Castile, Leon, the Asturias and Galicia, and of those Lands which the King *D. Fernand* his father had taken from the crowne of Nauarre. They say that the Castilians, before they would acknowledge him for their King, would haue him purge himselfe by oth, that hee was not acquainted, nor consenting vnto the death of *D. Sancho* his brother: which oth was required of him by *Cid Ruis Diaz*, onely, amongst all the Castilians, in the churches of Saint *Gadee* of Burgos, a place appointed for that businesse.

Ancient and  
religious cus-  
tome, to purge  
themselves by  
oth.

This manner of purging themselves by oth, of grieuous crimes imposed, but not proued, was vsuall in Spaine in those times, with great ceremonies, and religious terror in many churches and places consecrated, where there were great assemblies of people of all sorts, whereof did follow many horrible Iudgements of God, of those that were periured, the contempt of Religion, how impure soeuer, being detestable and abominable before God. The King *D. Alphonso* was about thirtie yeeres old, when he beganne to raigne, and was surnamed the Braue, for that he was valiant, and did effect great enterprises.

Genealogie of  
Castile and  
Leon.

Wee finde that hee married sixe wiues, and had the companie of two friends, nobly descended, by whom hee had many children. The first of his wiues was called *Infanta* a Spaniard: The second was *D. Constance*: The third *D. Maria*, daughter to the King of Seuille, called *Almuncamuz* or *Benabet*, *Aben Amet*, a Moore: whom hee married after that hee had taken the citie of Toledo, and was before called *Caida* or *Zaida*, of whom was borne the Infant *D. Sancho*, whom the Moores slue in the war. Of *D. Constance* was borne *D. Vrraca*, heire to the King her father: the which was twice married, once to Count *Raymond* of the house of Bourgongne, and of the bloud royall of France: brother to *Guy* Archbishop of Viennne, and afterwards Pope, called *Calixtus*, from whom issued *D. Sancho*, and *D. Alphonso Raymond*, who was King of Castile. And for her second husband shee married *D. Alphonso*, King of Nauarre and Arragon: The fourth wife of *D. Alphonso* the Braue, was *D. Bertha* of Tuscan: The fifth *D. Isabella*, a Spaniard, of whom was borne *D. Sancho*, wife to *D. Roderigo*, and

*A* and *D. Eluira* married to *Roger* first King of Naples and Sicilie. And the sixth and last wife was *D. Beatrix*, a French woman: Besides all these lawfull wiues hee had the companie of *D. Ximena Nuges de Gusman*, by whom he had two daughters: the first whereof *D. Eluira* was married to an Earle of Tholoufa and *S. Giles*, called *Raymond*, who had by her three sonnes, *D. Bertrand*, *D. Willyam*, and *D. Alphonso Jordain*, who were all Earles of Tholoufa. The second called *D. Theresia*, who had to husband *D. Henry*, of the Bloud of the Princes of Lorraine, borne at Befançon, the stemme of the Kings of Portugall. For of this marriage issued *D. Alphonso Henriquez*, first king of Portugal. These three Knights, *Raymond* of Tholoufa, *Raymond* of Bourgongne, and *Henry* of Lorraine, did serue the King *D. Alphonso* the Braue, happily and valiantly in his warres against the Moores: in requitall whereof, hee gaue them Estates, honours, and his daughters in marriage. Wee finde that he had another friend also of a Noble House, whose name is buried in forgetfulness. Of all this generation and allyance there shalbe often mention made in the discourse of this Historie. This king *D. Alphonso* was a worthy Prince, vertuous, a louer of iustice, and of his people, religious and zealous to the Sea of Rome, after the manner of his ancestors, so as he was most esteemed of all the Christian Princes of his time.

Henry of Lorraine the 8. m. of the house of Portugall.

Disposition of  
D. Alphonso  
King of Castile  
and Leon.

Moores.

He shewed himselfe a friend and thankfull to king *Almenon* of Toledo the Moore, whose countrey was inuaded by them that held the towne of Cordoua: for hee ledde a great armie to his ayde: yet this Moore seeing what great forces *D. Alphonso* had with him, and seeing him lodged at Olias, two leagues from the Towne, grew iealous that he would breake the league, but he shewed by the effects that he was of a noble and generous disposition: for with him he pursued them of Cordoua, and plagued them in such sort, as for a long time they would not aduenture to make warre against Toledo.

The Moores of Seuille and Cordoua, Tributaries to the king of Castile, by a Treatie made with the king *D. Fernand*, did protract the time to send the tribute. Whereupon the king *D. Alphonso* sent *D. Roderigo Diaz*, called *Cid*, who being come into Andaloufia, found all in armes and combustion: the Moores of Grenado and their turbulent king *Almundasar*, hauing begun warre against *Almuncamuz*, King of Seuille, with the helpe and fauour of some Christians, whereof *Fortun Sanchez*, whom they held to be sonne-in-law to *D. Garcia* king of Nauarre, and *D. Lopes Sanches* his brother, with *D. Garcia Ordognes*, and a knight of Castile, whose name was *D. Diego Perez*, were the chiefe: to whom *Cid* sent to let them vnderstand, that *Almuncamuz* king of Seuille was vassall to his king, and therefore intreated them to forbear, and not to presse him by armes, but they did not regard it: wherefore *Cid* embraced the quarrell in such sort, as with the troups he had brought out of Castile, and the Moores which hee had found fit to carrie armes, he gaue a great and bloudie defeate to the Granadins, and their allies, and tooke *D. Garcia Ordognes*, *D. Lopes Sanches*, and *D. Diego Perez*, about mentioned prisoners, whom notwithstanding he deliuered within three dayes after vpon this consideration: the king of Seuille hauing much honored and thanked *Cid Ruis Diaz*: he payed him what he ought vnto the king of Castile, quit him the whole prey, and moreover presented him with great gifts. Here did *Cid* purchase the name of *Campeador*: But for that all the Moores, which ought tribute in Andaloufia, had not payed, the king *D. Alphonso* went in person to force them, leauing *Cid* in Castile sicke. In the meane time the Moores of Medina Zelin, or Celi, began to ouer-run the lands of Saint Stephen of Gormas, where they did much harme; against whom *Cid*, who was somewhat recovered, assembled the forces of Castile, and chased them out of the confines: and as he was of a great courage, and an irreconcilable enemy to the Moores, not respecting which of them he annoyed, hee past on, and entred the countrie neere vnto Toledo, where he put all to fire and sword, and led away about 7000. prisoners of all sexes and ages. This action did so discontent the king *D. Alphonso*, by reason of the league hee had with king *Almenon*, as without respect of this knights valour, nor the great seruices which he had done vnto the crowne of Castile, thrust on moreover by the counsell of some which enuid the others vertue, and did aggravate his offence, gaue him commandement to depart his countrie within few dayes: Whereupon *Cid* departed, hauing left

Christian knights in pay with the Moores.

Exploits of  
Cid Ruis Diaz  
in Andaloufia

Excess of Cid  
Ruis Diaz, or  
his vassal  
out of Castile.

left his wife and children at Saint Peter of Cardegna: but he was followed by about 300. horse, and a great number of foot, who loved him in particular: and with this troupe began to make violent warres against the Moores. He entred their countrie by Atiença, and wonne Castreion by an ambush which hee layd for the Moores, whilst that *Aluaro Ianes Minaya* his cousin, did ouer-runne the countrie vnto Alcalá de Henares, from whence he returned to Castreion with great spoiles. And for that Castreion was vpon the frontiers of king D. *Alphonso*, and for some other respects, *Cid* abandoned it, and went vnto Hariza, Cetiua, and Alcocer, and striking great terror in all the countrey of Calarajub, Teruil and Tierar, hee surprised Alcocer in Arragon.

At that time the towne of Valencia did belong to the king of Toledo, and was gouerned for king *Almenon* by a More, called *Abubacar*, to whom the Inhabitants of Calarajub, and the countrey thereabouts, made their daily complaints of the wrongs and losses they received by *Cid*, demanding ayde from him: whereupon *Abubacar* sent them two Captaines, called *Faris* and *Galuc* with good troupes; but that could not defend them: for *Cid* ioyning with them, defeated them, and put them to a shamefull flight, carrying great spoyle to Alcocer, which was his retreat; from whence he sent to king D. *Alphonso*, by his cousin D. *Aluaro Ianes Minaya*, thirty horses, with as many swordes tyed to the saddles. This did somewhat pacifie the King, who did willingly see *Aluaro Ianes*, but for all this he did not call *Cid* from banishment: yet he suffered all men freely to go to the warres with *Cid* against the Moores, except Toledo. *Cid* desirous to make warre, and wanting meanes, hee tooke money vpon the castle of Alcocer, and crossing to Xalon and Monreal, he stayed there some dayes.

11 About this time D. *Raymond Ber nger* the elder, Earle of Barcelone, being deceased, his sonne D. *Raymond* called Flaxen-head, succeeded him, in the year 1076. When as neere to Cattelogne, D. *Armengol*, Earle of Vrgel, wonne from the Mores, Sanahuya, Guizona, Balager, and other places of that countrie.

The same year dyed *Almundus* king of Seuille, leauing his Realme to his sonne of the same name, who reigned also at Cordoua, and in a manner ouer all Andalusia: so the discord betwixt these Arabians made Cordoua (which had bene lately Princeesse ouer other cities) to be subiect and slaueto Seuille. *Cid* hauing taken some good order for his affaires, and assembled good troupes of souldiers, hee began to torment the Mores of the streight of Sarragossa, & pressed them in such sort, as *Almundus* king of Sarragossa, made a treatie with him greatly to his honor, and receiued him into his citie, by whose meanes he drew many Christian Knights, which did willingly receiue pay of these Moores, when they were in armes one against another, that they might helpe to defeat them. Thither D. *Aluaro Ianes* came vnto him with a good number of souldiers, being desirous to march vnder the command of so valiant a Captaine as *Cid* was; who vnderstanding of the good reception which the king had made vnto D. *Aluaro*, and how he had receiued his presents, was wonderfull glad. This year died *Almenon* king of Toledo; for whose quarrell *Cid* had bene banished out of Castile: A Prince who had gouerned the kingdome long, and with whom the king D. *Alphonso* entertained true and firme friendship whilst he liued, and with his sonne and successor *Hizen*, who reigned onely one year, and died in the year, 1078. after whom a brother of his called *Hiaya A'cadurbile*, obtained the Crowne of Toledo: a Prince of a bad disposition and cruell, numbred the 11. king of that citie, and the last of the Arabians or Moores.

12 During these things, the king D. *Alphonso* (discontented, that the Nauarrois had called D. *Sancho Ramires*, king of Arragon to raigne ouer them, rather then him, who had a better title, being coulin germaine to the king D. *Sancho Garcia* deceased, by the lawfull line, whereas the king of Arragon descended from a bastard:) seized vpon the towne of Nagera, and of all that iurisdiction, which was in the Prouince of Rioje, of which he made Gouvernor D. *Garcia de Cabra*, called *Crespo de Granon*, and intituled himselfe king of Nagera. The people of Guipulcoa, Biscaia, and Alaua, who were neighbors vnto it, hearing of this exploit, and considering the greatnesse of D. *Alphonso*, they thought good to leane vnto him, and to leaue the kings of Nauarre, who were of lesse power

A power: thus his iurisdiction increased, so as hee commanded from the towne of Saint Iagues, vnto Calaoorra. In this felicity he began to restore and re-people many townes of his countrie, destroyed in former warres, as Salamanca, Auila, Legouia, Medina del campo, Olmedo, Coca and Cuellar.

D. *Sancho Ramires* king of Arragon, hauing no good title to the Realme of Nauarre, for that D. *Ramir Sanchez*, sonne to the deceased king was yet living: and by the same reason the king D. *Alphonso* hauing no good reason to pretend it, they agreed together, to the preiudice of the pupill: by which accord Pampelone, with all the appurtenances (except Nagera and the other countrie whereof D. *Alphonso* was seized) remained to the king of Arragon, but vpon condition, that he should acknowledge himselfe

vassall in that respect to the king of Castile. This king had made warre against the Moores, whilst he was king of Arragon onely, and before he had obtained the kingdome of Nauarre, he had chased them out of the mountaines of Arragon, Sobrarbro and Ribagorça, and moreover had made warre against *Abderramen* king of Huesca, and taken the towne of Barbastro, at which seege *Armingo* Earle of Vrgel his father in law dyed. Hauing made his profit of the Realme of Nauarre, and in good termes with D. *Alphonso*, he continued his enterprises and conquests against that sect, and tooke from them the castell of Mugnonas about Secastilla in Ribagorça: then hee seized of Cobin and Pitilla, and had a great and cruell battaile neere vnto Sarragossa, and tooke from them Bolea, a place of great strength: to supply the charges of which warre, this

king was sometimes forced to vie the reuenues of the Clergie, his treasure beeing not able to furnish so great a charge: but the bishops of his countrie, who affected nothing more then to enrich their order and estate, opposed themselves against him, and afflicted him in such sort, as putting him in a vaine feare, that he was damned for this cause, they made him do penance, and to confesse publicly in the church of Roda, before S. *Vincent*'s altar, in the presence, and at the poursute of D. *Raymond Dalmace*, Bishop of that place, and D. *Garcia* the kings owne brother, Bishop of Iacca, that he had grievously offended. Thus these good fathers insulted ouer their Soueraigne: This fell out about the year, 1083: at which time D. *Ramir* sonne to D. *Sancho Garcia*, moued with great deuotion, gaue a new, and confirmed that which he had giuen to the monastier of Saint Mary of Nagera, which were the places of Torresilla, Cameros, Treuxan, Ribafresca, Lea, Villoria, and S. *Pelagius* of Cerezo, S. *Peter* of Torresilla, Saint Mary of Veraça, and other places and churches, making the Monkes and Abbot of that place where he is interred, his heires generall. The King D. *Sancho Ramires* did in the year 1083. winne the castell of Graos, the which he presented to the Monastier of Saint *Victorian*, to free himselfe of a certaine vow made by D. *Ramir* his father, and also for a satisfaction to the Clergie: but some write that soone after hee received a great overthrow about Roda, where they say, that the king D. *Alphonso* carrying a secret spleene, for that the King of Arragon did enioy the Realme of Nauarre, gaue secret ayde and fauour to the Moores, and was the cause of this defeate of Christians.

E *Almundus* King of Sarragossa being dead, he had left two sonnes, *Zuleima* who was king of Sarragossa, and *Aben Alay* in Denia, who being at dissention, sel to armes: either of them drawing Christian Noblemen and Knights to his part. *Cid Ruiz Diaz* was for *Zuleima*. D. *Pedro* of Arragon eldest sonne to the king D. *Sancho Ramires*, and Count *Raymond* of Barcelone fauoured *Aben Alphare*. Being in armes, and ouer-running the countrie, *Cid* comming from Huesca and Montaban, incounited the troupes of the Earle of Barcelone, with the king of Denia, whom he defeated, taking Count *Raymond* prisoner, who was soone after freely set at libertie by *Cid*, yet the Earle of Barcelone ioynd againe with the king of Denia, who came to beseege the castell of Almenar, whilst that *Cid* was at the seege of Escarpe: but he comming vpon them which were before Almenar, he put them againe to route, and returned victor to Sarragossa: after which he spoiled the countries of Mançon, Onda, and Burriana, notwithstanding that the Arragonois fought to hinder him, being their allies. On the other side, a More of Andalusia, called *Almufalas*, tooke from *Adofir*, another Moore, the castell of Grados, for the recouerie whereof, the king D. *Alphonso* went to armes, and beseeged

Nauarre and Arragon.

The Kings of Castile and Arragon spoile the heire of Nauarre of his Kingdome.

conquests of the king of Arragon vpon the Moores.

King made to do penance by the Bishops of his country.

An. 1083.

Princes of Spaine betray their fellow Christians.

Moores.

Faour and Countie of Cid

Castile.

Victories of D. Alphonso King, after vpon the realm of Nauarre.





Townes yielded  
to D. Alphon-  
so.

Gouernor put  
into Toledo.

Family of To-  
ledo in Castill.  
Primacie re-  
stored to To-  
ledo.

Riches of the  
church of To-  
ledo.

Debate for  
the primacie  
of Spaine.

Moors.

tion) would grant those articles aboue-mentioned to the Moores, especially to leaue A the great Molquee for the exercise of their superstition. By the conquest of this great citie, there came into the King of Castile power, without any resistance, the townes of Magueda, Escalona, Illescas, Canales, Olmos, Talauera, Coria Consuegra, Mora, Buytrago, Hita, Medina Celi, Atiença, Berlanga, Guadalajara; and by this meanes were also assured the townes of Salamanca, Auila, Segobia, Olma, Sepulueda, Coca, Cuellar, Roa and Olmedo, the citie of Toledo seruing as a rampar and fort, to all that lies betwixt it, Atiença, and Medina Celi, and by consequence to Palença, Coria, and citiy Roderigues: so as all that was within that circuit began to bee repaired and re-edified, the inhabitants beeing freed from their great feare of the Moores.

The first worke which the king D. Alphonso did after the taking of Toledo, was to re- payre the castell, forts, and bridges, giuing the gouernement thereof to *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, with a garrison of a thousand Gentlemen Castillans. The house and family of them of Toledo, which is famous in Spaine, is deriued from a Grecian knight, called *Peter Paleologue*, who came to serue D. Alphonso, at the siege of this city: but there are appa- rent arguments, that the name of the family of Toledo is more ancient: for there is a tombe to be seene in the royall Monasterie of Ogná, of a knight called *D. Gutierre Rode- rigues* of Toledo, who had bene Chamberlaine to D. Sancho Earle of Castile, who died in the yeare 990. of this D. Peter, they say, issued a sonne called D. *Illian Peres*, of him D. *Peter Illian*; of D. *Peter*, D. *Esseuan Illian*, whose image is to be seene on hori- backe in the church of that citie. Don *Esseuan* begat Don *Ican Esseuanes*, from whom C issued Don *Gonsalo Iaine* of Toledo, who lyes buried in Saint *Romaines* church, built in the highest part of the citie, by D. *Esseuan Illian*. D. *Vrraca*, the King D. Alphonso's sister beeing deceased this yeare 1083. Zamora whereof she was Ladie, was re-united to the crowne of Castile.

As king D. Alphonso desired nothing more, then to order things belonging to reli- gion, and the seruice of God: in a great assembly of Noblemen and Prelates, made to that end, restored the Primacie and Archiepiscopall seate of Spaine, to the church of Toledo, as it had bene in the time of the Gothes: and there was chosen for Archbishop a reuerent religious man, of the Order of S. *Bennet* called Friar *Bernard*, a French-man borne, who had bene sent some yeares before into Spaine, by *Hugo* Abbot of Clugny, at the request of D. Alphonso, for the reformation of the Mona- sterie of Sahagun, which at that time was the chiefe of all the Monasteries of Spaine: this Friar *Bernard* was found so sufficient for his learning and integritie of life, as he was held worthy to be preferred before all the Bishops and Abbots of the countrie, to the primacie of Spaine; which sea beginning by this King D. Alphonso, was so enriched by all the kings and chiefe Noble-men of Spaine, as besides the primacie and head Chan- cerie of Castile which it hath gotten, we may now say, that next vnto the Pope, hee is the richest Prelate in Christendome. Since that time the church of Toledo hath bene in great credit and authoritie among all those of Europe, and is serued with an incre- dible number of Clerkes: for besides the Archbishop, 14 dignities, 40. Chanoins with Prebends, and 50. Portionists, and other extraordinarie Chanoins, there are so many Priests, Chaplaines, Clerkes, Chantres, and other Officers that haue fee, as they ex- ceed 600. being very rich moreouer in Jewels and plate. The first Arch-bishop of To- ledo is called *Eugenius* the Martyr, from whom to Friar *Bartholomew Carranza* of Mi- randa, who was in our time; they number 76. The Archbishops of Farragone and Bra- ga, contend with him of Toledo for the primacie, neither will the Archbishops of S. *Ja- yans* & Sarragossa, acknowledge him for primate; which quarrell heaue vnto theselues.

To returne to our Historie, after that king *Hiaja Alcadurbile* had lost Toledo, he went into the territorie of Valencia, the which was held by *Abubacar*, terming himselfe king of that place, being but Gouernor some yeares before, vnder the kings of Toledo. This *Abubacar* was discreet and wise, and had gouerned that towne vprightly many yeares: who to assure his vsurped estate, had giuen his daughter in marriage to *Amet Aben-Hut* king of Sarragossa, successor to *Zuleima*. About the taking of Toledo or soone after, he died, leauing two of his sons for successors, who fell to so great discord, and by reason of them

A them, the people, as *Abocca Aben-Lope* Captaine of the fort, foreseeing the ruine of these two young Princes, & fearing that these diuisions would make them fall into the hands of the kings of Castile, was readie to abandon the place, and to retire to Morue- tro, and other lands in that quarter; which were his: but beeing better aduised by a Se- cretarie a Moore, called *Mahomad Aben-Hay*, hee stayed still to see what would bee the end of these factions of Valencia: some were of opinion rather then to yeeld vnto their aduersaries, to giue themselues vnto the king of Sarragossa; others to him that had bene king of Toledo; to whose father *Almenon* they had bene subiect. These troubles made work for *Hiaja Alcadurbile*, who lost neither time nor oportunitie, but came be- fore Valencia with such Mores as he could keep together, with whom soone after those

B ioyned which king D. Alphonso sent him, according to the treatie, vnder the condu& of *Aluaro Ianes Minaya*. Being thus camped, and rather solliciting the towne by good words and promises, then attempting it by armes, in the end they were receiued, and King *Hiaja* acknowledged for their lawfull Prince, to whom *Abocca Aben-Lope*, the captaine of the Fort, yeelded vp the keyes, and purchasing by that present the Kings fa- uour, and assured his estate and life: for king *Hiaja* hated him, for that he had bene al- waies of the faction of *Abubacar* his rebell: notwithstanding knowing him to bee wise, and a man of good seruice, hauing also performed so good an office, as to yeeld him vp the fort, he receiued him into grace, and honored him, leauing him in the same charge.

C At the same time *Hamet Aben-Hut* king of Sarragossa died, to whom succeeded *Ioseph Aben-Hut*. King *Hiaja* liued in such continuall distrust, as he would neuer giue leaue to *Aluaro Ianes Minaya* and his souldiers to returne home into Castile: for the intertain- ing wherof, this king was forced to ouer-charge his subiects with insupportable taxa- tions. There was a Captaine of the Moores in the towne of Xatiua, called *Aben-Macor*, who would not present himselfe before King *Hiaja*, being notwithstanding in all other things obedient vnto him, but the king not satisfied therewith, would haue him: where- fore he led an army of Moores and Castillans before Xatiua, and battered it in vaine: for besides that the beleaged defended themselues valiantly, they called vnto their suc- cours the king of Denia their neighbor, who seized vpon the place, and kept it in de- spite of king *Hiaja*, who was forced to retire, hauing lost, by ouer-pressing it, that which D he might haue enjoyed with a litle patience.

Whilst that D. Alphonso disposed of the affairs of his new conquest, & that the Mores more diuided then euer, not able to discern the miseries which pursued them, conti- nued their spoiles; and to stir vp new troubles among themselues, D. *Sancho Ramires* king of Nauarre and Arragon, being loth to liue idle, and to let slip such good occasions to inlarge his dominions, and to aduance the Christians power in Spaine. Hee won a bat- tell of the Moores, nere vnto a place called *Pietra Pisada*, took from them the towne of Arguedas, and defeated them in another battell nere to Tudela: and fought with them the third time about Morella; which incounters fell out happily for the Christians, in the yeare 1084. And the yere after, seeing that he had made great conquests in the cham- pion countrie, he gaue to his eldest son the realm of Sobratbre and Ribagorça, with the title of King, and a while after the Queene D. *Felicia* died, who was interred at S. Iean de la Pegna.

The estate of Barcelona, after the death of Cont *Raymond Berenger* the elder, was in great combustion by the emulation of his two sons D. *Berenger Raymond*, and D. *Raymond Berenger*, called *Flaxen head*, wherof the eldest held a part of the countrie of Catelogne: but D. *Raymond Berenger* the yonger commanded the greatest part. So as the Moores were not molested in their estates by them; but D. *Raymond Berenger* followed the partie of the Morish king of Denia, against him of Sarragossa, who enuied the o- thers estate, as we haue sayd. Yet some hold opinion, that it was D. *Raymond Berenger* the elder, their father, who carried armes against the King of Sarragossa: and that on the other side, D. *Raymond* *Flaxen head*, was his friend and ally. Only *Armingol* Earle of Vr- gel, did vertuously make war against the Mores, vpon the frontiers of Catelogne. D. *Raymond* *Flaxen head* had married a most vertuous Lady, called D. *Almodia*, daughter to *Robert Guichard* duke of Pouillia, by whom hee had D. *Raymond Arnould* which suc- ceeded him.

Seditious and trecheries am-  
ong the  
Moores of  
Spaine.

Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Ann. 1084.

Barcelona.

Parricide be-  
twixt the  
Princes of  
Castelle.

The Spanish Authors shew a great argument of this Ladies holinesse and religion, A for that in her husbands life time, she built the Monasterie of *Val de Mary*, of the Order of *Saint Benet*, in the Vicountie of Cabrera, and another of *Saint Daniel*, of the same Order neare vnto Gironne, where she professed her selfe, and liued a Nunne, after the decease of the king, her husband: in whose life time, some people of the Countie of Gerdagne, reuiued the Artian heresie, for the prevention whereof *D. Guillem Ierdain*, Earle of that place, was much troubled. The ambition of raigne was such betwixt the two Earles of Barcelona, as the eldest slue the youngest by treason, watching him as he went from Ostarlit to Gironne: this *D. Raymond* Flaxen-head, hauing reigned onely six years; a religious, mild, courteous, and bountifull Prince, and of a goodly presence, and therefore lamented of all men. This fratricide seeking to dissemble his treason, did weep much before the world, but he could not so well disguise his offence, but the truth was knowne.

Wherefore the Carrelans reiected him, and in the yeare 1082. chose Don *Raymond Arnould*, the son of the deceased, for their Earle, chasing away *D. Berenger Raymond*, who thinking by trecherie to take away another mans, lost his own patrimonie: and beeing poore and dishonored, and moreouer, by a iust iudgement of God, hauing lost his speech, he died in Ierusalem, whither he went in pilgrimage. During the infancy of this young Count *Raymond Arnould*, some tyrants of Prouence & Langue- doc did inuade the territories of Carcaffone, giuing the Earle of Barcelona to vnderstand, that they would hold it in fee of him, and do him homage, and restore it vnto him, when hee should come of age. This Earle *Raymond Arnould* was a great personage, C as wee shall heare hereafter.

Castile.

Returning to Toledo, after that the king *D. Alphonso* had giuen order for all things that were necessarie for the gard of that cittie, he returned to Leon, leauing *Cid Ruiz Diaz* for Governour: and for the ecclesiasticall and ciuill gouernement, *Queene Constance* his wife, falsely called by some *Beatrice*, with the Archbishop *D. Bernard* and others: during the kings absence, this Prelate beeing very zealous in his religion, and discontented that the Moores remaining in Toledo, did enioy the Mosquee maior, a rare and stately building, among all them of Spaine, layed a plot with the Queene to deprive them of it, and without any respect to the promise and oath made by the king, he seized thereon, and forbad the Moores the vse and entrie into this temple, the which D he did consecrate the Cathedrall church the fifth of October, 1086. All this was done suddenly, and without the kings priuitie: the Queene and Archbishop knowing well, that it would much displease him, but their hope was, that what had beene done would not be easily vndone, by reason of the respect the king carried to Prelates, and to the Christian religion; for the honouring whereof they had vndertaken it, the which succeeded according to their conceits: for the king beeing returned, and seeing that of force they would make him periured, being somewhat discontented with the Queene and *D. Bernard*, in the end he was pacified with such perswasions, that it was an vnworthie thing, that in an Archiepiscopall cittie, and the first in dignitie in Spaine, that infidels should enioy the greatest and most stately Temple, there to exercise their impieties and blasphemies, to the great dishonour of the king, and the name of Christians: and the griefe of pastors and holy Ministers of the Church. Wherefore it was expedient he should aduow the fact; the which was not done rashly, but with great zeale, and by diuine inspiration. Herunto, they say, were added the supplications of the Moores, That it would please the king to suffer things as they were, and not to discontent the people: and that for their parts they would willingly exercise their religion in a place of lesse shew. For the Moores spake an Alfagui of their lawe, whose image is to bee scene cut in stone, in the great chappell of that church.

Gothique ser-  
uice changed  
in Spaine.

The seruice called Gothique or Isidorian, for that *Isidorus* had brought it in, and afterwards called Musarabic, for the Christians liuing among the Moores had maintained it, was in vse, vntill that time as well at Toledo, as in Castile and Leon: but the King *Don Alphonso* desiring to shew himselfe in all things an affectionate sonne to the Romish sea, would haue it changed, and in stead thereof the *Gregorian* Seruice receiued,

A received, so called of the author *Gregory*; for which effect hee caused a Bull to be sent from the Pope then raigning, commanding that the seruice of Rome should be from thenceforth celebrated in all the Churches of Spaine, as they did in France, by reason whereof, it is called by some Spaniards, *Gallican*. This done, the Archbishop new chosen, went to Rome, where he entred, when as *Urban* the 2. entred his Popedom, and there tooke his oath, receiued the Archbishops cloake, and was confirmed Primace of Spaine, and not onely of Spaine, but of *Gothique* France, as the limits of the Primacie of Toledo had bene in the time of the king of the Gothes: in witnesse whereof the Spaniards write, that (to shew his rights and prerogatiues) at his returne from Rome, he called a Councell at Tholoufa, where the Archbishop of Narbone did assist, with B other bishops of those countries, suffragans, and subject to the Iurisdiction of the Prelates of Toledo.

The Metropol-  
itane of Lan-  
guedoc vnder  
the Primace of  
Toledo.

Councell at  
Tholoufa.

During his absence, *Richard* Abbot of *Saint Victor* of Marseilles, was Legate in Spaine (being sent some yeares before by *Gregory* the 7. Predecessour to *Urban* the 2.) who tooke great paines to bring in the new Gregorian or Romish seruice, and to abolish the Musarabic: for which consideration, and to put in execution that which had beene decreed, the Arch-bishop *Bernard*, at his returne called a nationall Councell at Toledo, whereas the Clergie, Knights, and people of Toledo, Castile, Leon, Asturia, Galicia, and Portugal were assembled, or their Deputies in great numbers. *D. Bernard* presiding the King beeing present, there grew great controuersies among them, C the Spaniards refusing to leaue their ancient manner, to receiue a new seruice, so as not able to be satisfied by any allegations and reasons, they came to a furious and brutish manner of triall, by combat, which was much vsed in those times: there were two knights brought to field, the one for the king, and others who desired alteration of the seruice, the other for the knights and commons, which would keepe the Musarabic: for these came *San Ruiz*, of the family of *Matanza*, who vanquished him which fought for the Romane seruice, whose name is vknown. Yet the importunitie of the King, queene, Archbishop, and others of that partie was such, as the businesse was referred to another kind of triall, which was by fire: wherefore hauing brought two bookes, the one containing the seruice after the Romane vse; the other, the ancient and Musarabic, they D were both cast into a great fire, whereof the Romane booke leapt presently out (as they say) and the other lay still, and was nothing burnt.

Controuersies  
for Ecclesiasti-  
call matters  
decided by  
armes.

Triall by fire  
in Clergie  
matters.

Wherefore they did coniecture, that either of them was pleasing vnto God: and for this cause it was ordained, That they should retaine the ancient manner of seruice in fixe parishes of Toledo, and that in the great Cathedral church and others the new Gregorian seruice was brought in; and likewise in all the rest of *Don Alphonso's* Kingdome, the which was granted more by force, to please the king, and to obey the Pope, (who confirmed and allowed it,) then for any good will. Yet the Musarabic Office continued long after, in many Monasteries of Spaine: and in the same great church of Toledo, euen at this day they sing Masse all after the Musarabic, euery E day in a Chappell called *Corpus Domini*.

The fixe Parishes of that Cittie, where as this seruice was maintained, had beene held by the Christians Musarabes, whilst that the Moores did raigne there, which are *Saint Iust*, *Saint Luke*, *Saint Anselin*, *Saint Marke*, *Saint Eulalia*, and *Saint Sebastian*. That the Musarabic seruice aunciently vsed were that which they hold at this day, and that it was not reformed and corrected, I will not doubt: for in matters of Religion, it is most certaine, that all things haue beene fitted to the time, and so the dispositions of those which liued from age to age, especially in that which concerned the ecclesiasticall discipline. The day of the reception of this Romish seruice, is quoted by the Spaniards the one and twentieth of May, in the yeare 1091, at the third hower.

F Matters concerning Religion beeing ordered at Toledo, *Don Alphonso* gaue many honourable titles, dignities, and priuiledges to the Cittie, to their great aduantage. For first of all, by reason of this conquest intitling himselfe Emperour of Spaine, hee would haue Toledo called and denominated the Imperiall and Monarchicke city, a name which hath remained and continued vnto this day. And to giue the Christians occasion

Toledo called  
the Imperiall  
city.

occasion to come and dwell there, (for the greatest part of the inhabitants were Mores) A he granted rights and priuiledges to the cittizens, as follow, beeing drawne out of the letters which are in their Registers.

*Priuiledges  
granted to the  
city of Toledo.*

1 First, he ordained for a priuiledge to that cittie, that all controuerfies amongst the cittizens should be iudged there, according to the lawes and ordonances written in the booke called *Of Iudges*, appointing a Councell of fixe of the most sufficient men amongst them, to assist the Iudge: all which together should take knowledge of the peoples causes, exempting the Castilians, who might decline from that seate, and desire to be sent before their ordinarie Iudges. According to which booke of Iudges, all the inhabitants of Toledo, and that iurisdiction should be iudged in matters of crime: expressly exempting the wiues and children of offenders, (not culpable) from the pains, and fines due for all offences, namely, for high treason, or practises against the city.

2 That the inhabitants of Toledo might appeale from all other Iudges, & demand to be sent to the Iustice of Toledo, declaring all decrees against it to be void.

3 That the Inhabitants of Toledo should not be apprehended, nor put in prison for murder, vnlesse it were wilful, if they put in caution, or that the truth were apparent: and whereas they could not giue caution, they should not be put in any other prison, then the Dalfada.

4 All controuerfies betwixt Christians and Iewes, or Moores, should be decided by the Christian lawes, and before a Christian Iudge.

5 Exemptions, granted vnto Church-men seruing God, of the tenth peny in all their inheritances.

6 Exemption of all taxes granted to souldiers, and to all such as had beene prisoners amongst the Moores.

7 All inhabitants of Toledo, as well Christians as Musarabes, should equally enioy all royall grants.

8 The widowes of souldiers deceased, should enioy the honors, and priuiledges of their husbands, and the children of their fathers, yea the sons should haue their arms & horses.

9 The laborers and trimmers of vines should pay vnto the king for all tribute and seruice, the tenth peny, or portion of their corne and wine, and not bound to any other charges either in peace or war, except it were to succor the city of Toledo, beeing assailed by foes, in which case they should be bound to assist it with all their meanes.

10 The like exemptions were granted to the inhabitants of Toledo, for all lands, which they should hold in any other iurisdiction of the kings of Castile.

11 Liberty granted to the inhabitants of the said city, to build milles vpon the river of Tajo, against their lands and possessions, and to sell them, exchange them, and otherwise dispose of them at their pleasures.

12 No Iew nor Moore should haue commandement ouer Christians in the city of Toledo.

13 That the city of Toledo might neuer be alienated from the Crowne, nor giuen vpon any title whatsoever, to man, woman, or child.

14 No man, that had not his ordinarie residence in the sayd city, might enioy any inheritance within the wals thereof, which inhabitants might enter into their lands and possessions, from whence they had beene chased by the Moores, in such townes and places as should be recovered from them.

15 The common treasure of the city should be employed, especially, in the building and reparations of the wals, and the fortifications thereof.

These were the priuiledges granted by the king D. *Alphonso* the 6. to the city of Toledo, the which were afterwards confirmed by D. *Alphonso* the 9. an 101 yeares after, so as by meanes thereof, it was in a short time peopled with Christians, which came thither from all parts of Spaine, and other countries: and the kings of Spaine haue bin alwaies very carefull to honor this city. D. *Alphonso* leauing the city of Toledo in this estate, in the gard of *Cid Ruis Diaz*, he went to Leon, with the Archbish. D. *Bernard*, where there was a councell called, in the presence of *Regnier* the Popes Nuntio; where among other things it was decreed, that the Scribes and Notaries should no more vse the ancient

*Gothique characters, which were abolished in Spaine.*

A ancient Gothique characters, intinted (as they say) by *Rislas* their Bishop, otherwise called *Toledains*: but those letters which are now vsed in Castile, were at that time not put in practise: About that time died D. *Theresa*, the kings sister, wife to the Earle D. *Garcia de Cebra*, and soon after Queene *Beatrice* the 2. wife of D. *Alphonso* beeing deceased, he took to wife a Princeesse Moore, daughter to *Almuntamuz Aben-Amet*, King of Seuille, called *Caida*, or *Zaida*, the which was christened and called *Mary*. He recelued for her dourie the townes of Cuenca, Huete, Ocagna, Vcles, Mota, Volera, Consuegra, Alarcos, Caracuel, and other places. By her the king had one son, named D. *Santis*, who died before the father, and the mother liued not long after him.

*Marriage of  
D. Alphonso  
the 6. King of  
Castile with a  
Moore.*

This alliance caused great familiarity betwixt the king D. *Alphonso*, & the Moores, both B in Spaine and Affricke, the which notwithstanding turned to the Moores ruine, and especially of his father-in-law *Almuntamuz Aben-Amet*, K. of Seuille: for to do him a pleasure, and to satisfie his ambition, and desire to be soueraign Lord ouer all the Moores in Spaine, King D. *Alphonso*, who was in great credit with all the Princes and Potentates that were neighbours to *Aben Tefin*, who was of the house and family of the *Almorauides*, to ayde and assist his father-in-law in this enterprife, and to send him succours of Moores and Africans, the which he obtained to the preiudice of them both, as we shall heare. But it is fit to vnderstand, first what these *Almorauides* were: Wherefore leauing a little the affaires of Spaine, we will returne to that which we haue handled of the succession of *Mahumet*. The which (as we haue sayd) beeing fallen to two of his daughters

*Arabians.*

*Mahumet's  
succession.*

C *Fatima* and *Zeineb*, of *Fatima* descended the house and family of *Aben Aben*, and of *Zeineb*, that of *Aben Humeja*. These two races were in perpetuall dissention for the Soueraigntie of the Arabians, both in Asia, Affricke, and Europe, whereupon grew many alterations: so as in the end the Arabians of Affricke being diuided from them of Asia, the Crowne of Affricke continued in the race of *Aben Alabey*, for the space of 310. yeeres, but as this nation was neuer faithfull within it selfe, and could not subsist without tumult and treasons: about the year 1068. there rose vp a noble family among them, called the *Almorauides*, or *Lumpunus*, which descended not from *Mahumet*; the which took the scepter from the race of *Aben Alabey*, and stazed vpon the soueraigntie, and regall power ouer the Moores in Affricke: 450. yeares after that *Mahumet* had made himselfe

D Lord and Emperour ouer that nation: The first of this race which was chosen and declared king, and great *Miralmumin*, was *Abu Texifen*, to whom *Ioseph Aben Tefin* aboue-named his sonne succeeded, who forced the others to quit the Scepter, and transferred it into his family, where it continued 79. yeares: the second yeare of his raigne, Ambassadors came vnto him from king D. *Alphonso*, for the cause aboue-mentioned: so as within three yeares after, all the Moores of Spaine were vnited to them of Affricke, as they had beene long before. *Ioseph Aben Texifen* the *Miralmumin*, considering, that if he sent forces into Spaine, it must needs increase the Moores estate and reputation: he sent a Captaine of great esteeme, called *Ali Aben-Axa*, his Alguazil-maior, or Lieutenant in the countrie of Maroc, who with a great power of men of this race of the

*Moores of Affricke  
drawne into Spaine  
by D. Alphonso  
the 6. King of  
Castile and  
Leon.*

E *Almorauides*, and other Africans, came and landed in Andaloufia, and ioyned with the king of Seuille: but they stayed not long together, for being growne into some controuerfie, it drew them into sedition and armes: so as their forces being diuided, and ioyning in battaile in the open field, *Almuntamuz Aben-Amet* King of Seuille, lost his life; and this new-come Moore not onely leazed vpon his lands and Segneuries without any difficulty, but also made all the other Moores of Spain subiect vnto him, saying, that they had rather keep the Arabians Camels, then the Swine of the Christian Spaniards. *Ali Aben-Axa* was so fortunate in his proceedings, as he grew exceeding proud, not respecting his king any more: but rebelling openly against him, hee seized the royall seate at Cordoua, and caused himself to be called *Miralmumin* of Spaine: by means whereof all the treaties of peace which had bin contracted betwixt the Moores and Christians F of Spaine, were then broken: and moreover, this new king of the Moores, thought to recover the countries which had bin held by the Moores, namely those, which D. *Alphonso* had had in dowry with *Q. Caida* his last wife: so as the king D. *Alphonso* thinking to enioy an assured peace, hee found himselfe suddenly engaged in great and dangerous

*Moores in  
Spaine vnited  
under Ali A.  
ben-Axa.*

warres: for *Ali* entering into the Realme of Toledo, he spoyled the countie at his pleasure, having gotten two great victories, and put two mightie armies of *D. Alphonso* to bloudie routes: so as the lands of *D. Caidas* downe, with others, came into his power, the which was the more easie to effect, for that they were in a manner all inhabited by Moors. Yet in a third expedition, whereas *D. Alphonso* went in person with all the flower of his kingdomes, the conquerors furie was stayed, so as he was forced for feare (seeing this great preparation made against him) to keepe himselfe within Cordoua, and to abandon his countie to the spoile, not daring to defend it, and in the end came to a composition and treaty of peace with *D. Alphonso*, by the which he made himselfe his vassall and tributarie, giving him rich presents, and great sums of money, wherewith the King and his armie beeing enriched, they returned victoriously into Castile. From thence king *D. Alphonso* hauing gotten new courage, led his armie to subdue *Sarragossa*, and did so presse it, as the Inhabitants did offer to hold it in fee of him, and to do him homage, the which he refused, demanding the city: but whilest he was busie at this enterprize, beheld there arriues in Spaine a great cloude of African Moores, which stricke a greater terror in Spaine then had beene in many ages. It was *Ioseph Aben Tefis* the Miralumin, who incensed at the trecherie of *Ali*, was come out of Affricke with a greater armie of Moores, then had bin seene in long time, to take reuenge of his trecherie.

*Ioseph Aben Tefis* king of Maroc, subdued all the Moores in Spaine vnder his Empire

An. 1089.

16 The presence of this king stayed the siege of *Sarragossa*, brake the accord made betwixt *Alphonso* and *Ali*, and was the cause of many great alterations. Hee besieged and forced *Ali* in the city of Seuille, and as a traytour, cut off his head: he seized vpon *Cordoua*, in the which was a sonne of *Abenacmus*, and in a short time hee brought all *Andalusia* vnder his obedience, and in a manner all the Noblemen and townes which the Moores held in Spaine: he drew vnto his seruice some Earles and Noblemen Christians, with many souldiers; whome gaue, or their disordered passions, commanded more then religion. One of these Earles was called *D. Ordoines de Lara*: So the Moores of Spaine ioyned with them of Affricke, vnder one *Miralumin* in the yeare, 1089. hauing bene diuided 334. yeares, they of Affricke beeing subiect to the race of *Aben-Alabey*, vnto this king, and these of Spaine obeying the family of *Aben-Humys* from *Abderramen* the first: This king stayed some time in Spaine, to dispose of his new conquests, not respecting any more the friendship of king *D. Alphonso*, who first had inuited him to come into Spaine, and then he returned into Affricke, where hee had setled his imperiall seate at Maroc or Marrox. Then began there a difficult war betwixt these two Potentates in Spaine: by reason whereof King *D. Alphonso* sought the friendship and succors of other Christian Princes: vpon which occasion there came many valiant Knights into Spaine, to winne honor by armes, and moued also with zeale of religion; among the which were three Princes, whereof mention hath beene made in the beginning of this raigne: that is, *Raymond* son to *William*, brother to the Earle of Bourgonne; *Henry* of Lorraine or of Befançon, and his vnkle or cousin *Raymond* of Thoulousa, and of *S. Giles*: with these and other braue souldiers, as well Spaniards, as of other nations, *D. Alphonso* made head against this Arabian king: so as he stoppt his course, and ouer-run his country newly conquered, taking great spoiles, and carrying away many prisoners, without any opposition.

Portugall.

*Henry* of Lorraine first Earle of Portugall.

Portugall held in fee of the Crown of Leon

17 At that time *D. Alphonso* (for the good seruices hee had receiued from these three personages, and to bind them the more to defend the Christians estate in Spaine) gaue them his daughters in marriage to *Henry* of Lorraine, whom some call Earle of Limbourg, *D. Theresa* his bastard, to whom bearing a priuate affection, hee gaue the countie of Portugall, which he had conquered from the Moores, with the hereditarie title of an Earle, for him and his heires lawfully begotten, and withall making him a promise to adde vnto his Seigneuries whatsoeuer he should conquer from the Moores in those parts, with the same right of hereditarie succession. These goodly gifts did the king *D. Alphonso* bestow vpon *D. Henry*, vpon condition, that they should acknowledge the kings of Leon for their Soueraigne Lords, and hold them in fee of them, do them homage, and present themselves at the kings court at Leon, whensoeuer they should

*A* should call there vassals, and serue them against their enemies: Moreouer they should furnish three hundred horse, with some other duties. This was the beginning of the Siegneury of Portugall, and of the royall posterity of the possessors of that country. To *Raymond* Earle of Tolouise and Saint Gyles, King *D. Alphonso* gaue *D. Eluira* an other of his bastards; and to Count *Raymond* of Bourgonne *D. Yraia* his lawfull daughter, with the Government of Galicia; & the title of an Earle, which was the ordinary title of great dignities in Spaine, in those times.

*D. Sancho Ramirez*, King of Nauarre and Arragon, did all hee could to annoy the Moores, vpon his borders: from whom hee tooke about the yeere of our Lord 1089. the towne of Montçon, yet with great difficulty, by reason of the fort, and the obstinate defence of the garrison. The same yeere the preuiledges of Nobility, with all exemptions, were confirmed to them of the valley of Roncal, as a testimony that they had bene alwaies valiant and faithfull to their Kings.

*Nauarre and Arragon.*

In the yeere 1091. hee forced *Abderramen* the Moore, King of Huesca, to pay him tribute: he sent succors to his cousin *D. Alphonso* of Castille, in the warre which hee made vpon the marches of Toledo; and hauing a designe to besiege *Sarragossa* in time, hee beganne a fort neere to the riuer of Ebro, six leagues from *Sarragossa*, the which he called *Castellar*: he wonne afterwards from the Moores, *Olalla*, *Almena*, *ra* and *Naua*, and he peopled *Luna*; from whence is descended the family of *Luna*; and to coope vp the King of Huesca, hee fortified the castles of *Marcuello*, *Loarre* and *Alguear*, vpon the Marches of *Sobrarbre*, and subiected all that is betwixt it and *Montarragon*, within a league of Huesca: wherefore King *Abderramen* seeing himselfe restrained daily more and more, hee had recourse vnto *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, offering to pay him a greater tribute, then hee did to him of Nauarre, if hee would take him into his protection: wherevnto *D. Alphonso* gaue eare, beeing glad to make himselfe great by what meanes soeuer, of such power is ambition in the hearts of men, who sparing not the King *D. Sancho* his cousin, hee had wrested from him the Siegneury of *Guipulcoa*, which had euer bene vnto the crowne of Nauarre, and had made Earle and Gouernor, in his name, *D. Lopes Diaz* of Haro, Lord of *Biscay*. This manner of proceeding did much displease *D. Sancho Ramirez*, who for this cause hauing

An. 1091.

Fort of Castellar built.

*D* sent some troupes of souldiers, to the frontiers of Alaua, to entertaine the Castilians, he went to the siege of Huesca, being resolved to take it at what price soeuer: hee was accompanied by his sonnes *D. Pedro*, King of *Sobrarbre*, and *D. Alphonso*, with the forces of Nauarre and Arragon: but as he proceeded in this siege, with to great vehemency, it happened that going to vew the weakest places, with his captaines, he was shot with a Moorish arrow vnder the arme-hole, as he lifted vp his arme, to shew some one that was neere him, a place where he thought fit to make his battery. The blow was mortall, the which *D. Sancho* feeling he retired to his tent, dissembling his paine as much as hee could: being there, hee caused *D. Pedro* and *D. Alphonso* his children to sweare, not to depart from the siege, vntill they had taken the towne, and soone after hee died, as they drew the arrowe out of the wound.

*D. Sancho Ramirez* King of Arragon, liued at the siege of Huesca.

Hee was a valiant Prince, and had happily enlarged his dominions by conquests against the Moores; but his neighbors Christians were not very faithfull, euen *D. Alphonso* King of Castille. Hee loued iustice and Government: the towne of *Estella* was begunne by him, the which at this day is one of the three cities of Nauarre, and the second in dignity. He affected religion much, according to the practise of that age; for besides many donations made by him to churches and monasteries, and the re-edifying of them that were ruined, hee made *D. Ramir* his youngest sonne a religious man of the order of *Saint Benet*, in the monastery of *Saint Ponce* of *Tomierres*. *D. Pedro* his eldest sonne succeeded him, in the realme of Nauarre and Arragon, in the yeere of our Lord 1094. about this time many monasteries of France, obtained exemption from the jurisdiction of Bishops, the Monkes being desirous to enioy greater liberty, & their Abbots to adorne themselves with crosses and miters like Bishops.

About that time *D. Theresa*, countesse of Portugall, had a sonne by *Henry* of Lorraine, or of Befançon at a place called *Guymanes*: his name was *D. Alphonso*, as the King

An. 1094. Portugall.





of Sigüenza and in the end Bishop of Saint Jaques: Peter also of Agen, second Arch-deacon of Toledo, and since bishop of Segobia: Raymond of Agen, who succeeded in the Bishopricke of Oñna, and in the end to the same D. Bernard in his dignity of Toledo: an other Peter who was Bishop of Palence, and Ierosme of Perigueux, whom hee made Bishop of Valencia, arriuing in that city soone after that D. Roderigo Diaz de Bivar had conquered it; to whom he was an assistant to order clergy matters. Hee carried with him also one Bernard, who was bishop of Zamora: and besides a Limosin called Bourdin, who was Arch-deacon of Toledo, and afterwards Bishop of Coimbra, and successiue Arch-bishop of Braga: but this Bourdin became a Judas to the church of Rome, and would haue made himselfe Pope, against Calixtus the second, which caused a great scisme.

All this feed the Archbishop of Toledo brought out of France into Spaine, at his returne from Rome, & furnished Spaine with these Prelats, in recompence of the vow which he did not performe to goe to the holy war: and moreover he re-built churches and other apparent places in the rowtie of Tarragone, with the money which was prepared for his voyage, and there established; Berenger Archbishop, hauing beene Bishop of Vic: Ausone, leauing the temporality of that towne to Raymond Arnould Earle of Barcelona.

Barcelona.

This Princee was left young at the death of his father, who had beene cruelly murdered by his owne brother, desirous to rule alone in Cartelogne. He was much troubled with diuisions and factions betwixt the Noblemen of the country, and was spoiled of Carcaffone and other Lands which he had in France, by tyrants, as it happens often during the minority of the Prince or Lord. His mother the Contesse Almodia, a widow, gaue ouer al government, and professed herselfe a Nunne in the conuent of Saint Daniel of Gironne: so as hee remained in the hands of Armingal Earle of Vrgel, the Earle of Cerdagne, and some other of his blond, who beeing imploied against the Moores, got for themselves, and did not much attend the good of their pupil, yet did he grow both in vertue and valour. Cont Armingal died in the yeere of our Lord 1092, and D. Guillen lordain of Cerdagne, went to the warre: of Syria with Godfrey of Bourillon, where beeing dead and soone after his brother D. Bernard Guillen his successor, leauing no heires of their bodie, the Earle D. Raymond Arnould, as neere allied did inherit the Earledome, whom God did so fauour, as that Bernard of Aton who had usurped Carcaffone, was growne so hatefull to them of the country, as they chased him away, and deliuered the towne to D. Raymond Arnould their naturall Lord. So he not onely recouered that which they had taken from him, but also augmented his Estates and Siegneuries with the towne of Farragone, and the country of Cordagne. We haue sayd before, that he was in a certaine incounter against Cid Ruiz Diaz, during the warres betwixt Valencia and Denia, and that hee was repulled and vanquished by him: but became afterwards good friends, after that Cid had taken Valencia about the yeere of our Lord 1096.

God the Father, victor of pagans.

Castille.

To returne to which conquest, we will say that Cid did presently send to King D. Alphonso his Lord, a hundred goodly horses richly furnished, with other great presents, who being in Palenza, receiued them with great contentment. He sent other presents to D. Ximena his wife, whom with his two daughters, D. Eluira, and D. Sol, he caused to come to Valencia with the leaue of King D. Alphonso. The Almorauides of Affrike staid not long before they past the seas, to defend their new conquest in Spaine, and came into the country of Valencia with a great power, but they were repulled by Cid with great losse and dishonour; of the spoiles of which victories Cid sent two hundred horses vnto the King, richly furnished, and at euery saddle did hang a sword of great value. The King D. Alphonso was at that time at Villedolit in Castille, who receiued this present gratiouly: There beganne the treaty of marriage for the daughters of Cid, with D. Diego and D. Fernand Gonzales, sonnes to D. Gonzale Lord of Carrion, for the effecting whereof, the King, Cid and the parties came to Requena, whether the King brought the two young Noblemen, to whom Cid promised his daughters; and afterwards the marriages were celebrated at Valencia with great pompe. But in the end

Marriage of the daughters of Cid Ruiz Diaz.

A end of this feast there happened an accident, which did much trouble these two houses, so inconstant and short are humane pleasures; and the counsels and iudgements of God inscrutable. There was a Lyon bred vp in Cids house, the which by the negligence of the Governour, or otherwile, getting loose, came into the hall; where there was a great assembly of Noblemen and Ladies, with the married coples, and strooke a great terror among them, where as about all others the two Gonzales, newly married shewed themselves quite hearted cowards, wher as they were, ashamed, seeing themselves losse of them by their father in law, and by the other knights there present. From that time they conceived a mortal hatred against Cid, thinking that this Lyon had beene loose by his commandment, to try them and feare them, for as they refused to be reuenged upon the first occasion. This was no vaine argument of their baseness, seeing a Lyon vpon the sodaine (although that an unexpected accident, might amaze the most hardy, being an ordinary thing in nature to be moued at sodaine things) for soone after they gaue a more ample testimony of their want of courage, in a battle against the Moores, who were come against Valencia, where they carried themselves basely, yet by the wisdom and valour of Cid these Infidels were vanquished. After al this, these two base Knights would carry their wiues home to their houses, but hauing their hearts full of poison, and fearing they should not be able to hurt their father in law, they reuenged themselves inhumanly vpon their innocent wiues, and intreated them so il before they came to Carrion, as they left them for dead vpon the way at a place called Robledos de Corps, neere to Berlanga, where these poore Ladies beeing cherished by the good people of the country, they had meanes to aduertise Cid their father of their misery. The messenger whom they sent, was incountered by Cids men, going to the King D. Alphonso with foure score horses, and other rich presents, of the spoiles of the last victory obtained against the Moores. Complaint was made by them vnto the King, of this villanous act committed by the sonnes of the Lord of Carrion against their wiues: wherevpon the King assembled the Noblemen and Knights of the country of Toledo, and kept a court (whereas Cid appeered, hauing retired his daughters to Valencia) and Iudges were appointed to doe right vnto the parties, vpon so great a controuersie, among the which D. Raymond of Bourgonne, the Kings sonne in law was one: Their sentence was that their question should bee decided by armes, betwixt Knights chosen of either part; such was the Iustice in those daies among Nobles, a custome which is not lost amongst Christians at this day. The campe where they should fight was chosen in the towne of Carrion, where as there appeered Pedro Bermudes, Martin Antolines and Nugno Gustor, Knights for Cid, who vanquished, the two sonnes of Carrion, with their vncle a partisa of their villany, called Suero Gonzales who were proclaimed infamous and traitors, and degraded of al honor and title of nobility. These two Ladies were afterwards happily married into the house of Nauarre, that is D. Eluira to D. Ramirez, sonne to the King, D. Sancho Garcia, and D. Sol, to the sonne of D. Pedro, then reigning in Nauarre and Arragon, called also D. Pedro, who died before his father. After these last marriages, Cid growne old, did nothing that was memorabile. He settled the Estate of Valencia as well as he could, with the aide of the Princes of Nauarre and Arragon his allies. And the better to assure it, he chased away diuers families of the Moores, which were suspected vnto him. A capitaine of the Moores, who was also a Doctor of the law of Mahumet, called Alfaraxi, a great friend to Cid, tooke vpon him the Christian religion, being held a man of great valour and iudgement. The authors place the death of Cid Ruiz Diaz of Bivar in the yeere 1098. the towne of Valencia beeing anoyed by the Moores, which held their campe about it; yet notwithstanding they say that the widow accompanied with D. Ierosme the Bishop, went out of the towne, conducting her husbands body, to bury it at Saint Pedro de Cerdagne, where it was laied: the Monkes of that place at this day shew many iewells and other things which they say had beene given by that great capitaine to their Monastery. After his death, the Christians which were at Valencia fearing they should not bee able to resist the forces of the Moores Almorauides, abandoned the towne, which came into the Infidels power againe, and so continued 140. yeeres.

Consuelto of Cids sonnes in law.

Reparation of crimes by combat.

Alfaraxi a great Doctor of the Mahumetists baptiz'd.

Death of Cid Ruiz of Bivar.

D. Pedro



This order was augmented since by Saint *Bernard*, who entring into it about the two and twentieth yeere of his age, did so well, as in lesse then 36. yeeres, hee created 16. Abbaies of his Order. These were the exercises of religion in those daies, to the which the great deuotion of Princes and people, did moue all Kingdomes, States, Prouinces, Townes and in a manner all priuate families.

Castille.

An. 1100.

Moors.

In the yeere 1100. died *D. Raymond* of Bourgonne, Earle of Galicia, sonne in law to King *D. Alphonso* the Braue, leauing one sonne by *D. Vrraca* his wife, called *D. Alphonso Raymond*, who was bred vp by the Earle *D. Pedro Traua*, and came afterwards to raigne in Castille and Leon.

Christians defeated by the Moors and *D. Sancho* heire of Castille slaine.

20. The same yeere their died at Maroc, *Ioseph Aben-Tefin*, or *Texifien*, Miralumin, or Emperor of the Arabians in Affrike and Spaine, hauing reigned 32. yeeres; to whom *Ali Aben-Tefin*, his son succeeded. This new King *Ali*, desirous to win honor by armes past, soon after his comming to the crowne, into Spaine, with a great power of Almo-past, and hauing made some stay in Andalusia, to ioyne the Moores of Spaine vnto his army, hee entred the territory of Toledo, where the King *D. Alphonso* made then his residence, being old & full of infirmities, & therefore vnsit to make head against this Barbarian, who was yong and full of ambition to enlarge the country conquered by his father, yet hauing called his Nobility together in time, if they had bene well led, he commanded *D. Sancho* his sonne to sally forth against this army of Moores, being a Prince of a great courage and too desirous to fight, being accompanied by *D. Garcia de Cabra*, and other Earles and Noblemen of Castille, who hauing incourented the enemy nere vnto Voles, they gaue them battaile, but they were defeated, and put all to rout. The Infant *D. Sancho*, the Earle *D. Garcia*, and other great personages were slaine vpon the place, so as the Moores had meanes to ouer-run and spoile the country at their pleasures: they tooke many places and forts, which the King could not preat, nor make any resistance; who was exceeding heavy and sorrowfull for the losse of this battaile, but especially for the death of his sonne and onely heire. Hee did much blame many captaines which had escaped that day, for that they had so rashly ioynd in battaile; but this was no meanes to cure the disease. This route was the more vnseasonable, for that his sonne in law *Raymond* of Tolouse and Saint *Gyles*, a valiant Commander in the warre, by whom hee might haue bene much eased was then absent in Syria, where hee died a while after leauing three sonnes, *Bertrand*, *William* and *Alphonso Iordain*, which were all Earles of Tolouse, although with great difficulties and troubles. The heat and furie of these Arabian Almorauides, was cooled and staied by some other good successe of the Nauarrois, Arragonois, and Cattelans, against the Moores their neighbours, which gaue the Castillians some time to breath, and to recouer new forces.

Nauarre.

An. 1101.

Barcelone.

Majorca taken by the Cattelans.

Infamous counterfeite of the Geneuois.

*D. Pedro* King of Nauarre after the taking of Huefca, had made continuall warres against the Infidels which lay neere vnto him, and had taken Pertusa from them. After which he went to beseege the city of Barbastro, which after a long contestation of either side, was yeilded, with the castle of Villila, and other forts of that country in the yeere 1101. He presently restored the Episcopall Sea to that city, as it had bene, whereof *D. Ponce* was Bishop, who was of Rode.

On the other side the Earle of Barcelone, growne both in courage and possessions, hauing with him the Earle of Vrgel his cousin, made an enterprise vpon the Island of Majorca, which was held by the Moores. Being assisted by some gallies of Pisa and Genoua, they past their army into the Island, and beganne to batter the forts, and to assault the Moores which inhabited it. *D. Armingol* Earle of Vrgel was slaine there in a sally, leauing a son of his owne name to be his successor, yet *Cid Raymond* did batter and assault the city of Majorca with such fury, as it was taken in the yeere 1102. and for that hee had newes that the Moores, to diuert the conquest of those Islands were come to beseege Barcelone, hee returned into Cattelogne, leauing the Island to the Geneuois, to reduce the rest vnder the power of the Christians, but moued (as the Cattelans say) with a trecherous & villanous couetousnesse, they sold both the town and the whole Island to the Moores, for a sum of money, whereof, they say, grew the irreconcilable hatred

A hatred betwixt the Cattelans and Geneuois. The Moores which had beseege Barcelone, were forced to abandon it with shame and great losse of their mea. Some authors of the Spanish History write, that this Earle *D. Raymond Arnould*, went into Germany in a disguised habit, and did fight a combat for the Empreffe *Mathilda*, wife to *Henry* accused of adultery: and that hauing vanquished her accuser, and deliuered the Lady, hee returned to Barcelone; without discouering himselfe: yet this fact being knowen and verified, the Emperor rewarded him with the county of Prouence, which did then belong to the Empire. About that time, which was in the yeere 1102, died in Castille the wife of *Cid Ruy Diaz*, daughter to *D. Gomes* Earle of Goimas, who was buried with her husband, at Saint *Peter* of Cardegnajneere vnto Burgos. The King of

France giuen to the house of Barce-lone by the Emper or Henry the fifth.

Castille.

Portugal.

Knights of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Temple the beginning of the Al-bras orders in Christendom.

Castille.

A just punishment of a rash men.

B Castille in the meane time made head against the Moores without hazarding, of much, so as after great spoiles of either side, that realme had some rest.

The affaires standing vpon these termes, *D. Henry* Earle of Portugal, son in law to the King *D. Alphonso*, had a desire to goe into the Euant, to see the Land where our Saniour and so many holy Prophets and Apostels had liued, and thrust on also with an emulation of the fame of his tbusin or vncler *D. Raymond* of Tolouse and Saint *Gyles*, and of so many Noble men and Barons of France and Germany, which had run to that warre. He parted in the yeere 1103. hauing with the helpe and aduice of *D. Bernard* Archbishop of Toledo, restored the cities of Coimbra, Braga, Viseo, Lamego and Porto, to their Episcopall Seas, of which townes Coimbra was the chiefe for the temporal, and for the spirituall Braga was made Metropolitaine; as it had bene in the Gothies time. His way was by Germany and Hongary, with many other Noblemen of France and Germany, whose voyage was long and painful. There is nothing spoken of him, but that he returned with many reliques, and among others an arme of Saint *Luke* the Euangelist, as they did beleeue: whereof *Alexis Comnen* Emperor of Constantinople (a secret enemy to the Westerne Princes, and to all their enterprises, & who mocked at all their deuotions) made him a worthy present; which relike Count *Henry* carried into Portugal, and placed it with great reuerence in the chiefe church at Braga.

It was at such time as the Knights of the Temple of Jerusalem were first instituted, by one *Hugues* de Paganis, and *Ioffrey* of Saint *Adelman*, hauing vowed to keepe the waies safe from the port of Iassa (in old time called Ioppa) vnto the Temple; to whom and to their companions (which soon increased to a good number) was a place assigned for their dwelling nere the Temple, whereof they tooke the name of Templers; afterwards mingling Knight-hood with Monacal rules, they instituted an order, the which which confirmed by the Pope; they tooke vpon them a white habit, with a red crosse, and in succession of time got so great possessions throughout all Christendome, as Kings and Popes themselves did enuy them: so as vnder the colour of many crimes, whether true or false, they were condemned and rooted out at the counsell of Vienne, by Pope *Clement* the fifth, their order hauing continued 200. yeeres. Whose spoiles were diuided betwixt the Pope, King *Philip* of France, the Hospitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of Ierusalem and others. These Templers were the beginning of all the millitary orders,

which haue bene since made in Christendome. Returning to *D. Alphonso* King of Castille his subiects seeing him without any heires male, by the death of *D. Sancho*, & that he was now old and broken, they tooke counsell to perswad him to marry the Countesse *D. Vrraca*, widow to *Raymond* Earle of Bourgonne to *D. Gomes* Earle of Campdespina, the greatest Nobleman next vnto the King in Castille, for the effecting whereof, the Noblemen of Castille assembled at Magan, a Bourough of Toledo, or according vnto others at Masquerique: the difficulty was that knowing the King to bee of a high and great spirit, there was not any one that durst presume to deliuer the message; wherefore they resolved to giue this charge to a physition which was a Iewe, called *Cidello*, who was very familiar with the King, the which (being a rash man) hee accepted, to his owne ruine: for hauing found a fit opportunitie as hee thought, to speake vnto the King of this marriage, hee had no sooner touched that subiect, but he was repulst with bitter words, and chased out of the Court, with charge neuer to returne againe vpon paine of death,

*D. Vrraca  
heire of Ca-  
stille and Leon  
married to D.  
Alphonso of  
Nauarre.  
An. 1104.*

*Death of D.  
Alphonso the  
sixth King of  
Castille.*

*Conversion of  
Moyse a Jew.*

yet this made the King to thinke, that it was fit to marry his daughter, and therefore hee made choise of D. *Alphonso* Infant of Nauarre and Arragon brother to the King D. *Pedro* for his sonne in law, the which hee did by the aduice of D. *Bernard* Archbishop of Toledo, which marriage was accomplished according vnto some, in the life time of the King D. *Pedro*, others say it was after his decease, D. *Alphonso* hauing already succeeded him to the crowne of Nauarre and Arragon in the yeece 1104. for that the King D. *Pedro* sonne, of the same name, was dead without children, and D. *Isabel* his daughter was also dead a virgin. This King D. *Pedro* and his children were buried at S. *Jeau de la Peggana*, the last of the Kings which were interred there. He had reigned in Nauarre and Arragon ten yeeeres and three monthes.

As for King D. *Alphonso*, he liued vnto the yeece 1208. being afflicted with great infirmities, with the which he languished to the age of 73. whereof hee reigned foure and thirty yeeeres and eight monthes, after the decease of his brother D. *Sancho*, his body is interred in the Monastery of Sahagun, D. *Alphonso* his son in law succeeded him, in the right of D. *Vrraca* (the only lawfull daughter of the deceased) in all his realmes of Castille, Leon, Toledo and other Siegneuries. A little before his death, one *Moyse* a Jew, very learned in the tongues, in Philosophy and the holy Scriptures, was baptized, and the King D. *Alphonso* was his god-father, wherefore hee was called *Pedro Alphonso*. His conversion was profitable to many Lewes and Moores, whom by disputing and writing hee brought to leaue their sects, and to imbrace the name and profession of Christians. At the same time florished *Damianke de la Calçada*, whose practise was to retire the pilgrimes which went to Saint Iaques, and to direct them in their way. At the place of whose abode there was since a city built of that name: he caused a Chapel to bee built there in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, and a little from thence, fise yeeeres before his death, he made his sepulcher: for at that time they buried not any in holic ground. Now it is a Cathedral Church.

*The end of the eight Booke.*



## The Contents of the ninth Booke.

1. *Vnion of the realmes of Castille, Leon, Nauarre and Arragon, vnder the King D. Alphonso the 7. of that name in Leon, and 2. in Castille, and the first in Nauarre and Arragon.*
2. *Seege and taking of the city of Sarragosse from the Moores, the which was afterwards the chiefe of the realme of Arragon.*
3. *The Countie of Prouence annexed to the house of Barcelona by hereditary succession.*
4. *D. Alphonso Henriques 2. Earle of Portugal, and the bad government of the Countesse D. Theresa his Mother.*
5. *The licentious life of the Queene D. Vrraca heire of Castille her diuorce from King D. Alphonso her husband, and the miseries which happened in Castille.*
6. *Conspiracy of the Nobility and States of Castille and Leon, against the Queene D. Vrraca, and the establishing of her sonne D. Alphonso.*
7. *Raymond in the royall dignity, accounted the 8. of that name, and the 27. King of Leon, and 5. of Castille.*
8. *Disordered and prodigious testament of D. Alphonso the 7. King of Nauarre and Arragon.*
9. *Vsurpations of townes and Lands in Nauarre by King Alphonso Raymond of Castille.*
10. *D. Garcia Ramir the 19. King of Nauarre and 7. of that name.*
11. *D. Frere Ramir the 5. King of Arragon and 2. of that name.*
12. *Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, forced to acknowledge the souerainty of Castille.*
13. *Vnion of Cattellogne to the crowne of Arragon, by the marriage of the Earle of Barcelona: D. Raymond Berenger, with D. Petronille.*
14. *Accord betwixt D. Raymond Betenger, Prince Regent of Arragon with the Templers and Hospitalers, vpon the testament of King D. Alphonso.*
15. *The Earle of Portugal takes the title of King.*
16. *Change of the State in Affrike, and the new raigne of the Almohades.*
17. *Taking of Lisbon, and other townes from the Moores, by the new King D. Alphonso Henriques.*
18. *D. Sancho the 20. King of Nauarre 7. of that name.*
19. *Change of Religion among the Moores in Spaine, and persecution of Christians by the new sectaries.*
20. *D. Sancho the 6. King of Castille 3. of that name.*
21. *D. Fernand the 2. of that name 28. King of Leon.*
22. *Institution of the Order of the Knights of Calatrava.*

*Thu*



*This ninth booke contains the rest of the Kings of Nauarre, Arragon, Leon and Castille, and the erection of the Earldome of Portugal to a Kingdome by D. Alphonso Henriques as followeth.*

NAVARRRE. ARRAGON. LEON. CASTILLE.  
 18. Alphonso Emperour. 1---4. the same. 1---26. the same. 7---4. the same. 2.  
 19. D. Garcia Ramir. 7. 5. D. Fr. Ramir. 2. 27. D. Alphon. Ra. 8---5. the same. 3.  
 20. D. Sancho. 7. D. Petronille and 28. D. Fernand 2. 6. D. Sancho. 3.  
 D. Raymond Be-  
 renger unites  
 Arragon and Cat-  
 selogne.

PORTUGAL.  
 D. Alphonso Henriques. 2. Earle, and the first which tooke upon him  
 the title of King.

### D. Alphonso the eighteenth King of Nauarre. Emperor of Spaine.

Nauarre, Ar-  
 ragon, Leon  
 and Castille.  
 An. 1108.



1. *Al*l the Christian Kingdomes of Spaine were vnited in one body, in the yeare 1108, by the succession of Leon, Castille, Toledo and other conquests, fallne to D. *Prraca*, wife to D. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre and Arragon, intituled Emperor of Spaine by a better right then his Predecessors: notwithstanding that some Chronicles will not haue him put in the ranke and number of the Kings of Castille and Leon, for that it was D. *Prraca* his wife, and not hee which was heire of the sayd realmes D. *Pedro Ansures* during the Kings absence, who was in Nauarre and Arragon, gouerned, and was Viceroy in Castille; in which time the Moores went to field, and did great harme vnto the Christians, taking the towne of Coria, with other places. D. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre, entred with an army into Castille, leading with him D. *Prraca* his wife, but there needed not any force, for all obeyed him, both the townes, forts and Noblemen of the country, whom hee gouerned with all mildnesse, humanity and iustice, and repulsed the inuasions of the Moores on the frontiers of his wiues dominions: but hee made sharper warre against them vpon the confines of Nauarre and Arragon: in Castille hee repaired Vilhorade; in Rioje Berlanga; and vpon the riuer of Duero, Almasan and Soria. The surname of warrior was giuen him by reason of his deeds of armes, and the battailes wherein he was during his raigne: The Histories report that he did fight 39. times in a pitch field, & was victor in them all except in the two last battailes, which were fought nere vnto Fraga. Having gotten footing in Castille, he began to forecass what might happen, if his wife should die without children by him; wherefore he put good honors and captaines of his countries of Nauar & Arragon in al the strong places of Castille, that if he were forced to quithese realms of Castille, Leon, Toledo & their depēdances, he might keep those people in some awe, and

D. Alphonso  
 secies to al-  
 fur. is m. l. f.  
 of Castille.

A and leaue it with his honor and aduantage: the which did somewhat estrange the Noblemen of Castile. Heknew also, that his wife D. *Prraca* was proud, ingrate, inconstant, and not very continent, and therefore with good aduice he armed himselfe for all euent. This woman vpon a light occasion, conceived a great hatred against the Earle D. *Pedro Ansures*, Lord of Vailledolit, who had nourished her, and had kept her Estates after the death of the king her father, onely for that in his letters written to the king her husband, & her, aduising them to come and take possession of her inheritance, he had intitled her husband King of Castile. Whereupon she sought to take Vailledolit, and other lands from him, but the King did presently restore them: and to the end he should be the more secure, against the rage of this woman, hee sent him into Arragon, with D. *Elo* his wife, giuing him the gouernement of the young Earle of Virgel his Cousin.

The bad quali-  
 ties of D. *Prraca*  
 Queen  
 of Castile.

The first expedition which he made against the Moores, was about the yeare, 1110. vpon the frontiers of Nauarre and Arragon, where he tooke from them the towne of Exea, in which warre he was assisted by many voluntarie Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, beeing desirous to winne honor by bearing armes against the Mahumetists. Runaio along the riuer of Ebro; he tooke Tihaut, Borja, Magallon, and other places of those marches: so as the happy successe of this enterprife gaue him courage to effect that which his predecessors Kings of Nauarre had long before designed; which was, to reduce the cittie of Sarragossa vnder his obedience, the which as he made thw C to beseege, spoiling the countrie round about it King *Abuflen* came with a great power, and presented him bataille, neare vnto Valtierra, where the Moore was vanquished, and slaine vpon the place. By meanes of this victorie, King D. *Alphonso* took Morrella, and resolued to beseege Sarragossa, wherefore he put a strong garrison into the fort of Castella, of old souldiers, called at that time in Spaine Almograbes, who were continually entertained vpon the Moores frontiers. This seegewas long and dangerous, for the Moores defended this cittie contragiously, beeing great, full of men, and well fortified.

Expedition  
 against the Ma-  
 humetists.  
 An. 1110.

Moores defea-  
 ted by D. *Al-  
 phonso*.

Sarragossa  
 beseege.

In the armie of king D. *Alphonso*, there were many Noblemen of France, which had vowed to carrie armes against the Infidels, among the which were *Gaston* Lord of Berne, the Earle of Cominges, and *Rotron* Earle of Perche, by whom the Towne of Tudele, seated vpon Ebro, betwixt Sarragossa and Caloorra, was taken by surprize. The Moores which were there in garrison, did much annoy the campe; for that they spoiled their victuallers and merchants, and cut off their victuals: whereupon D. *Alphonso* sent Count *Rotron* with good troupes of foot, and fixe hundred horse. The Earle kept himselfe close in certaine valleys, couered with woods, neere vnto the towne, and sent forth some men into the open plaines, to get some spoile, and to driue away their cattell; who being discouered by the Moores of the fort, they sallied forth with all their forces, to the end that not any one of these runners should escape. Whilest they were in skirmish, the Earle came out of his ambush, and cut off their retreat to E the towne, the which he found ill garded, so as he seized thereon without any difficultie. The king D. *Alphonso* to reward the Earle of Perche for this prize, which was of so great importance, for that seegewas where he was, gaue him this place of Tudele, the which was afterwards annexed to the crowne of Nauarre. The Moores amazed at this losse, began to faint in many places: so as Moricajo, and other neighbour townes, were made subiect to D. *Alphonso* within few dayes. The Sarragossians were much assisted by the Moores, which commanded at Lerida and Fraga, as well for the danger which did threaten them, as for their conformity in Religion.

Noblemen of  
 France in the  
 campe before  
 Sarragossa.

Tudele taken  
 by the Earle of  
 Perche.

During this seegewas, the king D. *Alphonso* beeing in the cittie of Barbastro, there came vnto his Court Count *Bertrand* of Tholoufa, sonne to Count *Raymond*, and D. *Eluira* bastard daughter to the deceased King D. *Alphonso* the 6. This young Prince had bin disposessed of all his Estate by the Earle of Poitiers, who beeing graciously interrayned and honored by king D. *Alphonso*, to the end he might bee ayded by him, to recoouer his Estate, he made himselfe his vassall, acknowledging him for his Soueraigne Lord of all he did, or should possesse (according to the Spanish Histories.) The King receiued



Almudebar taken from the Moors.

Sarragossa taken.

Episcopal seat restored to Sarragossa.

Dignitie of chief Justice in Arragon.

received him into his protection, & gaue him good hope, it was about the yeare 1116. A yet this did little auail Cont *Bertrand*: for the continuall warre which *D. Alphonso* had against the Moores, would not suffer him to attend the affaires of Tholoufa, besides *William* Earle of Poictiers was the kings friend, and came himselfe in person to the war against the Moores in Spaine, and was at the sege of Sarragossa, with the Earles of Perche, Cominges and Bigorre, the Lord of Bearn, the Vicount of Lauedan, Bishop of Elcar, and many other Noblemen and Knights of France, whereas also were all the Noblemen of Nauarre and Arragon, both Ecclesiasticall and secular; among the which those of greatest mark, were *Diego Lope Ladron*, *Ximen Fortunes de Leet*, *Simon Fortunes de mont Castel*, *Pedro Momesio*, *Lope Ximenes Torelia*, *Lope Sancho of Ogabre*, *Pedro Ximenes* Iustice of Arragon, *Jean Galindio d'Antilia*, *Lope Fortunes of Albcro*, *Pedro Myr Entenza*, *Raymond Peres d'Erillo*, N. of Almoravid, and with them many of Castile and other places of Spaine. About the yeare 1118. Almudebar, a strong place and well furnished, was taken by the French, the which strucke such a terror into the Moors thereabouts, as they abandoned Sarrignena, Salce, Robres, Zeura, and Gurrea, the which were seized on by the Arragonois, whilst that the French with the other forces did batter Sarragossa, with all violence, the which the Moores defended valiantly, the king *D. Alphonso* being then gone into Castile. The Spaniards write, that the French seeing this sege to grow tedious, and being out of hope to take the citie, they retired in a manner all home to their houses, except the chiefe Commanders, to whome *D. Alphonso* brought new supplies, about Iuly this yeare 1118. The beseged beginning to doubt that they should not be able to keepe the citie long, they employed all their money, meanes, and credit, intreating the Moores that were neere and farre off, to succour them in their great necessitie. Who sending a capitaine vnto them called *Temin*, with men and victuals: he was incountred and defeated neere vnto Daroca, by the king *D. Alphonso*, and the Earle of Prouence, who (according vnto *Surites*, the Writer of the Historie of Arragon,) was there with sixe hundred horse, contrarie to that which the Spaniards say: so as the Moores despayring of all succours, beganne to parle, and to treat of conditions to yeld. Some notwithstanding to do more honor to the Clergie of those times, say, that *D. William Gaston*, Bishop of Pampelone, generall of the souldiers of Nauarre, behaued himselfe so in his quarter, as hauing made a great and spacious breach, he entred the towne by force, the Moores making wonderfull resistance, with their king *Almosauen*, who was slaine among the ruines. This great citie was taken in December, in the aforesayd yeare 1118. where the king *D. Alphonso* entring, he lodged in the pallace of the kings of the Moores, called *Açuda*, nere vnto the Port of Toledo, beginning to settle the estate thereof, to make it the Capitall citie of all the Realmes which he enioyed, or that he might conquer hereafter, intituling himselfe king of Sarragossa. His chiefe care was to settle the Clergie, and to enrich that Order, which had serued him much in the sege of the towne: wherefore the Mosque Maior was then consecrated for a cathedrall Church, vnder the name of *S. Sauueur*, and one *Pedro de Libana*, was chosen Bishop, confirmed by Pope *Gelasius* then reigning. They found many Christians Musarabes in Sarragossa, who had liued there among the Arabians, with great liberty of their Religion, the which they did exercise in a very ancient church, called *Nostre Dame del Pilar*: we read in the Histories of Arragon, and in the writings of *Ierom Surita*, that the Lords of Bearne, and the earls of Perche did long enioy very great priuiledges in the citie of Sarragossa, by the grant of *D. Alphonso*. This king and Emperour of Spaine granted great liberties and priuiledges to this citie, to prouoke strangers to come and dwell there, namely, the priuiledge of gentrie, and the lawes and Iustice of Arragon: and in time of factions and seditions to chuse for their Councell certaine Syndics, Protectors of the people.

As for the dignitie called Iustice of Arragon, which was vied in the time of *D. Pedro Ximenes*, it is a Magistrat, the gardien and protector of the publike libertie, against the violence of great men, yea to suppress the exceffe and tyrannies of Kings, with souveraigne iurisdiction, instituted in the infancie and beginning of principalities and Christian Estates in Spaine, after the inuasion of the Moores, when as the kings, not by succession

A succession of blood and birth, but by their valour and vertues were chosen, to be ready and faithfull Governours of the affaires, as well of warre, as of Iustice, according vnto certaine simple lawes, and as then militarie, propounded vnder the title of the court or law of Sobrarbre. This Magistrate was first called Iustice maior, entertained and augmented both in dignitie and authoritie from time to time by good kings. There were great gifts and fees giuen also by this great king vnto the Earle of Bigorre, in recompence of the good offices he had done him in this warre. These things thus done, hee went and layed sege before Tarrassone; the which made no great resistance, seeing that the neighbour places were come into the power of the Christians. Being yeldd, it receiued the ancient Episcopall seate, and one *D. Michel* was chosen Bishop.

B This towne which in former times had belonged to the Crowne of Nauarre, by this last conquest was annexed to that of Arragon.

Tarrassone taken from the Moors.

*D. Alphonso* continuing his conquests, tooke the places and forts which were along the riuer of Xalon, and in the end tooke the towne of Calatajub, into the which he put a great garrison; as a place which fronted vpon the Moores on the mountaines of Cuenca, Molina, Valencia, and Castile, he cleansed that which remained of the Moorish faction vpon the riuer of Xiloca vnto Daroca: he repayred and peopled Montreal, whereas this deuout king instituted an Order of Knights in imitation of the Templers of Ierusalem, which was called *S. Saluator*, assigning them rents and reuenues, to the end they should employ themselves courageously to roote out the Infidels in Spaine, as he had propounded. King *D. Alphonso* did these great exploits vnto the yeare, 1120

Order of knights as S. Sauuour.

Catalogne or Barcelone.

at which time the Moores were dispossessed of all which doth now belong to Arragon. But in Cattelogne there yet remained the king of Lerida and Fraga called *Aben Gama*, whose forces were not to be contemned: and the which were as a thorne in the foot of the Estates of Arragon, but mote to *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone, who was a good and a valiant Knight; and who had receiued no small blessings from God: hauing by vnexpected meanes recovered the lands which were vlsurped from him during his minority, and augmented his Estates by new successions. of the Earledome of Cerdagne, of the towne of Tarragone, and euen newly of the Countie of Belsu, by the decaile of *D. Bernard Guillen*, by reason of which prosperities he intituled himselfe

D Marquis of Spaine, Earle of Cerdagne, Belsu, and afterwards of Prouence and Aïmillan, by the death of *Gilbert* his father-in law, who had no other heire then *D. Doulee*, wife to *D. Raymond*. It is likely, that by this meanes he got the Countie of Prouence, whereof (as a fee of the Empire) he was inuested by the Emperour *Henry* the 5. as we haue sayd. As for those lands which he held in Languedoc, as Carcasone and others: some Authors write, that the vicious *Bernard* of Aton, hauing vlsurped them, vnder a counterfeite promise to hold them of him, and to do him homage, hee afterwards made this acknowledgement to *William* Earle of Poictiers, vlsurper of the Countie of Tholoufa: but *D. Raymond* forced him by armes to submit himselfe vnto him.

Portugall.

In Portugall Cont *Henry* had defended his country against the Moores wisely and valiantly, and had gouerned with all iustice and honor, vnder the soueraintie of the King, or Emperour *Don Alphonso*, vntill the yeare 1112. that he died in Galicia, in the towne of Astorga, and was interred at Braga in *S. Maries* church, leauing for heire *D. Alphonso Henriques* his eldest sonne, about eightene yeares old. *D. Theresa* the Countesse widow, to whom the Earledome of Portugall did belong in proprietie, shewing her indiscretion, married soone after to a knight of a noble house, called *Don Bermond Paez de Transamara*, with whom hauing liued some time, by a disordered appetite, or some other damnable occasion, she left him, and married againe with a brother of his called *D. Fernando Paez* of Transamara; *D. Bermond* being thus forsaken, and as it were struing with his wife who should be most incestuous; hee married her eldest daughter, and sister to *D. Alphonso Henriques*, called *D. Theresa Henriques*.

*D. Alphonso Henriques* 2. Earle of Portugall.

The desirable marriage of the Countesse of Portugall.

F These goodly exploits were done among Christians, in the house of Portugal, which was but now growing: for expiation whereof, they say, that *Fernando Paez*, who had taken away his liuing brothers wife, built a Monasterie at Sobrado in Galicia, nine leagues from Saint *Iagues*, a penance and satisfaction taught by the pastors of those times,

times, to miserable contempters of Gods lawes and ordonances. The young Earle A Don *Alphonso* being much troubled with these excesses, and moreouer seeing himselfe contemned, and out of all credit and fauour, for that the adulterous and incestuous *D. Fernando* intituled himselfe Earle of Portugal, in the right of his wife, he went to armes against him, the euent you shall heare hereafter.

*Nauarre, Castille, Arragon, &c.*

If this Countesse were vnchast in her seuerall marriages, her sister *D. Vrraca* shewed her selfe as loose and disloyall to her husband King Don *Alphonso*: so as this Prince who was endowed with great vertue and wisdom, was forced to restraine her in the fort of Castellar, neere vnto Sarragossa, from whence shee sought by all means to escape; as shee did, with the helpe of some discontented Noblemen of Castile; with whom shee retired into her Inheritance, where shee tooke counsell to bee diuorced from the King her husband, making her pretext, that shee had bene married against her will, and by constraint; and moreouer, that shee was his cousin germaine removed, and therefore the marriage could not be lawful, without dispensation from the church of Rome; the which in those dayes was not much vsed. Of this Council were the Archbishop of Toledo, the Bishops of Bourgos, Leon, Palence and others, who were aldisbishops, chased away, and banished by *D. Ramir* the kings brother. Wherefore the Nobilitie and Estates of Castile, considering what troubles and miseries would ensue, if this desseigne were put in execution against the king *D. Alphonso*, they would not give their consents, but took their Queene with all respect, and conducted her into Arragon; but her husband, who dissembled the wrongs shee had done him, receiued her into fauour; but as she continued her leud life, forgetting more and more the honor of her self & house, which should haue bin more deare vnto such a Princeesse, then her life, the king in the end caused her to be conducted to the towne of Soria, chased her from his company for euer: notwithstanding he kept still many strong places in Castile, not caring much for the government of the Realme.

*Queene D. Vrraca vnchast.*

*D. Vrraca chased away by the king D. Alphonso her husband.*

*Castile separated.*

*Magnanimity of King D. Alphonso.*

Without doubt this king was of a great courage, and gaue good proofes, that he did more esteeme vertue and his honor, then all worldly goods, dispossessing himselfe of so great iurisdiccions, as those of Castile, Leon, Toledo, and others, which *D. Vrraca* had brought him; who being settled in her countries, began to shew some tokens of amendment, governing her selfe by the aduice and counsell of *D. Pedro Ansures*, and other knights of greatest wisdom and fame among the Nobility of Castile. Haunting then assembled her estates, she complained that many forts were kept from her, demanding their aduice and ayde to recouer them: Those which were kept by Captains and gouernors Castillans, were presently yeilded vnto her, without attending any commaundment from the king *D. Alphonso*, in hatred that he had chased away the Queene. Among others *D. Pedro Ansures*, presently after the restitution of some places by him, went to the king, who was at Castellar, where coming before him, being mounted vpon a white horse, and clad all in scarlet, hee lighted, and holding a halter in his hand, hee sayed vnto him, That hee had done vnto his Queene (the naturall and soueraigne Princeesse of Castile) the dutie of a faithfull vassall: yet hauing failed vnto the king, to whom hee had sworne fealtie and homage, hee had brought vnto him both hand and mouth, the instruments of the oath which hee had made vnto him, to the end that his Maiestie might dispose of them, and of his whole bodie at his Highnesse pleasure and command. King Don *Alphonso* (alwaies like himselfe) although (vpon sufficient grounds) he were discontented with the yeelding vp of these forts, shewing no good countenance vnto the Earle, yet vpon his first speech hee pardoned him, yeelding to the counsell of the wife, who commended much the loyaltie and integritie of this knight, the which should serue as a President to posteritie: wherefore he was sent backe with honor into Castile.

After this, *D. Vrraca* did nothing of merit: for falling to her old desseigne of diuorce F she obtained it by the authoritie of Pope *Pascal*. Of whose commandement and Bulls, Don *Diego Gelmirio*, Bishop of Compostella, was minister and executioner. Thus finding her selfe without restraint in her lust & luxuriousnesse, she exceeded strangely. Shee

A Shee had familiar and dishonest conuersation with *D. Gomes*, Earle of Candespina, who had in former times pretended to be her husband, who was secretly deliuered of a sonne, gotten by him, and was for that cause called *D. Fernand Hurtado*, from whence as they say, is descended the house of Hurtados, a noble family of Spaine. Although that some doubt hereof, yet it is most certaine, that the Earle *D. Gomes*, had in a short time the whole gouernement of the Realme, and disposed of all the affaires, both of warre and peace at his pleasure, conuersing as familiarly with the Queene, as if shee had bene his wife: and yet another Knight called *D. Pedro de Lara*, sonne to Don *Ordono*, Earle of Lara, who entred combat at the seige of Zamora, against the three sonnes of *Aria Gonzalo*, after the decease of the king *D. Sancho*, did insinuate himselfe in the Queenes fauour, and was in a short time one of her greatest minions, whereof the earle *D. Gomes* was very ialous. The dissolute and vnchast life of *D. Vrraca* was so publicly knowne to all the world, as king *D. Alphonso* (mooued with a iust disdain, both for it, and for the about-mentioned diuorce) resolved to enter into Castile with an armie, putting all to fire and sword, being much incensed as well at the dissolute life of the Queene, as at the Castillans basenesse, who obeyed her, bearing them also a spleene, for that they had deliuered her those places which he had giuen them in gard.

*Nauarre, Castille, Arragon, &c.*

*Queene D. Vrraca vnchast.*

*D. Vrraca chased away by the King D. Alphonso her husband.*

*Castile separated.*

*Loyaltie and integritie of D. Pedro Ansures.*

*Magnanimity of King D. Alphonso.*

There went against him to field the Queenes two fauorites, *D. Gomes*, and *D. Pedro*, with the forces of Castile and Leon, who hauing incourted the kings armie, consisting of Nauarrois and Arragonois, they came to fight neare vnto Candespina, and not farre from Sepulteda. *D. Pedro* who led the foreward, was first charged, who abandoned his men basely vpon the first incounter, and retired to Bourgos, where the Queene was carrying newes of the route which he had no leysure to see. The army of Castile was defeated and put to flight, and many good Knights slain and others taken, namely, *D. Gomes* Earle of Candespina, with a brother of his called *Diagomes* died vpon the place. The valour of one of the house of Olea was great, which carried the Standard of the Earle *D. Gomes*, who being ouerthrowne from his horse, and both his hands cut off, he held his Standard fast in his armes whilest hee liued, crying out with a loud voyce, *Olea, Olea*. After this victorie, *D. Alphonso* past vnto Leon, by the territorie of Campos, making a cruell spoyle and murder, wherfoeuer his armie went, vpon *D. Pedro's* faction. And for that his treasure failed him, the souldiers abandoning themselves to the spoyle, committed infinit thefts and sacriledges, sparing nothing, were it holy or prophane.

King *D. Alphonso* hauing past into Galicia with the like disorder, the Nobilitie of those countries, assembled all that were fit to carrie armes, and came to meet with this furious enemy, bringing in the armie young *D. Alphonso Raymond*, the sonne of *D. Vrraca*, and of Count *Raymond* of Bourgongne her first husband. There king *D. Alphonso* had another battaille, neere vnto a place called Carrera of Anguas, betwixt the townes of Leon and Astorga, where the Nauarrois and Arragonois had the victorie. E So as hauing slaine a great number of Leonois, put the rest of the army to flight, and taken *D. Pedro de Trauss* prisoner, *D. Alphonso Raymond* was forced to saue himselfe in Portugall. King *D. Alphonso* past no farther, but returned with his victorious armie, ruining all those which followed *D. Pedro de Lara's* partie: who with their Queene shut themselves vp in a place neere vnto Palenza, called Mençon, which was the retreat of them that had fled: and so returned into his owne country, with many prisoners, and great spoiles.

F The Queene being freed from so great a danger, continued her lustfull and vnchast life, with her minion *D. Pedro*, with as little shame and respect, as shee had bene accustomed; who playing the king, yea the very tyrant, incensed the Nobility in such sort, as many of them conspired to abandon the Queene, and to call vnto the gouernment, *D. Alphonso Raymond* her sonne, who by hereditarie succession ought to haue succeeded her. The chiefe of these conspirators were *D. Gutiere*, *Fernandes de Castro*, and *D. Gomes de Moncaneado*, who with their confederates (hoping that the infant *D. Alphonso* should draw great ayde from his vnckle Pope *Calixtus*, who then gouerned the Church of Rome) they caused *D. Alphonso* to come vnto their assembly; and in despite of

of the Queene his mother, and her Minion D. *Pedro*, made him king of Castile and Leon, in the yeare 1122. D. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre hauing raigned in those realms, almost 14. yeares, in continuall troubles and care.

This Pope *Calixtus* of whom we haue spoken, was before called *Guy*, brother to Cont *Raymond*, and Cont *William* of Bourgogne, who being Archb. of Vienna, had bin advanced to the sea of Rome, after the decaise of *Gelasius* the 2. in the yeare 1120. in the Abbey of Clugny, where *Gelasius* died, flying the fury of the Emperor *Henry* the 5. This *Calixtus* was to contend against *Maurice* Archb. of Braga, a Limosin, called *Bourdin*, who had bene chosen Pope by the Emperours faction, against the election of *Gelasius*, and caused himselfe to be called *Gregory* the 8. Hee had bin brought into Spaine by D. *Bernard*, Archb. and Primate of Toledo, with a great opinion of his holines and wise dome, and therefore he made him bishop of Coimbra, and afterwards Archb. of Braga: but he sought to make him a bad requitall, perswading Pope *Pascall*, who was Predecessor to *Gelasius*, to depriue D. *Bernard* of his dignity, and to choose him in his place, offering him a good summe of mony. The Pope who was exceeding couetous, took his mony, and put him in hope, but he did not any thing. Wherefore there growing great dissention betwixt the Pope and the Emperor *Henry*, for the nomination of Prelates, *Bourdin*, who had changed his name, & taken that of *Maurice*, to his promotion to Braga, ioyned with the Emperor, and ceased not till he was made Pope of Rome, whilst *Gelasius* liued, who soone after died, leauing this quarrell to bee decided by *Calixtus*.

Then might you haue seene Christs Vicars command armies, place guards, giue the word, be in battels armed, giue the bodies and goods of miserable Christians in prey, and to countenance the most horrible insolencies which warre could produce. *Gregory* the 8. going from Sutri, where he had assembled his forces, prest Rome by acts of hostilitie, spoyling pilgrims which went to get pardons, according to the Romane doctrine. On the other side, *Calixtus* sending many souldiers out of Bourgogne, vnder the conduct of *Iohn de Crema*, Cardinall of S. *Chrisogone*, he himselfe followed after in person, with other troups, so as he entred Rome with great effusion of blood, and there suppressed *Gregorie*, where making him a ridiculous spectacle vnto the people, mounted vpon a Camell, with his face backward, holding the tayle in his hand, for a bridle, he put him in perpetuall prison, where hauing renounced his Popedom, he ended his dayes. Thus were Ecclesiasticall charges executed among Christians in those dayes. Pope *Calixtus* hauing preuailed ouer his aduersarie about the time that D. *Alphonso Raymond* his nephew was chosen in Castile to raigne in stead of his vnchast mother, it was likely this election should be confirmed and supported by the authority of Rome, against all that should contradict it.

The estate of Portugall was troubled with the like disorder, and D. *Alphonso Henriques*, and the Portugals were prest with the like difficulties, by the disordered appetites of their Countesse, D. *Theresa* his mother, who was then enioyed by D. *Fernand Paz*: against whom D. *Alphonso* armed, pursuing him as a Tyrant and incestuous adulterer, their armies ioyned neere vnto Guymaranes, where D. *Alphonso* was vanquished, being too hastie to fight, and would not attend some supplies, which D. *Egas Nagues* (who had bred him vp, and gouerned him in his infancie) brought vnto him: by whome hee was then sharply blamed for his rashnesse, proceeding from want of experience and heat of youth. Hauing recovered new forces, there was a second battaile fought, whereas D. *Alphonso* had the better: for D. *Ferdinands* armie was put to route, and himselfe with the Countesse put in a safe prison, from whence D. *Fernand* was afterwards deliuered at her intreatie, with promise neuer more to stile himselfe Earle of Portugall, but to be a perpetuall subiect and vassall vnto D. *Alphonso Henriques*, who by this meanes remayned a peaceable Earle in Portugall. These fruites did the two vnchast and lasciuious sisters reape, beeing Daughters to king *Alphonso* the sixth, and in a manner at the same time.

D. *Alphonso* the 7. left raigning in Castile, where he had some places at his deuotion, held by a Nauarrois garison: during whose raign dyed S. *Dominike* of Calçada in Rioje, who

The Papacie  
disputed by  
armies.

Portugall.

VVarr betwixt the Mother and the son in Portugall  
The Countesse  
D. Theresa and  
her vnlawfull  
husband taken  
prisoner.

Castile.

A who was reputed a Saint: hee was buried in the tombe which hee had made in his life time. He had bene a Monke of the Order of Saint *Benet*, at Valbanera, and after in the Monasterie of Saint *Aemilian*, where they did not much esteeme him: wherefore he gaue himselfe to a solitarie life, and to follow the doctrine of *Gregorie* bishop of Ostia: for he was a man without any learning. At the place of his Sepulcher, there is at this present a towne built with a Cathedrall church, and Episcopall see, carrying his name, vntied at this present to that of Calorra. He was much honoured in his life time, and after his death his memorie was reuerenced: Monkes beeing then admired, which gaue themselves to a monastick and solitarie life. At that time there was giuen by the king D. *Alphonso*, to the Monasterie of Saint *Mary* of Valbanera, the church of *Lcuador*, to that of Saint *Saluador* of Leyre, halfe the towne of Aralcues: in imitation of whome other Noblemen gaue gifts vnto Churches, where they had speciall deuotion, euery one choosing for his Patron, Adocate, and Protector, that Saint of whom the churches and Monasteries were named. This was the ordinarie doctrine of that age to win Paradise.

In the meane time the Bishops intruded themselves into the Councells of Kings, to mannage affayres of State, and to maintaine their Ecclesiasticall priuiledges, rights, and reuenues, they led armies, and were many times too forward to fight, as wee reade of D. *Pedro* of Roda, Bishop of Pampelone, who about the yeare 1115. meddling with the quarrels of some souldiers in the Towne of Tholoufa, receiued a blow on the head with a stone, whereof he died a Martyr, as the Spaniards say: an aduertisement for the rest to containe themselves in their vocations. D. *Mayor Garcia*, daughter to the Earle D. *Diego Ordognes*, and of D. *Vrraca Garcia*, daughter to the king D. *Garcia*, gaue vnto the Monasterie of Nagera about that time, certaine possessions which she had in Calorra. D. *Fortian Velez* a knight, at that time one of the most renowned in the Kingdome of Nauarre, gaue vnto the same Monasterie, the place of *Alecon*, to furnish lights at the Altar of the Virgin *Mary*: so great and so constant was the opinion of men in that age, that by gifts vnto the Clergie, they might redeeme their soules from eternall damnation, as they did not spare the principall townes of their Estates: D. *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone, at the same time, gaue vnto D. *Alderje* the Archbishop, the citie it selfe of Tarragone, which the Archbishops did enioy in full proprietie, for the space of foure and thirtie yeares. The foundation of the Hospitall vpon the Pyrene mountaines, at the passage of Ronceual, seemes to be a godly worke, the which was done by D. *Sancho de Rosas* Bishop of Pampelone, about the yeare 1122. but it was onely for Pilgrimes, going out of France to Saint *James*, wherein King D. *Alphonso* assisted him with money. This Hospitall was built neare vnto the place which was called *Charlemagnes* Chappell, a place which was much subiect to winds, and continuall stormes: whereupon it was afterwards built lower in Ronceual where it is now.

As soone as D. *Alphonso Raymond* was crowned King of Castile and Leon, by the meanes and direction of D. *Pedro de Trauas*, a Nobleman, who was allyed in Catalogne, to the Earles of Vrgel, and had bred and gouerned that Prince, hee beganne to pursue his mother, and D. *Pedro de Lara* her minion. D. *Vrraca* fortified her selfe in the tower of Leon, where he besetged her: but by the mediation of some Noblemen, who were al of the new Kings partie, a peace was made vpon condition, that she should giue ouer all gouernement of affaires, and be content to liue a priuate life, hauing a pension fit for her estate and calling. As for D. *Pedro de Lara*, after that hee had wandered long vp and downe, in the end he left the countrie, and beeing as coldly enterrayned in Nauarre and Arragon, as in Castile, he made his retreat into Barcelone.

The exercise of  
Bishops of that  
age.

The citie of  
Tarragone giuen  
in proprietie  
to the Arch-  
bishop of that  
place.

Accord hee  
reuiue the king  
of castile and  
his mother.

B b

D. Al-

D. Alphonso the 8. of that name, and the 27.  
King of Leon, and the fifth  
of Castile.

**An. 1122.** 7. *D. Alphonso* being thus dispossessed, *D. Alphonso Raymond* carried himselfe forking of Castile and Leon. After which he thought vpon the recouerie of the forts of Castile, which his father-in-law, *D. Alphonso* King of Nauarre detayned from him, wherefore he rayfed a mightie armie to vse it, if hee might not recouer that which hee pretended without armes: with these forces he marched towards Nauarre and Arragon, which were not vnprovided for the King had also taken armes to crosse him, if he should proue insolent, and was already entred into Castile by Rioje, when as the Prelates of both kingdomes, foreseeing the great miseries which would insue, if these two great Princes should once enter into warre, they laboured to make a peace and nitie betwixt them: and they preuayled so, as they perswaded the new king of Castile, to make request vnto the king of Nauarre and Arragon, to restore him his townes and forts, the which was of such force, as without any difficulty, King *D. Alphonso* being glad that he had taken so modest a course, did louingly restore vnto him all that he held in Castile, retayning onely the countie which is from Villorodo to Calaoarra: for that (sayd he) those lands were of the ancient patrimonie of Natiaire, vsurped by king *D. Alphonso* his father-in-law, since the decease of *Don Sancho Garcia* king of Nauarre, and by the same reason, the Prouinces of Guipuscoa and Alaua remained to the crown of Nauarre. Thus they layed downe armes of either side, and retired into their countries: *Alphonso Raymond* King of Castile, seeing himselfe settled in peace, he beganne to make warre against the Moores, his first enterprise was vpon Coriz, which towne had bene surprized during the inter-regne or absence of the king of Nauarre and Arragon after the decease of King *D. Alphonso* the Braue, his grandfather. This was a worke of few dayes, for he easily recouered it, but not content herewith, hee past on into the countries of Extremadura and Portugal, held by the Moores, the which he wasted, and brought away the spoyle, not any Moore appearing to make head against him. This good successe of his affaires, gaue him courage to greater attempts, and were as a spur to the naturall vertue and bountie wherewith God had endowd him, as much as any Prince of his time: for he was active, hardy and valiant, and withall wise, mild, capable, and very deuout.

In his time flourished the Order of Cisteaux, and the religion of *S. Bernard*, of the which he was carefull, and a great benefactor, so as they attribute to him the building of most part of the Monasteries of that habit which are in Spaine: and hee was no lesse carefull to repaire the ruines of many townes, and castels, which had bene destroyed by the continuall courses of the Arabians, he built and peopled new, and made many good lawes and ordonances, for the administration of iustice, and gouernement of townes: so as for these excellent vertues he was fauoured of God, beloued and respected of his subiects, and greatly feared of his enemies. It was about his comming to the Crowne, that his vnckle *Calixtus* erected an Episcopall see at Zamora: whereof *D. Bernard*, Arch-deacon of Toledo was the first Bishop, whereas now the Sepulcher of *Yllefonse*, Arch-bishop of Toledo, is worshipped with diuine honours, found (as the Historie say) by a shepheerd, a testimonie worthe of the inuention: At the same time (which was about the year 1125.) the church of *S. James* in Galicia, was made a Metropolitane, in fauour of his nephew, King *D. Alphonso*, who shewed great deuotion to this Saint, for that he had had his breeding, and past most of his youth in Galicia. The first Archb. of that place was *Don Diego Gelmirio*, aboue-named, borne in the same Diocesse, vnder which Archb. were appointed 12. Bishops, *S. Iampantay*, *Auila*, *Plaisance*, *Lampara*, *Badajos*, *Cite Roderigo*, *Coria*, *Lugo*, *Astorga*, *Ornate*, *Mondoguedo* and *Tuy*. Then began the Abbey of *S. Dominike* of Calçada to increase, so the which was giuen by *Don Alphonso* the Warriour, king of Nauarre, the place called

Modestie of  
greater force  
than armes.

Exploits of  
King D. Alphonso  
the 8. against  
the Moores.

The vertues of  
King D. Alphonso  
the 8.

Zamora made  
a bishopricke.

An. 1125.  
S. James of  
Compostella  
made an Arch-  
bishopricke.

**A** called *Olgabarte*, or otherwife *Iubarte*, with great freedoms and exemptions. This Church was made subiect to the Bishop of Calaoarra, and at that time there was an Abbot and Monkes there, whereas since there were Chanoinis placed, and in the end it was made a Cathedrall church, the which is now a towne seated betwixt Nagera and Vilhorado, and in the beginning was but a small borough, called *Malburguete*, the which is now by corruption called *Margubette*, and is ioyned to the Cathedrall Church of that place, the which at this present is called the Bourg of *Saint Dominike* of Calçada.

**B** King *D. Alphonso* the Warriour had giuen some respite vnto the Moores, vnto the year 1125. when as he led his armie against them of Denia and Valencia, and spoiled the countie: then passing into Murcia and the marches of Carthage, hee attempted *Alcaras*; but could not take it: wherefore pursuing his good fortune, hee ouer-run the territories of Granado, then turning by Cordoua, as he prepared to beseege it, he was diuerted by an armie of Moores *Almorauides*, to whome hee gaue Battaille and defeated them: Yet he did not thinke it fit to stay then at this seege, but returned laden with spoyle into his countie, whither he led many Christians *Musarabes*, retired out of the tyrannie of the Moores, to whom he gaue dwellings and lands, with exemptions and titles of Nobilitie for them and theirs.

**C** In Portugal, Count *D. Alphonso Henriques* did in like manner annoy the Moores vpon his frontier, from whome he tooke *Leyra*, in the year 1127. the which hee gaue to the Monasterie of *Saint Croix*, in the towne of *Coimbra*, built by him, as the first fruites of his victories. Hee tooke in like manner the towne of *Torrelinouas*. The contrarie happened in Cattelogne, whereas the Moores (whilest that the king of Nauarre and Arragon did ouer-runne their western countie) were furiously entred, and committed infinite spoyle, the which might well bee one of the reasons which made the seege of Cordoua to cease, and caused the king of Nauarre and Arragon to retire to come and succor *D. Raymond Aruold* Earle of Barcelona.

**D** In these warres *D. Alphonso* king of Nauarre, had great ayde and assistance of many Knights and Noblemen of France, that were neighbours to the Pyrennees, to whome a great part of the victories obtained by him against the Moores are attributed by the testimonie of the Spanish Authors themselves. In this voyage of Cattelogne, hee led with him the infant *D. Garcia*, sonne and heire to *D. Ramir Sanchez*, to whom by right of succession the kingdome of Nauarre did belong, for that he was issued from the direct and lawfull line of the king *D. Sancho Garcia* his grandfather. This young Prince was left by his dying father in the gouernement of *D. Sol* widow to the infant *D. Pedro*, daughter to *Cid*, his Aunt by the mothers side, by whome he was bred up in his youth, in all vertue and religion, and they called him the Lord of Monçon. After this expedition the king peopled the new Bourg of Pampelone, which he had caused to be built nere vnto the old towne, and was called at that time *Iruna*, that is to say, good towne: hee placed French Inhabitants there, taken out of the souldiers which had followed him in the warres against the Moores, whom he would reward for their good seruices, in lodging them in this new inclosure, which he had made of the towne of Pampelone, giuing them the priuiledges and exemptions of the towne of *Iaca*. Some thinke they came from Cahors in Quercy: he also gaue priuiledges to the Inhabitants of Maragnon.

**E** During these things, the Countesse of Portugall, who was a prisoner, being too hardly intreated by *D. Alphonso Henriques* her sonne, had meanes to acquaint *D. Alphonso Raymond*, king of Castile her nephew, with her afflictions, and to intreate him to imbrace her cause, and so free her from that hard prison, wherein shee was detained: in recompence whereof she offered to make him her heire of the Earldome of Portugal. *D. Alphonso* desirous to ioyne this peece to his demaynes, came in person with a great armie, to deliuer this woman, forgetting that the Earle had assisted him in the warre, which he had against his mother *D. Syraac Quene* of Castile and Leon, but hee had a sharpe encounter in the fields of *Valduces*, along the banks of the riuer of *Limia*, where being vanquished by the armie of *D. Alphonso Henriques*, his cousin, hee saued himselfe, being hurt in the foot, in the territorie of Leon.

Bb 2

Being

Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Portugal.  
An. 1127.

Nauarre and  
Arragon.

D. Garcia  
sonne of  
Nauarre.

Castile.

Being cured, and hauing rayled another army, he entred againe into Portugal, being desirous to recouer his honour, and to force the Portugals to acknowledge him, and to do him the homage which they ought him, as King of Leon. Being arrived at Guymaranes, where the Earle was, he beseege it, and did all hee could to take the place: but D. *Egas Nuges* the Earles Gouvernor going forth with a safe-conduct, they so treated, as vpon a promise which Don *Egas* made vnto the King, that the Earle of Portugall should take an oath of fealtie, as to his Soueraigne, he returned satisfied into his Countrey, without doing any other exploit: but the Earle D. *Alphonso Henriques* would not performe that which his Gouvernor had promised: wherefore D. *Egas* went to the King being at Toledo, and there presenting himselfe at his feete, with a halter about his necke, he craued pardon, for that which he had promised, and could not performe; which was, that the Earle should do him homage for his Earledome of Portugall, whom the King pardoned, being duly informed that hee had done his best endeavour to effect his promise. These wars (which were the first the Castillians had against the Portugals, written by the Historians of Portugall, wherof notwithstanding others make no mention) past about the yeare 1127. D. *Theresa* for that time had no ease, Her sister D. *Vrraca* made her residence in Saint *Vincents* church, being streightly guarded: yet they say, that going one day to Saint *Isidores* church in Leon, to take the treasure which her father and grandfather had giuen vnto that place, as she was carrying this prey, hauing one foote within, and another without the doore, shee burst in the midst, a worthie and condigne punishment due for the adulteries which shee had committed, and the murders which ensued not long after, to the prejudice and dishonour of the Kings house, and of all the Christian Estate in Spaine, as also for the crilege. Others say, that shee dyed in the Castell of Saldagne, being brought in bed of a child by stealth. So Don *Alphonso Raymond* remayned destitute and without a mother.

Death prodigious  
vnto D. *Vrraca*  
of Castile.

Calatrava taken  
from the  
Moors.

About that time the king of Castile, provoked by the Moores, who were entred into the Territories of Toledo, marched farre into their countrey, and tooke from them by a long and painefull sege, the towne of Calatrava, the which he gaue to the Archbishop of Toledo, being a great fauourer of the Church and Clergie, into the which he put a good garrison, the which some belecue were Templers, who were wonderfully increased, and growne exceeding rich, euen in Spaine. After which D. *Alphonso Raymond* tooke from the Infidels, Alarcos, Caracuel, Almodouar del campo, and other places, whereof he fortified some, and razed others. At that time there reigned ouer the Moores in Spaine and Affricke, *Hali Aben-Tefin*, the third Miralmumin, and last of the Almorauides, vpon whom the King of Castile extended his limits vnto the Mountaines called Sierra Morena, where he fortified Pedroche: then he past into Andalousia with a great army, and layd sege vnto the towne of Iaca, but it was in vaine: for being valiantly defended by the Moores, he was forced to retire, and returned with his army into Castile.

Catalogue.  
An. 1131.

Genealogie of  
Castelgne.

This King D. *Alphonso* had married D. *Berenguela*, daughter to Don *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelona, who dyed in the yeare 1131. hauing held the Earledome eight and forty yeares. A litle before his death, he made himselfe of the Order of Saint *John* of Hierusalem, called the Hospitaliers. The Earledome of Prouence was fallen vnto him in the right of his wife D. *Doulee*, and of other lands in France: whereof shee caused himselfe to be called Marquis: by which Lady he had two sonnes, D. *Raymond Berenger*, who succeeded him in the principalltie of Castelgne; and afterward came by marriage to the Crowne of Arragon, and D. *Berenger Raymond*, who was Earle or Marquis of Prouence, thus ordered by his will. Of D. *Doulee* was also borne D. *Berenguela* Queene of Castile, and two other daughters, who were married into France. The Earledome of Prouence had bene in question betwixt D. *Raymond Arnould*, and the Earle of Tholoufa and Saint *Giles*, but their sute, after many delays, was ended by accord: which was, That the lands of Prouence lying betwixt the riuers of Dyrance and Isera, making at this day a part of Dauphiné, should belong vnto the Earle of Tholoufa, with the Castell of Beaucaire, the Lands of Argence, Castell of Bolege,

A bregge, and the moitie of the cittie of Auignon, and of Pont de Sorge, the rest should remaine to the Earle of Barcelona. According vnto this diuision, D. *Berenger Raymond* did inherit Prouence, and there was added, that if any of the parties dyed without lawfull heires, the other should succede. Among other Articles of D. *Raymond Arnoulds* testament, he ordained, that if his heires dyed without lawfull children, his daughter *Berenguela*, Queene of Castile and Leon, and D. *Ximena*, wife to Roger Earle of Foix should succede.

By this noble and vertuous Queene D. *Berenguela*, D. *Alphonso* king of Castile, had foure children: D. *Sancho* who was king of Castile, hee was bred vp in his youth and gouerned by D. *Gutierre Fernandes de Castro*. The second, D. *Fernand*, who did inherit the Realmes of Leon and Gallicia: and two daughters, D. *Isabella*, called by some D. *Constance*, wife to the French King, *Lewis* the young, the seuenth of that name, he that did put away *Elenor*, Countesse of Poitiers, heire of Guienne, daughter to Count *William*, who after this diuorce married with *Henry* Duke of Aniou and Normandie: who being heire to the Crowne of England, had long and cruell warres against the French, by reason of this Ladies patrimonie, the which continued about three hundred yeares, vnto King *Charles* the seuenth. The second daughter which D. *Alphonso* had by D. *Berenguela*, was called D. *Sancho*, or by others D. *Beacia*, who was Queene of Nauarre, hauing married the king D. *Sancho* surnamed the Wife, or the Valiant, as others write. There is to be seene among the tombes which are in the great Chappell C of the Monasterie of Ogna, an inscription of D. *Garcia*, who they imagine was sonne to the sayd D. *Alphonso*, who had a second wife, daughter to *Vladislaus* Duke of Polonia, called D. *Rita*, by whome he had one daughter called D. *Sancho*, who was married to D. *Alphonso*, the sixt king of Arragon, the second of that name. He had familiar acquaintance with two Gentlewomen, whereof the one, which was called D. *Maria*, broughthim a daughter, called D. *Stephana*; or *Estienette*: the other which was called D. *Gontrude*, bare him D. *Vrraca*, who was first married to D. *Garcia Ramirez* King of Nauarre: and for her second husband, she married a wife and valiant Knight, called D. *Aluaro Rodrigues*, without any respect of her degree, falling from a Queene to be the wife of a simple Knight: it may be the Ladies of those times had no such haughtie spirits as they haue at this day, or else could not distinguish betwixt vertue and fortune. D. *Stephana* her sister was married to another Knight, of the house of Castro, whome they called D. *Fernand Rodrigues* the Castilian, from whom issued a sonne, called D. *Pedro Fernandes de Castro*. This was the posteritie of King D. *Alphonso* of Castile. About the yeare 1132. he made his eldest sonne D. *Sancho* a Knight, on Saint *Matthias* day, vpon the which he also gaue the towne of Vra, to the Monasterie of Saint *Dominicke* of Silos.

It was about this time that Don *Alphonso* the Warriour, King of Nauarre, who alwayes called himselfe Emperour of Spaine, had certaine quarrels with them that dwelt on this side the Pyrenees, towards France, in the Duchie of Guienne, the occasion being concealed by the Authors, is not knowne to vs, but that wee may coniecture hee would fauour Don *Alphonso* Earle of Tholoufa and Saint *Giles*, from whome *William* Earle of Poitiers detained his liuing: but whatsoeuer moued him, hee beseege Bayonne, the which hee tooke with litle danger and difficulty, extending his limits much on that side.

During this sege he made his last will and testament, and as hee was alwaies enuironed with Bishops, who forgot not themselves in such oportunities, being also very deuout, and seasoned with an opinion, that finnes are wiped away, and punishments redeemed by gifts and foundations of rents and reuenues to Churches: Hee gaue vnto the great Church of Pampelona, and to the Monasterie of Leyre, the towne and Castell of Estella, to enioy the moytie thereof, with all the rights, profites, and commodities. To the Monasteries of Saint *Mary* of Nagera, and of Saint *Emilian* of Coggolla, he gaue the towne of Nagera and Tubie with the castels. To the Monasterie of Saint *Dominicke* of Silos, hee gaue the Towne of Sanguessa, together with the castell, and the two boroughs, the old and new. To that of Saint *Saluador* of Ogna, the

Genealogie of  
Castile.

Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Bayonne taken.

D. *Alphonso*  
Testament.



A prodigious  
claue in D.  
Alphonso's re-  
flement.

towne and territorie of Villorodo. To the Monasteries of *Jeau de la Pegna*, and of Saint *A Peter* of Cerefa, and to the Cathedrall churches of Saint *James* in Galicia, and of Saint *Saujour* of Ouido, he gaue many Legacies of great consequence, but the most important was, that which he gaue to the religious of the holy Sepulcher, and to the knights of the Temple, and whatsoeuer else he should conquer from the Moores, ordaining in particular, that his armes and horse should be sent to the Knights of the Temple.

The King gaue all these prodigious Legacies, vpon a wonderful superstition, together with a hatred which he bare to them of his blood, finding himselfe old, and without any heires of his bodie: but there were but few put in execution, beeing so prejudiciall to the Christians estate in Spaine, and would haue bene the seed of diuision and wars betwixt the Princes: yet his testament was made with all solemnities, and fortified with the paines and threatens which were in vse in that age. Beeing returned into his countries, he ordained a feuerall court or iurisdiction for the Inhabitants of Calarajub, granting them many priuiledges and immunities, and ordaining that the reuenues of the Clergie should be hereditarie, to the end that the inhabitants, and such as were borne there, might onely enioy them, as in our time in Castile, those do which are of the Bishopricks of Calaoarra, Calçada, Bourgos, and Plaisance, and in many places of the Bishopricke of Pampelone.

An. 1133.  
Assembly at  
Sarragossa.

In the beginning of the yeare 1133. this King and Emperour of Spaine, called an assembly of the Bishops and Noblemen of his country at Sarragossa, to resoluē vpon the warre against the Moores. Among those which were there present, they name the infant *D. Garcia Ramirez*, Lord of Monçon, the right heire of Nauarre: *Roton* Earle of Perche, Lord of Tudela, *D. Sancho de Roses*, bishop of Pampelone, another *D. Sancho* Bishop of Calaoarra, *D. Garcia Guerra* Bishop of Sarragossa, *D. Michel* of Tarrassone, and *D. Arnould* of Huesca, with many other great personages, both Clergie and Secular. There they concluded to make warre against the Infidels, enemies to the Christians, vsurpers of the countrie of Spaine; and withall, order was giuen for all things necessary for so great an enterprise: leuies of souldiers were made, and Commissaries sent out for victuals, carriages, boates and other things necessary for the conduct of munition, victuals, instruments and engines of batterrie, with great prouision of arms, and all that was needfull for so great an army.

Expedition  
against the  
Moores unfor-  
tunate.

The King *D. Alphonso* the warriour hauing resolved to root out the Moores, hee began on this side Ebro to assaile them of Lerida and Fraga, from whence hee tooke the town of Mequinença by composition, being at that time exceeding strong, and valiantly defended by the Moores: from thence he came before Fraga, a town well fortified, and strong by nature, seated vpon the riuer of Cinca, the which he began to presse about August, and there made a long and fruitlesse stay: so as winter approaching, hee was forced to raise his seege, hauing an intent to returne in the Spring, the which hee did in Februarie, 1134. If the place were strong before, the Moores had so fortified it during the winter, as they had made it impregnable: when as they retired, the besegged taking courage, as wel by the retreat of the Christians, as by some succors which they had from about Lerida, they went to field, and charged the reeward of the Nauarrois army, whom they forced to turne head, and to fight with all his forces. There was the king *D. Alphonso* vanquished, the which was strange, and of hard digestion to him, who hauing bene accustomed to beate his enemies, euer since he commaunded an armie. Wherefore he retired wonderfully perplexed, hauing lost that day many Christians, and among others many valiant Knights, and great personages of his Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon.

Alphonso king  
of Nauarre  
vanquished by  
the Moores.

The Moores growne proud with this victorie, and that they had chased the king out of their limits, entred into his countrie, putting all to fire and sword, which they could not carrie away with them, and came as farre as Monçon: wherewith the king being incensed, he thrust himselfe into a calamitie vnworthie of so great and wise a Capitaine as he had alwaies shewed himselfe. But we strue in vaine against the will of heauen, and worldly man doth in vaine call backe good fortune, which hath once turned her face from

A from him, for his sinnes, which hee doth not vouchsafe to acknowledge. His troups being disperfed, and euery one retired to his house, after this route he called those that were nearest vnto him, and attending a conuenient number to attend his person, hee went in all haste, beeing old and broken, with foure hundred horse to pursue these Moores, who carried away a great prey, and an infinit number of Christians prisoners, hauing ouertaken them nere vnto their fort of Fraga, hee found his owne error, and would gladly haue retired, but it was too late; for the Moores descouering the small number which pursued them, turned head, and hauing stretched forth their bands, they enuironed the King and his whole troupe, and put them in a manner all to the sword, where amongst the rest the King was slaine. This happened in September, in the

Defeat and  
death of King  
D. Alphonso  
the warriour.

B yeere 1134. Such was the end of King *D. Alphonso* the warriour, a very worthy and a fortunat Prince, if home-bred calamities, the hatred of his owne blood, and his ouer great superstition, had not vndermined and weakened the vigour of his spirit, the which was much decayed in his latter daies. They say his body was taken vp and buried in the Monastery of Iesus of Nazareth in Montarragon: yet many hold that it was not found, beeing (it may bee) scattered in this defeat from his company, and so swallowed vp in some bogge or riuer, or lost by some other accident, as hath happened to other Princes, in the like encounters. The brute was among the common people, that he was escaped in the charge, and that seeing himselfe twice vanquished, whereto he had not bene accustomed, he was so greeued as he durst not shew himselfe to his subiects any more, but went to Ierusalem, from whence he neuer returned. He had reigned about thirty yeeres. At his decease, the Estates of Nauarre and Arragon were much perplexed, both for that their King had left no heire of his body, as also for the desperate will which he had made. These difficulties were augmented by the factions of the Nobility, who could not agree vpon the election of a new King.

9. Whilest they contended among themselves, *D. Alphonso Raymond* King of Castille, being aduertised of the decease of his father in law, by the aduice and perswasion of his counsell, hee reuiued his pretensions to the Estates of Nauarre and Arragon, as great grand-child to *D. Sancho* the great, who was King of Nauarre and Earle of Arragon; wherupon hee seized vpon the Lands of the riuer of Oija, of Villorodo, Granon, Nagera, Logroño, Arnedo, Bigueria, and many other places vnto Calaoarra, which were thence cut off from the body of Nauarre: so as the iurisdiction of that Kingdome was then lymited towards Castille, by the riuer of Ebro. *D. Alphonso* continuing his conquests, whilest that no man made head against him, hauing attempted the town of Victoria in vaine, hee ouer-ran the country of Alaua, and tooke the town of Maragnon and other forts: striking such a terror into the Nauarrois and Arragonois, as if they had not feared to loose their exemptions and priuiledges, and to bee ill intreated by King *D. Alphonso*, they would haue willingly yielded all vnto him.

Visitation of  
some places in  
Nauarre by  
the King of  
Castille.

Amongst the chiefe which did counsell and accompany the King in this spoile, were E the Bishops, *D. Bernard* of Siguença, *D. Sancho* of Nagera, & *D. Bertrand* of Osma; and of Noblemen *D. Lope*, and *D. Sancho Diaz*, *D. Garcia Fortuñones*, *D. Rodrigo Gonzales*, the Earles *D. Pedro Lopes*, *D. Gomes Nugnes*, *D. Gutierre Peres de Lores*, *Diego Nugnes*, *Garcia Garces*, *Almerigo* standard bearer to the King, *D. Lopes* Lord Steward of the Kings house, *Melendo Bosno*, *Ordogno Peres*, *Rodrigo Gonzales* of Olea, *Gutierre Fernandes*, *Rodrigo Fernandes*, and *Rodrigo Nugnes de Gusman*. King *D. Alphonso* spoyling all along the riuer of Oija, beeing admonished not to forget to make expiation for his excesse, he gaue many goodly things to the Monastery of Saint Emilian, the which are found written and receiued by *Berenger* Arch-deacon of Toledo. Beeing afterwards entred in Arragon, hee committed the like spoiles as in Nauarre. The Nauarrois and Arragonois seeing themselves prest by the King of Castille, they made haste to preuent F these mischiefs, whereto they were subiect for want of a head: wherfore beeing assembled at a place called Borja, a town belonging to *D. Pedro de Atares*, a knight of the blood royall, who some thinke was sonne to *D. Garcia*, the sonne of *D. Sancho*, Bastard to *D. Ramir* first King of Arragon, and of *D. Theresa Caxal* his wife, a great number

Names of  
Knights and  
Prebats, which  
did accompany  
the King of  
Castille.

Expiations of  
the sins and  
visitations of  
D. Alphonso  
King of Cas-  
tile.

number of them were of aduice, that they should choose him for King of Nauarre and Arragon, for that they had obserued in him many royall qualities, and did know that the deceased King had much esteemed him, and had giuen him that towne in rewarde of his seruices, with many other gifts. Notwithstanding this personage (otherwise of his seruices, with many other gifts) was graue and exceeding seuer; which made him to bee endowed with great vertues) was graue and exceeding seuer; which made him to bee the lesse beloued by the Nobility of Nauarre: of whom some held themselves wronged in their particular, for that offering some times to visit him, they haue refused them the entry, the porters saying, that *Monsieur* was busie about matters of great importance, but they vnderstood afterwards that the great affaires which had made *D. Pedro* exclude his friends, were, that his Barber was a trimming him: wherefore his great ouer-weening and his vnseasonable grauitie, did him then harme, so as hee was not chosen King of these two large Kingdomes, his greatest aduersaries beeing *Pedro Tisan* of Quadrieta, and *Pelagrin* of Castellazuelo, who gaue the assembly to vnderstand, that the chiefe vertues, requisite in Kings, wanted in *D. Pedro* which were clemency and affability, in steed of which hee was full of Arrogancy and insupportable presumption.

If he haue (say they) made shew thereof in many places luying in a priuate estate, who can doubt, but after that hee hath attained to the royall throne, hee will passe all bounds of modesty, and that hee will contemne the Noblemen and Gentlemen his subjects: who shalbe the more reiected, when hee shall finde them to bee vertuous, for pride in him that holds the soueraine place, is euer accompanied with ialousie and deadly hatred against the best men. Wherefore they concluded, that they must bee very carefull, not to submit themselves to such a man, but should choose some other Lord, who was descended of the same blood, whereof the country, by the Providence of God, was not vnfurnished: that they had *D. Ramir*, brother to the deceased King, *D. Garcia Ramires*, Lord of Monçon and others, who had giuen better hope of them then *D. Pedro*.

By their perswasions, the Noblemen and men of State assembled at Borja, inclined to *D. Ramir*, who was a Monke of the order of Saint Benet. But to the end it might be effected with more order, and lesse difficulty, they resolved to change the place of their assembly, and goe to Monçon.

### D. Garcia Ramires the seuenth of that name and the nineteenth King of Nauarre.

10. IN this dislodging, the Nauarrois grew to bee of an other opinion, considering that *D. Ramir* hauing beene bread vp amongst Monkes, for the space of forty yeeres, it was likely that hee was better acquainted with matters belonging to a monastike and solitarie life, then to gouerne a Kingdome, besides they grew ialous, that the Arragonois choosung a King of the bloud royall of Arragon, they would by this meanes aspire to the chiefe places of fauour and honour in Court: wherefore these things being propounded in priuate assemblies, by *D. Sancho de Rosas*, Bishop of Pamplone, *Ladron de Gueuara*, sonne to *Tynes*, chiefe of the house of Gueuara in Alaua, pelone, *Ladron de Gueuara*, sonne to *Tynes*, chiefe of the house of Gueuara in Alaua, *William Aznarez* of Oteyça, *Fortunacion Ynigues* of Leete, *Ximen Aznarez* of Oteyça, the which hauing performed with great diligence, they did choose *D. Garcia Ramires*, the which hauing performed with great diligence, they did choose *D. Garcia Ramires*, Lord of Monçon for King of Nauarre, who was sonne to the infant *D. Ramir* grand-child to *D. Sancho Garcia*, &c. great grand-child, to *D. Garcia* the 6. who was son vnto the king *D. Sancho* the great. *D. Garcia* was at Monçon at the time of this election, with the Arragonois, assisting at their assembly, for the election of a future King, hauing no thought to aspire to that degree, when as *Willi. Aznarez* of Oteyça, &c. *Ximen Aznarez* of Torres,

*D. Pedro* King  
fled for his  
solence.

*Division* &  
among the No-  
bility of Na-  
uarre and Ar-  
ragon.

A Torres, beeing sent by the assembly of *Pampelone*, came to aduertise him of that which had past, and led him secretly away to *Pampelone*. So *D. Garcia Ramires* was established King of Nauarre, in October, 1134. being about forty yeeres old.

### D. Ramir the second of that name, and fifth King of Arragon.

11. VVhen as the Arragonois vnderstood that there was a King in Nauarre, they suddenly made choise of *D. Frere Ramir* for their King, who had beene Monke at Tomires, appointed to bee Bishop of Roda and Barbastro, hauing beene before of Bourgos and Pampelone, and in like manner had beene chosen Abbot of Sahagun in Castille, and was a priest, as *D. Rodrigo Ximenes* the Archbishop doth write: To his election was added a dispensation from Pope *Anclerus*, then reigning. By this meanes the Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon, which had beene vnited eight and fifty yeeres, since the King *D. Sancho Ramires*, were seperated in these two Kings.

*D. Frere Ramir*, the new King of Arragon, had need of a more quiet estate, in respect of his breeding vp in Saint Benets order, for thinking to raigne in Arragon, hee found a rough aduersary in *D. Alphonso Raymond* King of Castille, wherefore hee retired himselfe into the mountaines of Sobrarbre, hauing neither force nor courage to oppose himselfe against him: so as to settle and to assure himselfe, he was forced to vse mildet meanes then armes, and come to prayers and intreaties, imploying mediators which were fit to treat, and pleasing to his enemy. Amongst others which labored to make a peace betwixt these two Princes, were, *D. Oldegaire* Archbishop of Tarragone; but both he and the rest lost their labours, for the King of Castille beeing come neere vnto Saragossa, the chiefe city of that Estate, hee was receiued, and commanded there as King, hauing in his company *D. Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Barcelona, his wiues brother, and *Roger* Earle of Foix who had married the other sister of Queene *D. Berenguela*, *D. Alphonso Iordain* Earle of Tolouse, *Armingol* Earle of Virgel, *Mir* Earle of Pallars, *Berenger* Arch-deacon of Toledo, and many other Knights of Castille, Arragon, Cattelogne, yea and of France.

Hauing with this company disposed of the affaires of Arragon, he returned to Leon, whereas he made an assembly of Prelats, and other chiefe men of his Estates, whereas hee caused himselfe to bee crowned Emperor of Spaine in the Cathedral church, with the solemnities and ceremonies requisite in so great an act, receiuing the holy vnction and the crowne from *D. Raymond*, Archbishop of Toledo, which title was afterwards confirmed (as some Spaniards write) by Pope *Innocent* the second, although that the Kings his Predecessors (who had vsurped the like title, for that they were soueraine Lords in their countries, without acknowledging any other secular power) had not affected the like confirmation. Some say this coronation was at Toledo: it may bee it was a reiteration of that pompe and ceremony in Castille and the territory of Toledo, which were distinct Kingdomes, and different from that of Leon, or it may bee a second coronation, as the custome is in the Empire of Germany.

They adde moreouer that the name of Imperiall was confirmed to that city, by King *D. Alphonso* the eighth, and armes giuen it, the which it carries at this day, which are, an Emperor in a roab of gold, sitting in a throne, holding a globe in his left hand, and in his right a sword. In this pompe the church of Toledo had by gift from the Emperor *D. Alphonso*, the towne of Alcala the old, in the yeere 1135. It was a fort built by the Moores, and ruined in the former warres: wherefore they hold that *D. Raymond* the Archbishop did afterwards build the towne of Alcala de Henares, whereas it is at this day, and whereas in old time the towne of Complutum stood.

This Spanish Emperor seeing himselfe in that greatnesse, strooke against the same stone where his Predecessors had grossly stumbled, and came to diuide his realmes among

Arragon.

Saragossa sit-  
ed on by the  
King of Castille.

Castille.

Alphonso Ray-  
mond King of  
Castille crow-  
ned Emperor  
of Spaine.

Toledo the  
Imperial  
towne.

An. 1135.

Castile and  
Leon, divided.

mongst his children, making them Kings, being ill aduised by bad counsel: to *D. Sancho* A the eldest he gaue Castile and Toledo; and to *D. Fernand* Leon and Galicia. To *D. Sancho* hee extended the ancient lymits of Castile towards Leon, vnto the towne of Sahagun, by Moral de la Roine, Tordehumos Vregna and Cauillas. To the second he assigned the Lands of Leon and Galicia, with that part of the Asturias, which lies from the river of Oua vnto Galicia.

These seeds of warre and discord, were laied by the bad counsel of the Earles *D. Almeric de Lara*, otherwise called *Manriques*, sonne to *D. Pedro de Lara*, and *D. Fernand* of Transmara, great Noblemen, who thought to maintaine the greatnesse and reputation of their houses the better, by these partages, and from the troubles which might ensue, then if there were but one Monarke in Spaine, an ordinary practise in great Christian Estates: this done *D. Alphonso* returned into Arragon.

Nauarre.

*D. Garcia Ramires* King of Nauarre, seeing the successe of the King of Castile, in the countries of Nauarre and Arragon, doubting hee should not be able to resist the great power of this new Emperor *D. Alphonso*, especially if hee made himselfe maister of *D. Ramirs* Kingdome, as hee was very likely, hee resolved to purchase a peace and his friendship, by some submission vnto him for his realme of Nauarre. *D. Alphonso* then being returned into Arragon, after the ceremonies of his coronation, these two Princes had an interview at Pradilla, with great shewes of loue, where their accord and league was confirmed.

Nauarre was  
salto Castile.

Arragon.

King *D. Ramir*, who could not obtaine his realme of Arragon, pretended to recouer that of Nauarre from *D. Garcia Ramires*, saying, that it belonged vnto him, as being brother, and lawfull successor to the deceased King *D. Alphonso* the warrior; notwithstanding that *D. Garcia* had more interest then hee, or his Predecessors Kings of Arragon, being sonne to the Infant *D. Ramir Sanchez*, and grand-child to the King *D. Sancho Garcia*, slaine by his brother *D. Raymond* through desire of raigne, after which Parricide, the Nauarrois called in *D. Sancho* of Arragon, father to the Kings *D. Pedro*, *D. Alphonso*, and of this Monke, to raigne ouer them, by reason of the minority of the children of their deceased King, and with the forces of Arragon to repulse the murderer *D. Raymond*, and his faction: and to keepe him from raigning in Nauarre: yea *D. Garcia Ramires* had a better title to Arragon, then *D. Alphonso Raymond* King of Castile, for that he was descended from the King *D. Garcia Sanchez*, the eldest sonne of *D. Sancho* the great, but where force raignes, right must giue place. Notwithstanding all these reasons, *D. Frere Ramir* would make warre in Nauarre, and being in armes, hee forced *D. Garcia* to arme also, who to auoide the danger which did threaten him, if *D. Ramir* should make an agreement with the King of Castile, hee made hast to doe the homage, whereof wee haue spoken, but it continued not long: for soone after the Kingdome of Nauarre recouered the ancient and hereditary souerainty. *D. Ramir*, who kept at Monclus in the mountaines of Sobrarbe, staid not long to submit himselfe also to the King of Castile, and to doe him homage for his realme of Arragon: wherefore *D. Alphonso* restored him all his lands except Sarragossa, and some other places, which he kept, to make vse of them against the Moores.

War betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

In the meane time there were cruell warres vpon the frontiers of Nauarre and Arragon: but the Prelats desirous to see this warre ended, laboured to reconcile the two Kings. *D. Sancho de Rosas*, bishop of Pampelone, an Arragonois borne, delt so in this treaty of peace, as hee gaue the King *D. Garcia* occasion to suspect him to be false vnto him, for the which he chased him out of his countries, whereupon he was taxed of two great seuerity; and for that he had banded himselfe against a prelat, he was in a manner compared to *D. Pedro d' Athares*, who by reason of his sterne and fower disposition, had become reiected from the royall dignity, so dangerous it was to touch these sacred persons, were they good or bad.

The Prelats who had vndertaken to make this appointment, neuer ceased vntill they had brought it vnto these termes, that they should choose fixe knights: three of either realme, by whose iudgement all quarrells should be ended: for Nauarre were chosen *Ladron de Guenars*, *William Aznars* of Oteyca, and *Ximen Aznars* of Torres for Arragon

A Arragon they did choose *D. Pedro d' Athares*, *D. Casal*, and *D. Ferris* of Huesca. These fix being assembled at Vadoluengo; after many countels and conferences, in the end they concluded that either party should lay downe armes, and the two Kings should continue good friends; and for an order betwixt them, they assigned vnto *D. Garcia Ramires*, the superiority ouer the Nobility, who should haue the conduct of armies as General of both realmes; and that *D. Ramir* should haue commandment ouer the rest of the people, and administer iustice, the which should take place in regard of their persons onely, and during their liues: with which sentence the Kings were not well contented. Yet *D. Ramir* being willing to satisfie *D. Garcia*, came to Pampelone, where hee was receiued with great honour procuring at his first coming the restitution of *D. Sancho* the Bishop, whom hee restored into fauour with the King *D. Garcia*. There they consulted for the setting downe of certaine and apparent lymits, betwixt the two realmes of Nauarre and Arragon. The seperation was drawne by a direct line, from Saint *Encratia*, to Bisoal, the valley of Roncall remayning to Arragon. Then passing the river of Sarazas, vnto the place whereas it falls into that of Yda, and to Pont Saint *Martin*, and from thence to the place whereas Yda falls into the river of Arragon, and that of Arragon into Arga, and that of Arga into Ebro, and a long Ebro, into Tudela.

Treaty of  
peace betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Ancient lymits  
betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Nauarre.

This diuision being made, it seemed there should not remaine any cause of hatred betwixt these two Kings; and that *D. Garcia Ramires*, should reuerence *D. Ramir*, as his father; and *D. Ramir* embrace *D. Garcia* as his sonne, to whom moreouer hee granted, during his life, out of his portion, Valtierra, Quadrita, and that which lies betwixt Roncal, and Bisoal, the which he should hold in fee of the crowne of Arragon, to bee reunited againe after his death. Yet *D. Garcia* was not satisfied with this accord, perswading himselfe still, that *D. Ramir* ought not to raigne in Arragon; for that hee had bene a professed Monke, and had taken all orders: so as vpon the pursute thereof he made to bee freed from the homage which hee had done vnto *D. Ramir*, for those places aboue mentioned; he attempted to stay him in Pampelone, giuing the charge thereof to some of his followers, but they could not put it in execution; for the King of Arragon was aduertised by a Knight, called *Trigo d' Ayuar*, so as hauing conferred with *D. Pedro d' Athares*, and other knights of Arragon, he went out of the towne vnknewe, with foure more with him, posting away with all speed vntill he came to Saint Sauour of Leyre, where hee staid three daies for his traine, who came vnto him, according to his directions, and from thence he retired in safety to Huesca. So it happened to the King *D. Sancho Ramires*, as to his great Grand father. *D. Garcia Sanchez*, when as he would haue taken King *Fernand* the first King of Castile, his yonger brother, prisoner, in the towne of Nagera:

Strande of the  
King of Nauarre  
ill executed.

Hereupon *D. Ramir* began to leauy men for the future warre of Nauarre, whereof the King *D. Garcia* was assured; and therefore hee made many prouisions for his defence and safety: the best and most worthy to bee imitated, was, that hee made choise of twelue of the chiefe families of his country, whom hee bound vnto him by honours and preferments, making them as it were heads of all the rest of the Nobility and gentry of Nauarre. Which were the houses of Guenara, Almoraut, Baçtan, Aybar, Leet, Subica, Rada, Bidaurre, Monragut, Vrox, Calcant, and Mauleon. He made one Commander ouer these noble houses, which should bee respected of them next to the Kings person: this was *D. Ladron* of Guenara to whom he gaue the title of Earle, and was the first which called himselfe Earle of Nauarre: this hee did, for that there were some gentlement of his country beganne to abandon him; to follow the partie of Arragon, retyring to *D. Ramir*, who entertained them; and assigned them lands in Arragon. Of which number was *D. Casal*, a man of great quality in those daies, hauing lands in both realmes, so as hee quit them in Nauarre to serue the King of Arragon, but as hee carried himselfe verie passionately in these quarrells, hee fell soone after into a great danger; for being sent by *D. Ramir*, to the Emperor *D. Alphonso* of Castile, to confirme a peace with him, that hee might with more liberty attend the affaires of Nauarre, as hee

Orders for  
the Nobility of  
Nauarre.

past

past vnaduisedly neere vnto the lands of *D. Garcia*, being aduertised thereof, he caused a him to be taken, at a place called *Cares*, a little Bourg, the which is now become a towne, named *Pont de la Roine*, vpon the riuier of *Arga*, about the which growes the best wine of all the countrie of *Nauarre*. *D. Casal* was put in a streight prison, where he continued long; but the Abbot of *Saint Saluador* of *Leyre*, who was his kinsman and friend, gaue vnto theking all the Jewels and treasure of his Abbey to redeeme him: wherefore after his deliuerie he shewed himselfe very thankfull to this Monasterie, and gaue vnto it all the lands he had in *Tudele*.

Arragon.

Dexterity of  
D. Alphonso  
King of Cas-  
tile.

All matters betwixt the Kings of Castile and Arragon were reconciled, and there was an interview of these two Princes at *Alagon*, whereas *D. Ramir* did acknowledge to hold his Realme in fee, and did homage to *D. Alphonso*, which submission continued some yeares. Such was the dexterity of the King of Castile, hauing reduced these two some yeares. Such was the dexterity of the King of Castile, hauing reduced these two Kings vnder his Soueraigntie, and as it were feudataries of his Empire, that although they had a great desire to inuade one another, yet he kept them from all open hostility, as well by his authoritie, as by other meanes: sometimes restraining them by promises, sometimes by threatnes, presuming, that if they continued in that estate, he should haue them more at his commandement, then if one increasing with the ruine of another, he would grow so great, as he might rebell, and deny him the homage which hee had sworne.

King *D. Ramir* presently after he had left the Monasterie, married (with a dispensation from the Pope, for that he had sung Masse) to a French Ladie, called *D. Agnes* or *Agnes*, daughter to *William* Earle of *Poitiers*, and Duke of *Guienne*, who dyed in the year 1136. going in pilgrimage to *Saint James*, for else his sister, as some hold, by whom he had the Infanta *D. Petronilla*, who was afterwards married to the Earle of *Barcelone*: he did not long enioy his wife, after whose death, desiring to quill the affaires of the world, he sent his onely daughter to *D. Alphonso* King of Castile, to be bred vp in his Court with the Queene *D. Berenguela*: notwithstanding that the Noblemen of Arragon, brought her backe againe, saying, that shee did not find her selfe well in Castile.

Arragon and  
Castile, re-  
united by mar-  
riage.

An. 1137.

Conditions of  
the treaty.

About that time there was a knight retired into Arragon, called *D. William Raymond* of *Moncada*, Seneschal of *Catlogne*, who had fled, for certaine outrages which he had committed. By him there was a treaty of marriage begun, betwixt the Infanta *D. Petronilla*, heire of Arragon, and *D. Raymond Berenger*, Earle of *Barcelone*: his Lord, the which was afterwards accomplished, and in recompence of so great a service, the Seneschall obtained his pardon, and his dignity, which was to be chiefe and captain of the horsemen. It is not certaine when this marriage was effected, but it is probable, that it was neere the end of King *D. Ramir*, for that the Infanta *Petronilla*, was onely two or three yeeres old, when as the King left the gouernment of the Realme, to returne to his religious order, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1137. three yeeres after his election and promotion to the crowne, at which time the authors write that this marriage was concluded by words, *De futuro*: the conditions amongst others, were. That the Earle should not take vpon him the title of King, but should onely call himselfe Prince of Arragon, and Earle of *Barcelone*, but that the children which should descend of this marriage, should be called Kings of Arragon. That the Earle should carry in chiefe, the first and most ancient armes of Arragon, which was a crosse argente in a field azure, in all actions of warre, but hee might carry those of *Barcelone* in his shield and ensignes, hauing foure bends gueules, or a field or: yet the ensigne bearers should be of Arragon; that the Arragonois should take the deuise of *Saint George*.

This treaty being made and concluded in *Barbastro*, by the King, being assisted by the Noblemen of Arragon, and the Earle of *Barcelone*, hee was received in quality of Regent of the Realme of Arragon, with the which *Catlogne* remained vntil a hundred and three yeeres, after that Arragon was made a realme, and two hundred and three yeeres after that there had bene hereditary Earles in *Catlogne*. This done, King *D. Ramir* giuing over all administration and gouernment, as in a royall

Estate

A estate and habit, hee had alwaies carried a Monkes heart, hee retired into a Monastery which hee had buile, in the Parish of *Saint Peter* the olde at *Huesca*, there to spend the remainder of his daies religiously, with the Chaplins.

This Prince is taxed of cowardise and great cruelty, being transported with continual ieaousies, his deeds doe witnesse it, for that by the counsel of the Abbot of *Saint Ponce* of *Toumese* in *Languedoc*, he cut off the heads of *Lope Ferencio*, *Rodrigo Ximenes*, *Pedro Martines*, and *Fernand Gomas*, all of the house of *Lara*: *Federic Lisana*, *Pedro Verga*, *Gyles Atroft*, *Pedro Sarmel*, *Garcia Pigna*, *Raymond de Fesses*, *Pedro Lucilla*, *Michel Aclurio* and *Sancho Fontana*, all noble men of great houses; onely vpon a conceit that hee was contemned by them: This execution was done at *Huesca*. They

Cruelty of the  
King D. Ra-  
mir.

B hold that this yeere 1137. the towne of *Lerida*, held by the Moores, was attempted, but not taken, by the Earle *D. Raymond Berenger*, who seeing himselfe aduanced in dignity, greatnesse and forces, being Prince of Arragon and Earle of *Barcelone*, would also enlarge his estates, and ioine vnto it the realme of *Nauarre*, reuiuing the pretended title of his father in law *D. Frere Ramir*, for the effecting whereof hee had many treaties with the Emperour *D. Alphonso* of Castile, whom hee found alwaies fauourable, by the mediation of the Queene *D. Berenguela* his sister, so as being prouoked by the Earle, and no lesse by his owne ambition, hee led an army against *D. Sancho Ramirez*, whom hee found well attended to make head against him betwixt *Cortes* and *Gallur*, where it pleased God to stay these armies from fighting, by the meanes of some good

C men, who did mediate some kinde of accord for that time. Notwithstanding Count *Raymond* (desirous to imbarke the Emperour *D. Alphonso*, his brother in law in this warre) came vnto him to *Carrión*, where hee renewed the oath of fealty, doing him homage for the country of Arragon, where he did insinuate so well into his fauour, as hee got out of his hands the townes of *Sarragosse*, *Tarasone*, *Calatajub* and *Daroça*, which were held by the Castilians. Afterwards *D. Raymond Berenger* returned againe to *D. Alphonso*'s court at *Carrión*, whereas the conditions and Articles were concluded and set downe, concerning the warre which they should make in common, against *D. Garcia* King of *Nauarre*.

League be-  
twixt the  
King of Cas-  
tile and  
Prince of Ar-  
ragon against  
the King of  
Nauarre.

D Amongst the which they diuided the Beares skinn before hee was taken, agreeing, that of all the country of *Nauarre* which they should conquer, the Emperour *D. Alphonso* should haue a third part, and the other two should belong vnto *D. Raymond*, Prince of Arragon, vpon condition to hold them in fee of the realme of Castile. At this treaty there were present the Bishops *D. Berenger* of *Salamanca*, and *D. Pedro* of *Burgos*, with other Noblemen both Clergy and Secular. From *Carrión* they went to *Soria*, where after they had held a councill of prophane things, they had a great care of religion, that is to say, of the temporal reuenues of the Church, wherefore the King and Queene did giue vnto the Monastery of *Saint Mary* of *Valbanera*, a house in *Canegosa*, with certaine immunities, to the end that if any thing were attempted vniuistly, to the ruine of another, this sinne might by that means be purged.

E The army of Castile being ready to march, the Emperour *D. Alphonso* past vnto the frontier of *Nauarre*, by the riuier of *Ebro*, marching along the which, hee came to *Calaoorra*, where hee was met by *D. Sancho* Bishop of *Calaoorra*, *D. Stephen* Prior of *Saint Mary* the royall of *Nagera*, *D. Michel* Bishop of *Tarasone*, with the Earle *D. Ladrón* of *Gueuara*, and others, who employed themselves happily to appease the ambition of this Prince, and to conuert the warre into a good peace, the which was concluded by an interview of the two Kings of Castile and *Nauarre*, betwixt *Calaoorra* and *Alfaro*: to confirme the which, there was a marriage concluded betwixt the Infant *D. Sancho*, the eldest sonne of Castile, and *D. Blanche*, daughter to *D. Garcia* King of *Nauarre*, in the yeere of our Lord 1140. and promises made by words, *de futuro*, by reason of the tender age of the Infanta, who was deliuered vnto *D. Alphonso* her father in law, to be bred vp in Castile, vntil shee were capable for the consummation of the marriage.

Nauarra.

Peace betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Castile.

Cc

14. This

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14. This was a second crosse to the desires of the new Prince of Arragon, who was at the same time in quarrel with the knights of the Temple, and the Hospitaliers of Saint John of Ierusalem, which pretended the succession of the realme of Arragon, by the vertue of the Testament of the deceased King D. *Alphonso* the Warrior, by the which they were made heires. *Raymond* Maister of the hospitaliers was come into Spaine to that end, who seeing it very difficult to challenge their right by armes, and that to pursue it by Iustice, besides the tediousnesse, the event would be vncertaine, and the execution very hard, hee sought to make an accord, and compounded with D. *Raymond Berenger*, quitting vnto him that part which did belong vnto the Hospital, vpon condition, that if he died without children lawfully begotten, it should returne to the same religion.

Besides hee receiued many benefices and charitable gifts for the sayd religion, in those places which the Earle did then enioy, with promise of a large portion of all which hee should conquer from the Moores. According to this accord the Templers turkeased their action: so as after that time those two Orders got great revenues in Arragon, Catalogne, and Valencia. In the transaction which was made betwixt D. *Raymond Berenger* and the Templers, for the Prince there assisted, the Bishops of Saragosse, and Huesca, with the ArchBishop of Tarragone: and moreover *Arnaud* Earle of Pallars, *Bernard* of Comminges, *Peter* of Bigorre, and other Noblemen and knights of Arragon, Catalogne and others: and for the Templers, *Euerard*, *Ostan* of Saint Ordogno, *Hugo Borrato*, *Pedro Anticho* and *Bernard Rignol*. This accord was confirmed by Pope *Adrian* the fourth.

Nauarre.

D. *Garcia Ramires* King of Nauarre, being (by meanes of a peace made with D. *Alphonso* Emperour of Spaine) freed from a great danger, he stood very carefully vpon his guard, in respect of D. *Raymond Berenger*, who prest him towards Arragon, finding himselfe strong ynough to resist him: for notwithstanding that the Earle was a wife and valiant knight, yet the King D. *Garcia* was nothing inferiour vnto him in vertue, greatnesse of courage, knowledge and discipline in warre, and was also well assisted with good and wife Knights, amongst the which hee was faithfully serued by D. *Sancho de Rosas* Bishop of Pampelone, newly reconciled, the Earle D. *Ladron* of Gueuara Lord in Ayauar, *William Aznares* Lord in Sanguesse, *Ximen Aznares*, Lord in Tafalle, *Ramir Garcia*, Lord in the towne of Saint Mary of Vxue, *Martin de Lees*, Lord of Galmipienço, & *Peralta*, Lord in Funes and Valtiera, *Iean Dia*, Lord in Calcant, *Ramir Sanchez*, Lord in Maragon (they were Gouvernors or Captaines in these places) & many others, as well of his owne country, as of France. Hee kept in fronter places well manded, like a prouident Prince, as the fort of Tudele, which came vnto him by marriage, as we will shew, *Bureta* and *Sos*.

Hee had put a valiant captaine into the fort of *Malon*, called *Gerard* the Diuell into that of *Frescano* an other captaine, a stranger, called *Robert* of *Matalon*, and so in the rest which frontered vpon Arragon. Moreover hee had practised a league with France, first with *Lewis* the sixth, surnamed the Grosse and then with *Lewis* the seueneth, called the young, who assisted him with their forces, and fortified his army, when as the Emperour D. *Alphonso* presented himselfe first betwixt Cortes and Galur, and then in the second expedition of Calaoorra, where the peace was concluded and confirmed by the marriage of D. *Sancho* Infant of Castille, with D. *Blanche*, Infanta of Nauarre, whom the King D. *Garcia* had had by D. *Marguerite* his wife, daughter to *Rotron* Earle of Perche, who had brought vnto him the towne of Tudele for her dowrie, the which Count *Rotron* had obtained from King D. *Alphonso* the warrior, for his valour and good deserts. The King D. *Garcia Ramires* had many other children by this Ladie: D. *Sancho* who was King after him, D. *Alphonso Ramires*, Lord of Castro Vicio, D. *Marguerite*, who was Queene of Naples and Sicile, married to *William*, sonne to *Roger*, father and mother to an other *William*, King of Naples and Sicile. Queene *Marguerite* dyed about the yeere 1141. after which the King D. *Garcia* married againe with D. *Prraca*, bastard daughter to the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, which he had by a gentle.

Genealogy of  
Nauarre.

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A gentlewoman, called D. *Contrude* sister to one *Diego Abregon*, or *Apricio*. The King had one daughter by this second wife, called D. *Sancho*, who was married first to *Gaston* Earle of Bearne, and afterwards to D. *Pedro de Molina*, from whom issued D. *Almerigo*, or *Manrique*, who was vicont of Narbonne, by succession from D. *Ormesind*, his grand-mother by the fathers side: some say, that the second wife of the King D. *Garcia*, was not D. *Vrraca*, bastard daughter to D. *Alphonso* King of Castille, but the daughter of D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biscay the third of that name, and the first which intitled himselfe de Haro, the which was called D. *Geoffrey*, who sister D. *Prraca Lopes*, was wife to D. *Fernand* King of Leon, the second of that name, sonne to the Emperour D. *Alphonso* then raiging. These two Ladies had also one brother, called D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, surnamed the good, who was a braue a valiant Knight. Yet the first opinion taken out of D. *Rodrigo Jimenes*, Archbishop of Toledo, a Nauarrois, is more approoued by the Spaniards, touching the marriages of the King D. *Garcia*.

Family of Haro  
the Lords of  
Biscay.

There is mention made in the Histories of Spaine, of a Lady of this house of Biscay, called D. *Maria Lopes*, verie deuout and bountifull to the Clergy, who gaue Saint *Michele de Barbadiella*, Saint *Mary de Lor*, Saint *Mary d'Estialu*, *Aperreguin* and *Magnariette*, with other lands which are in the Province of Alaua, where she dwelt, to the Monasterie of Nagera. The deuotion of Princes and Noblemen in those daies was great, struing who should giue most vnto the Church, being instructed by the Clergie, that the onely meanes to redeeme their soules from eternal damnation, was to doe good to religious men, who praied to God for them, whilst they abandoned themselves to all voluptuousnesse, and pleasures in their secular estates, spoiling oftentimes their neighbours, or subiects of their patrimonies to enrich (that is to say, to ruine) the Church, making Bishops, Abbots, Priests and Monkes partakers of their rapines and spoiles.

Donations vnto  
the churches.

During the troubles of Castille, Arragon and Nauarre, there grew great contention betwixt D. *Simeon* Bishop of Burgos, and D. *Sancho de Punes*, Bishop of Calaoorra, for the church & sepulture of Saint *Dominike* of Calçada, either of them maintayning that it was of his Diocese and iurisdiction. Therein (in my opinion) they did not strue who should hate the greatest flock, and feed the best for their soules health, but they rather sought their owne reputations, and particular profits, for that the opinion of the holiness of this dead man, did every day increase, in which place they built a towne, and moreover that the Kings then raiging in Spaine were very deuout, and great benefactors; namely the Emperour D. *Alphonso Raymond*, and his wife D. *Berenguela*, who had a little before indowed this church with great possessions. The cause was argued before Iudges appointed by the Emperour, yet named by the two Bishops which contended: for him of Calaoorra there was chosen *Pedro de Granon*, Arch-deacon of Calaoorra, and for the Bishop of Burgos, the Arch-deacon of Birbiesca, called also *Peter*, a dignitary of Burgos; these two hauing made diligent inquiry, examined ancient and credible witnesses, and visited the confines of both Dioceses, they gaue sentence for the Bishop of Calaoorra, the which in the yeere 1137. many notable personages assisting at the Iudgement signed.

Castille.

Debate among  
Bishops to en-  
large their Di-  
oceses.

In the yeere 1141. the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, to incourage men to people the towne which they began to build about the church of Saint *Dominike*, granted to the Inhabitants thereof, the use of the woods, Forrests, mountaines and pastures thereabouts like vnto the other townes their neighbours, and moreover the waters which fell from the mount of *Fayola*, with other commodities, which did helpe to plant this Bourg, which beganne then to bee build, and since is growne a good towne, and a Cathedrall church, as we see it. The towne was vnder the iurisdiction of the church, for a time, for some occasions, there was a Court rayoll established, in the time of *Ferdinand* the third, as we will note hereafter.

An. 1141.

Cc 2

D. Alphonso



D. Alphonso Henriques the first King  
of Portugal.

Portugal.

**T**he affaires of Portugal during these actions aboue mentioned, remaine obscure, by the error and negligence of authors; for there is no memory found of the deeds of D. Alphonso Henriques, since the conquest of Leyra and of Torresnuas, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1127. vnto the yeere 1139. when as hee past the riuier of Tayo, and led an army against a King of the Moores, called *Ismar* or *Ismael*. In this voyage died D. *Egas Nunez* who had bene Gouvernor to the Earle in his youth, and his faithfull counsellor; hee was interred at the Monastery of Sonfa, neere vnto the towne of Porto. Hee had founded, according to the opinion of some, the Monastery of Saint Martin of Cucuayes, in the country of Saint Mary. *Ismar* came out of his country, against D. Alphonso Henriques, being accompanied by foure other petite Kings Moores: the two armies were in view one of another, in the fields of Obrique; the Earles was about Castroverde, which at that time was called *Cabeças de Reis*, that is to say, heads of Kings: and as the Christians were much inferiour to the Infidels in number; so their opinions were diuers, most inclining to a retreat without fighting: but the Earle who was of a Noble courage, and generous resolution, perswaded his people with such forcible reasons, as they resolved to all hazards, and for a happie presage of a future victory, the souldiars turning themselves to God, were moued to salute their Earle, with a royal name and title, crying all with one voice, Portugal, Portugal, for the King D. Alphonso Henriques.

Royal title of  
the house of  
Portugal.

Being thus incouraged, and all in good order, they charged the Moores squadrons, and made a horrible slaughter of them, so as hauing put them all to flight, they remained Maisters of the field; they tooke five royal Standards of the Moores, and all their baggage.

Victory of O-  
brique.

The Portugals celebrate this memorable victory, called of Obrique, vnto this day: the honour whereof is due to them which dwell betwixt Tayo and Duero, and betwixt Duero and Minio, for the Inhabitants beyond Tayo were at that time subiect to the Moores, who held also a great part of the country on this side. After this bataille D. Alphonso Henriques tooke vpon him the title of King of Portugal, and left by succession to his descendants this title obtained by a military prerogative, before the bataille. Then beganne the armes of that royall house, this King taking (in memorie of so great a victory which God had giuen him) five little shields Azure, representing the Standards of those fackings which he had vanquished, in a great scutcheon argent, placing the small scutcheons like a crosse, through deuotion, in signe of our Sauours five wounds vpon the crosse, adding moreover to euery one of them five deniers argent, which make in all 25. the which with the five scutcheons made the number of thirty representing in some sort the thirty pence which *Judas* receiued to betray his Master, our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ (it is the allegory and spirituall interpretation of the armes of Portugal) to the which was since added a border gucules charged with castles, or, in the time of D. *Sancho* the second of that name King of Portugal, for some causes which we will hereafter speecifie. After the defeat of these five Arabian Kings, who, you must vnderstand were vassals to *Alboali, Aben-Tefn*, the great Miralmumin of Affrike King D. Alphonso returned with his victorious and rich army, to Coimbra, being then the chiefe city of his Estate.

Armes of Por-  
tugal.Practises of  
the Countesse  
of Portugal: a-  
gainst her son.

In this happie successe of his affaires, D. *Theresa* his mother, being a prisoner, sought to crosse him, treating with D. Alphonso King or Emperour of Castile, for her deliuey and restitution: and moreover by her instruments shee made great complaints at Rome, to Pope *Innocent* the third, accusing her son of cruelty and impieties: so as the Pope sent the Bishop of Coimbra into Portugal, being then at Rome, with charge to enioyne the King by the Apostolike authority, and in his name to set

**A** for the Countesse at liberty: which the sonne refusing to obey, the Bishop did interdict the city of Coimbra, and returned to Rome, stealing away secretly in the morning, without the Kings priuity, wherewith being incensed, hee would haue forced the Chapter to proceed to the Election of a new Bishop, wherein hee was not obeyed, so as hee committed many outrages: whereupon the Pope sent a Cardinal Legat vnto him, to correct him, but hee lost his time; for the Countesse continued still in prison, being very expedient and necessary for the good and quiet of the country. For this the Cardinal did interdict all Portugal, and then tooke his way towards Rome: but hee was pursued by the King, who did greatly feare these interdictions: and hauing ouertaken him betwixt Coimbra and Vera, heere vnto the Comanderie of Poyares, hee forced him to disanul this interdiction, and moreover to grant him whatsoever hee desired, partly by force and threats, and partly by persuasions.

Whilest hee was in this debate with the Church, *Ismael* or *Ismar*, who had bene vanquished, came vpon the towne of Leyra, belonging to the Monkes of Saint Croix of Coimbra (the which for that it was ill garded by a Knight called *Payo Guttierres*, who was there in garrison for the Prior) fell againe into the Moores power; whereof the Abbot being aduertised, leauing his frocke and monkes weed, hee went to horse-backe with a good troupe of souldiars, where hauing spoiled the Moores country, hee seized vpon *Ronches*: soone after King D. Alphonso Henriques came and laied siege to Leyra, and tooke it, since which time hee depriued the Monkes of the Temporality of this place and of *Ronches* also, leauing them only the profits of the spirituality.

Leyra taken by  
the Moores.

The warre betwixt Nauarre and Arragon was hot at this time: but D. *Raymond* Nauarre. Prince of Arragon found himselfe troubled, not only against the Moores, which were neighbors to Arragon and Cattelogne, from whom hee tooke Chalamera and Alcolea, vpon the riuier of Cinca, in the yeere 1143. but also against some knights of Province, which were enemies to D. *Berenger Raymond* his brother, hauing seized vpon some places, and bene the cause of great troubles, so as hee was forced to goe himselfe in person: wherefore his country was much annoyed by the Nauarrois, who finding all assured towards Castille, did what they listed: yet at his returne hee had some smal reuenge and tooke the fort of Sos. The peace betwixt the Castellans and Nauarre, being sealed and entertained, it was againe fortified by the marriage of the King D. *Garcia Ramires* with D. *Vrraca*, bastard daughter to the Emperour D. Alphonso, by whom hee had the Infanta D. *Sancho* aboue mentioned: and wee must not doubt but that which some haue left written of this Kings third marriage with the daughter of D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, is a mere fiction. It is likely the towne of Haro was built at that time, whereof the Lords of Biscay, and there successors, carried the name, from whence are descended many worthy knights, and great personages in Castille and Leon. The realme of Nauarre at that time had larger bounds then it had since, hauing no means to augment them vpon the Moores, for that the realmes of Arragon and Castille lay betwixt both; so as the Arragonois, Castellans and Cattelans were to make warre against them, as frontering vpon Valencia, and other their lands and Siegneuries. Yet the Kings of Nauar, which haue bin since, were so far from extending of their lymits, as they haue bene often restrained by the violence and too great power of the Kings of Castille.

An. 1143.

Confirmation  
of the peace  
betwixt Na-  
uarre and Ca-  
stille.

About the yeere 1146. D. Alphonso Emperour of Spaine, resolved to make warre with all violence against the Moores of Andalusia, by reason of the seditions and reuols which were in Affrike, against the Almorauides, whose History it is needfull to relate.

An. 1146.

**F** 16. *Alboali, Aben-Tefn* (whom some will haue to bee *Auicenne* the great Philosopher, whose workes wee read, but without any ground) reigning ouer the Moores of Affrike and Spaine, the third King or Miralmumin of the race of the *Almorauides*; a Moore of Affrike, called *Aben-Thumert*, very learned in Astrology, told a certaine young-man called *Abdelman*, that he found by the starres, he should get the crowne of the Arabians: and therefore hee aduised him to meete with these heavenly influences, and

Moores.

Troubles in  
the Moores  
estate in Af-  
ricke by the  
perditions dy-  
uinations.

and to prepare himselfe to receiue this great good which they had promised him. A  
This man although hee were of a base and vile condition, whose father got his ly-  
uing by making of pots, and other earthen vessel, yet hee was neither faint-hearted, nor  
without ambition, wherefore hee gaue such credit to that which the Astrologer had  
deliuered vnto him, as leauing his house and trade, hee acquainted himselfe with a  
certaine religious Moore, a Doctor in the law of *Mahumet*, and withal eloquent in  
the Arabian tongue, and therefore much esteemed amongst all the Affrican Moores,  
to whom hee imparted the prognostication of *Aben Thumert*, intreating him to coun-  
cell him, and to assist him in a matter of so great importance, assuring him that if hee  
attained to that which hee aspired, hee would make him the chiefe man amongst the  
Arabians, next vnto himselfe. B

A new sect a-  
mong the Ara-  
bians of Af-  
fricke.

This Doctor who was called *Almohadi*, tickled with the hope of greatnesse, could  
finde no better, nor more expedient meanes, then to bring in new sects, and to make  
some change in religion, knowing that nothing doth more alter and transport the  
hearts of men, then perswasion of religion: wherefore he employed his knowledge and  
eloquence to interpret *Mahumets Alcaron*, after a strange manner, and neuer heard of a-  
mong the Arabians, nor any other nations that were his sectaries: fitting it so well  
to the humors and dispositions of the people, as in a short time hee was followed by  
the greatest part of the Affrican Moores, a nation easily misled with superstition: so  
as if before they tooke *Almohadi* for a holy man, now they held him for a Prophet,  
sent vndoubtedly from God. Hee seeing this businesse succeed so well as hee was  
wellcome throughout all Affricke, and admired of all men, hee beganne to put forth  
this youngman *Abdelmon*, giuing the people to vnderstand, that he was of the true and  
lawfull royall race of their great Prophet *Mahumet*, and that hee was a man sent of  
God, endowed with such vertue, as hee should subiect all the world to the Law of *Ma-  
humet*; that those great matters had bene diuinely fore-told him, and signified by  
the starres and heavenly motions: so as by his perswasions his fictions were receiued  
and beleued of all men. And proceeding farther, he presumed to speake something  
against King *Alboali*, and the present Estate and Government of the Almorauides,  
and so by little and little to taxe him openly, declaring with great assurance, that *Albo-  
ali* was a tyrant, whose race had by force and violence expelled out of the royal throne  
of the Arabians in Affricke the lawfull Princes descended from *Aben-Alabey*, and that  
the will of God, reuealed and knowne vnto him by many signes from heauen, was  
that *Abdelmon* should bee aduanced and chosen for King: hee who was sent of God,  
and descended from the royall bloud of their great Prophet *Mahumet*. This Impos-  
tor did so preach vnto them, concurring with the diuell to bewitch these credulous  
men, giuen to the damnable art of dyuining, as many Noblemen and Knights, with  
an infinit number of the Affrican people, desirous of Innouations, according  
to the mutinous nature of that nation, tooke armes against King *Alboali*, bee-  
ing accompanied, assisted and counselled by *Abdelmon*, *Aben-Thumert* and *Almo-  
hadi*. Whereof the King aduertised, meaning to suppress these great altera-  
tions, hee rayfed his forces, and had diuers incounters against this new sect, which  
carried the name of *Almohades*, by reason of their Preacher *Almohadi*. E

Auicenna and  
other learned  
Arabians.

Wee haue sayd that some were of opinion, that the King *Albo-Ali Aben Tefin*,  
was hee whom we call *Auicenna* or *Auicenni*, saying that the goodly workes which  
are amongst vs at this daie, were compiled and written by his commandement, by the  
four and twenty great Philosophers, and published vnder the name of *Auicenna*. For  
my part I rather beleue them which haue written that *Auicenna* or *Auicenna*, cal-  
led also *Albo-Hali*, was an excellent man, learned in Philosophy and Physicke, as his  
rare workes written in the Arabicke tongue doe witnesse, being translated since  
into Latin, who liued in those daies at Cordoua in Spaine, where it seemes the Moores  
had alwaies entertained an vniuersity of all sorts of sciences, with a great concourse  
of learned men of their nation; the which had bene alwaies well furnished, the  
Affricans being people giuen to contemplation, and of a subtil spirit: wherefore  
they haue made Astrology famous, and aduanced a sect of Physicke diuerse from  
that

A that of the Grecians, giuen wonderfully to diuination and coniuring, very supersti-  
tious in matters of religion, and reasonably eloquent either in verse or prose.  
*Aben-Rols* whom wee call *Auerrois* liued and frequented with him, a great Commen-  
tator of *Aristotle*, who through enuy poysoned *Auicenna*, who finding it before it  
had wrought his full effect, caused the poysoner to be slain, as *Mesua* and *Zoar* report:  
for hee was a man of great authority, and of a Princes house.

B Then also liued *Aben-Zoar*, and other great and learned Arabians, which haue  
written many goodly workes in their owne language, in naturall Phylosophy,  
Metaphisicke, Physicke and Astrologie, whereof part haue bene preferred and  
kept vnto our daies, and some lost. If these were Moores borne in Spaine, it  
redoundes to the honour of the countrie: but it is doubtfull whether they came out  
of Affricke.

The Moores Estate being thus troubled in Affricke, it moued the Christian Prin-  
ces to make some gallant attempt vpon them of Spaine: wherefore the Emperour  
D. *Alphonso* beganne in the yeere of our Lord 1146. to raise a great army of his sub-  
iects of Castille, Toledo, Leon and other countries, and to make the Christians armes  
of greater force, hee laboured to make a peace betwixt the King of Nauarre, and D.  
*Raymond* Prince of Arragon, for the effecting wherof hee called them to Saint *Ste-  
phano de Gormas*, whither becoming come, hee could not obtaine any thing of them,  
but a truce for some few daies. There notwithstanding they treated of the warre a-  
gainst the Moores, in the which these two Princes ayded the Emperour: the King of  
Nauarre by land, and the Earle of Barcelone by sea, who hauing armed some ships,  
and giuen the charge thereof to D. *Galician* great Admiral of Cattelogne, and to  
the Earle of Vrgel, hee caused them to ioyne with the Geneuois, who either  
for pay, or voluntarily in hope of some gaine, came to this warre, and there did  
great seruice. The land army was great and well furnished with good and val-  
iant Knights, the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, and the King D. *Garcia Ramires* bee-  
ing there in person, their entrie into Andalusia was so fearefull, as approaching  
and coming neere vnto Cordoua, with a shew to besiege it, that great and well  
peopled citie, which had bene the Queene of Spaine for so many yeares, was yeeled  
vnto him by the Gouvernour *Aben-Gami*, who presented him the keyes with great hu-  
militie, not attending either assault or batterie; into the which the Christian Princes  
entred in armes, but very peaceably, in the yeere 1147. Yet the Spaniards write, that for  
that the towne was of too great a guard, and wonderfully peopled, it was left in see to  
*Aben-Gami* himselfe, who did homage to the King of Castile, the which is very doubt-  
full, considering the importance of the place, and the consequence thereof. We may  
beleue that the Emperour assured himselfe after another manner, and with better cau-  
tion then the faith of this Moore, who (they say) sware vpon their Alehoran, to bee  
his faithfull vassall: from thence the armie marched towards Baeça, the which being  
E inuested, they had newes that the Moores came to succour it: wherefore the Emperour  
going to meet them, he fought with them, and had the victorie, and afterwards tooke  
the towne by composition; where leauing a sufficient garrison to assure the countrey  
behind his armie, he marched on to Almerie, a towne vpon the Mediterranean sea,  
which at this day belongs to Granado, much frequented of Merchants of diuers na-  
tions. There he found the sea armie of Count *Raymond*, and the galleys of Genoua,  
which had alreadie attempted it, vnder the command of *Ansaldo Doria*, *Ybert Torre*, and  
other captaines of that common-weale. This place was so furiously battered both by  
sea and land, as it was taken by force: yet the Moores being retired into a part of the  
citie of good strength, they were taken to ranfome, from whom they drew great sums  
of mony.

Castile.

Cordoua yeeld-  
ed to the king  
of Castile.

Baeça taken  
from the  
Moores.

Almerie taken  
by force.

F They say, that at this prize, that great and inestimable Emeraude without peere, was  
taken, the which is at this day at Genoua, and was giuen vnto them for their part of  
the bootie, and in recompence of the great seruice they had done there. Yet many be-  
leue, that the Geneuois brought it out of Palestina, from the towne of Cesarea, at  
which seege they were employed. The spoyle & sacke of this place was diuided betwixt  
the

Emeraude of  
inestimable  
price.

the Castellans, Nauarrois, Geneuois, and the subiects of the Earle D. *Raymond*. This is all which was done in that voyage, from whence euery one retired into his country rich, some by land, some by sea. The King *Don Garcia Ramires* accompanied his father-in-law into Castile, where he remayned, with great tranquillitie and content, the rest of that yeare.

Councell at Rheims.

If the Christian affaires in Spaine succeeded well against the Moores, those in Syria declined much: wherupon a Councell was held at Rheims, vnder Pope *Eugenius* the 3, to resolve vpon some meanes, to support the estate of the Kings of Ierusalem, by some ayde from the Princes of Europe. Thither went D. *Raymond*, Archbishop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine: who passing by Saint *Denis* in France, obserued in a chappell an Inscription of this tenour: *Here lyes Saint Eugenius the Martyr, the first Archbishop of Toledo.*

Being returned, he reported vnto the Church what he had found, whereof the Emperor *Don Alphonso*, and the Kings children were aduertised, who together with all the people were exceeding glad: for since the death of this holy man, they could not learne where his body lay. Being thus found, they of Toledo procured means to haue one of his armes, from king *Lewis* the young. It was a remarkable act of Religion in the Archbishop *Don Raymond* in his voyage to Rheims: In our time King *Philippe* obtained from *Charles* the ninth, the French King, and from *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine, and Abbot of Saint *Denis*, therest of the bodie (as they say) of this Martyr, the which was brought to his Church of Toledo, where he had gouerned, *Dominican* being then Emperour at Rome: for they did not know him much in France, neither did it serue to any purpose, amidst the ciuill, or rather vnciuill warres, growne for matter of Religion.

Aragon and Barcelona.

D. *Raymond Berenger* being returned into Cattelogne, hauing the Geneuois army ready, and at his commandement, he employed it against the towne of Tortose which was held by the Moores, the which he beseged both by sea and land: at which sege the Earle left D. *William Raymond* of Moncada, Seneshall of Cattelogne, for his Lieutenant generall, whilst that he made a voyage to Barcelona, to pacifie some seditions which were risen in that citie. Such was the diligence of the Seneshall and Geneuois, as by the 30. day of the sege, after many sharpe assaults giuen and valiantly defended, the towne was taken, and soone after D. *Pedro de Sementa* arriuing with fresh supplies, the castell was also taken: the Geneuois had their part of the spoyle, for the good seruices they had done vnto the Earle. And the Authours of the Arragon Historie write, that a third part of the towne was giuen in fee to the Seneshall D. *William Raymond* of Morcado, and another third part to the common-weale of Genoua, which portion was afterwards redeemed by the Earle D. *Raymond Berenger*, for 16000. Maraudis Marroquins, a kind of mony which was then currant, leauing vnto the Geneuois the Island of Saint *Laurence*, and granting vnto all the Inhabitants of the citie of Genoua, and of the iurisdiction (the which was limited by Porto venere towards the East, and by Monaco, vpon the West, along the sea shore) exemption of all Imposts and customes, *Henrico Guercio, Marin Moro, William Luso*, and others, being then Gouvernours of the Common weale.

Vvarre betwixt Nauarrois and Arragon.

Whilst the Earle was busie at this warre, the King of Nauarre brake the truce made at Saint *Estienne de Gormas*: for that the King *Don Garcia* hauing caused the Emperour *Don Alphonso*, and other Noblemen and Prelates, to perswade and aduise the Earle, to relinquish the pretensions, which hee vaunted to haue to the Realme of Nauarre, hee would not do it, but threatened to pursue it, when oportunitie serued: wherefore the Nauarrois did ouer-runne the Countrey of Arragon, and tooke the Towns of Thauiste and Fayos, where they put good Garrisons, to serue as a frontier against the Arragonois.

Portugal.

It is no wonder, if in all these attempts of the Christian Princes in Spaine, against the Moores, the new King of Portugall did not ioyne with the rest: for that hee was in disgrace and out of fauour with the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, who held him as an vlturper of the Estate of D. *Theresa* his mother: and moreover, of the title of a king, in a

Province

A Province which was subiect to the Soueraigntie of Leon. King D. *Alphonso Henriques* hauing liued now 52. yeares without a wife, he married in the yeare 1146. D. *Malfada Manrique de Lara*, daughter to the Earle D. *Manrique*, Lord of Molina, a great Nobleman of Castile, by whom he had one sonne named D. *Sancho*, who succeeded him in the Realme of Portugall, and the Infanta D. *Vrraca*, who was married first to D. *Fernand* the 2. of that name, King of Leon and Gallicia, and from them issued D. *Alphonso* king of the same Realms, father to the king D. *Fernand* the 3. of Castile and Leon: a marriage notwithstanding which was broken, by reason of their proximitie of blood, and for that they were married without a dispensation. King D. *Alphonso Henriques* had another daughter by D. *Malfada*, called D. *Theresa*, married to *Philip* Earle of Flanders, the first of that name, and one called *Malfada*, as the mother: Besides these lawfull children, the King of Portugall had one bastard before he was married, whom they called D. *Pedro Alphonso* of Portugall. Soone after his marriage, being importuned by the continuall complaints of his subiects, for the spoiles which the Moores of Saint *Iren* committed in his countrey, he resolved to beseege that place, but he preuailed more by policie, then happily he should haue done by open force: for marching thither in the night, after that he had made a vow (passing by that place where as now stands the royal monasterie of *Alcouaga*) to build a Monasterie there if his enterprise succeeded well: it fell out according to his desire, for he put his men secretly into the towne, being ill guarded, without discouerie, and tooke it in the yeare 1147. on Saint *Michaels* day, putting all that resisted to the sword, and taking many prisoners: Being returned to Coimbra, and hauing giuen thanks vnto God for the fauour which he had done him, hee performed his vow, and built the Monasterie of *Alcouaga*, where he placed Monkes of the Order of *Cisteraux*, for the loue of Saint *Bernard*, who liued in those times. After this conquest, seeing that the Miralumin of Affricke and Spaine, was much troubled to defend himselfe against the faction of the Almohades, he followed his good fortune, and tooke from the Moores the castell of Mafra, where he placed D. *Fernand* of Montezzo for Gouvernor, who in succession of time was great Master of the Order of *Auis*, of the profession of S. *Benedict*, which had its beginning during the life of this king of Portugall. Hee tooke also from them the castell of Sintra, and from thence came to lay sege to Lisbon, where he was assisted by many knights of France, England, and Flanders, which came by sea, and landed at Cascais, then came they & camped where as the Monasterie of S. *Francis* was since built, the Kings armie being lodged where as Saint *Vincent* now stands: which places were then without the circuit of the city walls. The citie was so prest by these forces, as after many dangerous assaults, it was taken, the Christians entring by the port of Alfama, the 25. of October 1147. the sege hauing continued siue whole moneths. Many Knights and other strangers, which were come to this warre, desirous to employ themselves continually against the Infidels enemies of our faith, vowed neither to returne into their countreys, but to remaine in Portugall, who by the kings permission inhabited there, and peopled Almada, Villeuerda, Arruda, Zambuja, Castagreira, Lourinhã, Ville-franche, and other places: This citie of Lisbon, which since hath bene the chiefe of Portugall, and the ornament of Spaine, was purged by the bishops from the impieties of *Mahomet*, and their great Mosquee made a Cathedral church, where as one *Gilbert* a stranger, but of a holy life, was made bishop: and the king caused the Monasterie of S. *Vincent* to be built in the same place where he had camped. By means of this important conquest, the king took also from the Moores, Alanguer, Obidos, Torresvedras, and many other places, so as he dispossessed them in this warre, of all the countrie which is called Extremadura, and passing Tayo, he extended his limits, conquering Acaçar de Sal, Ebora, Yelbes, Moura, Serpa, & vnto Veja, where he put the Moores which defended it to the sword, for that during this sege, other Moores hauing taken the towne of Troncoso, had vnpeopled it, and chased away all the Christians that were within it.

Genealogie of the Moores.

S. Iren taken from the Moores.

Lisbon taken from the Moores.

F King D. *Alphonso Henriques* did these goodly exploits, whilst that the Arabians were at war among themselves, by reason of the factions of the Almorauides and Almohades, the which was continued with such animositie, as after many routes of either part

Moores.

on



French king  
fauours the  
king of Na-  
uarre

Genealogie of  
Castile.

Arragon.

1156.

was called by some, Valiant. Hee had some knowledge of learning, honored learned men, and was studious of the Scriptures, as the vse was in those times, and shewed himselfe a great Iusticer: for all which vertues he was much esteemed by other Princes, and was honoured, feared, and loued of his subjects. The armies of the league made at Tudela, beganne to annoy him at his first entrance, and did him some harme vpon his frontiers, yet he did not loose any place of importance: for although hee were very young, yet he was of an active spirit, and a noble courage, and was well and faithfully assisted by his allies, and serued by the Nauarrois. This warre was hottest in the valley of Roncall, but there is no mention, that either in that yeare, or in the others following, there was any memorable exploit done; and they hold that *Lewis* the French king, who had bene a great friend to Don *Garcia* his deceased father, did wonderfully crosse the enterprises of the League, and hindred them all he could, being either vpon his treatie of marriage, or else newly married to *Dona Isabella* Infanta of Castile, in fauour of which, allyance the Emperour *D. Alphonso* did desist from that warre, or did neglect it, and Don *Sancho* his sonne, King of Castile, (who had his choice to marrie *D. Blanche*, or to leaue her) married her, and had a sonne by her at the end of the yeare called *D. Alphonso*, who was king of Castile and Toledo, after the father. Some hold that the marriage of king *Lewis* with *D. Isabella*, was after all this, in the yeare 1154. and that the King of Nauarre came to Burgos, to the celebration thereof, the which was admired by the French, for the exceeding pompe.

The Countie of Nagera was then one of the chief gouernments of Castile, for the C. Gouernour thereof was Captaine generall of the frontier towards Nauarre. The Infant Don *Sancho* who was called king of Castile, did enioy those lands, and had a Lieutenant called *Roderigo Pelaez*, a wise Knight. About that time died *D. Roderigo Gomez*, sonne to Don *Gomez* of Candespina, one of the greatest Noblemen in Castile, whose Tombe is yet to be seene in the Cloyster of Saint *Sauinour* of Ogna: and the towne of Surita was peopled with Christians Musarabes, which came out of Calatajub, Saragossa, and other parts of Arragon.

The Earle Don *Raymond Berenger* sought all meanes possible to seize vpon Nauarre, so desirous he was to ioine it vnto Arragon: importuning the Emperour *Don Alphonso* continually, to declare himselfe an open enemy to *D. Sancho*, so as in the yeare 1156. there was a new League made betwixt them, to vndertake this warre: where among other Articles, for the better fortifying of their friendship, there was a future marriage concluded betwixt Don *Raymond*, the young Infant of Arragon, who was afterwards called *Don Alphonso*, and *D. Sancho* daughter to the Emperour *Don Alphonso*, by his second wife, *Dona Rica*, daughter to *Vladislaus* king of Pologne, whom he had married in the yeare, 1151. yet they could neuer perswade the Emperour *Don Alphonso* to hurt the king of Nauarre, whom he loued: but rather assisted him vnderhand. The same League was renewed at Toledo, in the yeare 1157. after Don *Raymond* returne out of Prouence. The occasion of which voyage was to defend his Nephew, heire to his Brother Don *Berenger Raymond*, who (being in a manner dispossessed of his Estate by the enemies of their house, which had slaine his father in an encounter) had need of his ayde. Hee repulsed the young Earles enemies, assured his Estates, and brought him into Cattelogne, there to bee brought vp. And for that in those troubles of Prouence, the Knights and Commanders of Saint *Iohn* of Hierusalem, (who were growne mercenarie in these Christian warres) did intermeddle, hee gaue them large reuenues in Cattelogne. After the renewing of this League, we find no mention of any worthe ad done by this earle, but that hee debauched some faithlesse and trecherous Knights, which fled out of Nauarre and Arragon; yea one of the greatest called *Garcia Almoraut*, who came vnto him to Lerida, and there made himselfe his vassall, and receiued from the Earle the title of Lord of Roncevaux, Vrras, and Obanos, F which were not in his power: wherefore it is to be presumed, that from that time hee sought to gouerne his Estates peaceably, seeing he could not get the Crowne of Nauarre: and with this desire he ended his dayes, after all his vaine attempts against this Kingdome. Soone after this last assembly at Toledo, the king of Castile was engaged in warre

A warre against the Moores of Andalusia, which made him perchance neglect that of Nauarre, besides he did not greatly affect it.

19 The troubles of Affricke being past, as we haue sayd, *Abdelmon* established Miralmin of the Arabians, and the Almohades in credit by the ruine of the Almorauides. The Preacher *Almohadi* would also haue the Moores of Spaine submit themselves to this yoke: wherefore leauing *Aben Thumert* the Astrologian at Maroc; hee past with *Abdelmon* into Spaine, with great numbers of souldiers, being puffed vp with pride by their late victorie against their enemies. They found no great resistance there: for the petty Kings and Gouernors of Prouinces and townes in Spaine, being prest by the Christians, and too weake to make head against them, seeing the race of the B Almorauides of Affricke extinct, from whom they might haue expected some succors, they sought nothing more then support, to maintaine themselves in their authoritie, and greatnesse, which is most commonly the chiefe god of great men of this world, and therefore as men which regarded not Religion, but for a colour, and for their owne private commodities: so as leauing the interpretation of the *Alcoran*, they embraced the new doctrine of *Almohadi*, without any opposition, thinking to preferre themselves by that means. And as this Impostor did vomit fourth greater blasphemies and impieties, then his Predecessors had done against the true Religion, they became violent and furious persecutors of the Christians: so as the poore Musarabes, who had had some peace of conscience, liuing among the Moores, and had there exercised their religion, without any violence done vnto them for many yeares, were in great perplexitie, being now persecuted by these new Sectaries of *Almohadi*, both in their persons and goods, with all kind of rigor: for that they would not yeeld to their superstitions: so as either by the reuolts, or by death, or by the continually flying away of these poore people, all the townes of Spaine which were held by the Moores, were vnto the Christians, who for about 400. yeares had preferred themselves, inuoking (though C with little knowledge) the name of Iesus Christ. The gouernement of the Almohades in Spaine, continued in *Abdelmon* and his successors 52. yeares, vntill that notable battle in the fields of Tholoufa, called by another name of the mountaines of Muradal, or of Vbeda. *Abdelmon* hauing aspired to that which he pretended, held his royall seate in the citie of Maroc, and shewed himselfe a profitable Prince, and pleasing to the Moores, notwithstanding that he was a Potters sonne, and for his chiefe Councillors, the Astrologian *Aben Thumert*, and the Preacher *Almohadi*, who dying within few months after this conquest, was by the commandement of King *Abdelmon*, buried with pompe and royall honours in a sumptuous Tombe, neare vnto the citie of Maroc, whereas since the foolish multitude, holding him to be some great Prophet, and a messenger of God, made prayers and vovues in all their necessities: as amongst the Christians they had recourse vpon all occasions, to the sepulchers (either true or fained) of Apostles, holy Confessors and Martyrs of the name of Iesus Christ, This passage of the Almohades, bred a great alteration in Spaine, whereas many Moores which held their countries in fee and homage of Christian Princes reuolted.

E The Emperour *D. Alphonso* led first an armie of Christians against this new Estate, in the yeare 1157. being accompanied by his two sons, *D. Sancho*, and *D. Fernand*, who had the titles of Kings: in Andalusia he recovered the towne of Baeça, which had bene lost, and tooke *Quefada* and *Ardujar*. But he did not long enioy this victorie with his subiects, for bringing backe his armie towards Toledo, hee fell suddenly sicke, the which (as he past the mountaine or streight of Muradal) did so increase, as hee was forced to light at a place called *Fresnedas*, where he dyed in the armes of *D. Iohn* Archbishop of Toledo, and of his sonne *D. Fernand*: *D. Sancho* remayning behind to guard those places which he had newly conquered. Hee was a worthe Prince, but too ambitious, a great fauourer and benefactor of the Clergie, a friend to the people, and a severe punisher of the insolencies of great men: of whom the Spaniards write this Historie. That a certaine Gentleman called *D. Fernand* in Gallicia, hauing taken away a poore labourers goods, for which wrong he could haue no iustice from the ordinarie Magistrate of the country, so as he came to the Emperour being at Toledo, where ha-  
D d uing

Moores.

Change of Religion among the Arabians in Spaine.

Christians persecuted by the Almohades in Spaine.

Castile. Death of the Emperour D. Alphonso.



uing watched his oportunitie, he cast himselfe at his feet, making knowne vnto him the violence which had beene done him by D. *Fernand*, and demanded Iustice: The Emperour did not disdain this poore man, but beeing duly informed of the fact, he sent vnto the Gouvernour, and *Merino* Maior of Galicia, commanding them to cause restitution to be made presently vnto the Labourer, of all that he should find had beene taken from him, but the Gentleman would not obey any commaund, neither durst the Iudge force him, either fearing to displease him, or else wanting meanes to constrain him: whereof the Emperour beeing aduertised, hee parted from Toledo, to come into Galicia, where hauing made diligent inquirie of D. *Fernands* fact, and of his disobedience and contumacie, he caused his house to be enuironed; where being taken, he commanded he should be hanged before his owne gate; for a warning to others to liue vprightly and in peace with their neighbors, & not to contemne Iustice nor their Prince. A noble act and worthe imitation. He had reigned king and emperour 35. yeares: his Bodie was carried to Toledo, and interred in the royall chappell of that Church. His Estates were diuided after his death, as hath beene layd, betwixt his two sons D. *Sancho* and D. *Fernand*.

### D. Sancho the sixth King of Castile.

Castile and  
Leon diuided.

**20** The Realmes of Castile & Toledo, were then dis-ynited from Leon and Galicia, in the year 1157. D. *Sancho* being aduertised of his fathers death, he parted suddenly from Baeza, and came to Toledo to his funerall. A Prince who did nothing degenerate from the vertues of his Ancestors, yea did rather exceed them, but he reigned little.

### D. Fernand, the 28. King of Leon.

Leon.

**21** His brother D. *Fernand*, neither attending his coming, nor the performance of his funerals, departed presently, and went to take possession of his Kingdomes of Leon and Galicia, according to the fathers will, which diuision was a great cause of ciuill warres, to the preiudice and dishonour of the Christians name in Spaine: wherefore great Monarkes should be warned by these examples, (which are ordinarie in Histories) neuer to dismember their Monarchies, but to employ all their spirits and wisdom, to continue it still vnited, although they leaue many children, leauing the Soueraigne authoritie ouer the rest, vnto him whom the lawes and customes do call.

Nauarre.

D. *Fernand* beeing receiued and settled in his Realmes of Leon and Galicia, hee began to intreate his Nobilitie ill, & among others he dispossest one of the chiefe knights of Leon called D. *Pedro Ponce de Minerva*, of his lands and goods, who for this cause came into Castile, to beseech the King D. *Sancho*, to mediate his restitution, and to bring him againe into fauour with the king his brother. But it falling out at that time, that Don *Sancho* the wife king of Nauarre, beeing aduertised of the death of the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, had made certaine roades into Castile almost vnto Burgos, for that D. *Sancho* had alwaies signed the Leagues which the Earle of Barcelona had made against his father and him, with the Emperour D. *Alphonso*: and moreouer, detayned from him Nagera, and the lands vpon the riuer of Oja, this knight was entertained by the king of Castile, who imployed him in this warre of Nauarre, and made him head of an armie, which he sent vnto the frontiers, by the riuers of Oja, which hauing incouerted that of Nauarre neere to Bagnares, they came to battaile in the fields of Valpierre neere to S. *Assento*. In the Nauarrois Armie D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, Earle of Biscay, led the foreward: Count *Ladron* of Gueuara had charge of the rereward, with the Earle D. *Sancho* of Larrinacar, *Inigo Ramires* & *Aiuar*, with other, and the king the battaile. On the other side, the Earle D. *Pedro Ponce* had ordered his men as well, and were more in number: wherefore coming to fight, although in the beginning the Nauarrois seemed to haue the better, yet were they defeated, and forced to saue themselves in the next towns,

The

**A** The king D. *Sancho* had this route for that he was too hastie to fight and would not attend the succours of horse and foote, which came out of France; which beeing arriued, and desirous to wipe out this blemish and infamie, they charged the Castellans, which gaue them battaile againe in the same fields of Valpierre, and defeated them.

Battell of Valpierre.

These things are written in some Histories, but not allowed nor credited by other Spanish Authors: for that they insert some things which haue small probability, and others that are mere fictions. Whereas they say, that Don *Pedro Ponce de Minerva*, vsed a strange liberalitie to prisoners, both Nauarrois and French, setting them all free without any ranfome, which is not probable: and they also affirme, that D. *Sancho* king of Nauarre dyed in the first battaile, the which is reprooued by other Authors, and by the letters and titles which are yet extant, witnessing that he liued about 37. yeares after: by these reasons, whatsoever is written of these two victories may iustly bee suspected.

That which is written of the Earle Don *Raymond Berenger*, Prince and Gouvernour of Arragon, is more authentick: that burning with desire to haue the Realme of Nauarre, he did sollicite D. *Sancho* King of Castile to declare himselfe with him, and that they two ioyning their forces together, should set vpon the King of Nauarre: and that in the year 1158. D. *Raymond* came againe into Castile, accompanied with a great number of Prelates and Knights, to renue their League, yet without any effect for Castile, for this assembly and enterview past not without great contention; for that Don

Aragon.

**C** *Raymond Berenger* refused to do homage vnto the King of Castile, for the townes of Sarragossa and Calatajub: but in the end he was forced to acknowledge himselfe his vassall in that regard, with a bond to come to Court, and to assist at the coronation of the Kings of Castile, to carrie the royall sword before them at those ceremonies: As for the Earle D. *Pedro Ponce de Minerva*, and other Noblemen which were in the like perplexitie, the best Spanish Authors say, that the king D. *Sancho* tooke the paines to geue himselfe in person with them into Leon, to reconcile them to the King D. *Fernand* his brother, who came in a peacefull manner, to meete him as farre as Sahagun, receiued him honorably, with great shewes of loue, and restored these Noblemen to their goods and honours; yea he augmented them by his bountie, in fauour of the King D. *Sancho*, to whom he carried so great honour and respect, as he offered to acknowledge to hold of him (as his vassall) his Realmes of Leon and Galicia; the which D. *Sancho* would not accept, saying, *God forbid, that the son of so great a Prince as the Emperour Don Alphonso was, should euer acknowledge to hold his land of any.* In the end after great contests and ioy, these two Kings parted good friends.

Castile.

The king D. *Sancho* being returned to Toledo, hee had newes that the Moores were gone to field, & came with a great power to beseege Calatrana, a fort of great importance vpon the frontier, the which did then belong vnto the knights of the temple; who amazed at the brute of this seege, did so distrust their owne strength to defend it, as they deliuered it into the kings hands, to the end he should send Captaines and souldiers to resist the Moores. The king hauing receiued it into his protection, and meaning to provide for it, he found himselfe much troubled: for there was not any one that presented himselfe to take this charge, but they all drew backe and excused themselves, fearing the great power which was laid the Moores had. In the end God inspired the hearts of two religious men of the Order of *Cisteraux*, who offered vnto the king, that if it pleased him to giue them that place in gard, they would defend it like honest men. One of these religious men was Friar *Raymond*, Abbot of the Monasterie of S. *Mary de Utiel*, vpon the riuer of Pisuerga, in the Diocesse of Palence, not of Hilero in Nauarre, which was not then built: the other was one of his Monkes, called *Diego Velasco*, who had carried armes long before he became a religious man of that Order. The offer was pleasing vnto the King, but more to D. *John* Archbishop of Toledo, for that the lands of this Diocesse should be first annoyed by the entry of the Moores to Calatrana: wherefore this Prelate by preaching and publike exhortations, began to commend this Abbot D. *Raymond*, and to encourage all men to assist him, so as in a short time hee was followed by a great number of Nobilitie and other souldiers, some thrust on to winne honour,

D d 2

some

some mooued with zeale to defend the Christian Religion against the inuasion of Infidels, and some with shame. The king, the Archbishop, the Nobilitie of his Court, and the Inhabitants of Toledo, euery one for his part, furnished money, armes, horses, corne, and other necessities for a towne which attends a seerge; and all with such willingness and bountie, as the Abbot might well put himselfe into Calatraua, being assured not to be taken for want of men, victuals, and munition of warre: but before hee dislodged, the king to encourage him to do his duty, and to recompence the good which he had shewne, to employ himselfe for the defence of the countie, mooued also with some Religion, gaue vnto God, to the Virgin *Mary* his mother, to the congregation of *Cisteaux*, to the Abbot *D. Raymond*, and to his Monkes, both present and to come, the towne of Calatraua with all the confines, hills, land, waters, meddows, pastures, entries and issues, rights, names and actions belonging thereunto, whereof he caused letters patentes to be drawne in the year, 1158. signed by his Secretarie *Martin Pelaez*: in the which are named as witnesses, *Don Sancho* king of Nauarre, vassall to the king of Castile, *Don Iean* Archbishop Primate of Spaine, *Don Raymond* Bishop of Palence and others.

Calatraua given to the Monkes of Cisteaux.

The Abbot hauing this prouision, he set forward, and came to Calatraua, a place of great importance, as we haue sayd, and the onely rampar for the Christians on that side against the Moores: who either aduertised of this great preparation to defend that place, or for some other lets, did no great exploit worthie the great brute which had runne of their armie, neither came they to beseege Calatraua, whereof the King was exceeding glad, and the Abbot with his Monkes no lesse, who by their couragious resolution had gotten this towne, the which the Templers had basely abandoned. Many Gentlemen which had followed the Abbot in this voyage, seeing him in such reputation left the world, and made themselves Monkes of Cisteaux, yet with a decent habit, fit for the exercise of armes, the which they meant to follow against the Infidels Moores, enemies to the Christian Religion.

Knights of Calatraua first instituted.

Death of Don Sancho the Desired.

This was the beginning of the Knights of Calatraua, an Order which was famous in Spaine. The Abbot *Don Raymond* being freed from feare of seerge, leauing a good garrison in Calatraua, he returned to Toledo, and from thence past to his Monastery of Hitero: about the which he gathered together a great multitude of people, to the number of twenty thousand, as the Histories report, whome with their mooueable goods and cattell, hee transported to Calatraua, and other places of the frontier, which was badly peopled, making it as it were a strong bastion against the enterprises of the Arabians. The king *Don Sancho* the desired, liued not long after, but dyed the same year. They write, that his wife *D. Blanche* being deceased some few dayes before in child-bed, hee was so opprest with griefe, as he fell sicke and dyed. His death was very preiudiciall to the Realme of Castile, and followed by many miseries, the which he did well fore-see. He left the gouernement of his sonne *Don Alphonso*, who was yet very young, to a knight whose name was *Don Guttiere Fernand Ruis de Castro*, ordaining that hee should be bred vp vnder his discipline, vntill hee came to the age of fifteene yeares complete: willing that the Knights which held any places and garrisons, should keepe them vntill that time. They surnamed him the Desired, by reason of the great vertues wherewith hee was adorned, and the hope and taste the people had of his good and iust gouernement, in one yeare, or thereabouts, that hee reigned. Hee was buried at Toledo in the Cathedrall church, neere to the Emperour *Don Alphonso* his father. The Queene *Dona Blanche* his wife lyes in the Monasterie of Saint *Mary* the royall of Nagera, to the which a little before her death shee had giuen the towne of Nestares, neare vnto Torrezillas de los Cameros.

Aragon and Barcelone.

The Earle *Don Raymond Berenger* Gouernour of Arragon, hauing in the meane time made warre against *Don Sancho* King of Nauarre, with his forces of Arragon, and Cattelogne, being not able to ingage the King of Castile, and taken Buereta, with some other pettie forts of small importance, seeing in the end that hee strived in vaine against an enemy which had not onely meanes to defend himselfe, but also on the contrarie, to offend him: hee yielded himselfe tractable to the perswasions of

A of certain good Prelates, who were much grieued to see Christians seeke the ruine one of another, for their ambition: wherefore in the year 1159. after many treaties of Peace, betwixt these two Princes, in the end there was an interview, and they remained good friends, making an end of all their quarrels, which had continued almost fyeve and twentie yeares.

We must not wonder, if Secular Princes were in combustion, seeking to rule one ouer another, hauing (it may be) some plausible pretext, seeing that the Prelates of Spaine were a president for them without any reason. The Primacie which hee of Toledo held ouer other Bishops, was not acknowledged of all: for the Archbishop of Braga, and he of Saint *James* refused to obey him; but the Primate of Primates, *Adrian* the third, sending Cardinall *Hyacinth* his Legat from Rome, forced them by a sentence.

1159.  
Peace betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Primacie of  
Toledo confirmed.

The end of the ninth Booke.

D d 3

THE



# THE TENTH BOOKE

of the Historie of Spaine.

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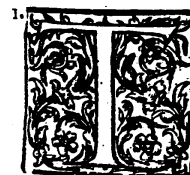
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This tenth Booke conteines the descent and continuance  
of the royall families of Spaine. that is,

| Of Nauarre.      | Of Leon.          | Of Portugal.                       |
|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 21 D. Sancho 8.  | 29 D. Alphonso 9. | 2 D. Sancho 1.<br>3 D. Alphonso 2. |
| Of Arragon.      | Of Castille.      |                                    |
| 6 D. Alphonso 2. | 7 D. Alphonso 4.  |                                    |
| 7 D. Pedro 2.    | 8 D. Henry 1.     |                                    |
| 8 D. Iaques 1.   |                   |                                    |

D. Alphonso the noble the seventh King of Castile  
the fourth of that name.



HE death of the King D. Sancho confirmed his surname of desired, for that there followed dangerous combustions, he-gunne betwixt two great families of Castile, through ielou-sie and desire of rule. The young Kings person (beeing then but foure yeeres old) was vnder the charge of D. Gutierre Fer-nando Ruiz de Castro, according vnto the will of the deceased King his father, who had also ordained that the capitaines, and Gouvernors of Prouinces and places should continue in their charge, s,

charges, vntill that his sonne D. *Alphonso* should bee fiftene yeeres old compleate. A Those of the house of Lara, being men of great account, were discontented with this decree; of which family the chiefe was the Earle D. *Manrique de Lara*, who had two brethren, D. *Aluaro*, and D. *Nugno*, all sonnes to D. *Pedro de Lara* (of whom wee haue made mention) and of D. *Aba*, forsaken by the Earle D. *Garcia de Cabra*: with these there ioyned by reason of consanguinity, D. *Garcia d'Acia*, their brother by the mothers side, sonne to that Lady D. *Aba*, and the Earle D. *Garcia de Cabra*, her first husband: they were greeued to see the Kings person, and the chiefe affaires of the Realme band: they were greeued to see the Kings person, and good governments in the hands of them of Castro, who held many places, and good governments in Castille and Toledo: wherefore they sought all occasions to seize vpon the authority, and to dispossesse their aduersaries: D. *Gutierre Fernandes*, was an ancient Knight, but wise, faithfull, and without any malice, who gaue no man occasion to complaine, but great meanes to such as enuied his honour to hurt him by his sincerity. Hee had also bene Gouvernor to the King D. *Sancho* his father, in his youth, and was so worthy a knight, as they say hee had made and armed fise hundred Knights, with his owne hand. Onely hee wanted the happinesse to haue children: but his brother D. *Ruy Fernandes*, called the Bald, had fourc. D. *Fernand*, D. *Aluar*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Gutierre*, furnished *Ruys*, and one daughter, called D. *Sancha Ruys* married to D. *Aluaro Ruys de Gasman*.

Indiscretion of  
D. Gutierre  
Fernandes.

These factions declaring themselves, euery one stood vpon his gard: and for that it was not easie to dissolue that which D. *Sancho* had decreed by his testament, nor to wrest the authority from them of Castro by force, being in possession: the brothers of C Lara found meanes to circumuent the good knight D. *Gutierre Fernandes*, by goodly persuasions, saying, that for the good of the general peace, he should bee content with those honours hee had, and suffer the Earle D. *Manriques* to keepe the Kings person: the which should in no sort blemish his authority, but should giue great reputation vnto the Earle, who was a noble man of that quality, as hee well deserued it: all the foure brothers promising and swearing vnto him, that they would alwaies preferre and defend the honour and authority which was due to his reuerent age. D. *Gutierre* was deceiued with these good words, deliuered the King into the hands of these foure brethren, who remained with D. *Garcia d'Acia*, as the eldest, the rest hauing at that time no meanes to contradict it, but soone after they had an oportunitie to get the King from him: for D. *Garcia*, who was not cunning, nor of a bad disposition, being entred into some termes and difficulty, touching the entertainment of the yong Kings house, and the necessary prouisions of money for his Estate with the brothers of Lara, they wrought in such manner as hee resigned this burthensome charge vnto them, the which they willingly accepted, as a thing which they had long affected; wherein the Earle D. *Garcia*, did some what wrong his honour and faile of his dutie, as well as D. *Gutierre Fernandes de Castro* had done; so the King came into the power of D. *Manriques de Lara*.

These alterations, vnfit for the dignity of the young King, discontented D. *Gutierre*, and withall, those of Lara beganne to faile in that which they had promised him; wherefore he let them vnderstand that he would haue the King D. *Alphonso* againe, to nourish and breed him vp according to the disposition of the King D. *Sancho*: will but they mocked him, as a man which had lost his senses. Wherevpon these two houses went to armes, and drew vnto them their kinsmen, friends and partisans, in- uing way and meanes to all the lewd people of the country to commit a thousand in- solencies, following the one or the other faction, as in this vntill in civil warres.

And moreover they made a passage for D. *Fernand* King of Leon, to enter into the territories of Castille, where hee committed great excessse vnder pretext to pacifie the warres betwixt these two houses of Castro and Lara: for being entred with an army, he seized vpon those forts, which were nearest vnto his frontiers of Leon, along the ri- uer of Duero, and passing on further, hee caused the Earle D. *Manriques* and his bre- thren to dislodge, who carried the King D. *Alphonso* with them to Soria: During these tumults D. *Gutierre Fernandes de Castro* died, and was buried in the Monastery of Saint

A Saint *Christopher* of Encas: after whole decease the Earle D. *Manriques* caused his Nephewes D. *Fernand*, D. *Aluaro*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Gutierre Ruys* to be summoned to deliuer vp into his hands the places belonging vnto the crowne, the which they held, and had commanded vnto their vncles death: but they made answer that they were not bound to deliuer them vp, seeing that the will of the deceased King was, that they should hold them vntill the King D. *Alphonso* were full fiftene yeeres old. There vpon D. *Manrique* commanded that the body of D. *Gutierre Fernandes* should bee vn- terred, and charging him with felony and treason against the King and crowne, hee sought to haue him found guilty.

His foure Nephewes embraced the cause, and defended both themselves and their deceased vncle, saying that they neither had, nor did commit any felony, in retaying of those places, seeing it was according to the last will and testament of the King D. *Sancho*, the which they had neuer demanded of their vncle luying. The Lords of the counsell, who were Iudges in this cause, gaue sentence that there was not any felony committed, and therefore they ordained, that the body of D. *Gutierre*, which had bene against the law of Nations inhumainely pulled out of his graue, should bee laied in a- gaine. Their contentions were so great, and the miseries which ensued so infinit, as prest by necessity, they were forced to ingage all the reuenues of Castille and Toledo, for twelue yeeres, vnto King *Fernand*; and in the end the Earle D. *Manriques* bound himselfe to deliuer vnto the King of Leon, the person of young D. *Alphonso*, his Lord,

C and to make him his vassal. And to performe his promise, he led the King D. *Fernand* to Soria, where hauing propounded certaine reasons, in an assembly of the Noblemen of Castille, to perswade them that it was expedient the Kings person should bee put into his vncles custody, they deliuered him vnto him, protesting that they put him into his hands, being a free Prince, and therefore they intreated him to maintaine him in his liberty. The Noblemen durst not herein contradict the King D. *Fernand*, being within the country and in armes. The young Infant being carried in a gentlemen's armes, beganne to weepe and cry out; wherefore they carried him backe to the lodg- ing to giue him an aple, or some such like thing to please him. At that time there was present D. *Pedro Nugnes Almeyra*, a hardy and generous knight, who being gree- ued at this trecherous act of the Earle D. *Manrique*, gaue order (that whilest they dand- led the child, to still him) they should bring him a good horse behinde the Kings lodg- ing, then approaching neere vnto the young Prince, making shew to flatter him, hee tooke him in his armes, and slipping away by some secret passage well knowne to him, he carried him to his horse, and so fled with him to the towne of Saint Estienne of Gormas: doing this act for the liberty of his King with such dexterity and diligence (whilest that the King D. *Fernand* attended the Infants returne) as he was gon a good way before it was discovered.

Treachery of  
D. Manriques  
de Lara, a-  
gainst his  
Prince and  
country.Pedro Nugnes  
a faithfull vas-  
sal.

This being knowne by the King D. *Fernand* hee grew into a great rage, and vsing threats, he commanded D. *Manrique* and the rest of his faction, to giue order, that the child might bee found out and brought againe, wherefoeuer he were: wherevpon the Earle D. *Manrique*, and his brethren, vnder colour of seeking the King D. *Alphonso*, had meanes to get out of Soria, where all was in Combustion. Being arriued at Saint Estienne de Gormas, that night they seized againe of the Kings person: notwithstanding whether remorse of so foule an act, altered the mindes of these knights of Lara, or that all the bretheren were not a like affected, as D. *Manrique*: D. *Nugno* the yongest of the brethren tooke king D. *Alphonso*, and carried him to Atienza, not respecting the ac- cord made with the King D. *Fernand*, who holding himselfe deceiued by D. *Manrique*, sent him word by a knight, that hee was a traitor, and that he would bee reuenged. The Earle made no other answer, but that it was lawfull for him to doe any thing to deliuer his King and natural Prince from captiuitie. Afterwards the Earle meeting with the King D. *Fernand*, who accused him of treachery, and demanded Iustice of the Estates of Castille; he answered againe, that he knew not that he was a traitor, but that hee re- pented him not to haue done his best endeauor, to deliuer his King, a child of so tender age from such vniust slavery.

After

Theyng King  
D. Alphonso  
giuen in garde  
to the inhabi-  
tants of Auila.

Nauarre.

Death of D.  
Raymond Be-  
renger Earle  
of Barcelona,  
1162.

After many reasons and allegations of either side, the Earle *D. Maurique* was absolved: but the King *D. Fernand* kept in a manner all the places and townes in Castille, except some of the lesser, which continued vnder the obedience of the King *D. Alphonso*, who was not in any great safety, vntill they had found meanes to put him into the Citie of Auila, where hee was faithfully kept, by his good subiects the inhabitants thereof, vntill he was twelue yeeres old, wherefore they say commonly in Spaine, the Loyal of Auila.

The tumults and confusions of Castille, inuited *D. Sancho* King of Nauarre, surnamed the wise, to make his profit, which is the marke whereat all worldly men doe aime: yet had he some iust pretension to doe it, especially to inuade the lands lying vpon the riuier of Oja, which the Emperour *D. Alphonso* had laied hold on, during the vacancie and Interregne of Nauarre and Arragon. So as hee went to armes, entred in hostile manner into that Prouince, and tooke Logroño, Entrena and Cerezo: and passing on, he also tooke Birbiesca, and in a manner all that was in his way, euen vnto Burgos: all which places he did fortifie, but yet he enioyed them not long. The King of Nauarre did all these things, without any resistance made by them of Castille, being fauoured by the confusion of the time, and the infancy of the young King *D. Alphonso*: besides that towards Arragon hee found himselfe assured by a peace concluded with the Earle *D. Raymond Berenger*, the which was the better confirmed by his death, which happened in the yeere 1162. in Piedmont, in the Bourge of Saint Dalmace, neere vnto Turin. This Prince went by sea into Italy, with his Nephew the Earle of Prouence, to conferre with the Emperour *Frederic Barbarossa*, who made warre then in the Dutchy of Milan.

### D. Alphonso the second, and the sixth King of Arragon.

Arragon.

Disposition of  
D. Raymond  
Berenger's will.

Nauarre.

2. **T**His Earle had gouerned Cattelogue and Barcelona thirty one yeeres, and the realme of Arragon fife and twenty. He was wise and valiant, but too ambitious. He left *D. Raymond* his sonne, who was afterwards called *D. Alphonso*, heire of both Estates by his testament: by the which hee gaue vnto *D. Pedro* his second son, the Earle-dome of Cerdagne, with the same rights as *Cont Bernard William* had held it, and moreover the demesns and reuenues of the lands of Carcassone, and rights of Narbonne, and other places in Languedoc, reseruing the homage vnto the Earle of Barcelona, and King of Arragon his eldest: substituting to *D. Pedro* his third son *D. Sancho*, in case hee died without children, and them two to their eldest brother *D. Alphonso*, either of them in his Siegneuries, with his children, vnto *Henry* the second, King of England, his ally and faithfull friend, the Queene *D. Petronille* his wife remayning Regent and tutresse of her Son, and Realme; but she brought *D. Alphonso*, being but 12. yeeres old, to the gouernment of the State, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Prouence, his cousin germain, the Queene giuing ouer that charge, as vsit for women. This was the first King of Arragon that was Earle of Barcelona, since which time these two Estates haue not bene diuided.

Returning to *D. Sancho* King of Nauarre, hee gouerned his realme wisely and iustly, and had about him many good and vertuous Prelats and Knights: amongst the which were *D. Pius* Bishop of Pampelone, the Earle *D. Bela Ladron* Lord, that is to say, gouernor in Alaua, *Rodrigues Martines* Gouernor in Maragon: *Pedro Ruiz* in Estella, and *Gallipienço*; *Sancho Ramires* in Sanguessa, *Ximeno* of Ayuar in Roncal; *Ximen Aznares* in Tafalla, *Sancho Esquerra* in Saint Mary of Vxua, *Martin de Lee* in Peralta, *Aznar de Rada* in Falfes and in Valtierra, *Peter* of Aracury in Logroño and Tudela, with diuers others. As for his domestike affaires, hee was married to *D. Sancha* Infanta of Castille, whom others call *Beacia* or *Beatrix*, daughter to the Emperour *D. Alphonso*, by whom he had a goodly issue: *D. Sancho*, who was King after his father, *D. Fernand*, and *D. Ramir*,

Genealogy of  
Nauarre.

An. 1165.

Portugal.

Castille.

Confirmation  
of the order of  
Calatrava.

The family of  
Aualos.

**A** *D. Ramir*, the which was Bishop of Pampelone: for Ecclesiastical charges which had great reuenues, were not there giuen to Pastors, which had care of Christians manners and consciences, but were portions for Kings children: hee was otherwise called *D. Remy*. Beside three sonnes, he brought him three daughters, *D. Berenguela*, who was married to *Richard* King of England, surnamed *Corde-Lion*, and had for her dowry the country of Maine in France, where shee spent the remainder of her daies, like a vertuous widow, after the decease of the King her husband *D. Sancho* second daughter was *D. Theresa*, otherwise called *Constance*, who died a virgin: and the third was *D. Blanche*, married to *Thibaud* Earle of Champagne and Brie, from whom the race of the Kings of Nauarre, of the house of Champagne had their beginning, in *D. Thibaud* their son.

**B** About the yeere 1165. the sentence of the Proceffe betwixt the Bishops of Pampelone and Saragosse, begunne in the time of *D. Lope*, Predecessor to *D. Pinian*, with *D. Pedro* of Zarroja, for the lymits of their Dioceses, and Iurisdiccions, which had bene iudged by the Legat *Hyacinthe*, Cardinal of the title of Saint Mary in Cosmedin, was confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the third, successor to *Adrian* the fourth, beeing at Montpellier in France, who also by his Bull confirmed the priuiledges of the Church of Pampelone, and the order of the regular Chanoins of Saint *Augustin*, instituted by *D. Pedro Rada*, the Bishop, as other Popes his Predecessors had done.

During these things, *D. Alphonso Henriques* King of Portugal, having some quiet with the Moores, who were not well settled vnder the obedience of the Almohades, spent his time about the fortification of the frontier townes of his realme, vnto the yeeres 1165. when as he went againe to field, parting from Alcazar de Sal, and went and laied siege to Cezimbra, the which he carried, and in like manner *Palmela* hauing put the Moores of Badajos to rout, in the mountaines of Cezimbra, comming with great troupes of horse to succor these two places. It is a remarkable thing in this Prince, that although he were three score and fife yeeres old, yet he was continually in armes, and himselfe in person, enduring the trauels and discomodities of the warre, as well as the yongest. The troubles of Castile and Leon procured his peace on that side, where hee was to dispute his royal title, and the acknowledgment of the lands held by him, with *D. Fernand* king of Leon: who giuing some time of breathing vnto the Castilians, vpon whom he had made his profit, although he could not get their kings person, he retired into Leon, leauing them of Lara and Castro to end their owne quarrels.

**3** The Estates of Castille and the Gouernors of places, amidst so great troubles which the King *D. Fernand*, hee of Nauarre, and the factions of the noblemen of the country had caused, maintained themselves as well as they could, whilest that the King *D. Alphonso* was bred vp at Auila. The Order of the knights of Calatrava, which had his beginning in the time of the King *D. Sancho* the Desired, was now confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the third, by his Breefe in the yeere 1164. directed vnto *D. Garcia*, first Master of the knights of that Order. It appeeres by the Spanish Histories, that at that time there were Abbots at Calatrava, and that *D. Raymond* liued yet: in whose place there succeeded Priors, by grant from the Chapter generall of the Order of Cisteaux. We finde also that at that time the house of Aualos (which hath bene famous since in Castille) was then great in Nauarre, from whence it is descended: and mention is made of many great personages of that family: of *D. Ximen d' Aualos*, *tean Martines*, and *Sancho Martines d' Aualos* brethren, and of *Garcia Nugnes d' Aualos* whereof *D. Ximen*, in the yeere 1162. gaue vnto the Monastery of Saint *Emilian*, certain rights which he had in the church of Saint *Felix d' Aualos*, the letters whereof are yet extant in that Monastery.

The King *D. Alphonso* beeing eleuen yeere old; the Earles *D. Manrique*, *D. Aluaro* and *D. Nugno de Lara* with other Noblemen, which had the charge of him, thought it now fit, that he should goe and visit the townes of his realme, and shew himselfe to his subiects, who desired to see him: wherefore they drew him out of Auila, with good troupes of horse, besides an hundred and fity horse which they of Auila gaue him for his gard. Some places which *D. Fernand* King of Leon had seized on in Castille, began already to reuolt; but when as King *D. Alphonso* went his progresse, euery towne



towne where hee past, obeyed him, vntil hee came to Toledo, whereas *D. Fernand Ruis* *A* *Castro* was Gouvernor, since the raigne of the King *D. Sancho*, and ment to keepe it vntill the King *D. Alphonso* was fiftene yeeres old, as it was decreed by the fathers will: but the Earle *D. Manrique de Lara* was not of that minde: for hauing some secret intelligence with a knight of Toledo, called *D. Estienne Illian*, who had built the parish church, and the high tower of Saint Romains, and was in some bad termes with *D. Fernand Ruis*, hee had by his practises meanes to stirre vp the people to a mutiny, hauing caused the King to approach to Saint Romains tower, in a disguised habit, where hee hung out his armes and collours, so as *D. Fernand* (feasting his owne weaknesse) abandoned the castle, and fortified himselfe in Huete.

By this meanes the city of Toledo was deliuered vnto the Earle *Manrique* in the Kings name, by this knight *D. Estienne Illian*, whose picture armed on horse-backe, for this goodly act, is to bee seene in the body of the great church of Toledo, and not for any prouesse that is knowne to the ignorant people. In recompence whereof they gaue him the gouernment of this Citie. From thence *D. Manrique* led the King to Huete, against *D. Fernand Ruis*, who beeing faithfully and courageously assisted by the Inhabitants of Huete, sallied forth against the Earle *D. Manrique*, where there was a cruell battaile: before the sight *D. Fernand* had giuen his armes and deuice vnto a Squire of his, setting him in the most remarkable place of the battaile, to the end they should take him for his master: for hee knew they had vowed and conspired his death, at what price soeuer: so as comming to fight, the Earle *D. Manrique* followed by his choise men, picked out this Squire, whom hee slue with his owne hand: *C* but an other of *D. Fernands* Squiers, reuenging his Campanians death, gaue the Earle a deadly wound, and slue him vpon the place: so as *D. Manriques* army hauing lost their Generall, was put to route, and defeated. *D. Nugno de Lara* for his brotst their Generall, was put to route, and defeated. *D. Nugno de Lara* for his brotst their death, did afterwards accuse *D. Fernand* of treason, saying that hee had caused his brother to bee treacherously slaine, but it was ended by the Prelats, by reason of the great spoiles they endured; but the hatred continued still betwixt these two families: many forts came afterwards into the power of the yong King *D. Alphonso*, without any resistance.

The Earle D.  
Manrique de  
Lara slaine  
before Huete.

The towne of Surita which was held by *Lope d' Arenas*, would not yeeld, obiecing *D* the testament of the yong King *D. Sancho*, yet notwithstanding they would haue the place, and hauing inuested it, they beganne to batter it. *D. Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biscay, was at this siege well accompanied, although hee had not bene called, the Earle *D. Nugno de Lara* and hee, beeing at some iarre. The taking of this place seeming euery day more difficult, *D. Nugno*, and the Earle *D. Suero* entred into the towne, vpon assurance giuen by oth, to parle, with *Lope d' Arenas* the Gouvernor, but they were detained prisoners; *Lope* was soone after punished for this fraude, God shewing that there is not any thing which displeases him more then false-hood and treachery; and in truth there is no brute beast more detestable then that man which seekes to circumuent by promises and othes.

There was in King *D. Alphonso*s campe, one which had serued, or beene bred vp in *Lope d' Arenas* house, who presented himselfe vnto the King, offering to deliuer him the place, if hee would giue him meanes to liue, and that there were any one which would bee content hee should wound him, that hee might haue some collour to flie vnto any enemy. The King promised to recompence him well, but as for the hurting of any one, there was some difficulty: yet there was one *Pedro Diaz*, or *Pedro Ruis*, as others call him, of Toledo, offered himselfe to receiue the blow. This varlet, whose name was *Domingillo*, drew his sword presently, and gaue this poore *Pedro Diaz*, a deadly wound, and then fled, the gard and other soldiars making shew to follow him towards the towne, where hee was receiued and knowne by his old Master *Lope d' Arenas*, who nothing suspecting *Domingillo*, was treacherously slaine by him; the murderer hauing meanes to slip downe the wall, and to recouer the campe. Vpon the Gouvernors death the souldiars and inhabitants resolved to yeeld the towne of Surita vnto the King. *Domingillo*, who was proud of this execution, demanded his reward of the King: *E*

*A* King: But the King by a memorable example of Iustice, whoseoeuer aduised him, vsed an admirable proportion in this action: for hee first caused his eyes to bee put out, for the murder which hee had committed, hauing not made him acquainted therewith; and then hee gaue him that which was needfull for his entertainment: but hearing after that hee did glory too much in his treason, hee caused him to bee slaine. After this enterprize of Surita, the King dismissed his souldiers, who returned to their houses.

*B* Howsoeuer *D. Alphonso Henriques* King of Portugal; ended his quarrels with *D. Fernand* of Leon; yet in the yeere of our Lord 1169. hee had confirmation of his royall titles from Pope *Alexander*, to whom he sent his Bulles, taking the King *D. Alphonso Henriques*, his successours, Realme and subiects, into the protection of the church of Rome, paying two markes of gold for an acknowledgment or rent; the which the Archbishop of Braga, did receiue yeerely for the church of Rome, yet no man can say, that this rent was euer paid; and if *D. Fernand* married his daughter *D. Vrraca*, by whom hee had one sonne called *D. Alphonso*, who succeeded him in his realmes of Leon and Galicia; yet this affinity did not suppress the troubles and lamentable factions, which followed.

Portugal

King *D. Fernand*, by the aduise of a banished Portugais, caused the city of *Rodrigue* to be fortified, the which some hold to bee ancient Mirobrisa, and there placed a good garison, the which did wonderfully annoy the Portugais that lay neere it, & built *Ledesma*, neere to Salamanca, which did much in-doinage that city; as you shal heare: this King tooke pleasure in building, when hee was not prest with waire: and therefore they say that Granada, which is neere to Coria Valencia in the Bishoprike of *Ouiedo*, *Villalpando*, *Manilla*, *Majorga* in the Bishoprike of Leon, and *Castro* in *Toraphe* in the Bishoprike of Zamora are his workes: Hee was diuorced from *D. Vrraca*, by reason of consanguinity, and tooke to his second wife *D. Theresa* daughter to *Nugno de Lara*, after whose death hee had a third wife called *D. Vrraca Lopes*, daughter to *D. Lope Diaz*, Lord of Biscay: By this last wife *D. Fernand* had *D. Sancho* and *D. Garcia*, lawfull heires to the realme of Leon, for that they were, by the Popes sentence, botne in lawful wed-locke, & not *D. Alphonso*: yet they reigned not; neither did they leaue any heires.

Leon

Places built by  
D. Fernand  
King of Leon,

Genealogy of  
Leon.

*D* 4. The house of Biscay was then in great esteeme; out of the which was issued the third wife of the King *D. Fernand*: the order and continuance of which family is thus set downe by the Spanish writers. They name for the best knowne stem of this house, *D. Suriz*, who by his mothers side was Nephew to the King of Scotland, begotten by a knight of Biscay, called *D. Lope*, who obtained the Siegneury of Biscay in the yeere 870. *Suria* in the Cantabrian tongue signifies white. He carried in his armories two wolues fables, either of them with a Lambe in his mouth, in a field Argent, which were the ancient armes of Biscay: he married to his second wife *D. Balda*, daughter and heire to *D. Sancho Esteuaguis Ordoynes*, Lord of Tauria of Durango, by whom hee had one sonne, called *D. Manso Lopes*, who was Lord of Biscay, and of Tauria of Durango: this *D. Manso* had by his first wife (for hee was married thrice) one sonne, called *D. Inigo Esquerre*, that is to say, deafe, in the Biscaine tongue, who was the third Lord of Biscay. Of him was borne *D. Lope Diaz*, the fourth Lord of Biscay, who liued in the time of *D. Fernand Gonzales* Earle of Castille. *D. Sancho Lopes* was his sonne and the fifth Lord of Biscay: who although hee had two sonnes, *D. Inigo* and *D. Garcia*, surnamed *Sanchez*, yet did neither of them succeed him in the Siegneury of Biscay: the reason was, that the souldiars beeing in mutynie, at their returne from a certaine waire in *Cubijana* of *Morillas*, in the Prouince of *Alaua*; as *D. Sancho Lopes* came amongst their drawne swords to pacifie them, hee receiued a wound for another, and was slaine, leauing those two verie little: wherefore the Biscaines hauing neede of a Lord able to gouerne them, they made choise of *D. Inigo Esquerre* the second of that name, bastard brother to the deceased, who was the sixth Lord of Biscay: of him came *D. Lope Diaz* the second, who ruled in Biscay. And to make some recompence to the children of *D. Sancho Lopes*, *D. Inigo Sancho* had Lodio giuen him for a portion, and *D. Garcia* that of *Orozo*. *D. Lope Diaz*, the seuenth Lord of Biscay, was father to *D. Diego Lopes*, *E*

The house of  
Biscay.

*Lopes*, who succeeded him in the daies of King *D. Alphonso* the sixth. This *D. Diego* was A the eighth Lord of Biscay, surnamed the white, and being married to a Lady of Arragon, he begat one sonne called *D. Lope Diaz*, who was afterwards the ninth Lord of Biscay, the third of that name. It is that *D. Lope* which was at the siege of *Surita*, with King *D. Alphonso*, called the Noble, in whose raigne we now are come, and whose daughter *D. Ferraca* was married to *Fernand* the second King of Leon and Galicia: hee also (having built vp the towne of *Haro*, in *Rioje*) surnamed himselfe of *Haro*, and left it to his posterity. He had of *D. Mençia* his wife, one sonne called *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, heire of his fathers estates, and an other daughter called *D. Gausfreda*, who some say had bene Queene of *Nauarre*, but it is doubtfull. This *D. Diego Lopes*, was the tenth Lord of Biscay, and a very good Knight: who had the honor to bee standard-bearer to the King of B

Castille.

An. 1170.  
D. Alphonso  
the noble King  
of Castille  
comes to year.

And marries  
Elenor of Eng-  
land.

Returning to King *D. Alphonso*, after the taking of *Surita*, having dismissed his souldi-  
ars, he returned to *Toledo*, where hee kept his court, and assembled the Noblemen and  
knights his vassals: where finding himselfe in free possession of all the country of *Tole-*  
do, he came to *Burgos*, where hee called an other assembly, and kept his court, in the  
yeere 1170. touching that which lies on this side the mountaines, belonging to *Castille* C  
and *Nagera*: and for that the fifteneenth yeere of his age was now ended, all the townes &  
forts were yeelded vp vnto him, without any contradiction, according to the will of his  
deceased father, yea those which were held by *D. Fernand* of *Castro*, who was neuer  
more seene in *Castille*, by reason of the quarrels he had with the house of *Lara*, but pas-  
sing to the Moores, hee shewed himselfe a perpetual enemy to his country. In the as-  
sembly at *Burgos*, there was speech of the excesses, and outrages done by *Fernand* King  
of *Leon*; to reuenge the which hee resolved to proclaim warre against him, but it was  
not put in execution long after, by reason of *D. Alphonso*'s youth, who was not yet capa-  
ble of so great an enterprise. There they treated also of the Kings marriage with *Elenor*  
daughter to *Henry* the second King of England, who was as renowned as any Prince at D  
that day in Christendome: he was sonne to *Geoffrey* Duke of *Aniou* and *Normandie*. It  
was this *Henry*, which had married Queene *Elenor*, heire of the Dutchie of *Guienne*, and  
countrie of *Poitou*, put away by *Lewis* the seventh the French King.

5 After these things, there was an enter-view of two yong Kings, *D. Alphonso* of *Ca-*  
stille, and *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, at *Sahagun*, with shewes of great loue; and from  
thence they went to *Sarragosse*, from whence there was an Ambassage sent to effect the  
marriage of the King of *Castille*. The Ambassadors were *D. Celobrun* Archbishop of *To-*  
ledo, the Bishops of *Palenza*, *Calaorra*, *Burgos* and *Segobia*, the Earles *D. Ponce* and *D.*  
*Nugno*, with other Noblemen; who found the court, with the Queene mother and her  
daughter at *Burdeaux*: whose returne the King of *Castille* attended at *Sarragosse*, E  
and where during his aboad, the league was renewed betwixt *Castille* and Arragon, and  
a new made for the mutuall defence of both Kings, against all men, except the King  
of England, in the which were named all the great men belonging to either estate:  
for assurance whereof, there was assigned and laied in pawne the castles of *Na-*  
*gera*, *Bigueria*, *Clauiso*, *Ocon* and *Arueda*, for the King of *Castille*; and for the  
King of Arragon, *Hariza*, *Daroca*, *Aranda*, *Epila* *Borja*: with a condition that hee  
which should breake the league, should loose these places: and the conuentions  
were signed and confirmed by the two Kings, and their chiefeft Nobles. The Am-  
bassadors of *Castille* were welcome to *Burdeaux*, and their charge was very plea-  
sing to the king of England: wherevpon the Princeesse *Elenor* was sent into Spaine, F  
being accompanied by *Bernard* Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, the Bishoppes of *Poi-*  
*ctiers*, *Angoulesme*, *Perigieux*, *Xaintes*, *Agen*, and *Bazas*: by *Raoul de la*  
*Faye*, Seneschall of *Guienne*, *Helie* Earle of *Perigort*, the Vicounts of *Tartax*,  
*Chaste*.

A Chasteleraud, Chastillon, Mortmar, Vendome, *Angoulesme*, *Labris* or *Albret*, with very  
many other Noblemen and Knights. By the treaty made with the Ambassadors it was  
sayd, that the assurance and contract of marriage should bee made at *Tarrassone*, and  
should be solemnly ratified in the presence of the King of Arragon: wherefore the  
two Kings came to *Tarrassone*, where these things were celebrated and sworn with  
great solemnity, in the yeere of our Lord 1170. and for accomplishment thereof at that  
instant *D. Alphonso* King of *Castille*, caused all the Knights of *Castille*, which were there  
present to swear fealtie to his future spouse: and moreover hee gaue vnto her in sa-  
tisfaction of the marriage, the castles and city of *Burgos*, *Castro*, *Xeris*, *Auia*, *Monçon*, *Sal-*  
*dagne*, *Tariego*, *Dueregnas*, *Carrion*, *Aabeson*, *Medina del Aampo*, *Villa Escusa*, *A-*  
*guillar* & *Astudillo*, & for her idle expences & to furnish her cabinet, he assigned particu-  
larly vnto her, *Burgos*, *Nagera*, and *Castro Xeris*: besides he gaue vnto her the rents of  
the port of *Saint Emeterio*, *Besgo*, *Cabedo*, *Briza de Centillana*, *Calaorra*, *Logroño*,  
*Arnedo*, *Bigueria*, *Granon*, *Vilhorado*; *Pancoruo*, *Monasterio*, *Pozza*, *Atienza*, *Olima*,  
*Penafil*, *Curiel*, *Surita*, *Hita*, *Aegna Negra* and others. Moreouer hee promised to  
giue her the moytie of all hee should conquer from the Moores from the day of their  
marriage. These promises and matrimoniall conuentions were sworn in the pre-  
sence of the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, and other English Ambassadors, to whom in  
the Queenes name hee caused the forts to bee deliuered, and the homages aboue men-  
tioned to bee done, all in the presence of the King of Arragon, as an indifferent arbi-  
trator for both parties. These things thus finished, the two Kings of *Castille* and Ar-  
ragon, parted good friends, and the Ambassadors, with the new spouse, came with *D.*  
*Alphonso* the Noble, to *Burgos*, where the marriage was celebrated with great state  
and royal pompe, after which the court parting from *Burgos*, it came to *Nagera*, in  
the countrie of *Oja*, where the King gaue leaue to many which had come to attend the  
solemnitie of his marriage, namely to them of *Auila*, who had alwaies followed him,  
to whom for their willingness to serue him, hee graunted many priuiledges.

Gifts to the  
new Queene  
of Castille. in  
fauour of her  
marriage.

After which hee led the Queene to *Toledo*, where hee grew so amorous of a Jew,  
whom they called *Hermosa*, as hee forgot his new spouse, and intrangled himselfe  
so farre in her loue, as hee almost lost his senses; whereat some Knights of *Ca-*  
*stille* being verie much greeued, they thought to doe an act pleasing vnto God, and  
profitable to the common-weale; to kill this Jew, the which in the beginning the King  
did beare verie impatiently; but in the end hee acknowledged his error, and de-  
tested it.

Disorder at law  
of D. Alphonso  
King of Castille.

Vpon the confines of Arragon and *Castille*, there began at that time a petty estate  
in *Albarrazin*, which place was vsurped by a Knight, called *D. Pedro Ruis d'Acagra*, who  
held it of God and his sword. Hee was borne in *Nauarre*, and wonne the loue of the  
Moores of *Murcia*, and other neighbour places, which did fauour and succor him in his  
enterprises, and withall hee had newly made a league with *D. Sancho* King of *Nauarre*,  
who supported him and vsed him, to bridle Arragon and *Castille*, with which estates hee  
had or feared some Iarres. This fort which had bene in ancient time called *Saint Ma-*  
*rie* of *Albarrazin*, was a troublesome thorne in the feete of the Kings of *Castille* and  
Arragon, into whose territories *D. Pedro Ruis d'Acagra*, made often roads, at his plea-  
sure: who hauing about this yeere of our Lord 1172. taken some places in *Castille*,  
the King *D. Alphonso* the noble, resolved to make warre against him, and to take them  
from him if hee could: for this consideration hee made a priuate league with the King  
of Arragon, who was interested; by the which it was concluded, that the King of Ar-  
ragon should haue the fort of *Albarrazin*; and hee of *Castille* should haue the rest  
which *D. Pedro* did hold, for the obseruing of which Articles, hee of Arragon did  
giue in pawne to the King of *Castille*, the castle of *Hariza*, with *Aranda*, *Borja* and  
F *Arguedas*: and the castle of *Verdejo* was giuen to the King of Arragon by him  
of *Castille*, bynding also the townes of *Agreda*, *Aquilar* and *Cerueta*, which pla-  
ces were assurances for that which had bene contracted betwixt them; promising  
that if there should bee any contrauention, or fraude betwixt them, it should bee re-  
paired within three yeeres, or the places lost for him that had committed the fraude, But  
these

Fort of Albarrazin.

An. 1172.

these designs went to smother, the two Kings being at a iarre for Hariza, the which was delivered to the King of Castille by *Nugno Sanchez* a knight, without the King of Arragons expresse command, and before the warre of Nauarre was begunne. Then the King of Castille was most commonly accompanied by *D. Celebrun* Archbishop of Toledo, Primar of Spaine, the Bishops *D. Iohelmo* of Siguença, *Gonçalo* of Segobia, *Raymond* of Palencia, *Pedro* of Burgos, *Sancho* d'Avila, *Bernard* d'Osma, with other Prelats and Church-men, of which kinde of men Kings counsels did then most commonly consist; and therefore whatsoeuer Princes committed, were it good or bad, is iustly to be imputed to them, be it in religion or in matters of State. There were also many Noblemen of Marke in those daies; amongst the which were *D. Ponce*, Lord Steward, and *D. Nuygues* standard-bearer of Castille *D. Gonçalo Maraguan*, a standard-bearer also, and *D. Rodrigo Gutierrez* a Steward, which were the chiefe offices of the crowne: they were annual, as it seemes, or else at the Kings pleasure.

Nauarre.  
An. 1173

Nauarre invaded by the  
Kings of Castille and Arragon.

6. By their aduice and assistance, with other Prelats, Noblemen and Knights of his realmes, *D. Alphons* entered Nauarre in the yeere 1173, with a great army, against his vncle *D. Sancho* the wife, moued thereunto, as wel by the spoiles which he had done in the territories of Rioje and Bureua, during his nonage, as also by the perswasion of the King of Arragon his cousin, whose countrie *D. Sancho* had invaded, whilest that the armie of Arragon was in the Realme of Valencia against the Moores, thinking to make his profit thereby, whilest the King of Arragon was absent with his forces. So breaking the accord and peace, which hee had made with the deceased *D. Raymond*, and renewed with *Queene Petronilla*, hee had ouerrunne his country, and forced *D. Alphons* King of Arragon, to giue ouer his praise-worthie enterprises, and to turne head against his enemy, whom he had repulst into Nauarre, entering by Tudela, where hee did besiege and take the towne of Arguedas, the which hee fortified and manned with a good garrison.

These two Kings of Castille and Arragon being in armes, and pressing *D. Sancho* in diuers places, hee found himselfe to weake to make head against them, so as his countreies endured great spoiles and miseries, for his armie being defeated towards Castille, the Castillans did runne as farre as Pampelone: on the other side the King of Arragon tooke from him the towne and castle of Milagro, the garrison whereof did alwaies keepe his frontiers in alarme, by reason whereof hee razed it, but it was since repaired by the Nauarrois. Notwithstanding these two vnited forces, yet *D. Sancho* defended himselfe valiantly against the King of Arragon and tooke from him the castles of Trasmos and Caxuclos. The most renowned Knights which were in those daies in Nauarre, as appeeres by the ancient Records of townes and Monasteries, were *Inigo* Almorauid in Roncal, *Sancho Ramires* in Aybar, *Jordain* in Saint Matie in Vxue, *Ximen* Almorauid in Peralta, *Garcia* of Alberio in Tudela, and *Martin Ruiz* in Estella, who had the government of these places and forts, and commanded *D. Shanchos* souldiers.

Arragon.

King of Arragon leaves the  
Emperors daughter, to  
marry *D. Sancho* of Castille.

An. 1174

7. During these warres, the King of Castille resolved to propound a marriage vnto *D. Alphons* King of Arragon, the which had beene treated of betwixt him and *D. Sancho* his aunt, daughter to the Emperor *D. Alphons*, by his second wife *D. Rica*, and would attempt (by the charity which did guide both him and his counsel) to breake the marriage which was already concluded betwixt the sayd King of Arragon and the daughter of *Manuel* the first Emperour of Constantinople, and so farre aduanced, as shee was come already to Montpellier, when as *D. Alphons* of Arragon forooke her to hearken to the marriage of *D. Sancho* of Castille, to the great contempt and disgrace of the Emperour. This other marriage was afterwards celebrated in Sarragossa, in the presence of Cardinal *Hiacinthe*, the Popes Legat in Spaine, in the yeere 1174. in consideration whereof, the King of Arragon gaue vnto his spouse many townes in Arragon and Cattelogne, imitating the example of the King of Castille, who had extraordinarily aduanced the Princeesse of England.

8. *Queene Petronilla* of Arragon was deceased the yeere before this marriage, it may bee whilst her sonne was in Prouence to dispute the succession of the Earle of Prouence.

A Prouence his cousin, who had beene slaine nere vnto Nice by the Nissards: whose inheritance he had obtained, notwithstanding that the Earle of Tolouza were a great enemy vnto him. They write that this Princeesse by her last wil and testament did ordaine, that no women should succeed to the crowne of Arragon.

It was the same yeere 1174, that King *D. Alphons* the noble confirmed the priuiledges of the city of Toledo, the which we haue set downe by Articles during the life of the Emperour *D. Alphons* the sixth: a while after the King *D. Alphons* of Castille, being at the siege of Cuenca, hee quit vnto *D. Alphons* of Arragon the fealty and homage, and al pretension of souerainety, which hee had to the realme of Arragon, in confirmation of their friendship, and in respect of their new contracted alliance, three and fortie yeeres after that the Realme of Arragon had begunne to hold of the crowne of Castille.

The Noblemen and Knights which had conducted *Manuell* the Emperors daughter to Montpellier, seeing themselves and their Princeesse thus mocked, not knowing what other course to take, they would haue carried her backe into Greece: But either by loue or force they married her to *William* Earle of Montpellier, in whose house shee was lodged: of which marriage issued a daughter, called *Mary*, who in time, was wife to the sonne and heire of this *D. Alphons* King of Castille. This sonnes name was *D. Pedro*, borne of *D. Sancho* of Castille, besides three brought the King her husband, *D. Alphons*, who was Earle of Prouence, and *D. Fernand*, who being a Monke in the royal Monasterie of Poblette, which his father had finished, hee left it to bee Abbot of Montarragon. King *D. Alphons* had three daughters also by the *Queene D. Sancho*, that is *D. Constance* who was married first to the King of Hongarie, and afterwards to the Emperour. *Frederic* the second, *D. Elenor* and *D. Sancho*, both Countesses of Tolouza, the one married to Cont *Raymond* the father, and the other to Cont *Raymond* the sonne. This *Queene D. Sancho* was verie deuout, after the manner of that age: wherefore as soone as she was married shee built the Monastery of Sixena, of the Nuns of Saint Iean.

9. This age was (as the rest) full of deuotions, and inuentions of new seruices: for Cardinal *Hiacinthe* being Legate a Latere for the Pope in Spaine, the order of knights or men at armes, of Saint *Iames*, had his beginning in the realme of Galicia, by an emulation betwixt some knights, & Monkes of Saint Eloy, a Monastery in the same Kingdome. These good religious fathers seeing the great concourse of people which came from all parts of Christendome to the sepulcher of Saint *Iames*, they beganne to build Hospitals, out of their reuenues which were very great, vpon the passage which in Spaine they doe commonly call the French way, to lodge and feed Pilgrimes, and to supplie all their necessities, in sickness or in health: wherein they employed themselves honestly, and the first Hospitall of their foundation was that of Saint *Marke* the Euangelists, without the walles of the city of Leon: afterwards they built another vpon the passage of Castille, called de las Tiendas. In imitation of these Monkes, vsing such courtesie to strangers which went to Saint *Iames*, there were thirteene Knights, very deuout to this Apostle, taking him for their particular Patron and aduocate, according to their instruction, vowed themselves to gard and assure the way for pilgrimes against the incursions of the Moores, and other theues which troubled Spaine; and hauing imparted their designe to the Monkes of Saint Eloy, they agreed to make one body amongst them, and to make the patrimonie of the Monastery of Saint Eloy common, with that of these Knights, and others which should ioine with them: at that time they did enioy about twenty castles, which made the Monkes more willing to allow of this communion: al these holy souldiers were married from their first institution, wherefore they did onlie vow coniugal chastetie, and as for pouerty it was not very great, they onelie renounced the proprietie of their goods, for the seruice of the order, enioying the fruites, whereof they payed tithe vnto the Monkes for the diuine seruice, wherein they were employed: they did vowe obedience to their Prior and Maister, by such an order, as the Monkes should bee subiect to their Priors both for spirituall and temporall; and the Knights to the same Prior touching the

Ec 3

spiritualty

First convent  
of Knights of  
Saint James.

spirituality; but in regard of the temporall they should obey the maister of the order. A Whereof the first was named D. *Pedro Fernandes de Puente Encalada*. The first convent which was built for these Knights, was neere vnto Saint Markes Hospitall, without the walles of Leon, on a peece of ground belonging to the Monkes of Saint Eloy, which they gaue; into the which they all retired, taking vpon them a modest kinde of habit, fit for the warre, carrying vpon a white cloake a red-crosse, in forme of a sword, for a marke of their order, and for an argument of humilitie they had their haire powled, which was no small abasement in those times.

Their Order was vnder Saint *Augustin*, according to that of the Monkes of Saint Eloy: and all these things were ordred in the presence of Cardinal *Hyacinthe*, the Legat, and allowed by him, hauing especiall authority for it. A while after D. *Pedro*, the Maister of the Order, accompanied with certaine Knights, this order beeing wonderfully increased, went to Rome, to present himselfe to Pope *Alexander*, who confirmed the order in the year of our Lord 1175. according to the disposition of Cardinal *Hyacinthe*, his Legat, who was afterwards Pope. Many haue beleueed, and some haue written, that this order of Knights of Saint James is more ancient, grounding it vpon a certaine priuiledge which is found at Salamanca, in the Monasterie of the Holie Ghost, where at this present the religious women of that order are: for besides the moderne Castilian Language, in the which this priuiledge is written, with the date and yere thereof, counted from the natiuity of our Lord Iesus Christ, discouers the falshood: for that in those daies all Instruments, titles and letters were written in Latin, and that they did account the yeeres from the *Ara of Cesar*, there is not any mention found in Authors of the Institution of this Order, nor of any exploit of the Knights thereof, before this time: besides other markes of falshood which may bee discouered in this priuiledge, as to intitle the King D. *Fernand* the Great Lord of Biscay, and King of Leon, which hee was not, and by consequence had no cause to grant priuiledges to that Monastery of the citie of Salamanca, which hath been alwaies of the iurisdiction of Leon. Whereas in the yeere 1034. which is the date thereof, there reigned D. *Bernard* the third of that name, so as it is not without cause if they doubt of the truth of the priuiledges granted to churches and convents.

These Knights newly instituted being fallne into some dislike with D. *Fernand* King of Leon, reigning at that time, they left their Conuent of Saint Marke at Leon, and retired into Castille, where they were courteously receiued by the King D. *Alphonso*, who gaue them the towne and Castle of Vcles, called in old time *Vrcesia*, where they built that renowned conuent, which is the chiefe seate of their religion and order: yet they sent some of their brethren to dwell in their first conuent of Saint Marke at Leon, after the decease of the King D. *Fernand*, vpon condition that the superiority should belong to that of Vcles: but it is not obserued, for the conuent of S. Marke doth not acknowledge that of Vcles in any thing, but doth keep their first reuenues, the which were since augmented in Estremadura, after the conquest thereof by them of Leon. In time this order did extend farre into Portugal, where it got great reuenues vnder the obedience of the conuent of Vcles, vnto the King D. *Denis*, who put the Knights out of his country.

A thousand  
launces of the  
Order of Saint  
James.

Two chiefe  
gouernants.

This order of the Knights of Saint James did so grow in wealth and number, by the bountie of Kings, and indulgences of Popes, as they were able to arme a thousand launces compleat, in both conuents of Vcles and Saint Marke: and before that by the authority of Pope *Adrian* the sixth, the masters place was incorporate to the crowne of Castille, the Maisters of the Order were chosen and displaced, if there were cause, by the suffrages of thirteene brethren, who had that authoritie and power from the whole Order, the which doth enioy more dignities, conuents, monasteries, colles, and other lands, then any Order that is in Spaine: first there are those principal conuents, which are the chiefe of all the rest, which bee Vcles and Saint Marke, vnder the which are foure Hermitages, Saint Marie de la Pegna, neere vnto the Towne of Segure of the Mountaine, Saint Saluator of Munstiers, neere to Almeda: Saint Mary of Cagnamanes in the fields of Montiel, and Saint Anthony about Alhambra.

Besides

A Besides one Conuent in the Citie of Seuille, two Colledges in the Vniuersitie of Salamanca, sixe Monasteries of Religious women, which were the holy Ghost at Salamanca, S. Foy at Toledo, Saint Croix at Villedolit, Saint James at Granada, S. Olalia at Merida, and Saint James la Languera of Barcelona. They haue also siue Hospitals: S. James of Toledo, where they go to be cured which haue the poxe or French disease, and all other infirmities which depend thereon, S. James at Cuenca, las Tiendas in Castile the old, the hospitall neere vnto the Conuent of Saint Mark at Leon, and the hospitall of the Conuent at Vcles. Moreover, this Order hath many commanderies, the which are bound to serue in time of warre against the Moores, and to furnish 368. lances: those which belong to the iurisdiction of Vcles, are, the great Commanderie of Castile, that of Paracuellos, Monthermand, Mora, dos Barrios, Montreal, Horcajo, el Corral of Almaguer, el Campo de Critana, Alhambra, Membrilla, Montizon, Bedmar, Vacas, Segura de la Samera, which is the best Commanderie of all Spaine: Yeste, Moratallal, Carauaca, Aledo, Ricote, Biedma, Ciega, Soconos, Torres, and Cagnamares, Montiel, Sociellamos, Villamajor, Carrizosa, Vilhermosa, Vallanousa de la Fuente, the buildings del campo de Montiel, Villa Escusa de Haro, the buildings of Mancha, and the riuer of Tayo, Huellamo, Orria, Estremera, Saint Croix de Sarca, Villoria, Villarubia, Alpages, and the Priorie of Vcles, the Chamber of the Priuiledges of the Order, and Alorqui. These bee those which acknowledge Vcles. Now those follow which are of the iurisdiction of Saint Mark of Leon, the great Commanderie Aquilarejo, Calcadilla, la Puebla de Sancho Peres, el Santo, Villafrancha, la Fuente del maestre, Almendralejo, Lobon, Montijo, Merida, Alcuelfar, Riuera, and Azebucha, Hallame, Elliotua, Palomas, Ornachos, Reyna Hinojosa, Medina de la Torres, Valencia del ventoso, Monasterio, Montermolino, Vlagre, Azuaga, Guadalcanal, Mures, Benaçuca, Estepa, the houses of Corduba, the buildings in the Prouince of Leon, the Prouince of the conuent of Leon, Villanousa of Alifdar, Vena Mexi, the Prouostship of Bienuenida. In Castile the old, are Pegria, Viende, Estriana, Castrotroua. Besides all these there are the commanderies of la Torre d'Ocague, Sarca, Mirauel, Castelleja de la Cuesta, Barra, Castroverde. And in the Realme of Valencia are the commanderies of Museros, Enguerra, Orcheta, Sagra, Zenet and Fradel. Besides these commanderies, this Order hath at this day about fixe hundred Knights of the habit, about two hundred Clerkes breethren, which remaine in the conuents, with Vicarages and other Benefices, so as it is wonderfull great and rich. And although it were first instituted to make warre against the Infidels, yet there are few at this day which affect these commanderies, or the habit to that end, but only to increase their reuenues, or to be in greater reputation among souldiers, by meanes of this habit. Such was the iurisdiction of this Order of Knights.

During the raigne of this King Don *Alphonso* the Noble, the Monasterie of religious women of Balbuena was built by *Peter* of Balbuena an Hermite: in like manner one *John* of Ortega, borne at Quintana in Ortugno, in the Diocese of Burgos, was sanctified, I know not for what holines, and his bodie was buried in the yeare 1173. in the Monastery which carries his name: where the Spanish Authors say, hee did many miracles. There were infinit donations made vnto Monasteries, Conuents, and Orders of Knights, by the King and the Nobility of Spaine, for the redemption of their soules, and of their kindred and friends deceased, as their letters report.

10 The Order of the Knights of Calatraua, whose beginning wee haue described in the life of the king D. *Sancho* the desired, was much augmented at that time, and was only governed by masters: whereof the first was called D. *Garcia*, to whom succeeded D. *Martín* Peres of Syon: and the third master which gouerned at that time, was D. *Nugno* Peres, of Quignones. The first Conuent of this Order was at Calatraua: but since the Knights made diuers changes, as appears by their Histories, as to Ciruelos, Buxeda, Corcoles, and castel of Saluatierra: and since the chiefe seate of their Order was translated to the castell of Couo, in the time of D. *Nugno* *Hernandes* the twelfth Master, where it now remaines. The rents and reuenues of this holy company of Warriours haue so increased from time to time, by the bountie of the Kings of Castile, as they haue bene sterle to serue against the Moores with 300 Lances well appointed, whereunto those Com-

Order of Calatrava.

manderies

manderies are ordinarily bound, whose names be, first the great commanderie, Clauerra, A Obresia, and Argamassilla: the commanderies of Malagon, Mançares, Almagro, Montan- theculos, Daymiel, Villarubia, val de pegas, Eluico, and Saint Croix, Fuente el Moral, and the houses of Cité Real, Castellanos, Almodouar del campo, Puerto Llano, Corral of Caracuel, Piedra Buena, Herrera, Fuente del Imperador, Carrion, Guadalerza, Me- riança, Castilleras, Balesseros, Alcolea, Possuelo, Torroua, Bolagaos, Moral, Almira- diel, Hauanilla, the houses of Seville, the houses of Corduba, Belmer, Villafranca, Lo- pera, Canaueral, Ximena, and Recena Pegna de Martos, Biouras, Moratalaz, Torres and Canena, Tallega, Sorita, Almoguerza, Auignon, and Verniches, the houses of Talauera, those of Toledo, Huerta, Val de Caruanes, the houses of Plaisance, Ateca, Carezuela, Ortas, Calatraua the old. And in the realme of Arragon are the commanderies of Alca. B. n. Mousiojo, Penna Roija, Faraxneda, Ralfas, Castelleras, Laguna totta, Molinos. In that of Valencia there are also other commanderies. In Castile are the Priories of Seville, Gra- nado, Iacn, Alhama, Fuencaliente, Porcuna, Sugueca, and Villatoro, besides other dig- nities & ecclesiasticall reuenues. This Order was confirmed by Pope Alexander the third, and receiued into the protection and tuition of the Apostolike Sea, and had vnder it, Knights of the Alcantara for a time.

Nauarre.

An. 1176.

About the yeare 1176. was founded the Monasterie of our Ladie of Irançu, by Don Pedro de Paris, bishop of Pampelone, who notwithstanding he called himselfe so, was of Nauarre. It is very likely that the Prelates in those dayes had a great desire to build Mona- steries and such like houses, that they might leaue some markes and memorie after their death of their diligence in the estate whereunto they were called: for otherwise they could leaue no subiect to speake of them, that age beeing vnlearned, and full of ignorance, so as not knowing in a manner any other duties, they thought themselves sufficiently dis- charged, if they did build any retreat for Monkes: and withall, they had an assurance, that their beginning should not remaine imperfect, nor vnprovided of rich reuenues, se- ing that the hearts of Kings, and of all men in generall, were seasoned with this perswas- ion, that to enrich the Clergie, was the true meanes to wipe out all their offences, and to bee saued: Wherefore all their exhortations, counsellors, and other care, tended onely to this end, to entertaine all, especially the Nobilitie in this opinion. This Bishop, accord- ing to this kind of doctrine, built and erected this Monasterie of Nostre Signora of Irançu, and there placed the religious of Cisteaux: the Abbot of which place is of great authoritie in Nauarre, and hath a voyce in the assembly of the Estates, as a chiefe member of the Clergie.

Castille.

An. 1177.

Cuenca taken from the Moors.

11 Returning to the secular affaires of Castile, wee finde that this yeare, Don Alphonso, the Noble, made another roade into Nauarre, being assisted by Don Cels- brun, Arch-bishop of Toledo, and many other Bishops, but to small effect. The most renowned among the Knights, which serued him, were Don Gonçal of Maragon, his Standard-bearer, and Don Roderigo Gutierrez Lord Steward: these were Offices in the court of Castile, which were held during the kings pleasure.

This warre was diuerted by the inuasions which the Moores made into Castile and Arragon, in the yeare 1177. Whereupon the two Kings ioyning their forces together, besieged Cuença. The place was strong and well manned, and hard to be forced: where- fore the King of Castile left the king of Arragon there, who after many assaults tooke it. There they placed and instituted an Episcopall seate, changing that of old Valeria, by a graunt from Pope Alexander the third. After which, the Moores of Alarçon, doubting they should not be able to defend that place, quit it: which conquests remained to Cas- tile: and this was at the same time when as King Don Alphonso the Noble, did remit the Soueraignie and homage which the King of Arragon did owe to the Crowne of Castile.

An. 1179.  
League against  
Nauarre.

In the yeare 1179. there was a new League made and confirmed betwixt these Prin- ces of Castile and Arragon, to make warre against the king of Nauarre, at their com- mon charge, and equall conquests: according to the which Don Alphonso the Noble did so presse the King Don Sancho alongst the Riuer of Oja, as hee tooke from him the places which hee had seized on during his infancie, and recouered Burbiesca, Cerefo,

A Cerefo, Granon, Entrena, and Logroño, remaining by this meanes Lord and Ma- ster of Rioje and Bureua, the which the kings of Nauarre could neuer after get. This losse was made more grievous by the death of Donna Beacia, Queene of Nauarre, a Princess of great vertue, who (as some write) was buried in the Cathedrall church of Pampelone.

12 After all this, D. Alphonso the Noble came to Burgos, to provide for the necessi- ties of the warre, as well against Nauarre, as the Moores: and having need of great sums of money to that end, he propounded in a generall assembly of the Estates at Burgos; to leaue a taxe vpon the people, whereunto the Nobility as well as the rest should contri- bute, imposing five Marauidis of gold for euery person, the which was valued about five Ducats: this counsell was given him by Diego Lopes de Hara, Lord of Biscay, but it tooke no effect: for all the Gentlemen of Castile (beeing discontented that hee sought to in- fringe their liberties) fell to armes, and beeing led by the Earle Don Pedro de Lara, they were resolu'd to defend it, with the hazard of their liues. Wherefore D. Alphonso chan- ged his opinion, and let them vnderstand, that from thenceforth hee would maintaine their immunities, and that whatsoeuer he had then propounded, was not to continue, but onely to supply the present necessitie of his affaires, which he would seeke to surr- ish by some other meanes. For the great resolution which D. Pedro de Lara shewed in this action, they say, that the Nobilitie of Castile did grant to him and to his successors, a sollemne break-fast, in testimonie of his good indeuour in a businesse of so great conse- quence: and moreouer they affirme, that thereby the Lords of Lara haue the first voyce

Rioje and Bu-  
reua taken by  
the Castilians  
from Nauarre.Nobility of Cas-  
tile defend  
their freedom.

C for the Nobilitie in the Court of Castil. It is not from these 5. Marauidis of gold, that the Prouerbe is growne in Spaine, To reuenge or defend their Nobilitie for five hundred solz, for five Marauidis are not five hundred solz. Wherefore leauing all the fables which some produce to that purpose, you must vnderstand, that according to the ancient lawes of Castile, the iniurie which any one did vnto a Gentleman, where there was a ciuill repa- ration, they payed five hundred solz for a fyne, which were worth foure hundred Marau- dis of currant money at those dayes, and that which was done to one which was no Gen- tleman, was repayed by three hundred solz, which were worth but two hundred and for- tie Marauidis: wherefore the Prouerbe, to reuenge his Nobilitie, for 500. solz, is drawne from these ciuill lawes, D. Alphonso king of Castile meaning to follow the lawes with all vehemencie against the Moores, after that he had recouered those places which D. San- cho king of Nauarre had taken from him, and the quarrels betwixt him and his vnclé Don Fernand king of Leon beeing somewhat reconciled: by the mediation of the Noblemen and Prelates of both Realmes, and by the meanes of the king of Arragon, who sent Don Berenger Bishop of Lerida, and D. Raymond of Moncada thither: the more to tye the holy Knights vnto him, and to haue them readie at need, he made Vcles the chiefe seate of the Knights of Saint Iames, to whom he gaue the Townes of Mora, Ocagne, Oreja, and o- ther places, along the riuer of Tayo. He gaue to the Order of Calatraua, the townes of Magueda, Aceca, Cogolludo, Surita and others: hee peopled the towne of Palence in Vera, or rather Playfance, and there placed the auncient Episcopall seate: hee fortified To- ledo, and rampared Alarcos in that Diocesse, beeing a place of importance vpon a hill on the left hand, coniming from Almodouar del Campo, to Cité reall about Caracuel.

13 In the meane time there fell out a great quarrell, betwixt Don Fernand king of Leon, and Don Alphonso Henriques King of Portugall, by reason of the fort of Cité Ro- derigo, whereas the King of Leon maintained a garrison which did much annoy the Por- tugals: for the soldiours of this place did continually spoile the Portugals countrie, with- out any respect: wherefore D. Alphonso Henriques, who was now very old, sent his Sonne D. Sancho with an army against this garrison of the King of Leon, and to raze the place, whereof D. Fernand beeing aduertised, he fortified his guard there, and approaching him- selfe with good troupes, he encountred the Portugals neere to a place called Arraganal, or Arganal, where they were defeated, and their Generall D. Sancho taken, with many Noblemen and Knights of his armie, who notwithstanding were courteously set at liber- tie by the King of Leon.

D. Alphonso Henriques wonderfully incensed at this losse, being now about 85. yeares old, he gathered his army together, and went to horfe, where entring Galicia in hostile manner,

Vpon the  
Prouerbe com-  
in Spaine, to  
revenge his No-  
bilitie for 500  
solz.Portugal.  
Kings of Leon  
and Castile in  
quarrell.



D. Alphonso K.  
of Portugal  
and the  
warre of Leon  
ended.

Leon.

Badajos taken  
by D. Fernand  
of Leon.

Portugal.

Exhorts of D.  
Sancho against  
the Moores.

manner, he tooke Lymia, Turon, and other places: then returning into his countrey, hee drew his forces againe together, and marched beyond Guadiana, where he did assaile the citie of Badajos which the Moores held, being in a countrey, the conquest whereof did belong to the Realme of Leon: whereby it appeares, that among the Christian Princes of Spaine, there was some diuision made for their warres against the Moores, to the end they should not crosse one another by their ambition and couerousnesse. The king of Portugal battered Badajos with such speed, as he had meane to enter it, and wonne two parts of the towne, forcing the Moores to retire into a part, which was of some strength, where they defended themselves. The King of Leon hearing of this enterprife of the King of Portugal, (although he were not fully reconciled with his nephew of Castile, by reason of the new troubles which happened by the reuolt of D. Fernand Ruiz de Castro, & that he must of force leaue some part of his forces to make head vpon the frontiers of Castile, (if happily they would presse him on that side) marched from Zamora, which was newly taken by him, with such souldiars as he could gather together, towards Badajos, whereas D. Alphonso came to meet him, and gaue him battaile, which the Portugals lost: so as D. Alphonso Henriquez was forced to fortifie himselfe in that part of Badajos, which he had wonne: yet finding himselfe not very safe, he resolved to retire as well as he could into his countrey: but as they went out of the citie in a great presse, hee bruized his foot against a barre of the gate, so as he was taken by the Leonois, who carried him to the campe to the king D. Fernand, who receiued him with all honour, as his father-in-law, and a great Prince as he was, from thence he was carried to Auila, where hee was carefully looked vnto, and there made an accord with the King of Leon his sonne-in-law: so as they continued good friends. The places which the Portugals had taken in Galicia, were restored, and D. Fernand desired no other satisfaction, but an oath of fealtie and acknowledgement of the countrey of Portugal, holding of Leon. So Don Alphonso Henriquez returned free into his Realme of Portugal: after which time he could not ride, being lame of his fall, but was still carried in a coach or chariot.

As for D. Fernand Ruiz de Castro, who, as wee haue sayd, had left the king of Castile service, and was retired into the Moores countrey, after that hee had followed their armies some time, in the end he came to serue D. Fernand King of Leon, by whom he was put into citie Roderigo, after that he had succoured it, and chased away the Portugals. This Knight who was of a turbulent spirit, and did hate the Castilians deadly, bred a quarrell betwixt the Kings of Leon and Castile, making continuall roades from his garrison of citie Roderigo, into the countrey of D. Alphonso King of Castile, and had newly defaced some troupes of Castilians, which were gathered together to repulse him, whereas some were slaine vpon the place, and some taken prisoners, among the which was the Earle D. Nugno de Lara, and others whome he deliuered afterwards vpon their faith. This was the occasion which did much trouble and hinder the King D. Fernand, when as hee came against his father-in-law: and the Portugals who besieged Badajos, a towne in his iurisdiction belonging to the Moores, whom notwithstanding hee chased away, making himselfe master of the towne: where he left *Aben Abel*, a Moore for Gouvernor, in whom he trusted, for that the Inhabitants were all Moores: but this Infidell did not keepe the place long, but yeelded it to *Aben Jacob*, great Miralmanin of the Almohades, sonne and heire to *Abdelmon* deceased.

15 *Aben Abel* did not onely commit this trecherie against the king D. Fernand, but moreover hauing gathered together great forces of the Moores Almohades, hee ouerrunne and spoyle the territories of Leon: then entring into Portugal, he came and besieged the towne of Saint Iren, in the which the king D. Alphonso Henriquez was, being then old, and vnprofitable for the warre, who was in great danger to be taken within that place: but the King Don Fernand comming in good time, the sege was raised, and the Moores put to route: who were afterwards pursued by the Infant Don Sancho, who marched with the armie of Portugal neere vnto Seuille, where being incountried by the Moores, he vanquished them, and then besieged Niebla: but he was forced to leaue it, being aduertised that the Moores were entred by Extremadura, and did besiege Veija: wherefore being prest to defend his owne, he left the other. Arriuig at Veija, he defeated

and

and dispersed the Moores, and freed the towne from danger: this was in the yeare, 1181.

At that time the chiefe in Spaine among the Princes of the Moores, according to the diuision which they had made among themselves, vnder the Soueraigntie of Maroc, were the Kings of Murcia; one of the which called *Lobo*, had had a perpetuall harred against the Royall family of *Almoahade*, called the Mazemutes. This *Lobo* had bene tributarie to the King of Arragon: but during the quarrels betwixt Arragon and Castile, he had rebelled, by the fauour of the King of Castile: whereupon the King of Arragon fauoured the Mazemutes. *Lobo* being dead, his sonne *Moyses* succeeded him, who was father to *Zaen*, the last King of the Moores at Valencia. 16 As for Zamora which D. Fernand King of Leon had newly subdued, it was thus: The king of Leon hauing built and peopled the town of Ledcina and others, to accomodate his new Collonies, hee had somewhat restrained the territorie of Salamanca, whereat the Inhabitants being incensed, they rebelled against him: and hauing drawne vnto them Auila and Zamora, and infected other neighbour places with the poyson of their rebellion, they made choice of a Knight, called *Nugno Rauia*, for their head; with whom going to field with a great number, as well of their citizens, as of their allies, the King D. Fernand came and charged them neere vnto Valdemuca, where he did quite defeat them, and tooke their capitaine D. *Nugno Rauia* aliue; whose head he caused to be cut off. This victorie made the chief of them which had taken armes against the King, to retire, giuing the rest occasion to giue ouer the enterprife, and then all ioyntly together demanded pardon, and obtained it. The towne of Zamora being (as we haue sayd) ingaged in this mutinie, the King D. Fernand led his victorious armie thither, but the Inhabitants yeelded without any difficultie: so within few daies these two townes, and others by their example, returned to the obedience of the king of Leon.

17 This yeare 1181. D. Sancho king of Nauarre, fortified a little towne, called at that time Gasteiz, to serue for a barre against the king of Castile, and to defend the frontier in the Prouince of Alaua. This place being since augmented in circuit and people, was called *Vittoria*, a part whereof (which at this day is called Villa de Suco) was that Bourg of Gasteiz. The king granted to his new town the same Lawes he had done to Logroño, correcting and reforming them in some points: he gaue many priuiledges to the Inhabitants, namely, that they should not haue any stranger to bee Iudge or Gouvernor ouer them; but one borne in the countrey, who should be chosen and changed by them, if they found him not faithfull and capable: the which was called the priuiledge Merino, according to the style of the countrey. They haue obserued this order in the gouernement of the towne, the which is one of the best ordered in Spaine, hauing aboue all things bene carefull not to admit any new Christian to publike charges, vnlesse he bee of soure descendants. The reason of this name *Vittoria*, was for some victorie obtained in that countrey against the Castilians, as it is to be presumed: but by the defect of Histories of those times the particularities are not knowne.

After that this town came vnder the obedience of the kings of Castile, they did much enlarge it in circuit, and built the foure parishs of Saint Michel, Saint Vincent, S. Peter, and Saint Illefonce or Alphonse. It is written of this king D. Sancho the Wise, that hauing about this time ouerrunne the territorie of Rioje and Bureua, the which D. Alphonso of Castile had taken from him some yeares before, and being neere vnto Burgos, at a place called Atapuerca, he gaue a blow with his sword against an Elme, for a marke that the limits of Nauarre should extend so farre: then returning with an infinite number of cattell, and other spoyle, as he had a little past the Monasterie of Saint Peter of Cardegna, the Abbot of that place, who was a reuerent man, took the Standard of *Cid Ruiz Diaz* great Grand-father to the king D. Sancho, (who was buried in that Monasterie) & mounted vpon a Mule, being accompanied by tenne of his Monkes; the strongest of which carried this Standard: he made all the haste he could after this armie, vntill hee had overtaken the king, before whome he humbled himselfe. The king wondering to see these Monkes in this equipage, with standard of warre, yet he gaue them good reception, being of himselfe very deuout: and demanding what was the reason of their comming, the Abbot sayd vnto him, That he was Abbot of Saint Peter of Cardegna, and that he was come vnto him to beseech him, for the honour of *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, his great Grandfather, (who

1181.  
Moores.

Zaen the last  
King of the  
Moores.

Nauarre.

Vittoria built  
at Alaua.

(who was interred with them and his Standard which he saw in their hands) that it would please him to leaue the prey which he carried away. The King thought thereon a little, in the end he found himselfe so touched with the remembrance of *Cid Ruis*, and the deuotion and great reuerence he bare vnto the religious, as he left this great bootie which hee had made, to restore it to the owners, wherewith all men were not content.

Castile.

The quarrels betwixt the kungs of Castile and Nauarre continued long, although by fits they had some rest, but it was a counterfeit peace, or a feate of warre. Logrogno and Aguiçejo were (by some accord made betwixt these Princes) as neuters betwixt Nauarre and Castile, in the hands of *Ramir de Barea*; but the city of Calaoira was held by a knight called *Don Diego Ximenes*, in the name of *Don Alphonso*, king of Castile. And for that the warres betwixt these Christian Princes were very dishonorable and preiudiciall to religion, whereof they carried the title, *Pope Lucius* the third then reigning, sent a Cardinall Legat into Spaine, to reconcile them, who vsed great diligence, but not with such effect, as he desired. The kings of Castile and Arragon had an interview, and he of Arragon past to Saint Iames, to visit the Apostles Sepulcher. This Legat did set downe an order betwixt these two kings, for the conquest of the Moores countrie, whereunto hee did animate these Princes, and assigned to Arragon, that which lyes from Valencia towards Cattelogne, and the rest to Castile: with which diuision the kings of Arragon (which came after) were not well content, so as they were faine to make a new diuision, extending the iurisdiction of Arragon, vnto Alicant: this happened since in the raigie of *Don Pedro*.

Arragon.

18 This king *Don Alphonso* of Arragon, hauing about that time held a Prouinciall Councell at Tarragone in Cattelogne, made a decree among other things, That from thenceforth the Notaries should not set downe the yeares of the raigie of the Kings of France, in any contract which should be made in Cattelogne; as they had till then obserued, but onely the yere of the Incarnation of our Lord Iesus Christ; which was, that they would no more acknowledge the foueraigntie of France, of whom Cattelogne and the Countie of Barcelone did hold and depend. This King *D. Alphonso* finding himself mightie, and hauing a good share on this side the mountaines, busied himselfe in the French warres, taking part with the factions, which were among the Noblemen of that nation, and yet was neuer in very good tearmies with Castile, but for his own profit: yet he maintained himselfe wisely in his countrie, and with reputation.

Portugall.  
An. 1183.

19 *Don Alphonso Henriques* being very old, and at the graues brinke, thought what was fit for his soules health, as he had beene instructed; he procured in the yere 1183, to haue the bodie of *Saint Vincent* transported to Lisbone, the which they sayd, was in that countrie called *Algarbo*, on the holy promontorie, the which hath beene since called (by reason of this relique) *Cape Saint Vincent*, he was borne at Sarragossa. The king went twise in person to *Cape S. Vincent*, beeing 89. yeares old, for the remoting of this bodie, the which he placed in the Cathedrall church at Lisbone. This Prince was so religious, and so great a benefactor to the Clergie, as (besides the three Monasteries of *S. Croix* of Coimbra, of *Alcousa*, and of *S. Vincent* at Lisbone) hee built the great Cathedrall church of that cittie, and that of *Ebora*, indowing them with great reuenues. The queene *Donna Malfada* his wife, carrying the like zeale, did also build the Monasterie of *Saint Dominike* at Porto, the church of *Saint Peter*, the Monasterie of *Leza*, of the Order of *S. Iohn*, a League from the same cittie, and *Saint Mary d'Agua Santa*, *Saint Saluator* of Goandara, *Saint Peter de Retes*, *Saint Mary de Gojos*, and about Guymaranes the Monasterie of *Acosta*, with many others, to the number (as they say) of an 150. if they sayle not in their account. And for a testimonie of great charitie, they say, that these good Princes left a rent to the barke of Mexanfrío, vpon the riuer of Duero, to the end they should passe euery one without any fee.

Whilest they busied themselves about these workes of pietie, *Aben-iacob* great Miral-mumin of the Arabians, (being aduertised of the routs and ruine of his sectaries in Spain) past the streight in person with great forces of the Almohades Affricanes, where hauing ioyned with the Moores of Spaine, hee went to beseege *Saint Iren*, into the which *Don Sancho* the Infant of Portugall had put himselfe, beginning to make his Engines readie

A ready to batter it, where the beseege were likely to be in great danger: but the good old man *Don Alphonso Henriques* would not let the Infidels glorie, in that they had done him this affront in his old age, but hauing put his men in order, and being resolute, hee ledde them to succor his sonne, who had intelligence of the Portugall armie, the which (being fauoured by a furious salley which the beseege made) charged the Moores armie with such resolution, as they put them to flight, with great slaughter of their best men, and the losse of their king *Aben Iacob*, who being mortally wounded in the charge by a Portugall, dyed at the passage of the riuer of Tayo. This battell was wonne in the yere 1184. on *S. Iohn Baptists* day, fixe dayes after the Moores had begun the seerge. *Aben Joseph* his brother succeeded this Moore, and was the third King of the Almohades.

1184.

Portugal.

B 20 After this famous victorie, these Princes, father and son came to Coimbra, which was at that time the chiefe towne of the Realme of Portugall, and from thence to Porto, where the marriage of *D. Theresa* Infanta of Portugall, was concluded with *Philip* Earle of Flanders. Beeing returned to Coimbra, *D. Alphonso Henriques* fell sicke, whereof hee dyed, being 91. yeares old, hauing reigned with the title of a King about 46. yeares, and had succeeded in his fathers Estates, and held them 73. yeares. His body was interred in the Monasterie of *S. Croix* of Coimbra, *D. Sancho* his sonne was king after him in Portugall, surnamed the Builder of townes.

21 *D. Fernand* King of Leon, had a little before his death, put away *D. Vrraca* his daughter, by reason of proximitie of blood, their marriage beeing made without a dispensation from the Pope, who beeing (as they write) wonderfully prest by the King, to giue them leaue to remaine together, would neuer yeeld vnto it, notwithstanding that of her was borne *D. Alphonso*, who succeeded his father in the Realmes of Leon and Gallicia: they were cousins in the third degree. *D. Fernand* married afterwards with the daughter of the Earle *Don Nugno*, who liued little with him: then he tooke to his third wife *D. Vrraca Lopes*, daughter to the Earle *D. Lopes*, and sister to *Don Diego Lopes de Haro*, with whom he continued not long, for hee died in the towne of Benauent in the yere 1188. hauing had two sonnes by her called *D. Sancho Fernandes*, and *D. Garcia*. His bodie was interred at Compostella, in *Saint Iames* church, where as his mother *D. Berenguela* the Empreffe did lye.

*D. Sancho* the  
2. King of Por-  
tugal, first of  
that name.  
Leon.  
*Fernand* King  
of Leon puts  
away his wife

### D. Alphonso the 9. of that name, the 27. King of Leon.

22 AT the time of his death, it seemed there remayned no cause of quarrell, betwixt Leon and Castile, which was not decided and ended. His sonne *D. Alphonso* beeing troubled with continuall stormes and quarrels by his mother-in-law *D. Vrraca Lopes*, was retired into Portugall: so as at the time of his fathers death, he was absent, but being aduertised thereof, he came presently to Leon, where he was receiued and crowned king, without any contradiction: The King of Castiles Councillors were of opinion, that by the death of *D. Fernand*, their Prince had a good oportunitie offered, to bee reuenged of the wrongs which were done him during his nonage. If he had then any desire of reuenge the future euents will shew.

*D. Alphonso*  
King of Leon

*D. Alphonso* surnamed the Noble, reigning then in Castile, was numbred for the 4. of that name, of those that raigned alone in Castile, whose posteritie was very great; for he had eleven children by Queene *Elenor*, daughter of England; the eldest was Queene *Blanche*, mother to the king *S. Lewis* of France: the second *D. Berenguela* who was queene of Leon, daughter to *D. Alphonso* the ninth. The 3. was a sonne named *D. Sancho*, who died in his Infancie: the 4. was *D. Vrraca*, Queene of Portugall, married to *D. Alphonso* the second of that name surnamed the Grosse: the 5. child was *Don Fernand*, who died also young: the sixt was *D. Malfada*, dead in Salamanca and was not married: the 7. *D. Constance* Abbess of *las Huelgas* de Burgos, a Monasterie built by her father. Then had *D. Alphonso*, and *D. Elenora* two daughters, who died young: and successfullie the Queene was deliuered of another daughter, called also *Elenor* like her selfe, who was wife to *Don Iayme*, or *Iames*, first King of that Name, and the eighth King of Arragon.

Castile.  
Genealogie of  
Castile.

F f

In



was betwixt them; and perswaded him to separate them: but this Princeesse being thus re-  
 tired, retired in great disdain into Portugal, where she liued the rest of her daies in the  
 Monasterie of *Ronces*, built by her. The third daughter was *Donna Sancho*, a Nunne in the  
 Monasterie of *Saint Francis* of Alanguer, built by her. The fourth, *Donna Blanche*, Lady  
 of *Guadalajara* in Castile: and the fifth and last was *D. Berenguela*, who was not married,  
 but did accompany her eldest sister *Donna Theresa*, when as she retired to the Monastery  
 of *Lorban*: This King *D. Sancho* had familiarity with two Gentlewomen after the death  
 of his wife: the first was called *Donna Maria Aires* of Fornello, by whom hee had one  
 daughter called *Donna Prieta*; and *D. Martin Sanchez* of Portugall, who was Governour  
 of the frontier of Portugall, and a great fauourite to Don *Alphonso* king of Leon his bro-  
 ther-in-law: he married *Donna Olalla Peres*, daughter to the Earle *D. Pero Fernandes* de *B*  
*Castro*. Don *Sancho* did marrie this Gentlewoman his friend, to a knight called *D. Gil Ras-*  
*quez de Sonca*, and tooke a second friend, whose name was *Donna Maria Peres de Ribra*,  
 whom he loued much, and by her had *Donna Theresa Sanchez*, who was wife to Don *Al-*  
*phonso Telles*, founder of the towne of *Albuquerque*, and had also one sonne called *D.*  
*Ruy Sancho* of Portugall, and another daughter *Donna Constance Sanchez*, who built the  
 Monasterie of *Saint Francis* at *Coimbra*. *D. Ruy Sancho* was slaine in a battaille neere *U-*  
*ro* Porto: so as the king *D. Sancho* had in all fiftene children; nine lawfull, and sixe *B-*  
*ards*, whereof there were seven sonnes and eight daughters. After the decease of his fa-  
 ther, having raigned about foure yeares, when as they began to treat of a League against  
 the King of Castile, whereof we haue made mention, certaine English and French ships  
 being arrived at *Lisbone*, with many Knights and souldiers, which went to the holy  
 Land, by the Streight of *Gibraltar*, being stayed there by foule weather, hee made vic  
 of this occasion, and intreated these passengers to assist him at the siege of *Silues*, in the  
 countrie of *Algarbe*: and about the same time there arrived eighteen other ships of war,  
 which his brother-in-law *Philip* Earle of *Flanders* sent him, with which forces hee tooke  
*Sylues*, and did great harme vnto the Moores of that countrie. It was at that time when  
 the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, king *Philip Augustus* of France, and *Richard* king of  
 England, called *Corde Lyon*, made their voyage into the East, that this towne of *Silues*  
 was taken from the Moores, by the helpe of these strangers. This King Don *Sancho* built  
 more townes, and peopled more countries then any of the kings of Portugall, whereby  
 he purchased the name of Poblador, which is as much to say, as Builder, or peopler of  
 Townes: *Valencia* of *Minio*, *Torref-nouas*, *Monte Maior* the new, *Batellas*, *Penama-*  
*cor*, *Sortella*, *Penella*, *Figueira*, *Couillana*, *Folgacino*, and *Montemor*, were his works,  
 and with many other places; part of the which hee gaue to the Orders of *Saint James* and  
*Auis*, which began in his time in Portugall: to *Saint James* hee gaue *Alcacar de Sal*, *Pa-*  
*mela* and *Almada*: and to that of *Auis*, *Valeillas*, *Alcanebe*, *Geromegna*, *Alcantade* and  
*Alpedrin*, with the castell of *Mafra*. He recovered *Yelbes* from the Moores which they  
 had taken from Portugall.

Castile.

An. 1194.

Port of Na-  
uarre betwixt  
Logroño and  
Nagera.

25 *D. Alphonso* king of Castile, against whom (as wee haue sayd) the other foure  
 Christian Kings of Spaine had made a League, had not yet beene much annoyed thereby  
 in the yeare 1194: wherefore hee thought rather to vndertake some warre against the  
 Moores, then to defend himselfe against his neighbours, of whom he made shew to haue  
 so little feare, as he would not leaue any thing which he had taken, or that were in con-  
 trouersie: nay, he built a towne betwixt *Logroño* and *Nagera*, the which he called *Na-*  
*uarret*, to the which he gaue many liberties and freedoms, as appears by his letters  
 granted in an assembly at *Carrion*, in the yeare 1095. Notwithstanding all this, the Con-  
 federats did not stirre: but Histories make mention, that *D. Sancho* furnished the Strong,  
 king of *Nauarre*, who had newly succeeded his father *Don Sancho* the Wife, being de-  
 ceased the yeare before 1194. and he of *Leon*, allyed themselves with the King of Castile,  
 for the warre which he intended against the Moores of *Andalusia*: to beginne the which  
 he sent for Chiefe and General of his armie, *D. Martin* Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, a Prelate  
 much esteemed by the Historiographers of Spaine, by reason of his great vertues, ho-  
 noured among others by Don *Roderigo* his successeur, who termes Don *Martin* *Stok*,  
 the Diademe of the Church; his wisdom & prouidence, the peace of many; his tongue  
 the

A the reformation of discipline, his hands, the releefe of the poore, and his armes, the per-  
 secution of Blasphemie, with other such Spanish elegancies, saying in the end, that the  
 Church was happie which had such a Pastor: these are his very words. This Arch-bishop  
 finding armes the fittest meanes to propagat the faith of Christ, made so furious an en-  
 try into *Andalusia*, as he left horrible marks throughout the whole Prouince, where he  
 filled all with murder, ruine, fire and desolation, and then returned triumphantly, being  
 laden with great and rich spoiles: but this expedition being suddenly made against the  
 Moores, did afterwards bring more miserie and dishonor to the King and his Estate, then  
 it had done profit or honor vnto the Bishop, who had shewed more rage and fury, then  
 valour, reason, or warlike discipline.

B 26 The Arch-bishops exploit, did so incense *Aben Joseph* King of the Arabians, (bee-  
 ing solicited by the Moores of Spaine) as hauing with great speed leuied a mighty armie  
 of Africane Arabians, yea out of the regions neerest vnto the Negros, hee passed the  
 Streight, and came into *Andalusia*, where he ioyned with the Moores of Spaine, and mar-  
 ched beyond the mountaine which they call *Sierra Morena*, against the Christians. King  
 Don *Alphonso* the Noble, being aduertised of this great preparation, was come to lodge  
 at *Alarcos*, a fort at that time (by reason of the situation) of great Importance, whether  
 all his vassalls and men of warre of *Toledo*, *Extremadura*, and *Castile* came, where hee  
 also attended supplies from *Nauarre* and *Leon*. The Moores marching with all speede,  
 approached neere vnto *Alarcos*, the Christians campe being but weake, hauing not all  
 their forces together: yet seeing the Moores collours flying in the ayre: the king Don  
*Alphonso*, and his Knights resolu'd not to keepe themselves within their rampars & tren-  
 ches, but to charge the enemy valiantly, to the end they might haue the honor of such a  
 victorie: but it fell out otherwise, for being come to handie-strokes, the lesser number,  
 which were the Christians did valiantly, but the Moores being the greater, vanquished,  
 and slue many braue men: among the which *D. Martin Martinez* the fourth master of the  
 holy Knights of *Calatrava* dyed. The King *D. Alphonso* being sore wounded, saved him-  
 selfe by flight. The losse of this battaille was the losse of *Alarcos*, and of many Christians  
 that were within it, who fell into the Moores hands, as many other Townes and strong  
 places did, the Infidels seizing vpon the whole countrie, euen vnto the Ports of *Yebenes*,  
 which is within fixe Leagues of *Toledo*. There are to be seene at this day, markes of this  
 battaille, and of other encounters in those quarters, betwixt *Ventas* of *Darasutan* and *Sa-*  
*bataile*, in a plain called *Maranga*, where there are infinit heapes of stones, and many cross-  
 ses, shewing, that in former times, there had bin much blood spilt in those places. Some  
 charge *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, saying, that he retired out of the fight too soone: others  
 say, that hee did it expressly, and led many Knights of Castile with him, being disconten-  
 ted for that the King had compared the knights of *Extremadura* with them: saying, that  
 they were as good horse-men, and did fight as well as the Castilians. Others accuse  
 the king and his capitaines, that he made too great hast to fight, and had not attended the  
*Naugarrois* and *Leonois*, who were vpon the way, and made hast to ioyne with him: so as  
 the fault of the one and the other, both of King, Capitaines and Knights, was to seek their  
 owne glorie, and not that of God, nor the profit of the common-weale; and the best ex-  
 cuse they had, was, that they shewed themselves more valiant then wife. The kings of *Na-*  
*uarre* and *Leon*, being aduertised of this defeat, were not much troubled: for he of *Na-*  
*uarre* (without passing any farther) led his men home into his countrie, and the king of  
*Leon* sent backe his, the which did much discontent the king of Castile: for they abando-  
 ned him at his need, whereas if they had aduanced, they might haue stayde the Conquest,  
 ruines and spoiles, which the Moores made after the battell: yea hee noted the little Ioue,  
 and bad alliance of the King of *Nauarre*, who being entred into his countrie, would not  
 vouchsafe to visit him, knowing that he was sicke of the wound, which he had receiued in  
 the battaille. Don *Alphonso* king of *Leon* came to *Toledo* to see him, although hee loued  
 him not much better then the king of *Nauarre*. All this hee dissembled for the present, and  
 reserved the reuenge till a conuenient time.

Moores.

Defeat of  
Christians neere  
unto Alarcos.  
1195.

D. Sancho the 21. King of Nauarre, the eight  
of that name.

27. **T**His King of Nauarre, which led succors to D. *Alphonso* of Castile, was Don *Sancho* the Strong, sonne to D. *Sancho* surnamed the Wise, who had succeeded his father, in the year 1194. as we haue sayd, hauing reigned three and forty years, seuen months and some dayes, he is interred at Pampelone, in the Cathedrall Church. This D. *Sancho* the sonne, at his comming to the Crowne, was aduised to proceed politiquely with the King of Castille, vntill he were well feded: and therefore King D. *Alphonso*, did build at his owne pleasure, the towne of Nauarret, in the country of Rioje, the which was disputable betwixt them, and vpon the frontier of Nauarre: the surname of Strong, was giuen him for his valour, but they did also call him the Retired, for that in his latter dayes hauing a Canker in one of his feete, (which made it to swell, and put him to great paine) he shut himselfe vp into the castell of Tudele, and would not suffer any to see him, nor speake to him but his ordinarie seruants. This was the 21. King of Nauarre in number, and the eight of that name, descended by the masculine line from the first King D. *Garcia Ximenez*, the which had continued in successors males 518. yeares, sayling in him by the death of the Infant D. *Fernand* his sonne, who dyed before his father.

*Deeds of the  
king D. Sancho  
the Strong for  
the good of the  
Common-weale  
and Religion.*

This Prince was much esteemed for his vertue, valour, Iustice, and gouernement, so as the Nauarrois held, he was the best King that had reigned ouer them. Among other testimonies he left of him, he turned the course of the riuer of Ebro, the which did runne by Mirepoix, and made it passe by Tudela, a towne which he did loue and frequent much: the which he did beautifie with a collegiall Church, of a fayre building: and richly indowd it: he fortified the places of his frontiers towards Castile and Arragon, and built new forts, as the castell of Treuigno, in the Prouince of Alaua: he enlarged the towne of Victoria: and in Rioje, la Garde, and Saint Vincent: and towards Guienne, (which the English then held) he fortified the towne of Saint Sebastian, and Fontenay in Guipulcoa, but it was for another. As for religious buildings, besides the Collegiall Church of Tudela, he made for his sepulcher, S. Mary the Royall at Roncevaux, a Colledge of Chanoines, and moreouer the Monasteries of Saint Mary de Hitero, and Saint Mary de Oliua, both of the Order of Cisteraux, whose abbots haue a place and voice, in the Estates of Nauarre, the which the Prior of Roncevaux hath in like manner, yet he was not very liberal, but in case of necessitie and workes of piety: wherefore hee gathered together greater treasures then any King in Spaine. By this his sparing, it may be, he lost the Prouinces of Alaua and Guipulcoa, which were ioyned to Castile. The iurisdiction of Nauarre was neuer so much restrained, as during the raigne of these two kings, *Sanchez* the father and sonne.

*Kings of Navarre & Leon  
invade Castile  
A.D. 1196.*

This king of whom we speake, gaue himselfe occasion to Don *Alphonso* the Noble, to take armes against him: for seeing him much troubled to keepe his countrie from inuasion of the Moores, who were growne proud by their late victorie, and that hee kept his bed wounded: hee thought it now a fit time to recouer his lands of Rioje and Bureua, which his aduersarie kept from him: wherefore hauing layd a plot with the king of Leon his allye and confederate, he attempted warre against *D. Alphonso* the Noble, and entred into Castile in the yeare 1196. putting all to fire and sword, especially in the countrie of Soria and Almazan. *D. Alphonso* king of Leon, aduancing also into the Prouince of Campo did worfe, for he brought in the Moores of Extremadura, with whome hee was in League.

**Arroz:**

There is no doubt but Don *Alphonso* king of Arragon would have been a partaker in this Invasion of Castile, if death had not prevented him in the same year 1196. He died in Perpignan, having reigned three and thirty years, eight moneths, and some dayes, and was buried in the royal Monasterie of Poublette, which he had founded: whose sonne and successor Don *Pedro*, thought it more safe to leaue the alliance of the kings of Nauarre and Leon, to ioyne with Castile, in whose defence and preferuation he employed himself faithfully.

A faithfully againſt the two others : fo as D. *Alphonſo* the Noble ; had by this ſupport, meanes to ſtay the furie of his enemies ; and to keepe his countrey and frontier townes.

During these quarrels amongst Princes, the Clergy was not idle; for the same yeere D. *Roderigo* Bishop of Calaoorra, desirous to see the church of Saint Dominike de la Cal-fada (which Temple he had caused to be built) made an Episcopal seat, would needs place Chanoinns there: which caused great troubles; for this seemed an attempt against fa-thor *Lopes*: Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Mary the royal of Nagera, who pretended to be Bishop of Nagera. On the other side D. *Roderigo* maintained; that there was no other Bishop, having iurisdiction at Nagera, but hee of Calaoorra. The conten-tion was soe hot, that the King did commaund to embrace the cause,

no other Bishop, having jurisdiction at Nagera, was able to resist the violence of the King, who was so much incensed by the rebellion, that he was great and drew neere vnto a scandale: but the King did so imbrace the cause, as information beeing made of the Abbots life and manners, hee was deputed by the Kings sentence from all Ecclesiasticall gouernment, and banished the realme of Calicut: this the King did by the aduice of the Bishops which held against the Abbot who being dislodged, was soone after followed by all the Monkes, whom the Bishop *Roderigo* chased away, not onely aspiring to the Episcopall title of Nagera, which was in this Monastery, but also to that which did belong vnto the Abbay: who in steed of Monkes, placed Chanoins at Saint Mary the royal: but the King disliking the violent course of this Prelat, restored the Monkes to their Monastery: and the Chanoins were removed to the church of Saint Dominike which was a signe of the future translation of the Episcopall see of Nagera thether, which was the marke whereat the Bishop of Calaoorra ayemed; but it was not so soone effected, remaying onely for the present a Colledge of Chanoins: for the which the Abbot and Monkes of Nagera, commenced sute against the Bishop of Calaoorra, the which continued long.

28 King D. *Alphonso*, being troubled by the Christians, armed and disarmed, both secular and Clergie; was also assailed in the yeere 1197. by the Miralmunin *Aben Joseph*, who came and laied siege to Toledo, causing his horfemen Moores, to runne as farre as Madrid, and Ahala de Henares, who ouer running the country, spoiled Ocagna Vcles and Cuenca, destroying all they found without the walles of townes and forts; but at that time the Arabians made other purchase, for seeing the strength of the city, and being aduertised of the great garrison and many Inhabitants which were within it, they returned into Andalusia by *Alcaras*, carrying with them an incredible number of Christians, of cattaille, and other spoiles: wherefore King D. *Alphonso* seeing himselfe freed from this danger, resolved to imploy the souldiars which hee had gathered together, and the alliance which hee had with D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, to bee reuenged of the Kings of Nauarre and Leon, who had spoiled his country during the troubles and calamities which he suffered by the Moores.

h, An. 1197.

Moore's Spoils  
Toledo and  
Cassille

- D. Alfonso  
King of Castille  
in 1492  
and Nani.

An. 1198.

## The



## The generall Historie of Spaine.

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The Kings of Castille and Arragon, hauing not yet forces sufficient to resist so mighty an army, as that of *Aben Joseph*, kept themselves in the mountaines of Palomera about Auila, from whence they returned against the King of Leon, hearing that the Moores were dislodged, from whom they tooke Alba de Liste, and al that was in the way vnto Astorga, the which hauing ruined, they came & laied siege to Salamanca, but they tooke it not; only they spoiled and burned the country about it, and that of Alba de Tormes, carrying away the people, and leauing it desolate: in the end they tooke Montreal, and returned victors, finding not any one to make head against them. And such was the desire of King *D. Alphonso*, to bee reuenged of the Kings of Nauarre and Leon, as the better to effect his will, hee neglected the iniuries and spoiles hee had received from the Miralmunim, and made a truce with him: whereby hee gaue meane to this King of the Moores, to commit horrible cruelties in Portugal, in the yeere of our

An. 1199. Lord 1199.

Portugal.

The Moores  
spoile & ruin  
the.

This Realme of Portugal was at that time visited with many afflictions, for besides the spoiles committed by the Moores, there was an extreme famine, with a great plague, whereof many died for hunger, and many left their country, especially in the country of Braga and Porto; besides the Pope did interdict the whole Realme of Portugal, for the marriage of *D. Theresa* with the King of Leon her kinsman, the which was concluded without his dispensation, and therefore he would dissolue it. *Aben Joseph* hauing made a truce with the King of Castille, marched towards Portugal, where hee recovered Sylues in Algarbe and Alcazar de Sal; he ruined Cezimbra and Palmela, with other places, burning and spoiling all the champion country, and carrying away innumerable poore Christians prisoners. *D. Sancho* King of Portugal, could by no meanes resist this mighty Barbarian King, for beside the Moores forces, hee was prest by the warre of Leon: yet soone after he recovered Cezimbra and Pamela, and repaired them, but not in the same estate they had beene. The quarrel hee had with *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, was the breaking of the marriage of his sister *D. Theresa*; In this warre hee had better successe, it may bee, for that hee did affect it with more vehemency, beeing most commonly seene, that the hatred betwixt kins-folkes and allies is more violent, then that against strangers. He tooke by force from the King of Leon (beeing otherwise weak) the townes of Tuy and Ponteuedra in Galicia, which hee held for a time. After these things, the Miralmunim of the Arabians, beeing assured of the King of Castille, by the truce which hee had made with him, retired to Maroc in Affrike, thinking that the Moores of Spaine were sufficient to resist all the enterprises which might bee made by Portugal, Leon and Arragon.

## D. Pedro the second of that name the seuenth King of Arragon, called the Catholike.

Arragon.

**29** *D. Pedro* the new King of Arragon, tooke possession of his Realme, in the yeere 1196. by the death of his father *D. Alphonso*; hee was surnamed the Catholike, for that hee was too obedient to the Catholike church of Rome, and gaue much to Churches and Monasteries already built; hee built the Monastery of Escarpe, vpon the riuer of Cinca, of the Order of Cisteaux, not farre from Lerida. He had three sisters, the which were married during his raigne, as hath beene sayd. As for his brother *D. Alphonso* who had gotten the Earldome of Prouence, hee had to wife *D. Mary* Neece to the Earle of *Folguaguier*, from whom issued *D. Raymond Berenger*, who was Earle of Prouence after his father.

Marriages of  
D. Pedro King  
of Arragon.

There was an other Lady of the house of *Folguaguier*, who was married to the King *D. Pedro*, by whom hauing one sonne, called *D. Raymond Berenger*, she died soone after, and her sonne also: after which the King *D. Pedro* married the daughter of *William*, Earle of Montpellier, borne of that Princessse of Greece, which had beene made sure

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## The generall Historie of Spaine.

**A** to *D. Alphonso* his father. This second wife was called *Mary*; and for that shee was not very faire, he was soone wearie, and would haue put her away: but Pope *Innocent* the third then raigning, would not yeeld vnto it, for hee was a strickt obseruer and defender of the Ecclesiastical lawes. For this cause *D. Pedro* went to Rome, where the Pope did him great honour, and crowned him in the church of Saint Pancrace, with a crowne of gold, garnished with pearles and precious stones of great valour: where they say hee renounced vnto the Pope, the right of Patronage to the churches of his Realme, the which his predecessors had enioyed; and did so much forget himselfe, as to acknowledge his Kingdome to hold of the Pope, and to binde himselfe, and promise for himselfe and his successors Kings, to pay him a yeerly tribute of two hundred and fifty peeces of gold, called the Mahozemutins, of the name of the Miralmunim *Aben Joseph Mahozemut*, vnder whose coine they were stamped: these peeces were about six ryals, then current, to which acknowledgement the Noblemen of Arragon did not consent. The King being returned into his country he beganne to leade a dissolute life, and contemning his wife, he sought for those that were faire and pleasing vnto him, wherein hee wanted not men to follow his licentious appetite: wherefore the Queene his wife, who was verie holy, seeing that her husband, offended God, and that, not accompanying with her, it was to bee feared the Estates of Arragon and Montpellier would fall to a stranger, for want of issue borne of them, shee found meanes to abuse him with a commendable deceit: for vnderstanding by a groomme of his chamber, called *Pedro Flaniam* (who was sometimes a Minister of the Kings loue) that the next night he should bring him one of his Mistresses, shee wrought so with him, as hee brought her into the Kings chamber, in the concubines place, so as the King, (in this opinion) spent the night with her, but perceiving it in the morning, he was much displeased: yet considering the holy zeale of his Queene, and of those which had serued her in this action, hee was pacified, and tooke it in good part.

Submission of  
D. Pedro King  
of Portugal to  
the Pope.A commendable  
deceit of  
Queene Mary  
of Hungary.

Soone after the Queene found her selfe with child, and at her time was brought in bed at Montpellier of a sonne, called *D. Jaime*, which they cal *Diego* in Castille, and *Jaques* in French, who was heire of Arragon and Montpellier, notwithstanding that Queene *Mary* had one brother by the fathers side, called *William*, who contended for the Earldome of Montpellier, and did often attempt to kill the Infant *D. Jaime*. This matter was long in question in the court at Rome, whether this Princessse went in person, as wel to oppose her selfe against her brother, as to end the processe which remained yet vndecided betwixt her and the King her husband, who fought stil to bee seperated from her by *Hugo Tarrogia* his Ambassador. There by the sentence of Pope *Innocent*, *William* was declared a bastard, and vncapable to succeed in the Earldome of Montpellier. After this sentence, the Queene thinking to returne into Arragon, fell sicke, and died at Rome, where she was buried, at the Vatican, in Saint Peters church, neere vnto the tombe of Saint *Petronilla*, daughter to Saint Peter as Authors write, and was put in the Catalogue of Saints. This Princessse had beene first married to the Earle of Cominges, by whom she had two daughters *Mathilde* and *Petronilla*.

Death of  
Queene Mary  
of Arragon.

In the beginning of the raigne of this King *D. Pedro*, hee had a great quarrel with the Queene *D. Sancha* his mother, aunt to the Kings of Castille and Leon, for that the Kings Officers and Courtiers did not regard her as was fit, wherevpon shee seized vpon some townes belonging to her dowry. And for that it might breed great inconueniences, *D. Alphonso* the Noble, King of Castille, labored to reconcile them, for the which he and the King *D. Pedro* met in the towne of Ariza, where an accord was made betwixt the mother and the sonne, so as euer after they liued in peace. By this accord the townes of Ariza, Epila and Ambire, with their castles, were giuen by the Queene Dowager, vnto the King her sonne, and hee gaue vnto the Queene the townes of Tortose and Vzeon, with some other places in the principality of Cattelogne. There came to this assembly, *D. Pedro d'Asagra*, Lord of Albarrasin, who had beene much hated by the Kings of Castille & Arragon, but was then reconciled, of whom we haue made mention, this was in the yeere of our Lord 1200. at what time the marriage of *D. Alphonso* of Leon, and of *D. Theresa* of Portugal was dissolued by the decree of Pope *Innocent* the third, for that they

An. 1200.

Nauarre.

Descendants  
of the house of  
Champagne.

they were kinne-folkes in a degree which was prohibited by the church of Rome. 30 The house of Nauarre approaching neere its end, for want of heires males, it is fit we should prepare the Readers to the access which the descendants from women which are issued from it, haue had vnto that crowne, speaking some thing of the house of Champagne, into the which D. *Blanche*, daughter to D. *Sancho* the wife, and sister to this King D. *Sancho* the strong was married. The Earles of Champagne haue bene of great possessions in France, of an ancient and noble familie, as well of the house, as by their alliances and marriages with the greatest houses of Europe. In the nine hundred and ninth yeere, mention is made of *Odon* first Earle of Champagne, Brie, Blois, Chartres and Touraine, who was a turbulent man, and had great quarrels with *Richard* Duke of Normandy, whose daughter notwithstanding he tooke in the end to be his second wife: he made warre against *Rodolphe* or *Ralph*, the last King of Bourgogne, and was the cause why hee resigned his Scepter and crowne, to *Conrade* the Emperour, whose daughter *Odon* had taken to his first wife, and had *Stephen* and others by her.

This *Stephen* was Earle of Champagne, in the yeere of our Lord 1032. (after the decease of his father) and Lord of his other Estates by the succession of his brethren. Hee died in the holie warre in Syria, hauing begotten of his wife *Ali* or *Adela*, daughter to *William* the conqueror, Duke of Normandy, and King of England, *Thibaud* and other children.

*Thibaud* surnamed the great, was Earle of Champagne, in the yeere of our Lord 1101. hee did also enioy the Earledomes of Brie, Blois and Chartres, and was called the father of the poore; hee had to wife *Mahault* a Princesse of Germany of a great house, by whom he had *Henry* who was Earle of Champagne and Bry after him, in the yeere of our Lord 1151. besides other children.

This *Henry* surnamed the Big, the fourth Earle of Champagne, was in Asia with King *Lewis* the yong, and afterwards with *Philip Augustus*, where hee did great seruice to the cause; hee married *Mary* of France, daughter to *Lewis* the seventh called the yong; his first wife *Elenor*, Dutchesse of Guienne and Countesse of Poitiers, of this marriage it issued *Henry* and *Thibaud*, who were successiue Earles of Champagne one after another. *Henry* went to the warre of Asia, and marrying with the daughter of *Almeric* King of Ierusalem, widow to *Conrad* Marquis of Monterrat, was made King of Ierusalem, but returning into France, hee died without issue male. Wherefore his brother *Thibaud* the second of that name, seized vpon the country of Champagne, in the yeere of our Lord 1196. to the preiudice of the two daughters of the deceased Count *Henry*, and was the sixth Count *Palatin* thereof. It was this *Thibaud* which married D. *Blanche*, daughter to D. *Sancho* the wife, King of Nauarre, who had one sonne after the death of her husband, about the yeere of our Lord 1201. called *Thibaud*, as the father, who was Earle of Champagne and Brie, notwithstanding the pretensions of a sister, which was borne in their fathers life time, who contended for this succession, but in vaine. Moreouer by the death of D. *Sancho* the strong (of whom wee now intreate) without children, hee came to the crowne of Nauarre, by his mothers succession: A Prince greatly allied to the houses of France and England, whereof wee will treat more at large. But let vs returne to D. *Sancho* the strong, reigning at this time in Nauarre.

This Prince married with a French Lady, daughter to *Raymond* Earle of Tolouse the fourth of that name, who was called D. *Clement*: they hold that hee had not any children by her, wherefore, according vnto some Authors, hee left her, and married the daughter of the Emperour *Frederic Barbarousse*: notwithstanding this second marriage is doubtful: but as for the first, *Garcia d' Eugui*, bishop of Bayone, hath left in writing, that hee had one sonne named D. *Ferdinand Calabasa*, vho died in his fathers life time, with a fall of a horse, running after a Beare, and was buried in the Collegial church of Tudele. Hee had no other lawfull children, but mention is made of one bastard sonne, called *William*.

31 The ancient league of Castille and Arragon being reneued, betwixt the Kings D. *Alphonso*

A D. *Alphonso* the Noble and D. *Pedro*, they did arme to annoy the King of Nauarre, about the yeere of our Lord 1200. the which he foresceing, he sought to be supported by Ioraine Princes, and proceeded so farre, as hee did sollicit *Aben Joseph Mazemut*, to breake the truce which he had made for ten yeeres, with the King of Castille; some Authors affirming that D. *Sancho* went himselfe in person, into Affrike, to treat of the business with this Mahometan Prince: who notwithstanding that he would not breake his faith, yet hee presented him with a great summe of money and many rich Jewels. During his absence, the confederate Kings, entred by diuers waies into Nauarre (where hee had left for his Lieutenant General, a knight called *Alphonso Fernandes* of Guendulain) and tooke Ayuar and the valley of Roncal, which fell to the King of Arragon, and on the other side Miranda, and Insura, or Inzula, which places the King of Castille kept for himselfe, these two confederate Kings hauing agreed to diuide the conquest of Nauarre betwixt them: this was all they did for that yeere. As for the King D. *Sancho*, hee fell sicke on the waie of a pestilent feuer, the which in the end fell to be a canker in one of his feete, which continued with him all his life.

This indisposition being knowne in Spaine, it gaue courage to the King of Castille to pursue his good fortune, and to trie all meanes possible, to ioyne that Estate to his, presuming that the King D. *Sancho* (who had no children) could not liue long, and that he being dead, there should be no great opposition against him, for that D. *Ramir*, one of his brethren, was of the church, the other was young and absent, and the Earle of Champagne his brother in law, was either dead, or gone to the holy Land, but howsoeuer, hee was so farre off, as before hee should returne into France, to debate his title to the Kingdome of Nauarre, wherevnto hee had right, hee did hope to bee in possession.

Vpon this descigne hee leauied a new army, entred into Alaua, and ouerrunne all that Prouince, where in the end hee besieged the Towne of Victoria, the which was valiantly defended by D. *Alphonso Fernandes* of Guendulayn, who had put himselfe into it with many good souldiers of Alaua and Nauarre, and maintained the siege long, without any succors, or newes from the King D. *Sancho*, vntil that their victuals beganne to faile them. During this siege the Deputies of the Prouince of Guipuscoa, came to D. *Alphonso* King of Castille, making offer that if he would goe thither in person, they would yeeld vnto him, hauing long desired to bee vnited to the crowne of Castille, for that they were ouercharged by the Kings of Nauarre, whose fortunes they had followed seuentie seven yeeres. This offer was very pleasing vnto D. *Alphonso*, as a matter of great aduantage; wherefore leauing D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* to continue the siege of Victoria, he went in person to Guipuscoa, which Prouince put it selfe vnder his protection, and of the Kings of Castille, vpon certaine conditions, and deliuered into his hands the forts of Saint Sebastien and Fontaraby, with the castle of Velloaga, which is in the valley of Ojarzun, which frontierd vpon France, a fit place to assure him a passage, if need were, into Guienne, which was then held by the English, for that hee had married a Princesse of England. Besides these places they gaue him the castle of Athau, vpon the frontiers of Nauarre, which is now ruined, the castle of Achoros, Val du Leniz, and the castle of Arrasate, called at this present Mondragon, vpon the frontiers of Biscay, with the fort which was then built vpon the mountaine of Helosua, the ruines whereof are to bee seene at this day, which mountaine is in the Iurisdictiō of the towne of Vergara; and is otherwise called Ariznoa. Thus D. *Alphonso* King of Castille, obtained this prouince of Guipuscoa, without force, and so returned wonderfully content to the siege of Victoria, which sollicit D. *Sancho* their King, hauing spent all their victuals; who by daily messengers, did sollicit D. *Sancho* their King, aduertising him of their extremity; whereby they should be forced to fall into their enemies hands, if hee did not preuent it; but hee being ignorant of all that had past in his country, being absent, ill disposed, and without good countell, aduised them to yeeld vnto the King of Castille, vpon the best conditions they could.

Hauing receiued this answer, the besieged held out seuentene daies longer, attending if the King had not taken some better aduise, but seeing there came nothing from him

A Mahometan  
Prince keeps  
his faith religio-  
usly.The King of  
Castille invades  
Nauarre.Guipuscoa  
yeilded to the  
King of Castille.

Victoria taken  
by the King of  
Castille.

him whereby they might hope of releefe, being extremely preſt with hunger and want of all things they yeelded the towne, the which for the ſituation and fortification was held impregnable. By the taking of Victoria, the King of Caſtile was maſter of that other Prouince of Alaua; the country of Araya yeelded vnto him; he tooke Irruina, Maragnon, Saint Croix and all the valley of Campeſo. King D. *Alphonſo* made this goodly conqueſt in the yeere 1200. part by force, and part by a voluntary yeelding, and did greatly diminifh the realme of Nauarre, although that ſome places ſubmitted themſelues againe vnder the obedience of the King D. *Sancho*, neither did the Prouince of Alaua euer receiue any law from Caſtile, except Victoria and Treuigno. To aſſure himſelfe the better of the Guipulcoans, and to gratifie them alſo, the King of Caſtile cauſed to bee re-edified vpon the ſea coaſt of that Prouince, the townes of Guetario and Morrico, the which hee did fortiſie, and indow with great preuiledges: after all theſe things, the King of Nauarre arriued at Carthagea, and ſlpt through Arragon into his country, bringing great treaſure with him out of Affrike, at what time D. *Alphonſo* had newly beſieged Eſtella, the which was freed from ſiege vpon the bruit of his coming, (ſo great power and reputation hath the name of a king that is preſent) but if he had ſtaied longer in Affrike his country of Nauarre had bene wholly loſt: hauing viſibly ſcene the great harme which the King D. *Alphonſo* had done him, hee ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, to deſire him to reſtore him that which hee had taken from him in his abſence, againſt al law and iuſtice, and againſt the accuſtomed manner of making warre in that age full of loyalty: but the King of Caſtile entertained him with delaies and doubtfull anſwers.

Nauarre ſends  
Ambaſſadors  
to Caſtile.

Caſtile.

32 Whiſt that D. *Sancho* conſiders of his loſſes, and of the beſt meanes to reſtaur him, the King of Caſtile great, mighty, and redoubted, being allied to him of Arragon, and hauing a truce for many yeeres with *Aben Iſeph*, hee beganne to reſtaur the ruines which the Arabians had made: he reſtored the city of Plaiſance, Bejar and other places of the country ruined: hee did the like to Mirabel, Segura de la Serra, Monſredo, Moya, and many other places of the realme of Toledo: hee alſo built Aquilar del Campe in Caſtile: and moreouer in Guipulcoa, hee built the towne of Caſtro d' Ordiales, Laredo, Saint Ander and Saint Vincent de la Barquera.

An. 1201.

Marriage be-  
twixt Lewis  
of France and  
Blanche of  
Caſtile.

About the yeere 1201. there was a peace treated of betwixt *John*, ſucceſſor to *Richard* King of England, and King *Philip Auguſtus* of France, at Bourtauant in Normandy, by the which amongſt other Articles, a marriage was concluded betwixt the Infanta D. *Blanche* the daughter of D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, and Queene *Elenor*, ſiſter to the King of England, with *Lewis* eldeſt ſonne to *Philip*, and heire of the realme of France: for the which, Ambaſſadors were ſent from both Kings into Caſtile, & they were made ſure by a Deputy for *Lewis*, in the city of Burgos, with great feaſting and ſtate, and the Infanta was conducted by the King her father, and other Noblemen of Caſtile vnto the frontiers of Guienne, where the Deputies for the French King did receiue her, for whoſe dowry there was aſſigned by King *John* her vncke, all the places which were in queſtion betwixt him and the French King, whereof the ſayd French King was in poſſeſſion, in the Dutchie of Normandy, Brittain and Aniou.

At the ſame time D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, ſeperated by the authority of Pope *Innocent*, from D. *Therſa* of Portugal his wife, ſent to demande D. *Berenguela*, the King of Caſtilles other daughter: whereof (by reaſon of the diſcords which were betwixt theſe two Kings) the father made ſome difficulty, yet vanquiſhed by the perſwaſions and intreaty of Queene *Elenor*, who deſired as much to ſee her daughter weare a crowne, as a peace betwixt Caſtile and Leon, he yeelded vnto it, and theſe two Princes meeting to that effect in the towne of Vailledolit, the marriage was celebrated, aſſigning her for her dowry, the lands taken the yeere before from the king of Leon, except *Carpio* and *Monreal*, which remained to Caſtile. Of this marriage was borne the Infant D. *Fernand*, who ſucceeded in the Realmes of Caſtile and Leon. Thinke that the Popes diſpenſation was not obtained for this marriage: for being couſin germain remoued, children of the vnckle and nephew, Pope *Innocent* the third, did ſeperate them.

Caſtile.

In the yeeres 1202. and 1203. the ancient preuiledges granted by the Kings of Nauarre, vnto

A vnto Saint Sebaſtian and Fontarabie, townes of Guipulcoa, were confirmed and augmented by the Kings of Caſtile, and their iuriſdictions lymited, eſpecially of Fontaraby, by the riuers of Oriagun and Vidaſo, which diuides that Prouince from France, and by the mountaine Pegnadaya, by Legaca, by Belfa and the ſea; and by Hirun vranqu, which is at this preſent a great Bourgat at which time Queene *Elenor* was deliuered of her laſt ſon, who was called D. *Henry*, by reaſon of his grand-father by the mothers ſide.

To theſe contents was added a truce betwixt this King D. *Alphonſo* the Noble, and D. *Sancho* the ſtrong, King of Nauarre, for the concluding whereof, D. *Sancho* came in perſon, vpon aſſurance, to Guadajara in Caſtile, there it was agreed there ſhould be a ceſſation of armes betwixt the two Kingdomes, for ſiue yeeres, with reſtitution of ſome of thoſe places which the King of Caſtile had taken in Nauarre, and for the keeping of the truce, there were deliuered into the hands of certaine knights, named by both parties, the caſtles of Abueſio, Clauijo and Inuera, for Caſtile; and Iruirera, Inzula and Saint Adrian for the King of Nauarre: and for that the warre betwixt Nauarre and Arragon continued ſtill, the King of Caſtile tooke vpon him to reconcile them, and in the meane time cauſed al acts of hoſtility to ceaſe.

Theſe four Princes being at peace, he of Leon moued new troubles againſt D. *Vrraca* *Lopez*, his mother in law, with whom hee could neuer agree, ſeeking to fruſtrate her of her doury. And ſhe for her part did neuer ceaſe praſtiſing againſt D. *Alphonſo*, ſeeking to depole him from the royal throne of Leon, and to aduance the Infant D. *Sancho* her ſonne; for the which ſhe did continually importune her brother, D. *Diego Lopez de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, intreating him to imbrace this buſineſſe, the which he had deſerred vntil that time, when as hee went to field to aide the Queene his ſiſter: but he was not the ſtrongeſt for D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, being aſſiſted by the King of Caſtile, his father in law, chaſed him into Nauarre, from whence hee made roades into the territories of Caſtile, which made the two vnited Kings to goe and ſeek him in his owne ſtrength, where they defeated him in bataille, neere vnto Eſtella, where hee was forced to ſaue himſelfe, which towne was inueſted and, as it were, beſieged by the armies of Caſtile and Leon, yet they could not take it. Vpon this occaſion the four Kings of Caſtile, Leon, Nauarre and Arragon met together in Alſaro, whether alſo came D. *Sancho*, D. uager of Arragon, mother to the King D. *Pedro*, by the which the reconciliations and accords of theſe Princes were confirmed. D. *Lopez* being deſtitute of all meanes, hee retired in deſpight vnto the Moores pay at Valencia, and from thence to Maroc, where hee was accuſed to the counsell of the Miralmutin, that hee had mounted D. *Pedro*, King of Arragon, on horſe-backe, being ouerthrowne in an encounter, which he had againſt the Moores of Valencia, vnder whoſe pay D. *Diego* made warre, yet hee was abſolued.

Nauarre be-  
twixt the King  
of Leon and his  
mother in law.

The pittifull death of the Infant D. *Fernand*, brother to D. *Sancho* King of Nauarre, a Prince well beloued of the Natarrois, ought to bee regiſtred amongſt the calamities which fell vpon that realme in thoſe daies. The feaſt of Saint Nicholas being celebrated with ſuperfluous bankets and ſports, in the yeere 1207. in the towne of Tudela, according to the cuſtome of Chriſtians, as this generous Prince did runne on horſe-backe armed, doing ſome exerciſes which hee had inuented, a hog paſſing through his horſe legges, made him to fall, in ſuch manner, as he bruſed his head againſt a pillar of ſtoane whereof hee died, thirteene daies after, being thirty yeeres old. Of this Prince, whom the Authors commend for a brave and valiant Knight, there is no mention made in the warre betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre: wherefore it is to be preſumed that the King his brother, doubting leaſt hee ſhould attempt ſome thing to his preiudice, during his abſence, had led him with him into Affrike, although hee loued him deere-ly. Thus are the affaires of this world mingled with pleaſure and grieve, loue and F iealouſie.

Nauarre.  
An. 1207.

Death of D.  
Fernand of  
Nauarre.

Of the marriage which had bene made the yeere before, betwixt D. *Alphonſo* Infant of Portugal, ſon to the King D. *Sancho* then raigning, and D. *Vrraca* daughter to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, was this yeere 1207. a ſon borne called D. *Sancho*, as his grand-father by the fathers ſide, in whoſe life time this Lady was deliuered of an other ſonne,

G g



set downe. All these souldiars, were entertained, lodged and bountifullly rewarded A by the King D. *Alphonso*, according to euery mans ranke and dignity, giuing pay to all in general: to euery footman sixe pence a day, and to euery horse-man two shillings, which were worth a Marauidis and one third part of the money which was then current, and the boyes and women of these souldiars had pay accordingly, saith *Gari-bay*: the number of cartes to carry their baggage is made excessive, by the Archbi- shop *Roderigo*, reporting them to bee 60000. the which by others is reduced to the like number of beasts of burthen, and not of cartes. What soeuer it were, this army was one of the greatest which had beene seene in many ages, wherein the vnion and con- cord was admirable, seeing it consisted of so many nations, of sundry languages and humors. This armie parted in Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1212. the conduct of the vltromontany, or beyond the mountaines (for so they called the strangers) was gi- uen to *Diego Lopes de Haro* Lord of Biscay, who was now reconciled to the King of Ca- stille, generall of the whole armie; they came to lodge at Malagon, about fourteene leagues from Toledo, the third daie; the place (being ill defended by the Arabians) was forced, and the garrison cut in peeces. From thence the Christian Kings adua- ced to Calatraua, which was come into the Moores power, and past the riuer of Guadiana.

Exploits of the  
Christians ar-  
mes against  
the Moores.

Many were of opinion, that they should not spend their time in the sieges of townes, where most commonly the best men are lost: notwithstanding the towne of Calatra- ua was battred, and so prest, as the captaine of the garrison, called *Aben-Abir*, or ac- cording vnto others *Aben-Calis*, after that hee had valiantly defended himselfe, yeel- ded vpon composition to haue their liues saued, the which was duly obserued by the Kings of Castille and Arragon, contrary to the strangers wil, who would haue had them all put to the sword. The Earle D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, had the charge to conduct them to a place of safety, according to the composition. The towne was spoiled by the strangers and Arragonois, and then deliuered to the Knights of the Calatraua: at which place there grew some discontentment, by reason that their victuals for so great a multitude grew short, as it often happens, and therefore the greatest armies are not euier of greatest effect; for in an excessive multitude, there is euier confusion and disobe- dience, and it is impossible to provide for all necessities, so as often times many great preparations haue gone to smooke by these defects, and haue lost goodly occasions of gallant exploites: but God provided for it, for a great number of strangers, vpon this cause, returned into their countries, whereby the Spaniards purchased the more honor. The Archbishop of Narbonne with some of the nobility of his country and of the county of Poictou staid stil.

Great multi-  
tudes in armies,  
are not euier of  
greatest effect.

D. Sancho king  
of Nauarre  
comes to aide  
the King of  
Castille.

The army parted from Calatraua, and came and camped at Alarcos, which place, being found abandoned, was manned with a good garrison; there D. *Sancho* King of Nauarre came and ioyned with the Kings of Castille and Arragon, bringing with him great troupes of souldiars, both of his owne subiects, and of other nations, especially of French, leauied by him, and voluntaries, being desirous to see this warre, hoping to winne honour and wealth if they liued, or dying to bee in the ranke of Martires, and to winne Paradice. The Histories make mention of D. *Gomes Garces d' Agoncillo*, stan- dard-bearer of Nauarre, D. *Garcia Almoraid*, D. *Pedro Martines de Leet*, D. *Pedro Garces d' Aronis*, D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montagudo, D. *Pedro Martines* of Subica, D. *Garcia* of Milagro, D. *Garcia Ximenes* of Vartziz, D. *William Roldouyn*, D. *Garcia Garces Martin* of Milagro, D. *Ximenes* of Oilleta, and D. *Ximenes d' Aybuar*, chiefe Knights of Na- uarre, which accompanied the King of Nauarre to this warre, many forts and places uarre, which were held by the Moores in that countrie, were taken by the Christian Princes, who marched against Saluatierra, where they tooke a vew of their army, the which they lodged vnder the mountaine called Sierra Morena, at Guadalfajax: *Aben Mahomad*, who had succeeded his father *Aben Ioseph Mahozemur*, in the Empire of the Almo- hades of Affrike, being aduertised of this great preparation which the Christians made against him, and his sect, was past into Spaine, with great troupes both of horse and foote, being followed by other forces which came dayly out of Affrike into Andalusia;

A Andalusia; so as hee had gathered together about *Iaen*, one of the greatest armies that had beene euier seene since the first entry of the Moores, whilst that the Christian ar- mie was employed to recouer the country which lies betwixt Toledo, and the moun- taine which bounds Andalusia: the which the Moores seeing to bee lost they resolved to attend the Christians army in a place of aduantage, and to file the plaines, so as marching to Baeça, they seized vpon the passage of Lofa, in the fieldes of Tolousa.

The Christians (as it was the will of God) whilst their enemies were doubtful what course to take, past ouer the mountaine called Sierra Muradel, by safe and vnknowne waies, being guided by a huntsman and sheppard (whose Image is to bee seene in the great chappel of the Cathedral church of Toledo, cut in stone) and chased away some Moores which were in the castle of Ferral, neere vnto the rocke of Lofa, from whence after many difficulties and counsels, they made choise of a place fit to put themselves in battaille, as the Moores did in like manner. King *Aben Mahomad*, who lodged vpon a hill, where he might view his whole army, diuided into many squadrons; in that where the Kings person was were the most valiant Moores of the whole army, and they say hee caused that battailon to be compassed about with stakes, tied together with chaines, thus taking from them all hope of flight, they might be forced to fight with more resolution, hee himselfe was seated in a high throne vnder a rich pavilion, and in this equipage hee proudly offred battaille to the confederate Kings, the which (for that their men were weary with the rough and vneasey passage of the mountaine) they would not accept that day, which the barbarous King tooke for his aduantage, as if feare had kept the Christi- ans from fighting; writing to the chiefe townes of his dominions, that were neere, that he held the victory in his hands, and that within three daies hee should haue the three Kings his aduersaries at his command, notwithstanding that many of his captaines did assure him, that the Christians made shew rather to fight then to flie. The day following the Moores presented themselves againe in battaille, but the Christians kept themselves, within their forts and trenches: The 3. day which was the 16. of Iuly, both armies ioyned in battaille, where there was a furious fight, battailon against battailon, and squad- ron against squadron, with such obstinacy, as the victory was for many houres doubt- ful, euery one, both captaines and souldiers, struing to doe well, being seene and obser- ued by their Kings, and by the principal men of both parties; but in the end the Moores beganne to recoyle, and to goe to rout. Then did the Christians presse them so furi- ously as they put them to a shameful & lamentable flight & made an incredible slaugh- ter. King *Aben Mahomad* (being perswaded by his brother *Aben Zeit*) retired with great griefe, towards the towne of Iaen, there being no meanes to gather his troupes a- gaine together. The Authors of the Spanish History write (wherein it may be they ex- ceed) that there were 200000. Moores slaine vpon the place, and many prisoners taken, among the which they number about 35000. horse. Great was the riches they found in their campe, of tapistry, siluer plate, armes, horses, moyles, camels, gold and siluer coyn- ed, and other things of great price. Of the Christians, according to the Archbishop *Roderigo*, there died but 25. others say 113. but *Beuter* and other affirme, there were 25000. slaine of the Christians side; the which is not vnlikely, considering the resistance the Moores made, and the long time the fight continued. But it is a thing worthy obserua- tion, that notwithstanding the great multitude of dead bodies, which lying one vpon an- other, were like hills, after they had beene spoiled by the horse-boyes and peasants, there was little blood seene vpon the ground: the which is to be imputed to the dry configura- tion of the Arabians and Africans, Sothetie people, who (besides that they are dried vp with the heate of the sun in that region) eat those things which are of smal nourishment, and drinke nothing but water, so as they engender little blood, the which is pale & dis- coloured. The Kings performed the parts, not only of wise and circumspect captaines, but also of valiant soldiers. The constancy of King D. *Alphonso* was great, who was ne- uer seene to change colour, nor the countenance of an assured captaine, notwithstand- ing the diuers euents which we may thinke were represented vnto him in so dangerous a battaille; great was his valour and resolution, to expose himselfe to a shower of arrowes

Battle's memo-  
rable of Mur-  
del and defeat  
of the Moores.

Number of  
the dead.



which fel vpon his men, and to thrust himselfe into the presse, where hee saw they gaue A  
backe, to succour them: so as the Lords and Prelats which were in armes that day, had  
great labor to keepe him back, D. Pedro King of Arragon had his cuirasse pierced to the  
quicke, with a lance, but God preserued him. The King of Nauarre did also carry him-  
selfe worthily; but there was a Chanoine Chanter of the church of Toledo, called D.  
Mingo Piscal, who carried the crosse before the Archbishop D. Rodrigo (as it is the cu-  
stomes to carry before Primates) which did wonders: for hee past and re-past, and ranne  
through the Squadrons of the Moores with his crosse, and had no harme. The tombe  
of this Chanoine is to bee seene at this day, in Saint Lucies chappel, in the great church  
of Toledo. It is a pittie the Authors of these histories, haue not bene more iust vnto  
those valiant men which employed themselves that daie, to maintaine the Christians B  
estate in Spaine, and haue not written many particularities which happened during the  
fight, which should redound to the honour of families, and their posterities, and should  
serue as a spurte to generous mindes; wherein the Archbishop D. Rodrigo, is chiefly to  
be blamed, hauing bene present at that battaile. The victorious army pursued them that  
fled vntil night; and then they went to lodge in the enemies campe, where they found  
tents, victuals, armes and other riches in great abundance, & there they past the night,  
giuing thanks vnto God for such an important victory.

Diuision of the  
spoils after  
the battaile of  
Muradal.

Armeries of  
Nauarre, as  
the Spaniards  
report.

Then the King D. Alphonso thought it fit to diuide the spoiles, and to doe publicke ho-  
nor, after the manner of the ancients, to those great personages, which had carried them  
valiantly in the battaile. He named for Iudge and distributor of these things, D. Diego  
Lopes de Haro, a Nobleman very expert in matters of warre: by whom the tent of the C  
Miralmumin of the Arabians was giuen to D. Pedro King of Arragon; the which was  
exceeding rich, yet others say it was allotted to the King of Nauarre for his part; to  
whom (for that hee with his men had first broken the fortification made with chains,  
about the Squadron where the great Miralmumin's person was in battaile) was adiudged  
all the bootie taken within the said circuit, in the which were many camels with their  
burthens; for which consideration some say, that the Kings of Nauarre carrie in their  
armes, chaines of gold in a field gueules. Of the rest of the spoiles which were sold with-  
out this fortification, there was a good part thereof giuen to the King of Arragon. D.  
Diego Lopes did adiudge vnto D. Alphonso for his part, the honour of the victory, and  
to the other capitaines, knights and souldiers, what they could get. This diuision was al-  
lowed by the Kings and all the rest. Many haue thought that by reason of this victory  
King D. Alphonso tooke a castle Or, in a field gueules, which are the armes of Castille at  
this daie, inferring thereby, that the realme of Castille was a fort and assured rampar a-  
gainst the Moores, and Infidels their enemies; in whose blood the Tower seemes to bee  
planted, but there are priuiledges found in the treasury of Saint Dominike of Calçada  
(the which Garibay reports that he hath seene) more ancient then this battaile, granted  
by this king, hauing a scale of lead like vnto the Popes, the which hath on the one side a  
castle; and on the other, the picture of a king on horsebacke, the which doth witness  
that before the battaile of Muradal, or Tolouse, they vsed this deuise, or blason in their  
armes; it is like that this King D. Alphonso vsed it first in his armes, but vpon what confi-  
deration, it is neither easie nor safe to iudge. The Christian Princes making vse of this  
happy victory, whilst the Moores were amazed and weake, tooke Bicles, Castro Feral,  
Bagnos and Tolouse: then they came to Bacca, which they found abandoned, the inha-  
bitants hauing carried their wiues, children, and all they had to Vbeda, except some  
which were fortified in the Megida, the which they burned.

Then they marched to Vbeda, and tooke it by force, putting many of the Inhabitants  
to the sword, and making slaues of the rest, by the instigations of some Prelats which fol-  
lowed the army, the spoile whereof was giuen to the soldiars; the honor of the taking of  
Vbeda, is giuen to D. Lope Ferencio de Luna, an Arragonois; as they went on stil con-  
quering vpon this sect of Mahumetists, it pleased God to stay the Christians army: for  
it began to be ful of diseases, the which in the end were contagious: wherefore these kings  
were forced to returne with their campe, and re-passing the mountaine, or Sierra More-  
na, by the same mount of Muradal, they came to Calatraua, where they found the Duke

A Duke of Austria, whose name was Thibaud sonne to Leopold, who being desirous to bee  
at this battell, was come into Spaine with two hundred Knights; but it was too late, wher-  
fore he returned into Germany by Arragon: there the Kings parted with great shewes of  
loue. He of Arragon meaning to entertaine the peate with Don Sancho of Nauarre, with  
all sinceritie, he restored vnto him foureene castels and places of strength which he had  
taken from him. The King D. Alphonso being come to Toledo, where hee was receiued  
with great triumph by the Arch-bishop Don Rodrigo; it was obtained, that from that  
time the memorie of that great victorie obtained against the Moores, in the playnes of  
Tholousa; should be euery yeare celebrated on the sixteenth day of Iuly, vnder the title of  
Triumphus crucis, the which is obserued at this day, especially at Toledo; whertas they  
B hang vp and display that day in the great Church, many Guidons, Ensignes and Stan-  
dards of the Moores, which had bene taken then, or others which do represent them. The  
chiefe men which did accompany the King in this battaile, were Don Rodrigo Ximenes  
Arch-bishop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine, Don Rodrigo of Sigüenza, D. Tello of  
Palaenza, D. Menndo of Ofma, D. Pedro of Auila, D. Domingo of Plaisance, all Bishoppes,  
with other Prelates, all which did serue, either for counsell or for armes. D. Pedro Arias,  
or Arias, Master of the Order of Saint James, D. Rodrigo Diaz, master of the Calatraua,  
D. Gomes Ramires Prior of the Templers, D. Gutierrez or John Gelmirido Prior of S. John,  
with many Commanders and Knights of their Orders. Of Secular men; D. Diego Lopes de  
Haro, and his eldest sonne D. Lope Diaz de Haro, of whom it is written, that hauing some  
feeling, for that his father had absented himselfe out of Castile, after that he had fought  
at Estella against the king D. Alphonso, and also for that the losse of the battaile of Alar-  
cos was imputed vnto him, he came and cast himselfe at his feet, a little before the battell,  
beseeching him to carry himselfe so well, according to the hope which hee had of him,  
that he might not be hereafter called the sonne of a traytor: wherewith the father being  
incensed, layed vnto him: It is more to be feared, thou wilt be called the son of a whore:  
for no man will call thee the sonne of a traytor: which answer the father made vnto the  
sonne, as the Earle D. Pedro sonne to D. Denis king of Portugal writes in his booke of the  
Genealogies of Spaine, for that the mother of Don Lope Diaz, a woman of a weake  
brayne, being fallen in loue with a man of Burgos, which, they say, had bene a blacke-  
smith, or Lock-smith, went out of Spain, and wandred through the world with this man,  
in a disguised habit. With D. Diego Lopes was also D. Pero Diaz his other sonne, D. San-  
cho Fernandez de Canamero, D. Martin Nugnes de Hinojosa, and Don Trigo de Mendosa,  
kinnesmen or allyed to the house of Haro: moreouer, the Earles D. Fernand de Lara, D. Al-  
uar Nugnes de Lara, Don Gonçalo Nugnes, D. Lope Diaz de los Cameros, Ruy Diaz de los  
Cameros, and his brother Don Aluar Diaz, Don Pedro Arias of Toledo, Gonis Peres the  
Asturian, D. Garcia Ordóñez, John Gonçalo of Vzero, D. Gonçalo Gomes, D. Gomes Ma-  
rigues, D. Gil Manriques, D. Alphonso Telles de Meneses, and his brethren, Fernand and  
Ruy Garcia, D. Rodrigo Peres d' Auila, William Ginez, D. William Peres and his brethren,  
Nugno Peres de Gusman, Gonçalo Yuanes of Quintana, who was afterwards master of the  
Calatraua, Don John Gonçales, and Don Gonçalo Ruiz and his brethren, Don Ray Peres of  
Villalobos, Suero Telles, Don Fernand Garcia; and many others of the Realmes of Ca-  
stille and Toledo. Those which accompanied Don Pedro king of Arragon of greatest No-  
bilitie, were, Don Garcia Frontin Bishop of Tarassone, and Don Berenguer elect of Barce-  
lone, with other Clergie men: and of Knights, Don Garcia Romeu, Standard-bearer royal  
of Arragon, Don Ximen Cornel, Aznar Pardo, Don William of Peralta, Don Michel of  
Luezea, D. Sancho Earle of Rossillon, vncle to the King, and Don Nugno Sanchez his son,  
Don Lope Ferrerch de Luna, Arnand of Alafcon, or Arsal of Atagon, William Aguillon of  
Tarragona, Don William of Cetrera, Berenguer of Petra Mola, Don William of Ca-  
dona, Raymond Foulques Earle of Ampurias, Don Pedro Abonet, Don Rodrigo of Liça-  
na, Don Pedro Maca, Don Ariorella, and Don Arsal de Fores. The Arch-bishop of Bour-  
deaux came out of Franco, and the Bishop of Nantes from Brittanie, D. Remold Arch-  
bishop of Narbone, and Thibaud of Blazon, Bishop of Poitou, issued out of Castile: There  
were many Noblemen and valiant Knights out of Leon and Portugal. Don Alphonso king  
of Castile did reward the Nobilitie of his countrie with honours and liuings; according  
to

Feet of Tri-  
umphus crucis  
in Spaine, a  
monument of  
the victorie of  
Muradal.

Portugal.  
Death of Don  
Sancho king of  
Portugal.

to euery mans degree. As for *Aben Mahomad*, King of the Moores Almohades, after this notable losse, he cared no more for the affaires of Spaine, but passed sodenly into Africke, fearing that the brute of his defeate would breed some innoation in his kingdom of Maroc, beeing not yet so well assured, but there remayned some feeling of the Almorauides gouernement: wherefore knowing how much a route or losse of a battaile may preiudice the reputation of a King, with a nation that is desirous of change, as the Arabians, he posted speedily into Africke to preuent it.

36 *D. Sancho* king of Portugall, whilst these things past betwixt the Christian Princes and the Moores, died in his kingdome, the which he had held 27. yeares, beeing 58. yeares old, more broken with trauell then with age: a wise and well aduised Prince, but much crost with aduersities, notwithstanding he gathered together great treasures, and therefore is somewhat taxed of couetousnesse, which is the greatest cause of the ruine and dishonour of kings. They write, that he had at the time of his death in the castell of Lisbon, and in the Monasterie of Alcabaça, Saint Croix of Coimbra, and other places where his treasure lay, about 500000. Markes of gold (it may be they should say Marauidis of gold) and a thousand foure hundred markes in siluer coyned, besides many other Jewels: and yet his expence was great. Drawing neere his end, he disposed thereof, giuing by his testament vnto his eldest sonne 200000. Marauidis of gold, and to either of his other three children 80000. Marauidis of gold, and 250. Markes of siluer, to his Bastards 7000. Marauidis of gold, and certaine Markes of siluer. The rest he ordained should be employed to charitable vses, as to build and indow Monasteries and Hospitals, to redeeme captiues, and to make Chalices, Crosses, and such like ornaments. He also ordained to haue the bridge of Coimbra, and the house of Saint *Ladre*, built, neither did he forget the Apostolike Romaine Sea, for he did bequeath vnto Pope *Innocent* the third, an hundred Markes of gold, and there was not any Church in his Kingdome, but tasted of his bountie. He was interred in the chappell of Saint Croix of Coimbra, neere vnto the Queene *Donna Aldoncia* his wife, from whence he was afterwards remoued into the Arch of the great chappell. In the same Monastery are buried *D. Henry*, *D. Sancho*, *Donna Blanca*, *D. Berenguela*, and *D. Constance* his children.

### D. Alphonso the 2. of that name, the third King of Portugall.

1212.  
Genealogie of  
Portugal.

After him *D. Alphonso* his son held the scepter of Portugall, who was then about 27. yeares old, and was crowned in the city of Coimbra. And for that he was big, fat, and vnweldie of his person, they surnamed him the Grosse: he was already father of two children, *D. Sancho*, and *D. Alphonso*, whereof the second married *Matilda*, heire to the Earle of Bologne in France: besides these he had by his wife *D. Vrraca* of Castile, *Don Fernand*, who was Lord of Serpa, and married to the daughter of the Earle *D. Fernand* of Lara, of Castile, called *D. Sancha Fernandes*, from whom issued a daughter, which was Queene of Denmarke, into which Realme *D. Elenor* daughter to this king *D. Alphonso* was first married. Besides these lawfull children, the king had company with a Moore, of whom he begot *D. Alphonso Martines*. *D. Alphonso* at his first entrance, had great iars with his sisters, for that hee would haue taken from them the lands which his father had giuen them for their portions: whose quarrell *D. Alphonso* king of Leon did imbrace, and sent his sonne *D. Fernand*, accompanied by *D. Martin Sanchez* (brother to these Ladies) for his guide, being very young, with an armie, who took from the king of Portugall, Valencia of Minio, Melgaçõ, Hulgofo, and other places: this war was afterwards ended by the commandement of Pope *Innocent*, who threatened to censure the kings of Portugall and Leon, if they made not a peace, to take armes against the Moores, who were enemies to the true Catholike Religion: from whom, about that time, and as the armie of Castile was dissolued after the battell of Muradal, *D. Pedro* king of Arragon tooke Castellabid and Ademus, which are in the Realme of Valencia.

Arragon.

37 Wee haue sayd before, that this king had a sonne by his wife, vnthought of, who was called *Iaime*, this Infant was much enuied, and his life sought by his Vncles

of either side, who wished there had issued no heire from *Don Pedro* and *Donna Mary* Countesse of Montpelier, that they might haue succeeded to their Estates: a murtherous and couetous desire, which did chiefly possesse *Don Fernand* Abbot of Montarragon. Wherefore they did breed vp *Don Iaime* carefully; and as much as they could out of danger: the king his father was aduised to send him into France, to be kept by some Noble man his friend, where hee might be more safe then in Spaine: wherefore hee gaue him to *Simon* Earle of Montfort to bring vp, in whome he had great confidence, but hee abused him: for warre beeing attempted against the Albigeois, in the which the Earles of Tholoufa were engaged, *Don Pedro* king of Arragon, and the Earle of Montfort grew enemies, and were in armes one against another, the Earle beeing made Generall against them of Albi, and their adherents: and the king *Don Pedro* fauouring the Earles of Tholoufa, father and sonne, who had married his sisters. The euent was, as the Histories of Spaine report, that the Earle of Montfort (who had conceived a great hatred against the Earles of Tholoufa) hauing then great forces from the French king, vnder colour of making warre against the Albigeois, which were fallen from the Church of Rome, hee entered in hostile manner into the Earles countrie, whereof the king of Arragon beeing aduertised by his brother-in-law, hauing vntill then taken part with the Earle of Montfort, in this quarrell of the Albigeois he turned against him, hauing first aduised him, but in vaine, and caused the Pope to admonish him, that vnder the pretext of warre against the Albigeois, who were declared Heretickes, he should not reuenge his priuate quarrels. *D. Pedro* beeing passed into France, and meaning to beseege *Symon* of Montfort in the castle of Muret, which place he meant to abandon, there happened a furious skirmish among them, where as the king of Arragon was slaine vpon the place, and with him *Don Acnar*, and *Pedro Pardo*, father and sonne, *Don Gomes de Luna*, *Don Michel Luesia*, *Michel Rada*, and many other Noblemen of Arragon: the Earle of Montfort retired safe with his men. Such was the pittifull end of this King *Don Pedro*, in September 1213. hauing reigned happily, and in great reputation, eightene yeares, three moneths, and 20. dayes: his bodie was carried to the Monasterie of Sixena, founded by the Queene his mother. The Albigeois warre continued, the end whereof you may see in the Histories of France. They were people which opposed themselves against the Popes Supremacie, and humane inuentions, brought in to the Christian Religion, taught first by one called *Amaury* in the towne of Alby, and thereabouts; against whom the Pope incensed Christian Princes.

*D. Pedro* king  
of Arragon  
slain in France  
1213.

In this action *Dominicke* a Chanoine of Osma did great seruice to the Romish Church, beeing brought into France, by *D. Diego* his Bishop, whom the Pope did send his Legat for that effect. The Vniuersitie of Paris did also condemne the opinion of the Albigeois: but *Dominick* relying not much vpon disputations and reasons, perswaded all Princes and their subiects to armes, as beeing the most expedient meanes, for the which he was canonized, and put in the catalogue of Saints. It was he which brought in the Order of preaching Friars. Our French Histories say, that *Don Pedro* fauoured the Albigeois; and yet those of Spaine giue him the title of Catholike. In his time beganne the Impost for Beeues and other cattell in Cattelogne, which was after his returne from the battaile of Muradal, as well by reason of the great expences of the warre, as for the great summes disbursed, for the marriages of *Don Pedro*'s three sisters.

*Dominicke* of  
Osma author  
of the Order of  
Iacobins.

### Don Iames the first of that name, the eighth King of Arragon.

38 *Don Iames*, or *Iaime* his sonne was then in the power of the Earle of Montfort in the towne of Carcasone, the which did much trouble the Arragonois and Castellans, who laboured all they could to haue their Prince, but it awayed little: wherefore Pope *Innocent* the third was forced, at the sute and instance of the Estates of Arragon and Cattelogne, to send a Cardinall, called *Peter* of Beneuent, into Languedoc, to whome the



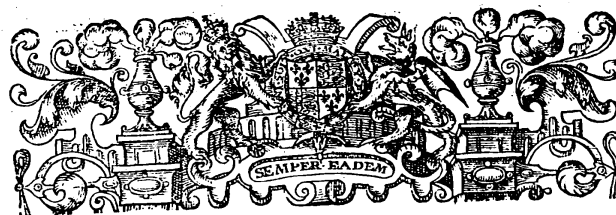
Councell of S.  
John delatran  
under Innocent  
the third.

Processe for  
the Primacie  
of Spaine.

great concourse of Prelates from all parts of Christendome. Whither there went D. *Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-bishop of Toledo and Primate of Spaine: the Arch-bishop of Braga, the Bishop of Vic, and other Prelates of Spain. There were about 300. at this assembly, which did exercise chiefe dignities in the church, besides others innumerable of all estates, they did chiefly treat of the meanes how to uphold the Christians estate in Palestina, or the holy Land: then of the rights of Patronage and reception of fruites and reuenues of Churches by lay men. The Archbishoppe Don *Roderigo* preached with the Popes leaue, in the assembly, very learnedly in Latin, according vnto those times: and for that that language was not well vnderstood by all that were there present, he expounded the substance of his Sermon in Italian, Germane, French, English, Castilian, and Biscain, or Nauarrois which was his naturall tongue, for the which he was much commended and esteemed, as *Garybay* saith, next to Doctor *Blaz Ortiz*, which done, and the Councell freed of the affaires which touched the generall of Christendome: the Arch-bishop D. *Roderigo* complaind of the contumacie and disobedience of the Arch-bishops of Narbone, Tarragone, Braga, and Saint Iames, who would not acknowledge the Primacie of Toledo: to proue the which he produced many priuiledges of the holy Apostolike see, especially of these Popes, *Vrbain*, *Gelasius*, and *Honorius* the 2. *Lucius* the 3. *Adrian* the 4. and *Innocent* the 2. granted to the Church of Toledo, and the Prelates thereof, as Primates of Spaine. He alledged many ancient Councils celebrated in Spaine, and iustified the equitie of his cause, by many ancient Histories and authentical Records. The Pope desired to heare the parties interrested: wherefore the Archbishop of Braga being present, answered for himselfe: for him of Tarragone who was absent, the Bishop of Vic, one of his Suffragans presented himselfe, both which denied the Primacie. They of Narbonne and Saint Iames were excused, being absent. And for that the Archbishop D. *Roderigo Ximenes* was prest to returne into Spaine, the processe remained for that time vndecided, yet he obtained from the Pope many great prouisions, which were both profitable and honorable, as to be Legate of Spaine for ten yeares, with power to make legitimate to the number of three hundred, with other ample faculties: right to choose and establish Bishops in all the townes which should come into the Christians power, and that the Church of Seuille in that case should acknowledge the Primacie of Toledo, without any sute: and that the Arch-bishop thereof should dispose of all other Ecclesiasticall dignities, in places conquered, or to be conquered. This Archbishop D. *Roderigo Ximenes*, hath written the Historie of Spaine in Latine vnto his time, and in like manner that of the Moores or Arabians since *Mahumet*.

The end of the tenth Booke

The



## THE ELEVENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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H h

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- 29 *Raigne of D. Sancho Capello, King of Portugall, and the receiving of his brother Don Alphonso Earle of Boullen.*  
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The Continuance and Descents of the Kings of Spaine  
mentioned in the eleuenth booke.

Castile and Leon.  
9. D. Fernand. 3-30.  
united the 2. Realmes.

Portugal. | Navarre.  
4. D. Sancho. 22 Thibault I.  
Capello 2.

Granado and the be-  
ginning under  
1. Mahomet Aben  
Alhamar.



Troubles dur-  
ing the minor-  
ity of D. Hen-  
ry king of Ca-  
stile.

The young king  
delivered into  
the hands of  
them of Lara.

HE Arch-bishop D. Roderigo Ximenes being returned into Ca-  
stile, found the affaires wonderfully troubled by the praefises of D.  
Fernand Nuges de Lara, D. Aluar Nuges, and D. Gonçalo Nuges,  
his breethren, sonnes to the Earle D. Nugno de Lara, who (as  
their fathers and Vncles had done during the Nonnage of the king  
D. Alphonso the Noble) would haue the person of the young king  
Henry in their custodie, by which means they should haue all au-  
thoritie and prerogatiue in the gouernement of the state. These  
Noblemen, who were great and mightie, wrought so, as they had what they pretended,  
by the meanes of Garcia Laurens, who had the gouernement of the Prince, and in whom  
the Queene Regent did rely much. They corrupted him by gifts and promises, so as hee  
counselled the Queene D. Berenguela, and caused the Prelates, and other Noblemen of  
the Realme to allow thereof, that the king should be put into the hands of these Noble-  
men of the house of Lara: whereunto Don Roderigo Ximenes the Arch-bishop did also  
consent, so as they did homage, and did sweare faith and loyaltie in the hands of the Q.  
Regent, not to attempt nor change any thing in matter of State, were it in peace or war,  
without her counsell and consent, whom they should honor and respect, as it was fith: they  
should defend her, her estates and goods in all occasions, vpon paine to be held guiltie of  
high treason. These promises being made by the Lords of Lara, the king D. Henry was  
delivered into the hands of the Earle D. Aluar Nuges: but they did not performe what  
they had promised, for as soone as they saw themselves seized of the Kings person, and  
therefore reuerenced and feared, they began to pursue many great personages and rich  
men with all violence, so as some were forced to flie. Moreover, falling vpon the liber-  
ties, goods, and reuenues of the Clergie, they made their profit of them: whereupon  
they were excommunicated by Don Roderigo Deane of Toledo, Vice-gerent or Substi-  
tute to the Arch-bishop, the which did reclaime them from these insolencies, especially  
against the Clergie and Churches, whereof they promised to become Protectors.

But

- A But for that it is a hard matter to restraine great men, when they are once giuen to ty-  
ranny, these Earles of Lara turned against lay-men, which enioyed spirituall liuings,  
whom they did vex and spoile of their reuenues, so as they grew odious to all sorts of  
men, and they began to be moued, and to repine much at their excess. D. Aluar who  
had beene newly made Earle of Auila, called an assembly of the Estates in the Kings  
name at Vailledolit, whither came certaine of his confederates, great men of Castile: but  
D. Lope Diaz de Haro, sonne to D. Diego Lord of Biscay, D. Gonçal Ruiz Giron, and his  
breethren, D. Roderigo Ruiz, D. Aluar Diaz de los Cameros, and Don Alphonso Teles de los  
Alenescos, with many other Noblemen of the Kingdome, detesting this tyrannie, exhorted  
the Queene to complaine of the extorsions, miseries and calamities, which the peo-  
ple and whole Realme suffered by their meanes: according to which aduice, she did write  
to the Earle Don Aluar Nuges, putting him in mind of the faith and homage which hee  
had sworne to her, and admonishing him to gouerne better: wherewith D. Aluar being  
incensed, he did all the wrong he could vnto the Queene, and in the end dispossest her of  
all that the King her father had left her for her portion, yea he grew so insolent, as he com-  
manded her to depart the Court; the which this poore Princeesse was forced to do, reti-  
ring with her sister D. Elenor, who was yet a mayd, to Oreilla, where they remayned vn-  
till the death of D. Henry their brother. This violent contempt was not concealed from  
the young King, who began to complaine, demanding to be deliuered againe vnto the  
Queene D. Berenguela his sister, but it was in vaine: for he himselfe being forced and re-  
sisting all he could, was led from place to place, as it pleased the Earle Don Aluar: and  
which was more, he was forced by him to marry D. Malfada Infanta of Portugal, daugh-  
ter to the King D. Sancho, without imparting it to the Prince, nor to the Princeesses of the  
bloud; not to any but to his owne faction: which marriage hee beganne to broach at Pa-  
lencia, where they were made sure, and suddenly being come to Medina del campo, hee  
caused them to lye together, whereat the Queene D. Berenguela was so moued (being  
not made acquainted with this treaty) as she wrote vnto Pope Innocent the third, aduer-  
tising him that the married couple were so neere akin, as according to the ordonances of  
the Church, they could not be ioyned together without scandall, by whose meanes the  
Pope did separate them: whereupon D. Malfada (who was a very faire Princeesse) returned  
into Portugal very much discontented, as well for the breach of the marriage, as for that  
Don Aluar would presume to marrie her, the king D. Henry being an infant. They were  
cousins in the fourth degree by an vnequall line, wherof the Infanta had the better. Some  
Authors report it after this manner, that the Queene D. Berenguela hauing sent one to  
Maqueda, where the king was, to carry him newes of his Estate, the Earles of Lara hauing  
intelligence thereof, caused him to be apprehended and put in prison, and hauing coun-  
terfeited letters, to some priuate men of base condition, from the Queene, as if she would  
haue proceured them to poyson the king, they caused this prisoners processe to bee made,  
who was for that cause hanged: yet not any one did beleue, that euer the Queene D. Be-  
renguela, would practise such a trecherie, but held it to be a fraud, deuised by the Earle D.  
Nugno, and D. Aluar his sonne. Wherefore the Inhabitants of Maqueda beganne to mu-  
tine, which made the King and his Gouernors to go to Hueté: where being arrived, a  
Knight called Roderigo Gonçales of Valuerde, who had charge from the Queene D. Beren-  
guela, to steale away the king. Don Fernand de Lara layed hold of him, and carryed him  
prisoner to Alarcon.
- This made the Earles of Lara to keepe a more streight guard about the King, whome  
they conducted to Vailledolit, and there beganne the warre against them, which held  
the Queenes partie. Montalegre in the which Don Suer Teles Giron remayned, was be-  
sieged and taken: and then ouer running and spoyling the country, Don Aluar de  
Lara, chiefe of this warre, came to Cartion, then to Villana of Alcor, who hauing sud-  
denly surprized Don Alphonso Teles de Meneles, without the fort, being ill accompa-  
nied, his men vnthorsted and disarmed some of Don Alphonso's troupe, and thought to  
take him prisoner, but he fled into the fort being wounded, where hee was besieged by  
the King in person, and the Earle Don Aluar, but not able to take it, they retired to Pa-  
lencia, where the king was lodged in the bishops Pallace.

Factions in  
Castile.

D. Aluar de  
Lara spoiles D.  
Berenguela the  
Queene Re-  
gent of her au-  
thority and  
estate.

Marriage first  
made of the K.  
D. Henry.

ciuit warre in  
Castile.

H. II. 2

All



All things (say they) past before the marriage, which was then concluded in Palence. A  
 It being accompanied, the king would go against D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and passing by  
 Burgos, whereas his sister the Queene D. *Berenguela* was, he went on, and did not see her,  
 and so came to Calaoorra, which fort was taken by *Garcia Zapata*, from *Ruis Diaz de los*  
*Cameros*, and his brother *Aluaro Diaz*. The king being afterwards returned to Burgos,  
 the Queene his sister began to write, and to sollicite the Pope to dissolue this marriage,  
 which was the cause why D. *Aluaro* dispossessed her of her lands & reuenues, vnder the kings  
 name and authoritie, which she could not resist. Moreouer, the Historians say, that Don  
*Aluaro* did pursue a second marriage for the King D. *Henry*, with Donna *Sancha* Infanta  
 of Leon, daughter to Don *Alphonso* by his first wife D. *Theresa*, by the which it was agreed  
 that after the death of the king D. *Alphonso*, the king D. *Henry* should succeed him in the  
 Realme of Leon, and in the meane time he should giue vnto his father-in-law, the vse and  
 possession of Saint *John de la Mota*, whereof a Knight called *Sancho Fernandes* should bee  
 Gouvernor, and answerable for it: the Earle D. *Aluaro* thinking to fortifie himselfe with  
 the support and fauour of the king Don *Alphonso*, by the granting of this place, al-  
 though he repented him afterwards, giuing him in exchange Tiedra in stead of S. *John*,  
 and aboue 10000. Marauidis of gold, all to annoy the Queene D. *Berenguela*, and to dis-  
 inherit the Infant D. *Fernand* of Leon his sonne and heire to the Realme, who was with  
 her: for Tiedra did belong vnto the Queene, who was constrained to giue the place vnto  
 the king Don *Henry* her brother, who demanded it. And then she sent the Infant D. *Fernand*  
 vnto the king of Leon his father: which done, she retired to Orellana, and the king to  
 Palence, from whence D. *Gonçalo Nunes de Lara*, brother to the Earle D. *Aluaro*, was  
 sent with good troupes of horse and foot, against D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, who was towards  
 Miranda of Ebro well accompanied: but as they were readie to fight, certaine religious  
 men came betwixt them and parted them: so as the Earle D. *Gonçalo* returned to the king  
 and D. *Lope* vnto the Queene, who was soone after beseege by the king her brother, and  
 the Earle of Lara in Orellana, but not able to take it, they left it to go to Frechilla, where  
 they razed the houses of D. *Roderigo Gonçales Giron*, and then they returned to Palence.  
 The Queene had in the meane time sent to demand succors, from the king of Leon, some-  
 times her husband, the which he granted, but the seege being raised, there was no neede  
 to send any. These things are written by many Authors very doubtfully and diuersly: how  
 fouer it were, the realmes of Castile and Toledo did indure much miserie by the wicked  
 and tyrannous gouernement of the Earles of Lara, the which had an end by the suddaine  
 and miserable death of the king D. *Henry*, whom they held in their power, and whose au-  
 thoritie they did abuse impudently. This young Prince being at Palença, lodged in the  
 bishops pallace, as they suffered him to play with certain young children of Noble hou-  
 ses, who serued him and were about the same age, sporting with them freely, and more  
 inconsiderately then was fit for one of his quality: one of them whom they hold to bee of  
 the house of Mendoça, cast a tyle from the top of a tower, which falling vpon the coue-  
 ring of an house, beat downe another, the which fell vpon the kings head, wherewith hee  
 was so grieuouly hurt, as he dyed the eleuenth day after, in the yeare 1217. hauing rai-  
 ned two yeares, nine moneths, and 15. daies, in great trouble: his bodie carried to Burgos  
 and layed in the Monasterie of las Huelgas, nere to his brother D. *Fernand*, where they  
 do euery yeare vnto this day, make an aniuersarie for his soule. Such was the end of D.  
*Henry*, by the which D. *Berenguela* recovered her authoritie, and reigned with her sonne  
 D. *Fernand*, the which she had by Don *Alphonso* king of Leon, by the diligence and force-  
 fight of the Noblemen of Castile, fearing lest the French should leaze vpon the Realme,  
 by reason of the pretenfions of the Infanta D. *Blanche*, the eldest daughter of Castile, ma-  
 ried into France, to Lewis sonne to Philip Augustus, who was mother to the king Saint  
 Lewis.

Death of D.  
Henry king of  
Castile.

Interst of the  
king of France  
to the crowne  
of Castile.

D. Fernand F

A

## D. Fernand called the Holy, the ninth king of Castile, and third of that name.

THE death of the King Don *Henry*, was very grieuous to the Earles of Lara, who  
 sought to keepe it secret for some dayes, but it was in vaine: for the Queene D. *Be-  
 renguela* was presently aduertised, who instantly dispatched D. *Diego Lope de Haro*, and D.  
*Gonçalo Ruis*, to Toro in the countrie of Leon, to bring the Infant Don *Fernand*, who  
 was there with the King his father. And for that she feared lest the King Don *Alphonso* of  
 Leon, being aduertised of this death, should attempt something vpon the Realme of  
 Castile, the Ambassadors had charge to conceale it, and to saue that the Queene was stil  
 molested, and readie to be beseege by her enemies, vpon which pretext they should de-  
 maund the Infant her sonne with some succors of souldiers, the which the Ambassadors  
 did wisely effect, bringing D. *Fernand* to Orellana, where hee was proclaimed king of Ca-  
 stile, Toledo, and Nagera in the open field, vnder an Elme, by the Noblemen which were  
 there present: and presently marched towards Palencia, where as the King, the Queen his  
 mother, with their whole traine, were receiued with great honour by Don *Tello* the Bi-  
 shop. From thence they came to Duegnas, which place they were constrained to force,  
 so as the warre began to grow hote: which the Prelates and Noble-men of the countrie  
 laboured to prevent, but in vaine: the Earle D. *Aluaro* refusing to quit his authoritie, and  
 to lay downe armes, vntill he had the person of the new King Don *Fernand* in his power;  
 as he had had that of D. *Henry*: but the memorie of his bad gouernment distasted euery  
 man: so as they were so farre from satisfying his desire, as they were all ashamed to haue  
 beene so ill aduised, to giue the authoritie and gouernement of the Realme, to such vio-  
 lent persons as them of Lara: wherefore they sought how to haue the king obeyed by  
 Armes, to the great ruine of the countrey. The King and Queene-mother past on with  
 their troupes to Vailledolit, and so to the riuer of Duero: from thence they went to Co-  
 ca, where they shut the gates against them: wherefore they came to Saint Iust, where  
 they receiued two aduertisements: the one was, that they should not go to Auila nor Se-  
 gouia: the other, that the Infant Don *Sancho Fernandes*, brother to Don *Alphonso* king  
 of Leon, borne of D. *Vrraca Lopes* was comming against them with a mightie army:  
 whereupon they turned backe towards Vailledolit, where they found some alterations  
 against the Queene and her sonne, practised by them of Lara, whom by her wisdom she  
 pacified. There hauing assembled the Noblemen which had charges and dignities within  
 the Realme, she intreated them to aduise what was fit for the peace and publike quiet, of-  
 fering to do any thing which they should counsell her. They who knew her to be a wise  
 and discret woman, were of opinion, that she should raigne as lawfull heire of Castile:  
 but she desiring more the good and greatnesse of her sonne, then her owne, renounced  
 the royaltie, in the presence of them all, & resigned it wholly vnto her son Don *Fernand*,  
 the which was a worthy act, and commended of all men. Whereupon the King was con-  
 ducted vnto the Church of Saint Mary the great, and there with a generall applause and  
 consent was confirmed King, and the oath taken of either side, the King being scarce se-  
 uenteene yeares, whose raigne was happie and full of all good.

4 The Moores of Spaine, subiect to *Aben Mahomad*, Miralumin of Affricke, seeing  
 themselves destitute of his ayde and support, after the losse of the Battaille of Muradal, (as  
 it doth often happen after such inconueniences and losses) grew to haue a bad conceite  
 of their King *Mahomad*, and did beleue, or made shew to beleue, that the battaille was  
 lost by his fault: wherefore all such as had any charges and gouernements revolted and  
 erected many petty Kingdomes in Spaine. Among them, the first and chiefe was the Mi-  
 raluminis owne brother called *Zeit Aben-Zeit*, who by others is called *Zetta Buzzeit*,  
 who leazed vpon the towne of Valencia, & the Iurisdiccions therof. A cousin of his called  
*Aben Mahomad*, when as the Christians army, infected with the plague, returned into  
 Castile,

H h 3

Castile,

Fernand the  
third proclai-  
med king of  
Castile.

Moores.

The Arabians  
in Spain reiect  
the Miralumi-  
nins of Affricke.

Gouverneurs  
Monks make  
themselves  
Lords of their  
governments.

1217.

Castile.

The King of  
Leon enters  
with an armie  
into Castile  
against his son  
D. Fernand.

D. Aluaro de  
Lara takes  
whereof fol-  
lowed a peace  
in Castile.

Castile, seized upon Baeça, who had the cittie of Cordoua also at his deuotion, with many other places in Andalusia, and on the confines of Toledo; whom many Moores followed, for that he was descended by masculine line from *Abdelmon*, the first king of the Almohades, and came of *Abdalla* one of his sonnes: these two had yet some colour to hold that which their grandfather had conquered in Spaine. But at Seuille there did rise a mightie Moore, called *Aben Lalle*, vnder whose power the townes of Ecchia, Carmona, Xeres, and others of Andalusia did subiect themselves. In Murcia and Granado, there was one named *Aben Hut*, made himselfe King, beeing of the race of those Moores which had raigned in Sarragossa. In this sort the other Moores made themselves masters of townes and Prouinces in Spaine, where they had bene set for Gouvernors, all which did enter into league with the aboue-named as the mightiest, giuing an end in Spaine to the Empire of the Almohades, and Kings of Maroc, two and fiftie yeares after the passage of *Abdelmon*. This was the last diuision betwixt the Moores of Spaine and Affricke, the which were neuer more vnited vnder one Crowne, notwithstanding that there haue many times troupes and armies past out of Affricke into Spaine against the Christians, to succor those pettie Kings of the Moores which raigned there, whereas the Kings of Maroc might hold some sea-townes and forts giuen them by the Kings of Granado, to fauour their descents: yet they neuer after had any great power nor Empire there. From these new erected estates, which were not yet very well vnited, the King of Castile (as we haue sayd) had taken the strong citie of Alcaraz, and he of Leon, that of Alcantara, in the yeare 1213. Since a truce beeing made betwixt the Christians and Moores for some yeares, these Infidels had leysure to settle themselves, and to fortifie their places.

In the yeare 1217. Don *Masheo* Bishop of Lisbon, beeing leader of the armie of Portugal, tooke from them Alcaçar de Sal, beeing assisted by strangers, which were going into Syria, and by the Prior of the Templers, and Prior of Saint *Iohn*. These strangers were English, French, and Flemings, hauing a fleet of an hundred sayle, beeing moued therunto by the admonitions and decrees of the Councell of Saint *Iohn de Latran*, held by Pope *Innocent* the third, which was the fifth expedition made by publike decree and Councell, by the which *Andrew* king of Hungarie was named Generall of the Christians armie in the West, notwithstanding *Iohn* Earle of Brenne went in his place.

Returning to Castile, the young king Don *Fernand*, his mother, and all the Castilians, were much troubled after they had chosen him, for that the King *D. Alphonso* his father, beeing discontented that *D. Berenguela* had by policy gotten away his sonne, and seemed to distrust him, and withall being desirous to vnite that realme to his of Leon and to be called Emperour of Spaine, he came into Spaine with a mightie armie: whereupon they sent Don *Maurice* Bishop of Burgos, and Don *Domingo* bishop of Auila to beseech the King not to disquiet his sonnes Realme, of whose good he should bee rather glad then sorrie: but he was thereby incensed the more. King Don *Alphonso* marching on as farre as Burgos, spoyling all where he past, found the citie well garded by Don *Lope Diaz de Haro* and other Noblemen, who were well accompanied: wherefore seeing there was no meanes to enter, he returned, doing all the harme he could. About this time the Queene *D. Berenguela*, parting from Vailledolit, came to Palencia, whereas the Noblemen about Segobia and Auila came to offer her their seruice. The Castilians beeing freed from the feare of King Don *Alphonso*, the new Kings army was ledde to Mugron, where the battery was begun: during the which the Queen returned to Burgos, to the funeralles of her brother Don *Henry*, the which by her Order were very stately. Mugron beeing taken, and the Queene come to the campe, with the souldiers which were at Burgos, they marched against Lerma and Lara, which places were taken by force. Beeing returned to Burgos, the army was led along the riuer of Oja, whereas the townes of Villorado, Nagera, and Nauarret yeelded vnto the King, but not their castles. In the meane time the Lords of Lara, laboured to make a generall rebellion against the king, so as the Princess: being forced to return to Palencia, there was an incounter vpon the way, where *D. Aluaro* was taken and led prisoner to Burgos, who was afterwards deliuered vpon condition that he should yeeld vnto the King, all the places and garrisons which were held and maintained by his men at arms, belonging to the Crowne, especially Amaya, Tariego, Cerezo

A Cerezo, Villafranca of the Mountaines of Oca; the tower of Vilhorado, with the castles of Nauarret, Nagera and Pancoruo, the which was done: *D. Fernand* his brother did also yeeld Castroxeris, and Orcejon. By this meanes there was a peace betwixt the king and the Noblemen his subiects whom hee receiued into fauour, suffering them to hold their Offices and Governments: but it was a peace of fixe monthes onely, for seeing themselves out of credit, they rebelled againe, against whom the king sent some troupes, which forced them to retire to Leon: By reason whereof the warre reuiued betwixt Castille and Leon, but not too hotly: for there was presently a truce made, the Earle *D. Aluaro* falling sicke, whereof hee died at Toro, hating first made a vow to take vpon him the habit and order of Saint *Iames*; wherefore they buried him at Vcles. Presently after *D. Fernand de Lara* his brother retired into Affricke, where hee was well entertained in the court of the King of Maroc; but hee died soone after, hauing caused himselfe to be carried to a Bourge inhabited by Christians, called Elbora, neere vnto the city of Maroc. Drawing neere his end, he tooke vpon him the habit of the Order of Hospitalliers, thinking it would serue to mitigate his offence, in which habit his bodie was carried into Castille, and buried in the Commanderie of Pont de Hitero, in the Bishoprike of Palencia, by the care of *Donna Major* his wife, *D. Fernand* and *D. Aluar* his sonnes.

6 This age brought forth new Orders of religion, contrary to the precedent Orders of Monks; for whereas these could not bee satisfied with temporal wealth, which was giuen them by Kings and Noblemen, as it were in emulation one of another, those rejected all riches, making profession to be poore, and not to possesse any thing. The first was that of the preaching friars, which are called Iacobins in France, the Author whereof was that Chanoine of Oisma, which came out of Spaine into France, with his Bishop, to maintaine the authority of the church of Rome, against the Albigeois and their adherents, being pronounced heretikes by Pope *Innocent* the third, as we haue sayd: the vow and profession of this Order was, to preach against those which should stray from the faith. This Order was allowed and confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the third: *Dominike* was borne at Calaruega; and not at Calaroga, nor Calahorra; it is a Bourgin in the Diocese of Oisma, betwixt Aranda of Ducto, and Saint Domingo of Silos, and is at this day a Monastery of Nunnes of that Order, the which was built by King *D. Alphonso* the eleventh, or last of that name, where they doe shew his fathers house and the font where he was baptized.

The confirmation of his Order was presented by him, in the yeere 1218. vnto the King *D. Fernand*; hee himselfe hauing obtained it at Rome; and in truth the sea of Rome is much bound to these preaching friars, who haue bene one of the chiefe supporters thereof, the King *D. Fernand* as an obedient sonne to the Pope, receiued the Order and the Author with great reuerence, and caused the Monasteries of Saint Croix of Segobia, and of Saint Domingo the royal at Madrid, to bee built. *Dominike* dying some time after at Bolonia, Pope *Gregory* the ninth, did canonize him, in the yeere 1223. there were other friars of this Order Canonized by Popes, as one *Manes*, *Gil*, *Anselme*, *Pelagius* and *Michel*.

7 At the same time the Knights of the Order of Alcantara were diuided from that of Calatraua, beeing alike, and subiect vnto it, from which time they had their distinct maisters. *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, who had instituted this order, was a meanes that Alcantara, with all that this order did hold in the realme of Leon, was giuen to Saint *Iulian del Pereiro* of Portugal, which was of the same order of Cisteaux, vpon condition that the maister and Order of *Pereiro* and his successors should remaine vnder the obedience, and be subiect to the site of the Maisters of Calatraua. So in the yeere of our Lord 1219. this order had it's beginning and distinct maisters. Their habit was first a hood, and the Nouices at this day carry a hood of white serge or flamine, and when as they receiue the communion, euery one weares a white cloake. Since they haue taken a greene crosse, in fauour and at the instance of *D. Fernand* Infant of Castile, sonne to *Iohn* the first, who was afterwards King of Arragon, in the yeere 1411. as shalbe sayd. Such was the deuotion of that age, ferul of such things.

D. Fernand

Death of D.  
Aluar and D.  
Fernand de  
Lara.

Order of preaching  
friars.

An. 1218.

Conuents of  
the Order of  
Saint Iohn-  
nike built by  
the King D.  
Fernand the 3<sup>d</sup>.

An. 1219.

Habit of the  
Knights of  
Alcantara.

D. Ferdinand  
King of Castille  
marries the  
Emperour of  
Germany's  
daughter.

An. 1220.

Arragon.

Contentions in  
Arragon.

Raymond Ber-  
enger Earle  
of Provence  
father to five  
Queenes.  
8

D. *Fernand* King of Castille, being freed from D. *Aluaro*, and D. *Fernand Nuges de Lara*, which did trouble his realme, he began to raigne in peace; and being now of age fit to be married, the Queene D. *Berenguela* his mother, with the aduice of such as shee knew to be faithful, began to treat a marriage in Germany, with *Beatrice*, daughter to the Emperour *Philip*, and cousin to the Emperour *Frederic* the second King of Naples and Sicile. The Germans say, that she had beene married to *Otton* Duke of Saxony, who was Emperour after *Philip*; so as she must of necessity haue beene a widow. To this effect D. *Maurice* Bishop of Burgos, and D. *Pedro* Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Arlanca, with the Prior of the Order of Saint Iohn were sent Ambassadors wel attended, who concluded this marriage, notwithstanding that they held them foure monthes without any resolution: this Princeesse was sent into Spaine through France, whereas *Philip Augustus*, then rainging, did her much honour throughout his whole realme, causing her to bee conducted vnto Guipuscoa, from whence the Noblemen of Spaine which were deputed to receiue her, conducted her to Victoria, whereas the Queene D. *Berenguela* met her, and did accompany her to Burgos: this Princeesse did please D. *Fernand*, for she was exceeding faire. Three daies after her arriual, the King was made Knight, and did arme himselfe in the Monastery of Las Huolgas, and then he married D. *Beatrice* the last of December 1220. Of this marriage issued many children, whereof the eldest was *Alphonso*, who succeeded in the two Realmes of Castille and Leon: the second was D. *Frederic*, the third D. *Fernand*; the fourth D. *Henry*, the fifth D. *Philip*, the sixth D. *Sancho*, the seventh and last D. *Manuel*. Hee had also two daughters, D. *Elenor*, who died and Infant, and D. *Berenguela* a Nunne in the Monastery of Las Huolgas.

The yeere following 1221. the marriage was concluded betwixt D. *Elenor*, the King of Castilles aunty, and D. *James* King of Arragon, who was then but thirtene yeeres old, which argues falsehood in some which haue written that this King before hee married this Princeesse, had contracted a secret marriage with D. *Theresa* Gil of Bidaura, daughter of D. *Iohn* of Bidaura, of whom hee begot two sonnes, the one called D. *Pedro*, who was Lord of Aierbe, and the other D. *Iaime* Lord of Xerica, the which hath no great ground in nature, considering the King was very young, and we must beleue that the acquaintance he had with this Lady, either as a spouse or a friend, was ten yeeres after, when he was diuorced from D. *Elenor*. He was in a manner constrained to make this alliance with Castille, hauing need of D. *Fernands* assistance, by reason of the troubles he had in his country, which grew through the bad and tyranous gouernment and ambition of his vncl'es: the which wee must relate and fetch farther off. This Prince had beene drawne, as wee haue sayd, out of the hands of *Symon* Earle of Montfort, and conducted into his realme of Arragon, where there was great contention betwixt the Estates, and the Earles of Roussillon, the father, and sonne to D. *Fernand*, and the Abbot of Montarragon, the Kings vncl'es, who in stead of gouerning the realme, would haue wrested it from him: notwithstanding by the fidelity of the Estates and their authority, together with the diligence of the Cardinal of Beneuent the Legat, right preuailed, and the Infant D. *James* was acknowledged for lawfull King at Lerida, as I haue sayd, where the Princes contending did not appeere. There were three Gouernors appointed, two in Arragon, which were D. *Pedro d' Abones*, and D. *Pedro Fernandes d' Agra*, whose Gouernments were distinct by the riuier of Ebro, and the third in Cattelogne.ouer all the which D. *Sancho*, Earle of Roussillon, was appointed superintendent. There it was also concluded, that D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Prouence, a young Prince of nine yeeres of age, sonne to D. *Alphonso*, should be with the King, vnder the same tutors aboue mentioned, the which was put in execution: but the Earle soone after, about the yeere of our Lord 1216. escaped from them, and retired into Prouence, where hee married the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of Morienne, named *Beatrice*, who was mother of five Queenes.

To prevent the continual practises of the Earles of Roussillon, and of D. *Fernand*, vncl'es to the young King, it was resolved, about the yeere 1217. that hee should bee declared of full age, being then but tenne yeeres old, according vnto some, the which the Earle

A Earle of Roussillon did wonderfully contradict: yet after great contention, he quitted the Regency, in the yeere 1218. by the authority of the Estates assembled to that end at Tarragone, whereas the Earle receiued certaine places in fee of the King. At this time the authority of the Magistrate (called the Iustice of Arragon) was great, for the defence of the publike liberty.

The yeere following 1219. all the continent of Spaine was afflicted with a great drought (wherevnto it is very much subiect) as well through want of raine, as for that the springs were dried vp; so as there followed a great dearth, and pestilent diseases. These calamities were accompanied with troubles and ciuill seditions, by the rebellion of D. *Roderigo Lizana*, a man of great authority and power, who being incensed for some pretended wrongs against *Lope d' Albero*, hee surprized him in his house, and shut him vp in a fort of his, from whence the King deliuered him by force; his commandements, nor the decrees of his counsell preuailed nothing. D. *Roderigo* despayring to finde grace with the King, retired to Albarrazin, to D. *Pedro Fernandes de Agra*, whether they sent troupes of souldiers to besiege them, who could not force the place, being strong both by nature and art: notwithstanding D. *Roderigo* and D. *Pedro Fernandes*, acknowledging their fault, obtained pardon of the King. In these sieges they vsed an Engine of battery made at Huesca, which did cast great stones, making one hundred and fifty shot in a day and a night, with great ruine.

These things happened in the yeere 1221. whilst they treated of the marriage of the sayd King D. *James*, with D. *Elenor* of Castille, the Mediators whereof were D. *Symon Cornet*, *William Cernaera*, and *William Raymond* of Moncade, hee which married *Garfinde*, the heire of the country of Berne: for the accomplishing whereof, the parties met at A-greda, where they were made sure, and the contract of marriage drawne, greatly to the Queenes aduantage, from whence they went to marry in the city of Tarrassone. Of this marriage D. *Alphonso* was borne, who died before the father: This marriage was not firme, for being made without a dispensation from the Pope, being cousins in a prohibited degree, it was dissolved by Pope *Honorius* the second after some yeeres, and the Infanta sent home into Castille; yet some say that shee professed herselfe in the Monastery of Saint Mary de la Vega.

D 9 A little before this, King D. *Iaime*, had instituted the Order which they call our Lady of the redemption of prisoners, otherwise *de la Merced*, by the counsell of his confessor friar *Raymond* of Pegnasfort, or Rochefort, who set downe the rules for the religious of this Order, vnder that of Saint *Augustine*. Their profession and chiefe vow was to goe into the Moores country, to redeeme Christians that were prisoners, and if any one for want of money could not redeeme a Christian slaue out of the hands of an Infidel, and did see him by ill vsage in despaire or otherwise in danger to renounce the Christian faith, they were bound to put themselves in the slaues place, and to serue for him vntill they had paid his Maister the price agreed vpon, which was a rare charity. The first brother of this Order, was *Peter Nolasco* of Barcelona, or *Francis* according vnto some; who receiued the habit in the chiefe church of that towne, with great solemnity, in the yeere 1218. by the hands of friar *Raymond* the maister thereof, the King D. *James* being present. This habit was white, as they carry it at this day, with the armes of Arragon and Cattelogne, which are, a crosse argent, and foure bends gueules in a field Or. The Order was since confirmed, in the yeere 1230. at the request of the King D. *Iaime* and purchase of the master, D. *Raymond* of Rochfort, by Pope *Gregory* the ninth, he who confirmed the Order of the friars Mineurs, instituted after that of the preaching friars, by the Seraphicall father Saint *Francis* vnder the Order of Saint *Augustine*, but somewhat changed: the Author of this Order was wonderfully persecuted by the enemy of mankind, enuious (say the Spanish Authors) of the great good which should come vnto the Catholike church of Rome, by the erudition and piety of the religious of that Order. This father of Franciscan friars, came into Spaine, during the raigne of D. *Fernand* King of Castille, of whom wee write, who receiued him with great reuerence, and did build many goodly conuents of that Order, and by his example other Kings did the like.

Order of  
Merced.

Order of  
St. Augustin.  
10

11 Five of the Brethren of this Order, not yet allowed nor confirmed by the Pope A (the which notwithstanding florished in Portugal, in the latter time of King D. *Alphonso* the grosse) were desirous to passe to Maroc, there to preach the faith of Christ, but they prospered not; for the King of the Arabians, offended with the habit, countenances, and importunity of these friars, slue them all with his owne hand, by reason whereof they were put in the ranke of blessed Martires, according to their Legend. Of this cruel execution was an eye witnesse D. *Pedro* of Portugal, brother to the King, who caused their bodies to bee brought to Coimbra, where they were buried in the Monastery of Saint Croix.

They say that these Monkes parting from Portugal, had prophesied to the Queene D. *Frraca*, that shee should die in the yeere of our Lord 1220. as it happened. In the B time of the same King D. *Alphonso* florished that religious man whom they call Saint *Anthony* of Padoua, who notwithstanding was borne at Lisbon; and for his great knowledge, according to the time, was called the arke of the holy Scripture. Hee being a Chanoine of Saint Croix at Coimbra, had so great a feruency to serue God, as he became a friar of the Order of Saint Francis, changing his name, which was *Fernand* into that of *Anthony*; hee was a Doctor and a professor in diuinity, and did read in the vniuersities of Toloufa, Bolonia and Padoua, where he died; of whom Portugal and all Spaine glory much. As for King D. *Alphonso* surnamed the grosse, hee hath not ministered much matter to write of his actions: for his raigne was short, and himselfe in disposed of his person. Hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1223, being but eight and thirty yeeres old, whereof hee raigned eleuen. His body lies in Alcouaga, neere vnto C that of the Queene his wife.

### D. Sancho Capello the second of that name, the fourth King of Portugal.

Surname of  
Capello.

12 D. *Sancho* his sonne, called *Capello*, raigned after him. He was sixteene yeeres old when he began to raigne, & was crowned in the city of Coimbra. His surname D of *Capello* came by reason of the habits which hee ware wide and long, like a Clergy man. It may bee hee ware some great cap or hat, as the Portugals doe at this day, who will haue all their apparel very wide and easie, euen their buskins of Spanish leather, which are rustled downe to their heeles, saying that it doth not become a gentleman to carry them straight and smooth.

This Prince was more courteous, affable, and a louer of peace then was fit for a commander that will keepe his subiects in awe. Wherefore hee was contemned by his subiects, and held for a couard and base minded, so as they attempted many things insolently and audaciously, against all right or reason, without respect of Prince, or Iustice, the which was ill administrated in his time, his basenesse yelding to the malice E of his subiects. Hee married with D. *Mencia Lope de Haro* daughter to the Earle D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biscay the fourth of that name: a Lady of great beauty and an excellent spirit, but not much pleasing to the Portugals, for the King tooke her, being a widow against their likings, and besides shee bare him no children: wherefore they vsed great meanes in the court of Rome to dissolue this marriage.

Amongst all the Kings of Portugal, as well those which went before, as which followed, hee onely was childlesse, for hee neither had lawfull children, nor bastards. D. *Mencia Lopes* did gouerne him in such sort, as no respect of the publike good of the Realme, nor the exhortations, intreaties, nor admonitions, made vnto him by the Noblemen, and religious persons, who were then much respected, neither yet any F other meanes whatsoever, could moue him to bee diuorced from her, wherefore they spake it publicly, that shee had bewitch'd him, what happened you shall vnderstand hereafter.

Returning

A Returning to the affaires of Castille, the King D. *Fernand* hauing solemnized his aunts marriage, after all the feasts and sports he found himselfe engaged in new troubles, procured by D. *Fernand Ruiz Dias de los Cameros*, who had newly crost himselfe to passe into Syria, to the holy warre; for the performing of which voiage, it may bee his purse was not very well furnished, wherefore hee beganne to taxe and spoile the Kings country, which was vnder his command, for these conclusions hee was cited to appeere in court, at Vailledolit, where hee did in some sort iustifie himselfe.

Afterwards being pricked in conscience for these outrages, being also by nature in constant, feareful, and with all ill aduised, hee absented himselfe, wherefore the King seized vpon all his goods. D. *Fernand Ruiz* seeing that they proceeded against him with B all rigour, fortified himselfe in certaine castles, from the which hee did much trouble the Kings affaires, so as in the end hee was forced, to compound with him and to giue him money.

By this accord, hee yeelded vp the places which hee held, and receiued foureteene thousand peeces of gold: After him *Gonzalo Peres*, Lord of Molina did rebel, being moued therevnto by D. *Gonzalo Nagues de Lara*, who beganne to ouerrunne and spoile those parts which lay neere his houses, like an enemy; not ceasing, for any admonitions or threats made vnto him in the Kings name, vntill that hee was forced to goe and besiege him in Molina; notwithstanding by the means of D. *Berenguela* the Queene mother, hee was restored to the Kings fauor, and the souldiers were drawne from before C Molina. But D. *Gonzalo Nagues de Lara*, who for feare of punishment was retired into the Moores country, demanding pardon also could not obtaine it: wherefore hee liued the remainder of his daies, which were but short, at Baeca in Andalusia, where hee died miserably, as his brethren D. *Aluaro* and D. *Fernand* had done, worthy in truth of great punishments, for their rash and seditious enterprises, being greater and more eminent then all the other Noblemen of the realme. The King being freed from this care, and the realme in some quiet, D. *Maurice* Bishop of Burgos, an English man borne, beganne in the yeere of our Lord 1222. to set his hand to the building of the great church of that city, according to the fashion wee see it at this day, the which was finished in his time. The Episcopall seat was before at Saint Laurence. The D Archbishop D. *Roderigo* caused them also this yeere to worke about the building of the chiefe Church of Talauera, the which was indowed with foure dignities, and twelue Chanons, and at the same time the Churches of Vailledolit and Olma were built by a Bishop of Olma, who had bene Secretary to the King D. *Fernand*. The church of Padron the Bishops lodging, and the bridge which is vpon Minio were also then built, by the care and charge of D. *Laurence* Bishop of that place.

It was also about the beginning of this yeere 1222. that D. *Ramir* Infant of Nauarre, brother to the King D. *Sancho* the retired, was made Bishop of Pampelone, of whose charity Authors write with admiration, that hee gaue all he had vnto the poore, and the more his riches did abound, the more hee gaue. E In all the time after the marriage of the King D. *James*, and D. *Elenor* of Castille, vnto the yeere 1228. when as the warre of Majorca was attempted, the realme of Arragon was troubled with continual seditions, procured by the Infant D. *Fernand*, the Kings vncke, being exceeding ambitious, who hauing entred into League, with D. *Nugno* of Arragon his cousin, sonne to D. *Sancho* Earle of Rosillon, D. *William* of Moncada (a little before enemies, but now growne friends, vpon this occasion) *Pedro d' Ahones* and others, tooke vpon him againe the Regency of the realme, by force, in the yeere 1223, and distributed amongst his fauourers and confederats the chiefe dignities of the realme, holding the King and Queene, in his power: but a while after the King escaped from Tortosa, and retired to Hucra or Horta, where hauing conferred with the Nobility, hee raised an armie, with the which hee entred the territories of the Moores of Valencia and Murcia being tired with ciuill tumults, so as hee forced *Azebut* or *Zeik* King of Valencia to promise him tribute, and in like manner him of Mureja, which was the fifth penny of their imposts. In this warre many commanders of the League, intermeddled, contrarie to the Kings liking. Amongst others, D. *Pedro d' Ahones* discontented

*Fernand Ruiz*,  
Diaz de las  
Cameross, a  
cousin and  
a rebel.

D. *Gonzalo* Peres  
Lord of  
Molina, and  
D. *Gonzalo*  
Nagues de  
Lara rebel in  
Castille.

An. 1223

Nauarre.

Arragon.

Marriage of  
the King D.  
Sancho.

D. Pedro de Abenafian.

discontented that the King had made a truce with the Moores, sought to breake it, and did often lead troopes of souldiars into the territory of Valencia, spoyling all he found: so as the King hauing often aduised and intreated him to containe himselfe, but in vaine hee commanded they should take him prisoner, but D. Pedro seeking to defend himselfe, being pursued by the King and others, was slaine by D. Sancho Martinus de Luna, with a lance: the which did put all the townes of Arragon (being already infected) into open rebellion against the King: who marched presently with his army into the countries of Sobrarbre, and Ribagorça, whereas the houses, lands and subiects of D. Pedro were, the which he wasted all he could.

The townes of Saragossa, Huesca and all the rest, except Calatajub, followed the Infant D. Fernand, and the Noblemen of his faction, as defenders (sayd they) of the public liberty, the chiefe of the Saragossans, was their Bishop D. Sancho d' Abomes: brother to D. Pedro, that was slaine. On the other side the Kings army was led by D. Blasco Alagon, and Arias de Luna, who did much annoy them of Saragossa and others. In the end, the mildnesse, patience and dissimulation of the King D. James, surmounted all these alterations and mixtures, who could so winne the Princes and Noblemen, being much troubled to maintaine this warre, as they all submitted themselves vnto him; by whose example the townes were quiet, yet the citties of Saragossa, Huesca and Iacca made a league amongst themselves, for the defence of their lands and iurisdiccions against theeves and robbers, and remainders of ciuill dissensions, and erected a Magistrate, holding a forme of Iustice, like vnto that which they call Hermandades in Castille, yet without any preiudice to the Kings royal prerogatiue.

Moores.

13 In Castille whilest that the King D. Fernand was busie to suppress his owne subiects, and to dispose of the affaires of old Castille, the Inhabitants of Cuenca, Huete, Alarcon and Moja, being gathered together, made a roade into the territories of Valencia, from whence they brought a great booty. This was an aduice giuen by D. Belenguella the Queene mother, and the prelates of Castille, to the end they might breake the truce which was betwixt her sonne and the petty Kings of the Moores, thinking it high time the King should goe to the warre, and that it was the dutie of a Catholike Prince to pursue these Infidels, with what right soeuer. Wherefore the King animated by this counsel, gathered his army together, and marched into Andalusia, where at his first entry, Aben Mahomad, King of Baeça, made himselfe his vassal, sending to meet the Christians army, when it was at the passage of the mountaine called Puerto del Muradal. Afterwards they came to Quesada, whereas many Moores were slaine, and many taken, the townes of Laca, Teua and Palhes were abandoned by the Moores, the castles of Escameler and Espulei were razed, whereof the two last were yielded by composition. From thence D. Lope Dias de Haro, was sent with D. Fernand Coci, Maister of the Order of Saint James, and D. Gonçal Tuannes, maister of Calatraua, to Bitoras, whereas there were certaine bands of Arabians of Affrike, whom they defeated, bringing away many prisoners. D. Rodrigo Ximenes the Archbishop and Primar did accompany the King in this expedition, who after these happy exploits, returned to Toledo, whereas the Queene attended him.

Arragon.

In the meane time D. James King of Arragon, being discontented that the Castellans had attempted to inuade the Moores vpon the marches of his conquest, according to the diuision which had bene made by the Popes order, entred into Castille by his frontier, where he did some spoile towards Soria, and therefore the peace was like to breake betwixt these two Kingdomes: yet the King D. Fernand being come to Cuenca, the two Kings were reconciled, and had a friendly interview there, yet the King of Castille, to the preiudice of Arragon, had receiued Zeist Abenzit King of Valencia to fealty and homage, as his vassal, who being terrified with the great power of the Christians, and moued by the example of the King of Baeça was come to the King D. Fernand to Cuenca.

Moor.

An. 1224. In the yeere 1224. there was a new army raised, and led into Andalusia, which committed great spoiles, and tooke Andujar and Martos, with many forts and castles of small fame, finding no resistance in field.

And

A And in the yeere 1225. the Christians army was lead againe into the Marches of Andalusia, being drawn thither by their good successe, the King affecting nothing more then this Moorish warre, wherein he tooke exceeding delight. In which expedition Xadar was taken, and other inestimable harmes done vnto the Infidels. Of the fruits of this war the Knights of Calatraua, had Martos, for them and their successors: then was there in Spaine, Legat for Pope Honorius the third, John Abbatiss Villa, Bishop, Cardinal Sabina who perswaded the King of Castille, not to suffer the Moores in quiet, but to presse them whilst they were wauering: wherefore in the yeere 1226. the army of Castille assembled at Toledo, was lead into Andalusia, where they tooke from the Moores Saint Esteuan, Exnatoraphe, and the Tower of Albepe, or Albezo, and besieged Iacn, which they could not take, for the towne was great, and well fortified with men, and all things necessary for the warre. In it was D. Aluar Perez de Castro, a banished man of Castille, with 150. horse Christians.

An. 1226.

Christians in pay with the Moores against the King of Castille.

Exploits of the Christians against the Moores.

Wherefore the king D. Fernand, rayling his siege went to Priego, where there were many knights of the Almohades lodged, who were very rich; the towne was taken by assault, & soone after the castle yielded by composition. After which, the Christians tooke Loxa, & hauing taken great spoiles, and many prisoners in those places, they came and camped at Alhambra, which was a strong place, seated vpon a steepe rocke: but the Moores were so amazed, as without any resistance they abandoned their goods and fled to Granada: whereby it seemes, that that part of the fort of Granada, which is called Alhambra was built and peopled by these Moores; for after that time the towne of Granada, began to be wonderfully peopled with Moores, which were chased from such towns & places as the Christians did win in Andalusia. The fort of Alhambra being spoiled, the Christian army did ouerrun the champion country of Granada, turning and destroying all they found, with great slaughter of the Moores, amongst the which there died a famous capitaine, called Harippus, a great enemy to the Christians, & who had done them much harme the yeeres before. The Christians approached so neere vnto the city of Granada, as the Moores fearing to be besieged, or that they wold spoile their goodly building there abouts, compounded and did homage to the King D. Fernand, deliuering him 1300. Christian captiues, which they held. This composition was treated by Aluar Perez de Castro, about mentioned, whom the King D. Fernand receiued then into grace.

Granada and Alhambra.

D And thinking he had done ynough, he returned with this victorious army to Toledo. D. Rodrigo Ximenes did not willingly loose any one of these voiajes, yet he could not bee present at this last, by reason of a sicknesse, which surprized him at Guadalfajar, so as hee gaue his troups to D. Dominke Bishop of Plaisance, with power to execute his Episcopall charge in the campe. So did the Prelats in those daies labour in the Lords vineyard, as many doe also in this age. The Garrisons left by the King at Martos, Andujar, and other places of the frontier, amongst the which was D. Aluar Perez the commander, & the maister of the Order of Calatraua beganne to spoile the territories of Seuille, whereas there reigned a mighty Moore, called Abullalle or Aben Lalle, who hauing drawne a great number of soldiars out of Seuille, Xeres, Carmona and Eccia, came and charged these Christians, who were neither amazed nor weake; wherefore they did not onely withstand the Moores valiantly, but did wholly defeat them, so as there were 20000. slaine vpon the place, yet the Moores hauing repaired their forces, besieged the castle of Garces, and notwithstanding that the Christians, which were nere, did attempt to succor it, and that the King D. Fernand with D. Lope Dias de Haro, with many other knights, did aduance to raise the siege, yet the place was taken: wherefore the King D. Fernand came to Exaladulla, whether the King of Baeça came vnto him, being accompanied with 3000. horse Almohades, and Alarabes, and a great number of foote, offering both himselfe and his men to doe him seruice. He was welcome to the King, and entertained

Moores of Seuille defeated.

F with all signes of friendship. These Princes being together, they made an accord, by the which the King of Baeça promised to deliuer vnto the King of Castille, the castles of Saluatierra, Burgalhinar, & Capilla; vpon condition the King of Castille should take him & his country into his protection, & defend him against all men for assurance of the deliury of which places, it was agreed that the castle of Baeça should be presently giuen in

14 Aben Mahomad King of Baeça, puts him selfe vnder the protection of the King of Castille.

ii

pawne



pawne to the King of Castille, the which he should yeeld vp againe, when hee should be in possession of the sayd three castles. Burgalhinar was presently deliuered; and 15. daies after Saluatierra (yet with some difficulty) received a garrison of Castille: but Capilla, a place in the Archbishoprike of Toledo, strong by nature, being built vpon a rocke, would not obey, wherefore three months being spent in treaties and parles, and nothing concluded, the King returned to Toledo, leauing the frontier well manned; and winter being past, he came and laied siege to Capilla, being stil seized of the castle of Baeca: this place was obstinately defended by the Moores which were rebels to *Aben Mahomad*, who furnished the campe with victuals from Cordoua, whether he was retired, shewing him selfe faithfull in al things to the King *D. Fernand*. In the end Capilla was yeelded, vpon condition they should depart with their baggage, and then the King returned to Toledo, sixe weekes after his departure. Soone after hee had newes that the Moores, subiects to *Aben Mahomad*, incensed at the submission which hee had made vnto the King of Castille, and that hee had sent victuals vnto the campe before Capilla, were rebelled against him, and had forced him to flie to the castle of Almodauar del Rio, whereas thinking to enter, he was preuented and slaine by two Moores, who had carried his head

Traitors iustly  
punished.

An. 1227.

Troubles in  
France for the  
Government.

Baeca Castle  
besieged by the  
Moore.

Great church  
of Toledo built  
by the Archbi-  
shop *D. Roderigo*.

Arragon.  
An. 1228.

This happened in the yeere 1227. at that time died *Lewis* the eighth, the French King, father to *Saint Lewis*, and husband to the Queene *D. Blanche* of Castille. This Lady by the will of the King her husband, was left Regent of the realme of France, during the minority of the King her sonne, who was but twelue yeeres old: wherewith many Noblemen of France being discontented, banded against her, to dispossesse her of the gouernment; thinking it vnworthy the name of the French, and ominous for their Estate, to be gouerned by a woman, especially a stranger. The chiefe of the conspirators were *Philip* Earle of Bologne the Kings vnckle, *Peter* Duke of Brittan, *Hugh de la March*, *Robert d'Euereux*, *Raymond* of Toloufa, and *Thybauld* of Champagne, who was King of Nauarre: but the Queene, who it may be found they had more regard to their priuate interrests, then to the publike good, resisted them courageously, being supported by other Noblemen of France, so as from words they fell to armes. Vpon this occasion the King *D. Fernand* was solicited to succor the Queene *D. Blanche* his aunt, against the Rebels, whereof he excused himselfe; although hee seemed to be much grieued for her distresse: But hee was then so engaged in warre against the Moore, as it was impossible for him to deuide his forces: but you must obserue that by the right of succession the realme of Castille did belong vnto her, the which *D. Fernand* did hold, so as there was little loue betwixt them. Afterwards all succeeded to the Queenes desire in France, who made frustrate her enemies defeignes, as the French Histories report, gouerning the realme, and breeding vp her sonne vnder the discipline of the religious of *Saint Domi- nique* and *St. Francis*, who were then in great credit. The King of Baeca being slaine as we haue sayd, new difficulties did arise for the King of Castille, for the Moores of Baeca being aduertised thereof, they presently put themselves in armes, and began to assault the castle, the which was garded by the maister of the Knights of the Calatrava: who whilst hee defended himselfe valiantly, aduertised the King of his distresse, who posted thither, hauing in his company, *D. Aluaro Peres de Castro*, & other knights. The brute of his coming did strike such a terror into these mutinous Moores, as they dislodged before they saw him, and fled to Grenado, as they also of Martos did: they coniecture that these did people the Albaycin of Grenado: the King put *D. Lope Dias de Haro*, Lord of Biscaia, in garrison into Baeca, & into Martos *D. Aluaro Peres de Castro*, and *D. Tello Alphonso de Meneses* and others in other places, and so returned to Toledo, whereas that yeer the Archbishop *D. Roderigo Ximenes*, began to build the great church, as it is at this present, different fro that form it was of before, when it was a Mosque for the Moores.

15 In Arragon the expedition of Majorca was decreed 1228. this Island was held by the Moores, and their King *Abobibe*, whom others call, *Retabormhe*, who did incessantly spoile the sea, and the coast of Spaine, without any pretext, and did impudently mocke

A at the King of Arragon when hee complained of the thefts and robberies committed by him or his men. For this cause, at the Estates assembled at Barcelona, & they consenting and requiring it, according to the customes and preuiledges of the Arragonois & Catalans, a war was resolved against this King of the Moores, and the Majorkins: for the which there were 155. vessels of al sorts prepared, the which transported the army to Palombara: the chiefe commanders were, *D. Berengaire Paloux*, Bishop of Barcelona, *D. Nugno* of Arragon, Earle of Rossillon, *William* of Moncade, Lord of Berne, *William Raymond* of Moncade his cousin, *Geoffry* of Rocabertin, *Oliuer Thermes*, *William* of Saint Martin, *Gerard Cernillon*, *Raymond Allemand*, *William* of Clermont, *Hugues Mataplane*, *William* of Saint Vincent, *Raymond Belloc*, *Bernard Centillas*, *William Palafogio*, *Berengaire* of Saint Eugene, and other great and valiant Noblemen of Arragon and Cattelogne: the first which leaped to land, was one named *Bernard Argentone*. At their first aboard the Arragonois were incountried, and sharply repulled by the Moores, with the losse of the Lord of Beany, of *D. Raymond* his cousin, *Hugues* of Mataplane, and many other knights and good souldiars which were slaine vpon the place: but when as the whole army was landed, and had better meanes to discouer both the enemies and the country, the Moores were beaten backe into their towne, and besieged: the which was with great diligence and fury battered & assaulted; notwithstanding the siege was long and difficult: for it continued fiteene monethes, til in the end after much toile and losse, the city of Majorca came into the power of the Arragonois, hauing bene valiantly and obstinately defended by the Moores: the King *Abobibe*, & a son of his, and many Moores were slaine in this warre, and the city of Majorca forced: the spoile thereof was diuided by the Bishops of Barcelona and Lerida, by the Earles *D. Nugno* of Rossillon, *D. Ponce Hugues* of Empurias, *D. Pedro Cornet*, and *Symon Vrrera*: but whether they shewed themselves partial in this diuision, or for some other occasion, the soldiars mutined, and spoiled the tents and baggage of these Bishops and Noblemen: al the Island being won, except some mountaines and forests, whether the remainder of the Moores which had escaped were retired, Majorca was made subiect for the spirituality, to the Bishop of Barcelona, but in such sort as it should haue a particular bishop, which was then named by the King: which bishop being dead, the nomination should belong to the bishop and Chapter of Barcelona, who sayd this right had bene long due vnto them. The first that was named to this dignity, was *D. Raymond Torelia*: an other. son of the King of Majorcas, was a while after baptized, and was named *James*; he married a lady of the family of *Alagon*, daughter to *D. Martin Rouland Alagon*: from him is descended the house of *Gottorio*, so called of the place which was giuen in fee to this Prince of the Moores, by the King *D. James*; his sonne was *Blasco Gottorio*, and of him was begotten *Michel Peres Gottorio*. They of Minorca being terrified, by the taking of Majorca, offered tribut to the King of Arragon; and not long after *D. William Mongers* conquered the Island of Yuifa, sometimes called Ebufus and the Islands of Fromentaria and Cabrera, yeelded also through feare. They hold that there were in armes in these Islands, during this warre, about 40000. Moores footemen, and 50000. horse. The Earldome of Vrgel hauing bene long in sute, betwixt *William* of Moncade, Lord of Bearn, together with *Ponce Cabrera*, & *Arembixis*, daughter to *Armingal*, the last Earle of Vrgel, in the end, sentence was giue other side, who was married to *D. Pedro* of Portugal, son to the King *D. Sancho* the first, to which married couple, the King *D. James* did afterwards giue in exchange of the Earldome of Vrgel, the Islands of Majorca and Yuifa, to hold them during their liues, and many places in Cartelogne in propriety. Notwithstanding the county of Vrgel returned sometime after to *D. Ponce de Cabrera*, and the Islands Pyticeus, Yuifa and Fromentaria, were giuen in fee to the Archbishop of Tarragone.

In the same yeere 1228. *D. Tello Alphonso de Meneses*, and other captaines Castillans, commanders of the garrisons vpon the Moores frontiers, went to field, and ouerran the territory of Seuille about Baena, Lucena & Castro del Rio: and *Aben Lalle*, King of Seuille, assailed the Christians, towards Biouras, Baeca and Martos, seeking to diuert them which foraged his country: the King *D. Fernand* arriuing, the Moore fainted, and made himselfe his tributary, promising to pay him three hundred thousand Marauidis of gold.

Li a

The

Estates of Arragon made warre and peace and al Leagues, another. H. Surtis

Majorca taken from the Moores.

Nomination of the Bishop of Majorca.

Moores

King of Seuille a Moore, tributary to the King of Castille.

Aben Hut  
King of Mur-  
cia, and his  
the sect of Al-  
mohades, in  
Spaine.

The death of *Aben Mahomad* King of *Baeca*, gaue way to the raigne of *Aben Hut* A who was of the race of the Kings of *Saragossa*, and enemy to the faction of the *Almohades*: this King seized vpon the fort of *Ricor*, in the realme of *Murcia*, and tooke occasion of their religion, publishing that that which the *Almohades* had brought in, was false, and inuented by wicked, turbulent and mutinous persons, whose rash impiety the soueraigne God had shewed was displeasing vnto him, by their vnfortunate cuents in the late warres of Spaine: wherefore they must returne to the simple beliefe of their aunccestors, and reiect that prophane *Almohade*, with his King *Abdelman*, and their followers. Vpon this quarrel hee intituled himselfe King of *Murcia*, and beganne to persecute the sect of the *Almohades*, so as all hee could get into his hands, he put to a miserable death; hee caused the *Mesquites* or *Mesgides* to bee purified, and washed, with exorcismes and superstitious ceremonies, as hauing beene poluted and violated, in seruing the new sect of the *Almohades*.

So vnder collour of restoring the ancient beliefe and knowledge of the law of *Mohamet*, hee was wonderfully followed, and was respected, feared and honoured, as King in the realme of *Murcia* and part of *Andalusia*, the country of *Granado*, *Almery*, *Cordoua* and *Eccia*: yet hee found *Zael* who made head against him, a Moore who had newly vsurped the realme of *Valencia*, and chased away *Zeit Aben Zeit*, for that they sayd hee had laied a plot with the Pope, and the King of *Arragon*, to become a Christian, and that hee had had conference to that end with the King *D. James* at *Calatajub*, whither hee had also carried his sonne. This *Zael* was sonne to *Modof* and Nephew to King *Lobo: Aben Lalle* King of *Seuile* made the like resistance, yet *Aben Hut* troubled them all, and tooke from them a part of their countries, so as hee became the most powerfull of all the Kings of the Moores in Spaine, beeing otherwise a bountifull Prince, and a good Iusticer. The new sect of the *Almohades* was thus rooted out by him, and the ancient interpretation of their *Alphurcan* restored in Spaine, eighty and one yeeres after that *Almohad* had past.

Leon.

Yet the first attempt he made against the Christians, succeeded but ill; for *D. Alphonso* King of *Leon*, being in the country of *Extremadura*, where he had made warre, whilst that *D. Fernand* his sonne did ouerrunne *Andalusia* and their tooke the townes of *Badajoz*, *Caceres* and others, this King of the Moores presumed to dislodge him from *Merida*, before the which hee was camped, to which end hee came towards him with a mighty army: King *D. Alphonso* notwithstanding that hee was very old, gaue him battle, and defeated this King of the Moores, forcing him to saue himselfe by flight: and returning to the siege, he tooke the towne of *Merida*, in the yeere 1229. which was the last of his exploits: for being now very old, and much broken, he died soone after, in the yeere 1230. at *Villanoua* of *Sarrio*, hauing reigned forty and foure yeeres in *Leon* *Galicia* and the *Asturies*: whose body was interred at *Saint James*.

Castille and  
Leon united.

16 The King *D. Fernand* who was then in *Andalusia*, at the siege of *Daralferza*, being aduertized of his fathers death, tooke counsell of the Noblemen which were with him in the army; who were all of opinion, that hee should goe with all speed into the realme of *Leon*, which by hereditary right did belong vnto him, before his sisters children did seize thereon, who pretended an equall right with him: for so had the King *D. Alphonso* ordained by his will, to preiudice his sonne *D. Fernand*, whom hee had alwaies hated and pursued to the death; yea a little before hee died, hee sought to marry his daughter *Donna Sancha* to *D. James* King of *Arragon*, who by the decree of Pope *Honorius* the third, had put away *D. Elenor* of *Castille* his wife. *Don Alphonso* offering to giue in dowry with the Infanta the Realmes of *Leon*, *Galicia* and the *Asturies*, after his decesse, to deprive the King of *Castille* his sonne, but his death prevented the effect: wherefore the king *D. Fernand* following this good counsell, came to *Toledo*, to passe from thence into *Leon*; vpon the way, hee met with the Queene *D. Berenguella*, his mother, at *Orgaz*, who came to hasten him, and returned with him to *Toledo*: from thence hee went with speed into the territories of *Leon*, where hee was receiued and acknowledged in all places where hee past for their lawfull King, vnto the city of *Toro*, which did him all the honour hee could desire, hauing sent their Deput-

D. Fernand  
King of Castille  
takes possession  
of the realme  
of Leon.

A Deputies to meete him vpon the way, in the which hee was proclaimed King of *Leon*.

In the beginning the other townes and castles did not allow of this election of them of *Toro*, by reason of the Infants *D. Sancha* and *D. Dulce* or *Douce*, who would in the confidence which they had in their cause, dispute their interest and put it to the trial of law: but all well considered *D. Alphonso* will tooke no effect; for *D. Fernand* was sonne and right heire to these realmes before the daughters, who were forced to agree with their brother, and had 30000. doubloons euery yeere during their liues. This accord betwixt the King *Don Fernand* and the Infantes of *Leon* his Sisters, was wrought and concluded betwixt the Queenes *D. Berenguella* the Kings mother, and *D. Theresa*, mother to the Infants: after that the King had beene crowned in *Leon*, the chiefe city of the Kingdome, in the presence of the Bishops *D. Iohn* of *Oneydo*, *D. Rodrigo* of *Leon*, *D. Nuño* of *Astorga*, *D. Martin* of *Salamanca*, *D. Michel* of *Citè* *Roderigo* and *D. Sancho* of *Coria*. By this accord the King *D. Fernand* did peaceably enjoy the Realmes of *Leon*, *Galicia*, & the *Asturies*, hauing reigned thirteene yeeres in *Castille*, the re-union of which Estates made this yeere, 1230. 73. yeeres after their last diuision, hath remained firme euer since, without any further leperation. From *Leon*, the King came to *Beneuent*, whereas the Infantes his sisters met him, and there did ratifie the accord made by the two Queenes, renouncing all pretensions to the layd Realmes, and to the testament made by the King *D. Alphonso* their father. Then the King went to visit the Prouinces, Townes and Forts of his Kingdomes, where without any contradiction he was receiued & intainted with great ioy and acclamation of the people, as it was fit.

This death of the King of *Leon*, tell out happily for *D. Fernand*, to couer his retreat from *Daralferza*, with some honourable pretext. In the meane time they made light skirmishes, with the taking and recouering of castles, vpon the frontiers of *Toledo* and *Andalusia*.

In the yeere of our Lord 1231. *Quelada* was recouered by the Christians, and for a reward of their valour, in recouering thereof, was giuen to the church of *Toledo*, but it was afterwards lost and recouered againe diuers times. The King of *Castille* continuing his warre, there was established vpon that frontier, that which they call

D Adelantamiento of *Castilla*, by the taking of *Pilos*, *Toya*, *Lacra*, *Agozino*, *Font Julian*, *Tour de Lago*, *Higuera*, *Maulula*, *Arcola*, *Dos Hermanas*, *Villa Montin*, *Niebla*, *Castilla*, *Concha* and *Chelis*, all which places were by prodigality and inconsiderate zeale (altogether vsed in those religious times) giuen (in a religious acknowledgement to the Apostolike See) by the King *D. Fernand* to the Archbishops of *Toledo*, the which hee haue enioyed vnto the assumption of the Cardinal *D. Iohn Tanera* to the Arch-bishoprike, who gaue this country to the Marquis of *Camaraça*, whose successour *Don Iohn Martinez Silesio* Cardinal, had by reason thereof great and earnest sute against the Church of *Toledo*; but notwithstanding that the Church had diuers sentences (by reason of the great sway the Church of *Rome* bore at that same time) in its fauour, yet could they neuer gette possession of any of those places, for certaine speciall reasons which are not specified.

17 At that time the realmes of *Naples* and *Sicile* were held by the Emperour *Fredrick* the second, who married *Yoland*, the onely daughter of *Iohn de Brenne*, who called himselfe king of *Ierusalem* (which is the reason why the Kings of *Naples* and *Sicile* haue euer since intituled themselves Kings of *Ierusalem*) by which alliance they vniued the titles of *Naples*, *Sicile* and *Ierusalem*, which the descendentes of this Noble Princeesse haue carried.

F This *Iohn de Brenne* beeing chosen chiefe Generall of the Westerne succours, which by the procurement of the counsell of *Latran* went into the Country of *Syria*, and obtained amongst them the first and soueraigne degree, and was called King of *Acre* or *Prolemaide*: yet hee did neuer hold the city of *Ierusalem*: but hauing neede of greater forces to resist the *Turkes* and enemies of our faith, hee was forced

An. 1231.

Adelantamiento  
to of Castilla  
giuen to the  
Church of To-  
ledo.

to returne againe into Europe to sollicite the Christian Princes to assist him. Bee-  
ing arrived into Italie, hee married his daughter as wee haue sayd, and then passed  
into Sapine, in the yeere of our Lord 1232. to visit the sepulcher of Saint James,  
which was a pilgrimage of greatest merit after that of Ierusalem. Passing through  
Castille, hee was receiued with great honour by the King D. *Fernand*, who in confir-  
mation of their friendship, gaue him D. *Beyenguela*, his sister by father and mother in  
marriage.

Nauarre.

The Realme of Nauarre was at that time but ill gouerned by reason of the Kings  
solitary life, who was retired and did not speake with any man, but his household ser-  
uants, and would not heare of any affaires. This mischief was increased by the death  
of D. *Ramir* his brother, Bishop of Pampelone, who by his authority and re-  
spect might something haue restrained them that would haue troubled the state, were  
they home-bred or strangers: wherefore about the yeere of our Lord 1231. D. *Lope*  
*Diaz*, Lord of Biscay, who had some lands in the souerainty of Nauarre, prouoked  
and supported by D. *Fernand* King of Castille, hee found an occasion to commit some  
spoiles in the Kingdome.

Impatience of  
Cont. Thibault  
of Champagne  
to arrange.

18 On the other side *Thibault* Earle of Champagne, pretending right to the  
sayd realme by his mother D. *Blanche*, daughter to the King D. *Sancho* the wife, had  
secret practises and Intelligences in Nauarre, to bee admitted to the Regency of  
the realme, during the life of King D. *Sancho* the retired: whereof hee being aduertised, after  
great negligence, in the end hee beganne to discouer it, to his great prejudice, where-  
fore being much discontented at these attempts, both of the King of Castille, and of  
the Earle of Champagne, he resolved to frustrat both of their pretentions, and to bere-  
uenged, especially of the King of Castille; he therefore gaue D. *James* King of Arragon  
to vnderstand, that hee had some matters to impart vnto him, which would redound  
greatly to his profit: and therefore he intreated him to come to Tudele, excusing him-  
selfe that hee had not come vnto him, by reason of the indisposition of his person:  
The King of Arragon sayled not to come to Tudele: and for that the King of Nauarre  
could not stirre out of his chamber, hee entered into the castle, where they conferred  
together.

The King D. *Sancho* complayning much of D. *Fernand* King of Castille, that not  
content to hold the Lands which his predecessors had wrested from him, had againe  
inuaded and spoiled his country, hee demanded his aduice and helpe to bee reuenged:  
and hauing in like manner discouraged of the disobedience and little respect of *Thibault*  
Earle of Champagne, who had attempted to play the King in Nauarre in his life time,  
hee concluded, that if hee would make a firme alliance with him, and betwixt Nauarre  
and Arragon, to inuade the realme of Castille, and not to cease vntill they had for-  
ced the King D. *Fernand* to restore the Lands of the riuer of Oja, Bureua, Alaua, and  
Guipuscoa, or being conquered, to yeeld him the fruits and reuenues thereof, and  
to pay the charges of the warre, hee should bee content to harken to a mutuall dona-  
tion of both realmes, very profitable for the King of Arragon, and his sonne D. *Al-*  
*phonso*: which was, that the suruiuor should inherit both Kingdomes of Nauarre and  
Arragon. The King D. *Jame* liked well heereof, for hee was in the floure of his age,  
and his sonne also likely to liue, whereas the King D. *Sancho* was about threescore  
and eight yeeres old, and moreouer hee was so fat, and full of humors, and so tormented  
with a canker, as hee expected hourly to leaue this world. This Accord being made  
betwixt them, they concluded that the troupes of both Realmes should bee ready a-  
gainst the next yeere, and should meet at the Rendezuous in May. The King D. *San-*  
*cho* desired nothing more then to recover the Prouince of Guipuscoa, imagining that  
since the separation thereof, the realme of Nauarre had lost one of the chiefe com-  
modities which a country may haue that lies vpon the sea.

Mutual accord  
betwixt the  
Kings of Na-  
uarre and Ar-  
ragon.These a  
chief. com-  
modity to a coun-  
try.

The Noblemen and chiefe of the King D. *Sancho*s counsell at this accord were  
D. *Garcia Almoravid*, D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montague, D. *William Baudouin*,  
and D. *William Iustice* of Tudele, which is a principall dignitie. These and  
other Noblemen, with the Deputies of the Townes of Nauarre, signed the  
conuen-

A conuention and accord betwixt these two kings: the which the Noblemen of Arragon,  
which held the chiefe charges, did in like manner: among the which are named D. *Pedro*  
*Fernandes* & *Agagra* Lord of Albarazin, *Athon de Foces*, L. Steward, *William de Moncade*,  
*Roderigo Lizines*, *Artal de Lune*, *Simon Vrrca*, *Blasco Maza*, *Pedro Reyes* Iustice Maior of  
Arragon, and *Pedro Sanches* Secretarie of State in Arragon. For the defraying of this  
warre, D. *Sancho* was forced to employ his treasure, which was very great: for hauing li-  
ued long in this solitary life, hee might easily gather together, hauing no cause of ex-  
pence. He therefore deliuered to the king of Arragon, an hundred thousand solz of gold,  
that is to say, Crownes or Ducats, in loane, and aduance, and had in pawne, *Herrera*, *Peg-*  
*na* *reronda*, *Ferclon*, and *Faxine*: and as he was wise and very iudicious in matters of war,  
B he disposed what should be done in the beginning: but the loue of his treasure spoiled all  
besides at such time as the army was to march against Castile, newes came vnto the king  
of Arragon, that the Iland of Maiorca had rebelled: wherefore being more carefull to  
keepe his owne, then to take from another, he made vse of those souldiers which hee had  
leauied for the warre of Castile, and led them into Maiorca, so as the king of Nauarre  
found himself too weake to attempt any thing against Castile, whereas the Earle D. *Lope*  
*d' Haro* was in armes to fight with him at the passage. He was of opinion that the King  
D. *James* had mocked him, so as falling into a great rage, hee would breake the accord which  
they had made. King *James* was aduertized of all that he sayd and did, by some Knights of  
Nauarre, which were false vnto their Prince, and discontented with this strange and dis-  
dainfull manner of liuing, of the which D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Valtierra was one. The warre  
C of Maiorca being soone ended, the king Don *James* returned to Tudele to excuse him-  
selfe, and to offer satisfaction hereafter, yea to furnish 2000. horse, with other forces  
for the warre of Castile, but the King Don *Sancho* would by no meanes enter into conse-  
rence with him. Moreouer, Don *Garcia* Almoravid and Don *John Peres de Barzan*, cap-  
taines of the armie, which was vpon the frontiers of Castile, being in fight of the ene-  
mie, were reduced to th at extremitie by Don *Lope Diaz de Haro*, as they feared euery day  
they should be forced to fight, he neglected both them and all they did: and they write,  
that a Gentleman being sent from them to acquaint the king with the estate of their af-  
faires, and to demand two hundred horse of Supply, with the which they should be able  
D to giue battell vnto the Castillans, he attended foure dayes, and could neither haue en-  
try nor audience. This strange and disdainfull behauiour caused the king Don *James* to re-  
turne into Arragon much discontented, whereupon the Castillans spoiled Nauarre, the  
which he might easily haue preuented, whereupon he grew wayward, and insupportable  
euen to his household seruants, who could not please him. This waywardnesse and distem-  
perature, together with the burthen of a repleate and ill-disposed bodie, his long incur-  
able diseale, together with his many yeares, brought him to his graue, in the yeere 1234.  
E hauing reigned nine and thirty yeares, nine moneths, and ten dayes. He was buried in the  
royall Monasterie of the Chanoins of Saint *Mary* of Roncevaux, the which hee himselfe  
had caused to be built.

Spies in the  
Kings CounsellStrange beha-  
uour of Don  
Sancho the  
Grosse in his  
age.

1234.

### D. Thibault first of that name, the 22. King of Nauarre.

17 The Nauarrois sent into France to *Thibault* Earle of Champagne, the sonne of D.  
*Blanche*, sister to the deceased king, to aduertise him of this succession, and to aduise  
him to make halt, before that Don *James* King of Arragon should seaze thereon, in ver-  
tue of the pretended rights, by reason of the mutuall donation past betwixt the two kings  
F at Tudele, and also by meanes of the intelligences which he had within the Countrey:  
wherein the Earle was nothing slouthfull, for hauing many partizans in Nauarre, who  
had aduertised him of all that had past betwixt the two kings, and in the end of the death  
of his vncl. The Ambassadors found him already in order, and ready to march towards  
Nauarre, where hee arrived happily, for the well effecting of his desseigne, by reason of  
some

Thibault Earle  
of Champagne  
obtains the  
Realme of Na-  
uarre.  
Arragon.

Zeit King of  
Valence buyth  
and.

Warre in Va-  
lence against  
the Moors.

An. 1236.  
Estates at Mon-  
con for the  
war of Va-  
lence.

some lets which restrained the King Don James, the which were more fitting for him to A care for, then to pursue the donation made vnto him in prejudice of the right heire of that Crowne, without any reason or proportion, by a king troubled with violent passions both of body and mind. But it is very certaine, that the king of Arragon did little respect it: yea some haue written, that without any difficulty, he discharged the Nauarrois (they requiring it) of the oath, fealty and homage, which they had sworne, when as the contract betwixt him and the deceased king D. Sancho, was past at Tudela: others say, that afterwards he gaue all his pretensions and right to D. Pedro his sonne, to pursue it when opportunity did serue, as a matter whereof there was but small hope. Thus D. Thibault Earle of Champagne, was receiued, proclaimed, and crowned King of Nauarre, to the great ioy and content of all good Nauarrois. B

The king of Arragon was then by the aduice of all his faithfull Councillers, entred in- to the conquest of the Realme of Valencia, having a fit opportunity offered, by reason of the diuisions which were in the kingdome, betwixt the factions of Zeit Aben Zeit, and Zael or Zaen, which were both strong. This Zeit Aben Zeit seeing himselfe pursued, hee made open declaration of that which he had long before designed, and making himselfe vassal to the king Don James, he became a Christian, and was called D. Vincent de Belluis. He afterwards married a Lady called Dominick Lopes of Saragossa, of which marriage was borne a daughter called Alda Fernandes, who was married to Blaise Ximenes d'Arenos.

21 The warre of Valencia being resolved, the Generall of the army vnder the king was D. Blasco Alagon, by whose valour and diligence Morelia was taken; a place which was held impregnable: Penicane was also besieged, and with great difficulty taken: Penicola, Chiuert, Ceruera, Polpes, Alcalaarena, Albufera, Almenara, Vxo, Noles, Castro, Alfandecho, Paterna, Bulla and other places, some by force, some by composition, and partly by the meanes and intelligences which Zeit had, and by the fauour of such as held his partie, came into the power of the king D. James, so as by degrees hee enuironed the city it selfe, cutting off their victuals and all other commodities. In these expugnations they did then vse rammes, moouing towers with many stages, and other sorts of engines. The resistance of the Moores which held Zaens partie was very great: neither were they abandoned of their friends, nor of the kings raising in Africke, for twelue galleies, and fixe vessels called Zabres of Tunes, shewed themselves often, as if they would land, or assaile the places held by the Arragonois along the coast, but without any effect. The Estates of Arragon and Cattelogne were assembled at Moncon in the year 1236. for the continuance of this warre, and the conquest of Valencia; without the which it was not lawfull for the king to vndertake any matter of importance. The President at these estates was Pedro Perez Iustice maior of Arragon, where there assisted D. William of Montgrin, co-adiutor to the Arch-bishop of Tarragone, the Bishops of Barcelona, Saragossa, Vic, and Tortosa, the Master and Prior of the Templers and Hospitaliers, Friar Raymond of Pegnafort, a most famous Iacobin, Roger Bernard Earle of Foix, and Don Fernand the kings vncler, D. Ponce Cabrera Earle tutelarie of Vrgel, D. Pedro Vgo Earle of Ampurias, D. Nugno Sanchez Earle of Rossillon, D. Gerard Vicount of Cabrera, D. William of Cardona, D. William, and Pedro of Moncada, Berenger Puquert, William and Berenger Anglesol, Bernard Portella, Hugues Mataplans, sonne to Hugues, Galferand Pinos, William of Laquila, Raymond of Peralta, Peter Vicount of Villemuir, Raymond VVilliam Odena, Berenger Erille, and William Ceruera, all Knights and Noblemen of Cattelogne. And of the realme of Arragon, D. Pedro Cornel Lord Steward, Bernard William, Garci Romeo, Simon Vyrea, Artorella, Artal de Lume, Blasco Alagon, Roderigo Lizana, Blasco Maza Berenger, Gombaid Entenza, Simon de Foces, Assalit Gudalis, Fortun Verga, Simon Lueza and others. The meanes to defray this warre, besides the Croisados, pardons and indulgences, were ordayned to be leuiud vpon the people, by the Imposition of a custome called Morabetine and the exaction of the Imposst for cattell. In this assembly it was decreed, that all peeces of gold and silver coyned, should be of one goodnes and weight, in Arragon and Cattelogne: to the obseruation of which Edict for coynes, all were bound to sweare, that were about 14. yeares old. During the siege of Valencia many Noblemen, and common fouldiers strangers, French and English came to D. James his campe.

The

A The Authors of the Arragon Historie write, that the Kings army, at the hottest of the siege, might bee 60000. foot, and a thousand horse, (meaning Knights and Masters) followed according vnto the Order and Discipline of warre in those dayes, by their vassalls, besides the forces at sea. This warre was long, and the siege troublesome: yet it was attempted, battered and assaulted, and the Moores within it brought to so great extremity, as Zaen the Vsurper of that Principallitie, being not yet well settled nor assured of the peoples wile, abandoned it, and retired to Denia. The citie was yeilded the 28. of September, 1238.

Valencia tak'n  
by the Arrago-  
nois.

The King Don James had in the year 1232. bene diuorced from D. Elenor of Castile his wife, and yet had declared D. Alphonso their son, the lawfull heire of the realmes of Arragon and Maiorca, the lands of Cattelogne, Vrgel, Montpellier, and others: appointing for Governors of his youth, the Bishop of Tarragone, the Masters or Priors of the Templers and Hospitaliers, and William Ceruera: ordaining, that he should be bredde vp at Moncon: and if he should chance to die, then did he substitute vnto his Realmes and Seigneuries, Don Fernand of Arragon his vncler, and Don Raymond Berenger Earle of Prouence his cousin. Notwithstanding the king Don Pedro during this warre of Valencia contracted a new marriage with the daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, named Violant, by whom he had a sonne called D. Pedro, who was king, after him, of Arragon and Valencia, and Prince of Cattelogne: he had moreover the Infant Don Jaime, who was king of Maiorca and Minorca, and Earle of Rossillon and Montpellier, and a third called C

Genealogie of  
Arragon.

Don Sancho, who was Arch-bishop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine. Hee had also fixe daughters by her: D. Isabell married to Philip the third King of France, sonne to Saint Lewis: D. Violant who was Queene of Castile and Leon, wife to D. Alphonso the ninth: D. Constance married to Don Manuell brother to the sayd D. Alphonso, King of Castile, D. Mary and D. Elenor who dyed young. The dowrie of Queene Tolant or Violant, as Surrites writes, was ten thousand Markes of silver, and two hundred of gold, for her mothers rights, for the which the Duke of Austria became answerable. Moreover, a portion of the County of Namur in Flanders, and the lands and rights which her Predecessors had enioyed in France, with certaine places which she did then possesse in Hongarie, and others that were fallen to her in Bourgogne, by her mothers right and succession.

Dowry of 2.  
Tolant.

D Princeesse was conducted to Barcelona in the year 1235. by the Bishop of the five Churches, and a kinsman of his called Cont Denis, who remained in Arragon, and was the Author of the noble family of Denis, which is vnited to that of Vrraz, hee had two sonnes Amour and Gabriel Denis. Don Pedro the eldest son of Queene Tolant, was married young to Constance, daughter to Manfroy, bastard to the Emperour Frederick the second, whom they called Prince of Tarentum, which was a degree to attaine vnto the succession of the Realmes of Naples and Sicily, and by the marriage of his daughter Isabell with Philip the Hardy, sonne to Saint Lewis the French king, the Kings of Arragon obayned (as the histories of Spain report) a full freedome of the Principallitie of Cattelogne, and Earldome of Barcelona, to enioy it from that time in full proprietie and Soueraignty, without acknowledging themselves any more vassalls to the Kings of France: the which was done at Clermont in Auvergne, whereas both Kings met in the year 1260. In recompence the King of Arragon did also quit for his part the rights of Soueraignty which he pretended to Carcaffone, Rhodes, Beziers, Locate, Albi, Amillaire, Nismes, Saint Giles, and other lands in France, the which he assigned in dowrie to his daughter D. Isabell, with the reuenues of Carcaffone and Beziers: and moreover, he quit all right which he could pretend to the Earldome of Prouence, Folquaquier, Arles, Auignon and Marseilles, in fauour of Queene Marguerite of France.

22.  
Cattelogne  
freed from the  
Soveraignty of  
France.

Dowry of 2.  
Isabell.

The death of D. Sancho king of Nauarre, the beginning of the warre of Valencia, and the second marriage of D. James King of Arragon, happened all in the year 1234. by reason whereof, and to giue order for the affaires of the Infanta D. Elenor, whom he had put away, by reason of the strict allyance which was betwixt them, according to the Popes decree, there was an interview of this King of Arragon, and of Don Fernand king of Castile, in the Monasterie of Huerta, vpon the confines of Castile; where it was accorded, that the Infant Don Alphonso, whom Don James had by Donna Elenor, named King of Arragon,

Accord be-  
twixt the Kings  
of Castile and  
Arragon for  
the diuorce of  
2. Elenor.

The King of  
Aragon as  
kepe pardon of  
the Pope.

Arragon, if he had liued, should remaine in the custodie of the Queene his mother, to A whom for an increase of her dowrie, the towne of Hariza was giuen, to enioy it during her life, but in case shee should marry againe, then should it returne to Arragon. These and other things being friendly accorded betwixt the two kings, they parted with great loue, to make warre against the Moores, euery one apart. Some haue left in writing, that D. Thersa of Bidaure, with whom the King D. James had had familiar acquaintance, before he married the Queene D. Yolant, and had children by her, sued him vpon a promise of marriage before the Pope, where she lost it for want of proofes, and D. Yolant was declared his lawfull wife. There the Bishop of Girone then the kings Confessor (having vnderstood by his confession of this matrimoniall promise) had reuealed it vnto Pope Innocent the fourth, but to what end he did it, it is vncertaine: but his testimonie alone was not allowed. The king being wonderfully incensed against the Bishop, hauing sent for him into his chamber, caused his tounge to be cut out. For this outrage committed vpon the Bishop, notwithstanding that he were faultie, hauing reuealed the Kings confession, the Pope made great complaints, being at the Councell of Lyons, and in the end did interdict all the Realme of Arragon, and excommunicate the king D. James. To free them from this interdiction, and to get absolution, the king sent the Bishop of Valencia vnto the Pope to carry his excuse, and to make an humble petition, wherewith the Pope being somewhat pacified, he yeelded to send two Legates into Arragon with full power. Hauing assembled a Synode of Bishops at Lerida, they caused the king to come thither, who confessed his fault vpon his knees before these Fathers, with great submission and teares: who gaue him absolution, vpon condition, that he should cause the Monastery of *Bienface*, neere vnto Tortosa to be built, (the which hath bene since a Conuent of Chartrous Monkes) and to indow it with an hundred and forty pounds of siluer of annuall rent. And moreover, that he should endow the hospitall of Saint *Vincent* of Valencia, with foure hundred pounds waight of siluer by the year for the nourishment of the poore: and that he should giue a Prebendarie to the great Church of Girone, for the maintenance of a Masse-priest: Then fell he to the loue of this ladie againe, and entertained her during the life of his Queene D. *Violant*.

Castile and  
Moures.

23 As for the king D. *Fernand*, he was affronted with the power of king *Aben-Hut*, who was mightie: but seeing his forces increased by the succession of the Realmes of Leon, which were fallen vnto him, he was in hope to effect his desseignes. Wherefore he assayed him towards Baeca which he held, and went and layed seige to Vbeda, a neere towne, strong, and well fortified, yet he prest them in such sort, as the Garrison compounded to depart with their liues: into the which the king D. *Fernand* entred the same year 1234. in the which his fortunes were seasoned with some bitterness, according to the condition of humane things: for he lost the Queene D. *Beatrix* his wife, who died in Toro in the kingdome of Leon: her body was carried to the Monasterie of las Huelgas of Burgos, and buried neere vnto the king D. *Henry*. Vpon this subiect the king D. *Fernand* came into the territories of Leon: during his absence the garrisons vpon the frontier tooke certaine Moores Almogaueres (for so they call their Mortepaiez) of the citie of Cordoua: and for that they were in quarrell with the Inhabitants thereof, they were easily corrupted, promising to giue entry to the Christians into the citie of Cordoua. The plot being layd, and all things disposed accordingly, there came a good troupe of Christians in the night with ladders, the which they planted vnto the wall neere vnto the tower and Bourg, called Axarquia, where by the helpe and fauor of those Moores whom they had wonne, *Aluaro*, *Colodro*, and *Benoit* of Bagnos entred first, being well followed by their companions, without any discouerie of them of the towne, who slept without feare or apprehension vntill the morning, when as they saw the Christians had seized vpon the tower, and there did fortifie themselves, attending succors from Don *Aluar Perez*, whom they had sent vnto being at Martos, vpon their entry: and as men expecting some great resistance, they had also sent to aduertise the King Don *Fernand* of their enterprize and happie successe, to the end he should approach neere to fauour them. The Moores of Cordoua seeing themselves surprized, went to armes, and besieged the Christians in this tower, where they defended themselves: the combate was furious, and often

Cordoua surprized by the  
Christians.

A often renewed, euery one doing his best indeauour, wherein they spent some dayes, yet could they not chase the Christians out of the tower, which they had intrenched from the rest of the towne. In the meane time, the king D. *Fernand* aduanced with all speed, giuing order for the rest of his forces to follow, and passing by Extremadura, neere vnto Bienguerencia, the Governour a Moore, furnished the kings armie with victuals as it past, yet being summoned to deliuer the fort vnto the king, he made answer, that when he had taken Cordoua, it should be at his commandement, and in the meane time he would keep it: Wherefore the king of Castile passed on, and arriuing at Cordoua, hee found that D. *Aluaro Perez de Castro*, and other Captaines and souldiers in great numbers, were already come to succour his men. King *Aben-Hut* being aduertised of all these things, and of D. *Fernand*'s arriual with small forces, although there came great troupes afterwards, thought it fit to preuent him, if he could, or at the least to strike some terror into the Christians, and force them to retire from this seige. He had in his armie which lay about Ecija, a Christian Knight, a banished man called D. *Laurens Suarez*. Hauing imparted his desseigne vnto him, he resolved to send him one night vnto the campe, vnder colour of seeking to recouer the kings fauour: but it was to espie, and to discouer vnto him the true estate of the Christians armie. This Knight hauing obtained a passport, came vnto the campe, and spake vnto the king, doing the contrarie to that which he had in charge: for he discouered vnto the King D. *Fernand*, all the Moores desseignes, and what forces hee had: wherefore being assured from the king, of his grace and fauour, he retired to *Aben-Hut*, to whom he concealed what he had seene and vnderstood, telling him that the Christians army was much stronger then it was indeed. Wherefore king *Aben-Hut* durst not attempt that which he had resolved, and thinking that they of Cordoua would hold good for a time, he resolved to employ his forces to succour king *Zaen*, who was prest by the king of Arragon towards Valencia, thinking after that he had repulsed the Arragonois, to returne fortified with *Zaen*'s forces, and cause the Christians to retire from before Cordoua. Being arriued at Almeri, to imbarke his army, a vassall of his, whom hee did much esteeme, called *Aben Arramin*, inuited him to supper, where he so feasted him, as being drunke, he cast him into a great vessell full of water, and there drowned him: whereupon the army disbanded, and D. *Laurence Suarez* whom king *Aben-Hut* had ledde with him, retired to the king of Castile, who receiued him graciously, notwithstanding that he had betrayed him who had entertained him during his exile. This death of this Moorish king, being generally knowne, especially at Cordoua, the besieged despayred of succors, so as they yeilded the citie vnto the king of Castile, the sixt moneth of the seige, in the year 1236, which was 522. yeares after that it had bene first taken by the Moores. The king Don *Fernand* caused a crosse to be set vpon the tower of the great Mesquide, in token of our redemption, and neere vnto it the standard of Castile, which Mesquide was purified (being one of the goodliest buildings in Spaine) and made the Cathedral Church, of the which Don *Lope de Histero* of Piquerga was made bishop: The king did indow it with rents and reuenues like the rest, and so did the Arch-bishop Don *Roderigo* in his returne from Rome, where he had bene during the seige, and was not at the taking thereof, to his great griefe, but affaires of greater Importance had kept him absent: in the meane time Don *John* Bishop of Osma was his Vice-gerent and Chancellor to the King. There the bells of Saint *James* were found, which the Alhagib Almançor had taken away in the year 975. and placed them in this great Mosquée, making them to serue for lampes, which the king Don *Fernand* caused to be transported to their ancient mansion. The affaires of this great citie, which had bene the chiefe of the Moores estate, were ordered by the king, both for religion, Iustice, and for the guard and safety thereof, with great care. Don *Tello Alphonso de Melnes*, was made Governour of the citie, and Don *Aluar Perez de Castro* of the whole frontier.

D. Laurens  
Suarez betrays  
king Aben-Hut  
who had enter-  
tained him in  
his exile.

Cordoua yielded  
1236.

D. Lope de Histero  
first Bishop  
of Cordoua

The



## The kingdome of Granado.

BY the losse of Cordoua and the death of king *Aben Hui*, the Moores were wonderfully dismayed and voyd of Councell: wherefore they returned to their old course every one respecting his priuate interest: so as the Infidels estate was dismembred into many parts. *Aben Hudiel* among others, seized vpon the Realme of Murcia, *Zeit* and *Zanbe* ing yet in warre, and contending for the realme of Valencia. In the country of Algarbe, whereof Niebla was the chiefe citty, *Aben Isom* raigned, who had for his successor *Aben Amarin*, and then another called *Aben Mosad*. Those of Seuille would haue no king, but onely a Governour: where one *Axastaf* was in great authoritie, and it was he which lost it. But about all the power of *Mahomad Alienagmar* or *Aben Alamar* was great; so called for that he had a red face: who from a shepherd hauing followed armes, had attained to the chiefe places of honour, and was in such credit by reason of his valour, force, and stature, as in these tumults, the Inhabitants of Arjona, where he was borne, chose him for their king, and then other people submitted themselues vnder him especially the townes of Iacn, Baeça, which was ill garded, and Guadix, and in the end the citty of Granado, which he afterwards made his royall seate, and the chiefe of all his country and Seigneuries. This was the first king of Granado, whereas vntill that time there was no kingdome: it was erected at such time as Cordoua the chiefe cittie of all the Moores Estate in Spain was made subiect vnto the Christians.

25 Whilest that the king Don *Fernand* is busie at this honorable enterprize of Cordoua, and D. *Isime* or *James* king of Arragon, at that of Valencia, which was nothing inferior, *Thibaud* the new king of Nauarre had meanes to settle his affaires without any difficultie, for he found all the Estates of the Kingdome willing to obey him. At his reception he did sweare and confirme the liberties and priuiledges of the country, the which he did also augment. This was the beginning of the second masculine line of the Kings of Nauarre, the first ending in D. *Sancho*, the which since D. *Garcia Ximenes* had continued 518. yeares. Successions of States and Soueraignities falling to women against all lawe and presidents of well ordered kingdomes, in the first ages, is the cause that strange and vnknowne Princes, of diuers humors, come to raigne ouer Nations, which sometimes haue succeeded well, but very often great troubles and inconueniences haue followed. At this time the Nauarrois were not vnfortunate, to haue a king of the French nation, who was a meanes to augment the power and dignitie of that Crowne, by many accessories from France: his mother D. *Blanche* daughter to the king D. *Sancho* the Wife, and sister to the last *Sancho*, was the first which brought the succession of women into Nauarre, although he did not raigne, beeing dead before the king Don *Sancho* the Strong her brother. D. *Pedro Ramires* of Pedrola, Bishop of Pampelone, among others did faithfully maintaine the rights of this king *Thibaud*, who was called the Elder, to distinguish him from his sonne and successor, being also of the same name: of whose deedes wee haue no great instructions out of histories, onely we haue gathered out of some writings and records tending to other ends, that which we shall relate of him. He was thrice married, as the Spaniards write. First, he had to wife a Lady of Lorraine, daughter to an Earle of Metz, frō whom he was diuorced by the Popes authoritie hauing no children. His second wife was daughter to *Guichard* Lord of Beauieu, who it may be was the 3. of that name: from which marriage issued *Blanche*, who was married to *Iohn* Duke of Brittanie, furnished thered. Thirdly, he married *Marguerite* daughter to *Archembaud* one of the Earles of Foix (it may be there is some error in the name, for there is no mention made in the Histories of that time, of any *Archembaud* of Foix) of whom he begot *Thibaud* and *Henry*, who succeeded one after another in the Realme of Nauarre, and one daughter called Donna *Leonora*, and Don *Pedro* Lord of the house of Muruçal, which is now ruined neere vnto Mendegorria, so called in the Biscaine tongue, which signifies a redde mountaine.

All

A All these marriages, or at the least the two first, were before his coming to the crowne of Nauarre, which was in the 33. yeare of his age. The manners of this Prince are commended by the Spaniards, saying, That he was liberal, modest, a great builder, louing musicke, curious of matters belonging to tillage, by reason whereof he planted his country of Nauarre with many sorts of vnknowne frutes, the which he caused to bee brought out of France: so as there is yet a kind of Pearre of Nauarre, which they call *Thibuatinas*, or *Thibaudines*: he was a great catholike, and zealous of the Romish Religion: the castell of Treuas was of his building.

Disposition of King Thibaud.

In his time there was a great sūre ended betwixt the blacke Monkes *Benedictines*, and those of *Cisteaux*, for that the deceased king D. *Sancho*, would haue changed the ancient Monkes of Saint *Sanneur* of Leyre, and placed them of the Order of *Cisteaux* there, the which he could not effect, being violently oppugned by the *Benedictines*: who during the raigne of king *Thibaud* lost their cause: but notwithstanding that they were condemned and dispossessed, yet they gaue it not ouer, vntill they were restored to their auncient possession; the which was after the death of *Thibaud* the second, *Henry* his brother raigning, to whom they bound themselves to pay 600. charges of corne yearly, vntill they had deliuered the summe of 8500. Maraudis of gold. Finally, to end the new instances which were daily made by the one or the other, D. *Sancho* Archb. of Toledo, Infant of Arragon, and he of Tarragone, hauing authority from the Apostolike see of Rome, commanded the Monkes of S. *Benedict* to perpetuall silence, and restored them of *Cisteaux* to the possession: and after the death of the king D. *Henry*, the Governour of Nauarre freed the Monkes of this tribute, for the discharge of the Kings conscience, as an excessiue & vniust Imposition: Thus the Cistercian Monkes of S. *Bernard*, remained in quiet possession of the Monastery of S. *Sanneur* of Leyre. By reason of the contentions of these Monkes, there were many letters, remembrances, and records of this Monasterie lost, the which did serue much in those times for the illustrating of matters of Nauarre. The Christian affaires in Syria being ill managed, and their estate in those parts declining much, Pope *Gregory* the 9. caused a Croysado to be preached throughout all Christendome, by the Monkes of the Orders of S. *Dominick* and S. *Francis*: wherefore many Princes and great Personages of France and other countries intolled themselves, of which expedition *Thibaud* king of Nauarre was the chiefe. The Noblemen and Knights Christians, desiring to passe their troupes by sea, could not be accommodated by the Commonweales of Genoa and Pisa, who were then very strong in shipping, by reason of the mutuall warre they had together, to the great preiudice of Christendome. The Venetians in like manner troubled with the affairs of the Empire of Greece, gaue them no meanes to performe this voyage. Wherefore king *Thibaud* and his troupe were forced to take their way by land into Syria, where beeing arriued at Antioch, after infinit toyle, hauing to incounter with hunger, diseases, and want of all things, besides the enemy, who had seized vpon the passages in the streights of Mouit Taurus, he found that two parts of his souldiers which had come out of France, Nauarre, and the frontiers of Germany, were wanting, beeing either dead by the way, or

Thibaud the king of Nauarre goes into Syria.

slaine by the Turks: the remainders of these poore Christians arriued at Acre, which is the ancient Ptolemaide, where they began to make war against the Turks with small successe. A litle before this expedition, the Emperor *Frederick* the 2. had bin in Palestina: and as if he had had no other occasion to make this voyage, but ambitiously to seeke to ioyne the vaine tide of king of Ierusalem, to the rest which he carried of many kingdomes, he entred the citty of Ierusalem without any resistance, hauing purchased the fauor of *Corradin* Sultan of Egypt: and hauing caused himselfe to be crowned there, he returned presently into Italy, hauing made a truce with the Infidels. He left some Germane souldiers in those countries to supply the garrisons, who had no good correspondency with the king of Nauarre nor his men, neither could they euer draw any succors from them, for that they held the French to be affected to the Pope, with whom their Emperor had had great quarrels: wherefore they were forced to make war alone. And the more to crosse K. *Thibauds* good fortune, it fell out that many Noblemen which came in his company disbanded, and returned home, among the which was the Duke of Brittanie: so as the king D. *Thibaud*, after many vnfortunate Iocounters, was forced to returne by sea into the west.

Rarity of the Emperor Frederick the 2.

K k

Beeing

1238.  
Arragon.Valence taken  
Peopling of  
Valence.

Being arrived in France, he made some abode there to visit his lands, and then he past into Nauarre. Don *Thibaud* king of Nauarre made not this voyage in the company of Saint *Lewis* the French king, as some write: but some yeares before, being in the yeere 1238, where as that of *S. Lewis* was ten yeares after, or twelue, as some asseme, as it appeares by the histories of France.

26 In the same yeare 1238, the city of Valencia, hauing beene long besieged by Don *Jaime* King of Arragon, and reduced to great necessitie, was yeelded vnto him by *Zaen* the Moore, who had vsurped that Principalltie, who retiring to Denia, left it without men or goods, leading with him about 50000. Moores, who carried with them (according to the composition) their gold, silver, armes and all their moueables: so as that citie which was held one of the richest and most stately of all Spaine, was to be peopled anew, if they would keepe it: wherefore there were chiefe men appointed by the king *D. James*, to distribute the houses and buildings, lands, and possessions to the new Colonie, which was sent out of the countries of Cattelogne and Arragon. These were *D. Berenger Palatiol* Bishop of Barcelona, *D. Vidal Canelia* Bishop of Huesca, *Don Pedro Fernandez d'Acagra*, and *Don Symon d'Vrraca*, knights: who disposed of the places vnto those that should people this great city, according vnto euery mans ranke, dignity, and merit.

There were 380. heads of families, among other men of marke, or old souldiers, (hauing faithfully and valiantly carried armes, as well at this sege, as in former warres) then to this effect inrolled, to hold the first place and prerogative among the Inhabitants thereof, and there were priuate lawes made for them of Valencia: yet the Gentlemen of Arragon, who were appointed for this new Colony, did insist, that they and their inheritors might enioy the priuiledges of Arragon, the which did afterwards breed troubles and dissensions betwixt them and the rest of the people. The Episcopall see was restored to this city, and *D. Ferrier* of *S. Martin* was the first bishop, being made subiect to the Arch bishop of Tarragone: notwithstanding that in the Goths time, that church did acknowledge the Metropolitan of Toledo. *D. Roderigo Lizana* was made the first Viceroy of Valencia, by the king *D. James*: there were many Christian families found in it, who did exercise their religion in the church of *S. Sepulcher*, called at this day *S. Bartholomew*. It was then of a round forme, and but weakly walled, at this day it is enlarged and made square, and hath 12. gates, where as it had but 4. The chiefe city of this realme being now in the power of the king of Arragon, he soone recovered all the other places and forts, which was a goodly conquest, and a great increase to his other Estates. The other places continued peopled with the ancient inhabitants, who were contented to liue vnder the king of Arragon, enioying their religion.

Castile.

Conuersion of  
the Moors.

The affaires of Spain being in this estate, *D. Fernand* king of Castile, after the death of *D. Beatrix* his wife, married a French Lady called *Jeanne*, daughter to *Symon* Earle of Ponthieu, who was somewhat allyed to the house of Castile, by the mothers side; for that her mother, wife to *Cont Symon*, called *Mary*, was daughter to *Adella* Countesse of Ponthieu, grand-child to king *Lewis* the 7. and *D. Isabella* of Castile, daughter to the Emperor *D. Alphonso*. This Lady was very mild, and greatly beloued and honored of the Spaniards. The king had by her the Infant *D. Fernand*, surnamed of Ponthieu, one daughter called *D. Leonora*, and another son, whose name was *D. Louis*. The marriage being consummated, the king led his new spouse through the townes of Castile and Leon, whereas great honours were done vnto her. In the meane time he disposed of all necessarie prouisions vpon the Moors frontiers, where they were continually annoyed by their incursions, to prevent the which, the Gouernor *D. Aluaro Perez de Castro*, a wise and politick Captaine, omitted not any thing that might concerne the duty of his charge. The Moors were so insolent vnder their new king *Mahomad Aben-Alhamar*, as *D. Aluaro Perez* was forced to come in person to confer with the king at Aillon, and to acquaint him with the affaires of that frontier: where the Moors were the stronger, and had a little before his departure, besieged *Martos*, the which (without the succors which *D. Tello Alphonso de Meneses* brought) had bin taken, and in it his wife, whom he had left there. Whereupon the king commanded he should be supplied with all things that were needfull: but as this knight returned into Andalusia, he dyed at Orgas, in the yeare 1239, whose losse was great: and at the same time there

A there dyed also *D. Lope Diaz de Haro*, another valiant and wise knight, leauing one sonne, heire of the teigneurie of Biscay and other lands, called *D. Diego Lopes* the 3. of that name. The good successe which the kings of Spaine had in their conquests, made them and their subiects the more superstitious. They of Arragon shewed great deuotion at that time, to an image which was found during the war of Valence, to the which there was a Monastery built at Puig, and it recommended to the Monks, called *de la Merced*. Then was the Episcopall seate of Calaoarra remoued to *S. Dominick de la Calçada*, by the procurement of *D. Iohn Perez* the bishop, who spared not his paines to go to Rome, where he obtained what he pretended from Pope *Gregory* the 9. the holy Father prouiding, and giuing power vnto the Bishop to taxe his Diocesses, for the defraying of his charges. If this touched the glory of God, or the edification of his church, let the wise iudge: but this did not hold, for some yeares after the church of Calaoarra was restored to her former dignitie, and yet that of *S. Dominick* remained a Cathedral, being in former time but a Collegial, yet one bishop holding both vnto ourtime. At that time there liued a Doctor called *Hugues Candido* a Iacobin, of whom Spaine makes great account. After the death of *D. Aluaro de Castro*, the king of Castile, hauing led an army in person into Andalusia, and giuen order for the safe keeping of the city of Cordoua, he tooke partly by force, partly by feare, and partly by accord, the city of Ecija, and the townes of Estepa, Almodoual del Rio, Sierrefilla, Lucena, Luque, Porcuna, Cote, Moron, Castellar, Marchena, Coeros, Cabra, Osuna, Baena, Monrquilar, Tenexir, Ballar, Bute Morgu, Pardal, Cafrá, Ornachuelos, Mirabel, Fuentequemel, Moratilla, and *S. Ella*, most of which places the knights of Calatrava, they of *S. James*, and the Prelates obtained from the king, and was giuen to the Noblemen and knights. The kings affaires were much aduanced by the taking of a Moore *Almohade*, who had past out of Affrick into Spaine, to challenge that which the kings of his race had enioyed there. *Caid Arrax* then reigned at Maroc, being grand-child to *Aben-Mahomad* the Greene, borne at Buxaf, who dyed while his father liued.

Townes and  
castles taken  
from the Moors.

In the yeare 1240. a truce was made betwixt the king of Castile, and *Mahomad Aben-Alamar* of Arjona, who reigned in Granada. Vntill this time *Don Roderigo* the Archbishop and Primate hath written the historie or Chronicle of Spaine. The title which *Don Fernand* king of Castile gaue himselfe at that time, was, king of Castile, Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Cordoua, and Baeca, leauing that of Nagera, and other small places, for the which he tooke those of the great townes which he had conquered from the Moores. Hee gaue the like titles to the Queenes his mother and wife, as it appeares by that which was written of him in Latin the same yeare, as the custome was then: where particular mention is made of the infants *D. Alphonso* and *D. Frederick*, *D. Martin Gonzales* of Mijancas, being Merino Maior of Castile. Besides the Art of warre, wherein the king was very expert, he was also very careful to maintaine Iustice in his kingdomes, with all other good government, by reason whereof, he transported vnto Salamanca the Vniuersity which *D. Alphonso* his grandfather had instituted at Palenca, as a place more commodious for the good of all Spaine, and in a country more fertile, and abounding with all things necessary, to which Vniuersity this king, his sonne *D. Alphonso*, and others their successors, haue giuen great reuenues, priuiledges, and exemptions, so as it is thought there is no Vniuersitie in the world where as the professors haue greater pensions.

Vniuersitie of  
Salamanca.  
27.

Whilet that he busied himselfe in these good and honorable actions, hee had some troubles by the meanes of *D. Diego Lope de Haro*, who was retired into his country of Biscay, discontented with the King, yet after some little warre attempted against him, by the Infant *D. Alphonso*, the king was aduised not to estrange from his seruice a Nobelman of so good a race, from whom the kings of Castile had receiued so good seruices in their wars against the Moores: wherefore *D. Diego Lope* was receiued into more fauor then before.

The truce made with *Mahomad Aben-Alamar*, expired in the yeare 1241, wherefore the Infant *Don Alphonso* was sent vnto the frontiers of Andalusia: being arrived at Toledo, hee found the Ambassadors of *Alboaguis*, or according vnto some, of *Aben-Huaci* King of Murcia, who went vnto the King *Don Fernand*, to offer him the Realme of Murcia, whome hee caused to returne backe, marching himselfe with them to receiue this realme, which was voluntarily offered vnto him, hauing in his company *Don Pelayo*

An. 1241.

K k 2 Perez

Murcia deli-  
uered to the king  
of Castile.

*Perez Correa*, Master of the Knights of Saint *James*. The conditions were, that the king *Alboarguis* should remaine vassall to the king of Castile, and that the reuenues of the Realme of Murcia should be equally diuided betwixt the two Kings, and that the fort of Murcia should be deliuered into the hands of the Infant Don *Alphonso*, and they should compound with the Captaines which held the other places, the which was put in execution, with them of Alicant, Elche, Orihuela, Ceruillan, Alhama, Aledo, Ros and Cieca: but they of Lorca, Carthagea, and Mula, would not hearken to this composition, whereunto they were afterwards forced. Thus this Realme was vnited to Castile without any paine or danger, whither the king came in person, and was receiued with great ioy and honour.

Arch-bishop  
in question for  
the primacie.

An. 1242.

At that time Don *Roderigo* Arch-bishop of Toledo was excommunicated by Don *Pedro* of Albalate, Arch-bishop of Tarragone, for that he had past by the Iurisdiction of his Arch-bishoppricke, carrying his crosse, as Primate of Spaine, for which dignity he of Tarragone did contend with him. The cause being pleaded at Rome before Pope *Gregory* the ninth, he declared by a decree giuen at Saint Iohn de Latran, in the yeare 1242. the sentence of the Excommunication against the Arch-bishop *D. Roderigo* to be void.

By reason of some losse which Don *Roderigo* *Alphonso* of Leon the kings bastard brother had vpon the marches of Andalusia, the king *D. Fernand*, and the Infant *D. Alphonso* marched towards the frontier, where diuiding their forces, the king remained in Andalusia, and the Infant tooke the way to Murcia. The king began to ouer-runne the countrie from Andujar towards Arjona and Iaen: he tooke Arjona, Pegalier, Montijar, and Cartejar, he caused his brother Don *Alphonso*, Lord of Molina, to enter into the Realme of Granado, who spoyle the champion countrie: and approaching nere vnto the cittie, he made a shew as if hee would beseege it, enterdayning his troups about it vntill the king came in person to ioyne with him: where he had an encounter with King *Mahomad* *Aben-Alhamar*, who made a sally with aboue eight hundred horse, and great numbers of foote Moores, who were defeated; But after that the King resolved to retire to Cordoua, being not strong enough for such an enterprize. Towards Murcia the Infant Don *Alphonso* went to beseege Mula, which was his first exploit, for hee had not yet beseeged any place, the which hee tooke, and did much annoy Carthagea and Lorca. King *Fernand* being aduertised that the Moores came to put victuals into Iaen, and to fortifie it, he sent his brother Don *Alphonso* to meet them, who not onely repelled them and hindred the victualling, but also spoyle the whole countrie round about. In the meane time the King was come to Pozuelo, betwixt Toledo and Cordoua, to see the Queenes *D. Berenguela* his mother, and *D. Ieanne* his wife, which was the last fight betwixt the sonne and the mother. Having spent some dayes there in feasting and pleasure, the Queene-mother returned to Toledo, and the king came to Andujar with the Queene his wife, whom he led to Cordoua, and there left her, whilest that he cared for the warre, especially for the seege which he meant to lay to Iaen, spoyleing the countrie about it, as he also did about Alcala de Benfaide and Illora, running euen vnto the gates of Granado, from whence he returned a victor to Martos. There he found Don *Pelayo* *Perez Correa*, Master of the knights of Saint *James*, who counselled him to inuest Iaen without any further delay: the which he did, and prest it with such fury, as the king of Granado had no time to succour it: who to preuent greater dangers, which he feared to fall vpon him by this warre, resolved to let the king Don *Fernand* vnderstand, that hee desired to make some good accord with him, if he would grant a safe-conduct to come vnto him, the which was granted: whereupon he came vnto the campe to kisse the king of Castiles hand, who entertained him courteously, so as they were good friends, and made an accord, that the city of Iaen should be deliuered into the king *D. Fernands* hands, whome the king of Granado should acknowledge for his superior, and come to all assemblies in Castile, and moreover should pay him 150000. Marauidis of gold for a tribute: others say 300000. being the moiety of the reuenues of the Realme of Granado in those daies, for which was esteemed to be 600000. Marauidis of gold, accounting euery Marauidis for 108. deniers, and euery denier for a Marauadis at this day: so as the reuenues of Granado did amount to 64800000 Marauidis, which make 172800. of gold, at 375. Marauidis a peece.

Iaen deliuered  
to the king of  
Castile.

A King *Fernand* did promise him for his part ayde and succor against a mighty family of the Moores, his capitall enemies, called the Oyselmels. These conditions were faithfully performed of either part, and by this meanes *Mahomad* *Aben Alomar* remained peaceable king of Granado. The king Don *Fernand* hauing thus compounded with him, he turned his forces against the king of Seuille. The city of Iaen (as some searchers of Antiquities do beleue) is the ancient Mentiça, an Episcopal seate in the Goths time. The same dignitie was restored, and the Mefguide made a Cathedrall church by the king *D. Fernand*, in the yeare 1243. who continued there eight moneths, for that it had bene taken in Winter, and for that it did behooue him to giue order for many things, for the preferuation of his new conquests in that countrie, as also for the distrust hee might haue of the King of Granado, his new ally, whom notwithstanding he had no cause to doubt, being very faithfull. From Iaen he came to Cordoua, where he was aduised to assaile Carmona, whither king *Mahomad* came to serue him with five hundred Genets. Hauing spoyle the countrie, the two Kings came against Alcala de Guadajaira, which place by the king of Granados meanes, yielded: from thence certaine fore-runners were sent to a place called Axarafe of Seuille, being led by the Master of the Knights of Saint *James*: and others vnder the conduct of the King of Granado, and the Master of the Knights of Calatraua, were sent towards Xeres. The King being in the mean time at Guadajaira, he had newes of the death of *D. Berenguela* his mother, whereat he was much grieved, so as the warre of Seuille grew somewhat cold, yet he was so farre imbarcked, as he durst not abandon the frontier to come into Castile. The king of Granado had leaue to returne into his country, the King Don *Fernand* remaining very well satisfied of him.

Whilest matters passed thus in Castile, all was in combustion in Portugal, by the negligence and basenesse of the king Don *Sancho* *Capello*, who was wholly giuen to his wifes humors, being hated of the Portugals, and he himselfe disliked for her sake: for many malefactors and insolent persons were supported by her, who grew daily more audacious in their excesse, without any feare of Iustice, which was troden vnder foote, for their respect. For these considerations (the Queene being also barren) all the Noblemen of the kingdome desired to haue this woman separated, and sent out of Portugall: for the effecting whereof they made great instance at Rome: but neither exhortation, admonition, commandement nor censure could preuaile: for the King did so doat of *D. Alencia* *Lopes*, as hee would not leaue her, which the Portugals perceiuing, some of them presumed to seaze on her in the city of Coimbra, & conducted her into Galicia, from whence she neuer returned more into Portugall. Not content herewith (as excesse and insolencies were familiar and ordinarie among them) laying aside all respect and reuerence which they ought vnto their Prince, they sought to depose him from the royall dignitie: whereby it appeared that the whole subiect of the troubles did not consist in the Queene Donna *Mencia*, but in their ambition and priuate desseignes: for their chiefe desire was, to haue Don *Alphonso* the Kings brother, who was married to *Matilda* Countesse of Bologne, and liued in Picardy, aduanced to the royall throne in his place.

Queene of  
Portugal expected  
by his subjects  
for her infan-  
cies.

E The newes of these tumults being published in Arragon, Don *Pedro* Infant of Portugal, who was Earle of Vrgel, and Lord of Segorue, intreated the King Don *Iaime* to send Ambassadours into Portugall to perswade the Noblemen and States of the Countrie to receiue him for Gouvernour, as a Prince of Portugall, who being affected to the good and quiet of the Countrey, would order the affaires, to euery mans liking and content: The which the king Don *Iaime* did, but it was in vaine, for most of the Portugalls were so affected to the Earle of Bologne, as the Ambassadours of Arragon were forced to returne suddenly.

It was therefore resolved that the Earle Don *Alphonso* should be called: and to the end that matters might passe with some colour of Iustice and lawfull Order, they sent the Arch-bishop of Braga, the Bishop of Coimbra, with some Noble-men of the Countrey, to Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who had begunne a Councell at Lions, who did authorize this fact of the Estates by his Apostolike power, and named Don *Alphonso* Earle of Bologne, Regent of Portugall, leaving the title of King to his brother Don *Sancho* *Capello*.

D. Alphonso  
called to be Re-  
gent in Portu-  
gall.

*D. Sancho King  
of Portugal  
abandons his  
realm in re-  
vires into Ca-  
stille.*

*6. 8. 10.  
1245.*

*Booke found in  
Spain.*

*An. 1246.*

*Arragon.*

Some write, that the Earle came to Lions, to kisse the Popes foote, and accepted from A his hands the charge of Gouvernor of Portugal, and afterwards at Paris he fware the Articles and capitulations which were made in that behalfe: from whence he went into Portugal with the Popes Briefes, where he was received by the subiects but not by D. *Sancho*, who would not obey the Popes commandement, but retired into Castile. The Authors do not agree well about the time of this retreat: some saying, that it was during the raigne of Don *Fernand*: others attribute it to the time of D. *Alphonso* his sonne, which is the most likely: wherefore continuing to treat of the affaires of Castile in D. *Fernands* time, we will afterwards returne to the Estate of Portugal.

The year 1245. was the last of the life of Don *Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-bishop of Toledo, a Prelate of great esteeme among the Spaniards. He dyed in his returne of a voyage from Rome, vpon the confines of Castile and Arragon, in the Monasterie called Our Lady of Huerta or Horta, where he was interred: famous for his doctrine, good life, great experience, and rare eloquence, according to the time, and especially for his hatred against the name of the Mahumetists and Moores, to whom hee made warre with all his power, spirit, body, and wealth: he was a fauourer of the rents and priuiledges of the Clergie, the which he did much augment in Spaine, especially in his owne Sea, and built and peopled many places which had bene ruined. Don *Iohn* the second succeeded him in the Arch-bishopricke of Toledo, Primacie of Spaine, and Chancelorship of Castile. About the end of Don *Roderigo Ximenes* dayes, mention is made of a Booke found by a Jew in a stone, in the which it was contained, without any shew of ioyning together: it was written in three languages, Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin, the which made mention of three worlds from *Adam* vnto Antichrist, shewing the nature and disposition of the men of either world: and in the beginning of the discourse of the third world, it contained, that the Sonne of God should be borne of a Virgin, and suffer for the saluation of mankind: and (the which seemed more then wonderfull) it was written in this booke, that it should be found during the raigne of Don *Fernand*. Whether this were a thing done of purpose, or accidentall, by this strange inuention, rather then for that which the Booke contained, this Jew was moued to become a Christian at Toledo: for hee might haue learned the coming of the Sonne of God in *Isay*, and other bookes of the old Testament, and in the Gospell, if he would haue read them.

In Segobia there was a stranger accident of a woman Jew, who had a great deuotion to the Virgin *Mary* in secret, who beeing wrongfully accused by her husband of adultery, as by the order of law she was ready to be cast downe from a high rocke neere the town, she recommended herselfe to the blessed Virgin, who preferuing her in the fall, layd her at the foot of the rocke without any harme. This Jew beeing ill instructed in her religion, and worse in that of the Christians, published this miracle vnto the people, and was ledde with great admiration vnto the church of S. *Mary* the great in Segobia, where beeing baptised, she was named *Mary* that leaped from the rocke: these are the tales of Friar *Alphonso d'Espina* in his booke called  *Fortalitium fidei*.

The King Don *Fernand* hauing a great desire to chase the Moores of Seuille, about the year 1246. prepared an armie at sea in Biscay and Guipuscoa, whether hee sent a Captaine of great experience, called *Raymond Boniface*, borne at Burgos, inioyning him to be at a prefixt time vpon the coast of Andalusia, that he might at one instant beseege the citie both by sea and land. In the meane time he so annoyed the towne of Carmona, as he forced them to some submission: hee tooke Constantine, the which he gaue to the city of Cordoua, and to the towne of Reyna, wherewith he endowed the knights of the Order of Saint *James*, the which is at this day a goodly Commanderie. The towne of Lora hauing yielded for feare of a seege, the king gaue it to the Order of Saint *Iohn* of Hierusalem: he afterwards tooke Cantillana by force, where there were about seven hundred Moores slaine: Guillema yielded by composition, so as they sped well for that time, but rebelling afterwards, it was razed. Hereupon the king fell sicke, which stayed the course of his victories, for that he could not be in person in the army, the which is of great importance: yet Alcala del Rio was taken after a long seege, and a great resistance.

The king hauing recouered his health, they treated a marriage betwixt the Infant Don *Alphonso*,

*Marriage of  
the Infant of  
Castile with  
D. Violant of  
Arragon.*

A *Alphonso* and D. *Violant* Infanta of Arragon, daughter to the King D. *Iaime*, and the Queene D. *Violant* his second wife, the which was consummated in the towne of Vailledolit, whether the Princeesse was brought this yeere 1246. By this marriage all quarrels betwixt these two Kings were reconciled: for the King D. *James* held himselfe wronged by him of Castile for many respects, but especially for that hee had assisted and supported his sonne D. *Alphonso*, who had conspired against him some yeeres before, with the Nobility of Arragon and Valencia, for that the King D. *James*, hauing in the yeere 1243. propounded vnto the Estates, assembled at Daroca, to allot portions vnto his children which he had by diuers ventures, that he might leaue them in peace after his death: he had assigned vnto D. *Alphonso* the eldest, the crowne of Arragon, and to D. *Pedro*, which he had by Queene *Violant*, the Principality of Cattelogne: which Pronince notwithstanding he would restraine by the riuer of Sigro, leaving by that meanes the towne of Lerida, in Arragon, whereat the Castellans seemed to be much discontented, and the Infant D. *Alphonso* more, who would not haue this principality dismembred from the crowne; this businesse being referred vnto the Estates which were held sometime after at Barcelona, the limits and iurisdiction of Cattelogne were extended vnto the riuer Singa, so as Ribagorça and Pallars were contained in Cattelogne: notwithstanding the King persisting to leaue D. *Pedro* his younger sonne heire of that Prouince, the Infant D. *Alphonso* conspired with D. *Fernand* his great vncl, D. *Pedro* of Portugal, D. *Pedro Fernandes d'Aragra*, D. *Iohn Gonçal* of Heredia, and drawing vnto him all the Nobility of Arragon and Valencia, he had taken armes, and being aided and fauored by D. *Fernand* King of Castile, he had caused great troubles in Arragon, the which the King hauing by good counsell somewhat pacified, hee was this yeere reconciled to the King of Castile, by meanes of this marriage, many Noblemen of both Kingdomes hauing bene mediators therein, yea and some learned men, whereof there were many in Castile, for this King D. *Fernand* was the first of the Kings of Castile, which did honour his counsell of Estate with learned men, choosing twelve, which were well read in the law, who did alwaies accompany him, the which was initiated by many Kings his successors.

By these graue and learned men, was then begun, by the Kings commandement, the bookes of the lawes of the realme, called *Las Siete partidas*, the which was finished in the time of D. *Alphonso* his sonne: a worthy worke, copious and full of variety: this assembly of learned men was continued for a time, and then changed, mingling sometimes church-men amongst them, and knights that were not learned, for the affaires of the Estate. In the end they did conuert it into a Chancery, whereas suites were decided, the which was as a court of Parliament following the King, and afterwards it was diuided into two Courts or Chanceries, one seated at Grenado, and the other at Vailledolit, as we see in our time. In like manner D. *James* King of Arragon, caused the lawes and customs of Arragon, to be reduced into writing; as it were in one body, hauing til that time benee obserued by tradition, which volume was confirmed by the Estates held at Huefca, in the yeere. 1247.

The King being at Alcala del Rio, he was aduertised that his Admiral *Raymond Boniface*, was come into the mouth of the riuer of Guadalquivir, with threene ships of warre, which had bene set vpon by twenty Moores ships of Seuille, Ceuta and Tanger, whom the Christians had vanquished, taken three ships, broken and disarmed the second, and sonke one, the rest hauing recovered the sea. Of which danger the King hauing intelligence before, and that there was a fleet of Moores at sea, which attended his army, hee had sent some troupes of horse and foote vnto the sea coast to fauour them, if they should bee forced to run on shoare: but they arriued after the victory: these threene vessels keeping the mouth of the riuer, the land army came and camped about the city of Seuille, in the mouth of August 1247. not without great and bloody skirmishes against the Moores, who fallied out vpon them which made the approaches, especially towards the sea, vsing withall many politike stratagems to fire the ships which lay at anchor within the riuer, which attempts the Admiral *Raymond Boniface* did valiantly withstand, and repulsed the Moores, so their great losse and shame.

*30  
Learned men  
first admitted  
into the coun-  
sell of castile.*

*Castille*

*Las Siete par-  
tidas con-  
taining the lawes  
of castile.*

*Seuille besieged.  
An. 1247.*

*31*

*The*

The beginning of this siege was so prosperous for the Christians, as the garrison and A Inhabitants of Carmona, being but sixe leagues from Seuille, resolved to yeeld themselves to King *Fernand*, supposing that if they did protract it any longer, they were vndone. The city being enuironed, and all passages stoppt, so as there could no victuals enter, they were daily in fight both by land, and sea, where the Moores were most annoyed, and therefore they had a great desire to burne the navy, but they found good resistance. Hee amongst the commanders which did most feats of armes, was *D. Pelayo Perez Correa*, maister of the Order of Saint *James*, and of the Knights *Garcia Perez de Vargas*, of Toledo.

Whilst they were busie about this siege of Seuille, the Infant *D. Alphonso* of Castille was in the realme of Murcia, where he sought to take the towne of Xatua, which is not farre from Valencia, hauing already seized vpon Enguerra; but the King *D. Jaime*, his father in law, crossed his conquests, saying that he attempted vpon his right, for that Xatua and other neighbour places belonged vnto him, according to the last lymitation. And for that the Infant *D. Alphonso* did not retire his forces, the King of Arragon tooke Villena and Saix in the country of Castille, the which were held by the knights of Calatrava; and from the Moores he tooke Capdetes and Burgarra, places belonging to the conquest of Castille. These differences being like to cause greater troubles, some great personages interposed themselves, procuring the father in law and the sonne to meet at Almizra, where they reconciled them: yet the King of Arragon shewed himselfe very strict against *D. Alphonso*, refusing to giue him leaue to conquer Xatua, the which hee promised to hold in doury of his wife *Isabel*. There they did assigne the lands which should belong to either Realme, appointing for the frontier to Murcia against Valencia, Almanza, Sarazul, and the riuer Cabriuel: and to Valencia, Castralla, Biar, Saxona, Alarch, Finestrat, Torres, Polop, La Meule lez d' Aquas, and Altea, with their confines. The mediators of this accord were the maister of Saint *James*, the Prior of the Templers, and *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, who returned with the Infant *D. Alphonso* of Castille, and all their troupes, to the campe before Seuille, where the King of Granada arriued also, wel accompanied, and there were some succors sent from the King of Arragon; at this siege there were great and dayly skirmishes, especially about a bridge of boates which was betwixt the city, and the Bourg of Triana, vpon the riuer of Guadalquivir, the which in the end was broken by the Christians, hauing taken the oportunity of a great and violent winde, in the which they let slippe two great boates, the which came with such violence as they brake the bonds wherewith the bridge was tied: the which did wonderfully amaze the Moores.

This great city was so straightly besieged as they began to want victuals, and therefore doubting they should not be able to defend it long, they demanded a composition, the which was granted them vpon these conditions. That the city should be deliuered vnto the King *D. Fernand*, and that all the Moores that would should depart, with their goods, to whom there was left for a retreat the townes of Saint Lucar, Aznalfarache and Niebla: and for that they should haue time to depart, the King nor his garrisons should not enter but a month after the making of this accord, and in the mean time the fort or castle of the city should be deliuered vnto the King. According to these Articles there went out of Seuille about a 100000. Moores of all ages and sexes, which past into Affrike, besides such as remained in Andalusia and Granada. Thus the King *D. Fernand* got this goodly great city in the yeere 1248. hauing continued his siege sixteene monthes: it was not commanded by any King, but only by a Gouvernor called *Axatuf*.

The first thing the King did was to provide for matters of religion: He went in a sollemne procession to the great Mesguide, the which was censed and hallowed, and a Masse song by *D. Gutierre* clea Archbishop of Toledo, successor to *D. Iohn* deceased *D. Raymond Lozano* was chosen Archbishop of that church, the king resolving to enrich it with great reuenues like vnto the rest. The greatest personages which were at this siege with the king *D. Fernand*, were his children, *D. Alphonso*, *D. Frederic*, and *D. Henry*, *D. Gutierre* Archbishop of Toledo, hee of Saint *James*, called *D. Iohn Arias*, *D. Garcia*

confines of  
Murcia and  
Valence.

Seuille yielded  
to King *Fernand*.

An. 1248.

A *D. Garcia* Bishop of Cordoua, *D. Sancho* Bishop of Coria, with other Prelats and Clergy men, as *D. Pelayo Perez Correa* the foureteenthmaister of the Knights of Saint *James*, *D. Goncalo Tanes* of Quintana, the fiftenth maister of Calatrava, the maister of the Alcantara, the Priors of the Templers and of Saint *Iohn*, with a great number of their Knights. Of secular Noblemen, there were *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biscay, *D. Pedro Nunez de Gusman*, *D. Goncalo Goncalves* of Galicia, *D. Pedro Ponce* of Leon, *D. Ray Goncalves Giron*, *Arias Goncalves Quixada*, *D. Alphonso Telles de Meneses*, *D. Gomes Rais de Manganedo*, *D. Roderigo Aluarez* of Toledo, *D. Roderigo Froles*, *D. Fernand Yanes*, *Ray Goncalves*, first Alcaide or captaine of Carmona, *Garcia Perez de Vargas*, of Toledo, *D. Laurence Suarez*, and *Diego Martines Adalia*: all these were in the Land army. In that B at sea was *Raymond Boniface* Admiral, with many knights and Squiers of Biscay and Guipuscoa, with whom there ioynd many mariners and souldiers Basques, from about Bayonne in France: all that had done the King any seruice in this warre, were rewarded according to their merites and callings, much land, and many houses were giuen to the Nobility, wherein the Clergy was not forgotten. And for that the city was vnpeopled, the King inuited people from all parts, with gifts, preuiledges, and great immunities; so as it was loone full of inhabitants.

Soone after this prize, the King sent part of his victorious army against some places of strength thereabouts, the which were made subiect vnto him, some by force, and some by a voluntary composition, as *Medina Sidonia*, *Alcala*, *Bejel*, *Alpechin*, *Aznalfarache*, *Arcos* & *Lebrixa* and others towards the sea. By this conquest the King *D. Fernand* was free from all warre behinde the limits of his Prouince, for hee ment to entertaine peace and friendship with King *Mahomad* of Granada, who had alwaies carried himselfe faithfully towards him: wherefore he began now to conceiue in his imagination the conquest of all Affrike, and resolved to passe the Straights in the spring, with a great army, against *Caid Arax*, *Miralmumin* of Maroc, but death preuented him, in the city of Seuille, newly conquered, in the yeere 1252. hauing reigned in Castille about fife and thirtie yeeres, and in Leon one and twenty. There were present at his death, his sons, *D. Alphonso*, *D. Frederic* and *D. Henry*, *D. Alphonso* Lord of Molina, the deceased Kings brother, and the Archbishop *D. Raymond*. Hee gaue many admonitions to his sonnes, touching concord and the publike peace, recommending the Queene *Donna Ieanne* very straightly vnto them.

This King was reputed a Saint among the Spaniards, but he is not canonized by the Popes, yet he was a great fauorer of the Sea of Rome, and of all the Clergy in General, whom he advanced to honour and riches, as much as any of his predecessors. He did wonderfully persecute the Albigeois, who discovered themselves in the countries, burning them aliue, and he himselfe setting fire to them. In his raigne and during the life of *D. Iohn* Archbishop of Toledo, Saint *Lewis* King of France imparted vnto the church of Toledo, some of the singularities which he and others had brought from the holy land, from Egypt and other places; as, of the wood of the true crosse, one of the thornes of our Sauours crowne; of the Virgin *Maries* milke: a peece of the purple robe wherewith Christ was couered, some of the towel wherewith he wiped the Apostles feet, of the sheet wherein he was buried, and of the toys wherewith he played when he was little, with other such likes, whereof the Princes, Arabians and Turkes, yea and they of Constantinople, made rare presents vnto the French, who (about all other Christians) did reuerence these things, and did afterwards distribute them to other nations. These goodly Jewels were received by the Spaniards with great deuotion, and of this subiect there is a letter found written, by that King Saint *Lewis*, in Latin, to the Chapter of Toledo, with a seale of gold, giuen at Estampes in the yeere 1248. The death of the King *D. Fernand* was much lamented by the Christians, and by the Moores also of Granada, who did mourne with great teares and lamentations after their manner.

32 Soone after the decease of *D. Fernand*, died *Thybauld* King of Nauarre, the first of that name, in Iuly, in the yeere 1253. in the towne of Pampelone, leauing the realme to his sonne *Thybauld* the second. After his returne from Syria, he had great troubles and difficulties with the Nobility and commons of his Realme, or that held in fee of him, whom

Death of *D. Fernand* King of Castille.

Nauarre.



whom he desired (as it was needfull, beeing new come and a stranger) to content, the A which he did by his wisdom great patience and dexterity. Those which crost him most were D. William Vicont of Sola, D. Raymond Arnaud Vicont of Tartax, and D. Gaston of Moncade, Lord of Bearn, who made great complaints of the King; but he gaue them the best satisfaction he could. To the Vicont of Tartax, he gaue *Ville-neue*, with all the land of Miexa, and Hostaures, and to the rest he gaue other things, so as he pacified them all.

The King had great controuersie with D. Pedro de Gasolas Bishop of Pampelone, for the rights and immunities of his church, the which proceeded so farre, as the Bishop presumed to excommunicate the King, and did not onely interdict his owne Diocese of Pampelone, but the whole realme of Nauar, where by reason of his pretensions and B controuersies, there was no Masse nor Mattins sayd, but whereas the King did force them, from the which they did appeale: and in the meane time the Bishop kept at Nauardun in Arragon: from whence going sometimes forth, the King caused him to bee taken and put in prison as a traitor, but it was too hardy an attempt, the people could not endure it, so as he was forced to set him free. These stormes continued three yeeres, whereas the Spaniards lay all the blame vpon the King. In the end by the mediation of Noblemen, Knights, Prelats and some good religious men, the King and the Bishop were reconciled. The King acknowledged his fault, and the interdiction was taken away, and some affirme that he went in person to Rome to demand absolution, the which he obtained of Pope Innocent the fourth. As we haue sayd, this King died in the yeere 1253. and was buried in the great church at Pampelone. About the same yeere there C died also D. Blanche of Castille, Queene mother to Saint Lewis King of France, leauing vnto her sonne a good title to Castille (if he would haue followed it) and to his descendants: she was buried at Saint Denis neere Paris.

*The end of the eleventh Booke.*

THE



## THE TWELFTH BOOKE

of the Historie of Spaine.

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*Continuance of the royall houses of Spaine mentioned in this twelfth Booke.* C

CASTILLE. LEON. NAVARRE. PORTVGAL. ARRAGON.

- |                          |  |                    |                 |
|--------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------|
| 11. D. Alphonso. 10. 30. | 23 D. Thybaud. 2.                                      | 5. D. Alphonso. 3. | 9. D. Pedro. 3. |
|                          | 24. D. Henry. 1.                                       | 6. D. Denis. 1.    |                 |
|                          | 25. D. Jeanne, and in respect of her Philip the faire. |                    |                 |



D. Alphonso the eleuenth of that name, the tenth King of Castille and thirty one of Leon.

Castille.

**T**He Moores of Spaine were reduced to that extremity, as they did all obey the Kings of Castille and Arragon, as their vassalls, euery one in their iurisdiction, the yeere that D. Alphonso the eleuenth came vnto the crowne: but they continued not long in this Estate, for as liberty is the most pleasing of all things, when as they found any subiect of alteration they embraced it. Yet in the beginning they kept themselves quiet, seeking to confirme the alliances which they had made with the King D. Fernand deceased: and for that King Mahomad of Granado shewed himselfe ready to doe this homage, the King D. Alphonso, who was alwaies bountifull, abated him 50000. Marauidis of gold of his yeerely tribute, beeing in the city of Seuille, where hee was proclaimed and crowned King of Castille, Leon &c.

The first Ordonance he made, was to decry the money which was then currant, called Pipions, in place whereof he caused an other peece to be coyned, which they named Burgaleses,

A Burgaleses, euery one being ninety deniers, six deniers making a solz, and fiftene solz a marauidis of gold, so as the Burgalois and the marauidis in gold were all one in value. This change of money made all things deere in Spaine, whereupon the King did much augment the Estates fees and ordinary pensions of his followers. The first alteration which happened in the Moores countries, was in Tareda, but they were easily suppressed, for the petty King of that place, called *Amet*, was so amazed, as hee quit the place vnto the Christians, and fled into Affrike.

We haue sayd before that King D. Alphonso had married D. Violant daughter to D. Jaime or James King of Arragon, by whom hauing no children in six yeeres they had liued together, he intended to leaue her: whereupon hee sent into Denmarke, to treat a marriage betwixt him and *Christienne*, the Kings daughter, attending the returne of his Ambassadors at Toledo, where he was againe visited by King Mahomad of Granado. The King of Arragon hauing some intelligence of this diuorce, which D. Alphonso pretended to make, was much discontented, and in a maner ready to proclaime war against Castille, if he had not bin diuerted by some noblemen and great personages of his realm, notwithstanding their subiects, vpon the frontiers, did for a long time spoile one another, & their was a league also made betwixt Arragon and Nauarre, which did incense them more.

Thibaud the second of that name, and three and twentieth King of Nauarre.

C  
 2 **T**his league was to defend the realme of the young *Thybaud* the second, who had succeeded his father in the yeere 1253, being not yet 15 yeeres old, whose gouernment, and the Regency of the realme was in the hands of *Marguerite* of Foix his mother. The Histories of Nauarre say, that the King of Arragon came in person to Tudele to visit the Queene widow, and King *Thibaud* her sonne, whereas they made an offensive and defensiu league: the King D. Jaime offering vnto the widow and to this Pupil, whatsoever hee could doe, or they demand, alwaies reseruing the rights which he pretended in Nauarre, the which he would end friendly, when as King *Thibaud* should be come to age, and in the meane time it was agreed that being of full yeeres, he should marry D. Constance or D. *Sancha*, daughters to the King of Arragon, and if King *Thibaud* died, then should D. Henry his brother marry one of them: the King of Arragon promising moreouer not to marry his daughters into the house of Castille, without the consent of Queen *Marguerite*: she promised also for her part, to do her best endeauor that the King her son should not marry with any of the daughters of Castille, lawfull, nor bastards, especially of King *Fernands* second marriage. In this league was comprehended the French King, and the Emperour, by Queene *Marguerite*: and the King of Arragon would insert a condition, that this present league should be allowed and confirmed by the Popes authority, within a certaine time, and great penalties and censures set downe by him, for them that should breake it. The Queene mother was assisted by D. *Garcia Almoravid*, D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montagu, D. *Garcia Gomes* of Agoncillo, D. *Gonzalo Yuanes* of Bazan, D. *Corbaran* of Leet, D. *Martin Garcés* of Eusa, D. *Pero Gonzales* of Morentiu, D. *Martin Gonzales* of Morentia, D. *Guerero Siere*, *Symon Gros*, D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Valtierra, and D. *Lope Arceiz*, Deane of the Collegiall church of Tudele, who did all solemnly sweare to obserue the Articles of this league. The company beeing gone from Tudele, the King of Castille was presently aduertised of the league which they had made; whereupon hee sent many companies of horse and foote vnto the frontiers of Nauarre, pretending that the realme did belong to him, and that hee would pursue his right by armes. On the other side Queen *Marguerite* the Regent, manned the townes & forts ioyning vpon Castille with good garrisons, being also succored by the King of Arragon; so as the Castillians passed no farther at that time. In the meane time King *Thibaud* grew to be full 25 yeeres old, wherefore they thought it fit to declare him of age, & to crown him, the which was done in the yeere 1254, in the great church of Pampelone, where

League con-  
firmed be-  
twixt Nauar-  
re and Arragon.

where he did sweare to obserue and augment the preiudges of the country. Being in A possession of the government, he would haue the alliance and league which his mother had made with the King of Arragon newly confirmed, for the effecting whereof, the two Kings met in the church called our Lady of Montagu, where they did capitulate: and it was sayd that the King D. *Jaime* should defend the realme of Nauarre against al, and that not any one of the two Kings should make any peace or truce without the consent of the other, for assurance whereof, especially of the aboue mentioned marriages, there was deliuered in pawne, for King *Thibaud*, the forts of Gallipienço, Arguedas & Monreal: and for Arragon, the castles of Rueda, Sos and Vncastillo: which places should remaine in the hands of certaine knights of Nauarre, who notwithstanding should be discharged by the King of Nauar of the oth which they did owe him, and with his consent should take B an oth to the King of Arragon, with a reseruatiō and promise to yeeld the places to him against whom the other had made the offence: all this was promised and sworne by both Kings, and the chiefe of their subiects; for the King of Nauarre, by D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montagu, Senechal of the realme, D. *Garcia Almoraid*, D. *Gil* of Rada, D. *Gonsalo Tuanes* of Barzan, D. *Martin Ximenes* of Ayuar, *Fernand* of Leet, *Ramir Perez* of Artonis, D. *Corbaran* of Leet, D. *Arital* of Luna, D. *Pedro* of Varillas, and other knights, with six Bourgeses of Tudela: and for the King of Arragon, D. *Alphonso* Infant of Arragon, D. *Garcia* Bishop of Tarrassone, D. *Garcia Romco*, D. *Pedro Cornet*, D. *Symon de Foffes*, D. *Frederic Lizana*, D. *Pedro Martines de Luna*, D. *Sancho d' Antilla* and others. In this league were comprehended and named by the King of Nauar, the King of France C and his brethren, and by the King D. *Jaime*, *Charles* Earle of Prouence, brother to the French King. This being concluded betwixt these Kings, the warre grew hot and furious vpon the frontiers of Nauarre and Castille; where the King of Arragon did more willingly assist, for that the same year the Moores of the country of Valencia being rebelled to the number of 60000. vnder one *Alardrac* their leader and captaine, the King of Castille did support and aide them vnder hand, vpon a secret hatred which hee bare vnto the King D. *James*: yet by the diligent endeauors of some great personages, there was a truce made for some months, during the which the King D. *Jaime* being come into Nauarre, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biscay came vnto him, and made himself his vassal, being discontented with the King of Castille, which was no smal aduantage for the D affairs of this league against Castille: for D. *Diego* was a braue & valiant captaine. King D. *Alphonso* pretended the realme of Nauarre by ancient right from his predecessors, or at the least that D. *Thibaud* should doe him homage, as the king D. *Garcia Ramires*, and the kings D. *Sancho*, his sonne and Grandchild had done to King D. *Alphonso* the eight, Emperor of Spaines, and to other Kings of Castille; the which King *Thibaud* refused, al- leading that it was a forced acknowledgment, without any reason, and that he was so far from submitting himselfe to the Kings of Castille, as he pretended to recouer the ter- ritories of Bureua, Rioja, Alaua, Guipuscoa, and other lands in old Castille which the predecessors of D. *Alphonso* had vsurped of the crowne of Nauarre: these were the causes which made these Kings enter into warre, who (the truce being expired) went to field E with their forces: the Nauarrois and Arragonois assembling the body of their army about Tudela; and the Castillans towards Alfaro and Calaterra.

Castillans ar-  
mes against  
the Nauarrois  
and Arrago-  
nois.

The Kings of Castille and Arragon lead the contrary armies, and were so nere one vn- to the other, as they expected the houre when they should ioyne: but there were many good men which laboured to preuent this disorder, amongst Christian Princes, so nere allied: The King D. *Alphonso* gaue him of Arragon to vnderstand, that it was an vnwor- thy thing, and beyond all expectation, to see him that was his father in law, carry armes against him, hauing done him no wrong; wherefore he intreated him not to hinder him in his iust pursute of the right which he had to the realme of Nauar, which the Earle *Thi- baud* detained from him. The King D. *Jaime* answered, that he could not in conscience, nor duty, abandon the defence of a yong Prince, which was recommended vnto him, whose F affaires he esteemed as his owne. Many Prelats and men of great authority hauing employed themselves in vaine to make a peace betwixt these Princes, a simple gentle- man of Carrelogne, borne at Befalu, of the house of D. *Violant* Queene of Castille, preuailed

A preuailed more then al the rest. This gentleman came to the King of Arragon, and per- swaded him with such liuely reasons, as he yeilded to a peace. Hauing done this good office with him, he did the like to the King of Castille, and was so happy in his negotiati- on, as they promised to confer personally together of their disputes and quarrels: where- fore certaine Tents being pitched in a plaine betwixt both armies, the three Kings met, and embraced one another louingly, where they feasted each other, and made a good ac- cord before they parted. Yet notwithstanding the league made betwixt the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and the courage which the yong King *Thibaud* did shew, he yeel- led to doe homage to the Kings of Castille, as his predecessors had done for the realme of Nauarre, for the King of Castille thinking that he had won the King of Arragon, his B father in law, by this enterview, the which in truth did auail him much, for that the Queene Donna *Violant* his wife was there present, he demanded of King *Thibaud* the hardest conditions he could, desyring nothing lesse then to make an accord with him: but nothing being refused, they compounded, King *Thibaud* remayning vassal to the King D. *Alphonso*: and it was sayd that he should entertaine a Lieutenant in the court of Castille, and that whensoever the King of Nauarre should bee called vpon any occasion of warre, he should be bound to come and serue himselfe in person, or by his sayd Lieu- tenant with two hundred horse. The yong King yeilded to all these conditions, ei- ther for that he was not able to resist his aduersary, or else doubting that the King of Arragon was wonne, or it may be in consideration of the publike quiet; besides hee C did no new thing, but what his predecessors had done before him: yet D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Calcante, and other knights of Nauarre dissuaded him from it, the like did the Inhabitants of the Bourg of St. Sernin of Pampelone, who after that all the Pre- lats, knights and commonalties of the realme had approued this peace, they still disa- lowed it, and would not subscribe, wherevpon the King did punish them by fines, as mu- times, yet his choller being past, some few daies after he considered that those of Pam- pelone were good and faithfull subiects, louing his honour and greatnesse, and that they had resisted his will by a true zeale, and loue, which they bare vnto the crowne of Nauarre, so as he caused their money to be restored vnto them againe, wherevpon there grew a custome which continued, that in matters concerning Castille, this Bourg did D not set to their scale.

Enterview of  
the Kings of  
Castille Arra-  
gon and Nauar-  
re.

King of Nau-  
arre consel-  
seth himselfe  
vassal to him  
of Castille.

Inhabitants of  
Pampelone re-  
fuse the hu-  
mage which  
they are to  
him of Cas-  
till.

Castille.

D. Alphonso  
second mar-  
riage preuen-  
ted by his  
brother.

Genealogie of  
Castille.

4 The diuorce which D. *Alphonso* King of Castille pretended to make, as we haue sayd, from the Queen D. *Violant*, could not take effect, for that the cause of sterility, which he objected against her, did cease, being the wil of God she should be with child, in the yeere 1254. and yet the Ambassadors which were sent into Denmarke, had wrought so, as they brought the Princessse *Christienne* to Toledo, wherewith the king D. *Alphonso* was wonderfully troubled, so as not knowing how to couer this fault, D. *Philip* his bro- ther presented himselfe vnto him (being Abbot of Vailledolit, and *Cuenca Rubia*, and designed Archbishop of Seuille, for which cause he had beene brought vp in studie, and had remained sometime in the Vniuersity of Paris) and demanded this Princessse in marriage. It greued the King much to giue D. *Philippe* a portion, yet finding no better meanes to satue this disorder, hee caused him to marry her, and in fauour of this marriage allotted him great rents and reuenues, but it was short and vnfortunate; for this Princessse *Christienne* thinking her selfe contemned and scorned, was so op- press with griefe as shee pined away and died. Thus the marriage of D. *Violant* of Ar- ragon with the King D. *Alphonso* remayned firme; to whom afterwards shee gaue an ample off spring. Her first child was D. *Berenguela*, then D. *Beatrice*, D. *Fernand*, surnamed *de la Cerde*, D. *Sancho* who was King after the father, D. *Pedro*, D. *Iohn*, D. *Jaime* or *James*, of all which wee will hereafter make ample mention, and in the end thee had Donna *Isabell*, and Donna *Leonora*: Besides these lawfull children, F the King had D. *Alphonso Fernandes*, whose mother is yeknowne, and D. *Beatrice*, begotten of D. *Mayor Guillen* of Guzman, daughter to Don *Perez* of Guzman, in which familie the Kings of Castille haue often found Ladies for their seruice: This daughter D. *Beatrice* was Queene of Portugal. The same yeete of our Lord 1254. there came vnto the Archiepiscopal dignity of Toledo, and Primacy of Spaine, one called L1 2 D. *Sancho*,

*D. Sancho*, whom the Spaniards hold to bee an Infant of Castille, sonne to the King *D. A. Fernand* deceased, and brother to this *Alphonso*, but it is not verie certaine. *D. Pascal* successor to *D. Gutierre*, had bene Archbishop before him. The same yeere there arrived at the Court of Castille, *Edward*, sonne and heire to *Henry* the third, King of England, who according to the custome of those times, was armed and made knight, by the King *D. Alphonso*.

Moore.

As for the Moores, they were, as wee have sayd, diuided into petty States, except *Granado*: all which had done homage to *D. Alphonso* King of Castille. In *Algarbe* there reigned in this quality *Aben Mosad*, who held *Niebla* and *Xeres*: a Lady a Moore ruled at *Lebrixa*, or *Nebrissa*, and *Arcos*: *Murcia* was held by *Mahomet Aben Hudiel*, and other places by other captaines and Lords, which did al hold of the King of Castille, to whom notwithstanding, when occasion serued, they shewed no great loyaltie: wherefore in the yeere 1256. King *D. Alphonso* dispossessed al these petty Kings, & he received *Xeres* of the frontier, by a voluntary yeelding, where *D. Nugno de Lara* was made Governor, and *Garcia Gomes Carillo*, a hardy knight, his Lieutenant. *Arcos* and *Lebrixa*, following the example of *Xeres*, yeelded also to *D. Henry* the Kings brother, who was sent thither from *Xeres*. The yeere following 1257. the King came into *Algarbe*, where he tooke the towne of *Niebla*, and appointed lands about *Seuile* for King *Aben Mosad*, and many rents in that city, so as by this meanes he had al the rest of the country of *Algarbe*: that is, the townes of *Gibraleon*, *Huelma*, *Serpa*, *Mora*, *Alcabin*, *Castro*, *Martin*, *Taura*, *Faro* and *Laule*, al held by Moores, who did not in any sort acknowledge the King of *Granado*, with whom *D. Alphonso* entertained firme friendship, so as hauing ordained an Annuity in the city of *Seuile*, for the King *D. Fernand* deceased, the which was celebrated yeerely in the Cathedral church, King *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*, sent many of his chiefe Moores thither, with a hundred footmen, carrying so many great torches of white waxe, the which they set about the dead kings tombe.

All matters betwixt Nauarre and Castille, were in outward apparence quiet, but the effects shewed this yeere 1257. that peace betwixt Princes, is most commonly entertained by no other bond, but their pleasures and commodities, without any respect of accords, othes or promises: for the king of Castille hauing raysed a mighty army, vnder collour of some doubt he had of the Moores, caused it to turne head towards the frontiers of Nauarre, to make some notable breach there, before they suspected him. Wherefore the two Kings, *D. James* of Arragon and *D. Thibaud* of Nauarre, went sodainely to armes, and soone after *D. Henry* Infant of Castille, the Kings brother, and *D. Diego Lopes Dias de Hare*, sonne to *D. Diego Lopes Dias*, who was dead a little before, at the bathes of *Bagnerets*, came vnto the King of Arragon, being at *Estelle*, with whom they made a league against Castille, the Infant making great complaints against the King *D. Alphonso*. With the young Lord of *Hare*, there came *D. Diego Lopes de Mendoza*, *Michel Inigues de Saaça*, *Inigo Ximenes* of Nanclores, *Sancho Gonçales* of Heredia, *Ruy Sanches* of Landa, which were all principal Noblemen of the Prouince of *Alaua*: *Lopes* of Velasco, *Gonçalo Gomes* of Agüero, *Lopes Garcia* of Salezar, *Lopes Inigues* of Orozco, *Sancho Garcia* of Salzedo, *D. Gonçales* of Cauillos, great Noblemen in the Mountaines, who came al with *D. Diego Lope Dias* their Lord, & did there homage to the King *D. Jaime*, promising to follow him against all Princes wheresoeuer he would lead them. The affaires standing vpon these termes, likely to breake out into an open combustion, those which loued peace labored in such sort, as the Kings of Castille & Arragon had an interview at *Soria*, where a new accord was made.

Nauarre.

And for that the Estates which king *Thibaud* had in France, that is to say, *Champagne* & *Brie*, required his presence, or of some great personage, *Queene D. Marguerite* went thither, but she died in the towne of Prouince, from whence she was carried to the Monastery of *Cleruaux*, and there buried: for this cause the king was forced to go himselfe, wherefore he recommended his country of Nauarre to the king of Arragon, and left a French knight for Seneschal and Governor thereof, his name was *Joffry* of Beaumont, of whom the Nauarrois made no great account, and lesse of the king of Arragon, to whom they would yeeld no obedience, so as there began to be a breach of friendship betwixt

A twixt the Nauarrois and Arragonois, in the yeere 1257. at which time *D. Gil de Rada*, a knight of Nauar, did homage to the King *D. Jaime* for his castle of *Rada*, for him and *D. Maris de Leer* his wife. The Seneschal seeing the cōsūry, which was committed vnto him, ready to fall into a combustion, came vnto the king *D. Jaime*, who was at *Barcelona*, and obtained of him an assurance of peace, for a certaine time betwixt the two Estates.

The King of Castille finding himselfe in peace with all his neighbors, both Christians and Moores, he tooke care for the good gouernment of his subjects, who at that time made great complaints, for that by reason of the altering of the value of coines, al things were growne exceeding deere, which thinking to preuent, by setting a certaine price vpon al wares that were sold, he wrought a contrary effect; so as the death increased, wherefore he disannulled that law, and gaue them free liberty to sell their victuals & wares at their pleasures. About that time there was great trouble in the Empire of Germany, betwixt *Conrade* sonne to *Frederic* the 2. King of Naples and Sicile, and *William* Earle of Holland, both which carried themselves as Emperors. The death of *Conrade* happened, who (as the Italians write) was poisoned by *Manfroy* his Lieutenant and bastard brother, who vlturped the realmes of Naples and Sicile, which the Popes would draw vnto them, since *Frederiks* time, and exclude the house of Soane: notwithstanding that *Conrade* left *Conradin* his son and heire, in whose preiudice *Manfroy* made himselfe king, sugieling that he had newes of his death in Germany, hauing in the meane time corrupted some to poison him, as he had done the father, but they failed him their vowed seruice. *William* Earle of Holland had bin chosen Emperor by the practises of Popes against *Frederic* who held that title vnto his death, which was soone after that of *Conrad*: for hauing war against the Frisons his rebels, he was defeated by them and drowned in a Marsh. He being dead, the Electors of Germany were diuided, some struing to haue a Prince of Germany chosen; according to the lawes of the Empire; and the others (it may be corrupted with money) sought to haue some forraigne Prince placed in the Emperiall dignity, that he might pacifie the troubles and rümults which did afflict Germany, and Italy. Two Princes were then vpon the file: *Richard* sonne to *Lohn* King of England, and brother to *Henry* the third, then reigning; and *D. Alphonso* King of Castille. *Conrad* Archbishop of Cologne and *Lewis* Count Palatin of Rhin Electors, practised by the English man who was present, did chose him King of the Romans, where vnto the Archbishop of Mentz consented: But *Adolph* duke of Saxony, the Archbishop of Treues, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, disallowing of this Election, they named the king of Castille, who was absent, who being aduertized of this Election by a sollempn Ambassage, yet would he not go into Germany, hearing that *Richard* would force obedience by armes, & that the war was hotter among the Germains then before, wherefore attending the euent, he kept himselfe within the city of Toledo.

7 The same yeere of our Lord 1257. *D. Sancho* Capello King of Portugal, whom they had deprived of the gouernment of the realme, to giue it to his brother *D. Alphonso* of Bologne, came into Castille, to King *D. Alphonso* the wife (according to the most certain Authors) intreating him to aide him in the recovery of his dignity, and to punish his rebellious subjects, who had made his brother their King in his life time: wherevnto the King of Castille was well affected: but a priuat respect made him to abandon the cause of the afflicted, for the Earle of Bologne, Regent of Portugal, knowing that his brother made this pursuit, intreated King *D. Alphonso* by his letters, not to trouble him in the charge wherevnto he had bene called by the Estates of the realm, for lawful considerations, the which had also bin allowed and confirmed by the authority of the Romain sea. That if he would forbear to annoy him; he promised to marry *D. Beatrix* his bastard daughter, which was then of age to be married, & would be diuorced from the Countesse *M. hault* his wife, & moreover did reuiue the ancient homage which Portugal did to Leon. These offers made king *D. Alphonso* to open his eares, who entertayning the king *D. Sancho* with good words, concluded the marriage of *D. Beatrix*, with the Regent his brother, to whom he gaue in doury the country of *Algarbe*, newly taken from the Moores. This vnion of the realm of *Algarbe* to that of Portugal, was the cause that from that time the kings of Portugal carried in their armes, a border guenles semed with castles or

Castile.

6  
Factions in  
Germany for  
the Empire.

Impiety of  
Manfroy  
Frederiks  
bastard.

Richard of  
England chosen  
Emperor.

Portugal.

*D. Alphonso* of  
Portugal  
leaves his law-  
ful wife the  
Countesse of  
Bologne, to  
marry with  
*Beatrix* of  
Castille.

*D. Sancho Capello spoiled of the realme of Portugal.*

without number, the which were since reduced to the number of seuen. The King D. A *Sancho Capello* being out of al hope to raigne in Portugall, died soone after in Castille, where for that short time he was entertained in a royal Estate, by D. *Alphonso* King of Castille, whose case was like vnto his some few yeeres after; for he was dispossessed by his owne sonne D. *Sancho*, where it was happy for him to haue preferred the friendship of the Moores: for there was not any Christian Prince, that did either fauor him or aide him. Whilst that the King D. *Sancho* of Portugal liued, the city of Coimbra resisted D. *Alphonso* his brother, and would neuer acknowledge him for Regent; and much lesse for King. And the writers of Portugal say, that the newes of the Kings death being published; he which commanded within the towne, whom some call Fleet, demanded a passport to goe vnto Toledo, to informe himselfe, he began to sigh, and to lament the aduerture of this Prince, and to protest of his loyaltie vnto him, and of the affection of the citizens of Coimbra, and laying the keyes of the city vpon his hands, he sayd, that seeing he had receiued them from him, with the charge and government thereof, he deliuered it vp vnto him againe: and then resolving to acknowledge King D. *Alphonso* for his lawfull Prince, and to draw the citizens therevnto, he returned into Portugal.

### D. Alphonso the third of that name, the fifth King of Portugal.

*Marriage.*

BY the death of King D. *Sancho Capello*, which was the fifth yeere of his age, hauing *B* raigned foure and thirty yeeres, leauing no children, the realme of Portugal fel to D. *Alphonso* his brother, without any dispute, who was crowned King in the city of Lisbon, in the yeere 1257. and being married to two wiues, hauing no lawfull cause of diuorce from the first, he was the cause of many troubles and miseries to the realme of Portugal, for the preuenting whereof he had beene called. He had children by the Countesse *Mahault*: *Fernand*, who accompanied his mother into Portugal and there remained, and *Robert* who succeeded his mother in the countie of Bologne. *Fernand*, whom some call *Peter*, lies in the Monastery of Saint Dominike of Lisbon which this King built.

The Countesse his mother led him with her, when as being aduertised of this second marriage she came into Portugal, to know the cause why she was thus abandoned. She landed at Cascais, a sea towne at the mouth of the riuer of Tayo, fise leagues from Lisbon, and from thence sent to intreat, exhort, and to summon the King her husband of his duty: for want whereof she made the protestations ordayned by the Canons in that cause: but she could haue no other reason nor answere from the King, but if it were lawfull to breake the lawes, it was for a kingdome; and that if he thought to augment his dominions by marrying againe, he would euery day take a new wife. These were the fruits of her voyage, and D. *Alphonso* shewed himselfe so rigorous vnto her, as hee would not vouchsafe to see her, nor to heare any counsell that was giuen him by his seruants, who had a regard to Iustice, & feared God more then him; wherefore this poore Countesse returned, and left this sonne in Portugal: being in France, she made her complaints of the disloyalty of her husband to the King Saint *Lewis*, and sent some to doe the like to Pope *Alexander* the fourth, that by his Ecclesiastical censures, D. *Alphonso* might be forced to leaue D. *Beatrice*, and take the Countesse his lawful wife againe. The Pope did what he could, exhorting, commanding, yea and excommunicating the King, and interdicting his realme, but D. *Alphonso* was so obstinate as he suffered the realme of Portugal to remaine interdict ten or twelue yeeres, as long as the Countesse liued. During the which time the Portugals had leisure to forget that which they had learned in religion, when as the King finding himselfe free, he was absolved by Pope *Clement* the fourth, retayning D. *Beatrice* without any let, who in the meane time brought him foure children, the Infant D. *Denis*, so called for that hee was borne on Saint *Denis* day, *in*

*Continuity of D. Alphonso King of Portugal.*

*Genealogie of Portugal.*

A in the yeere 1261. who was king of Portugal and Algarbe: the Infant D. *Alphonso* who was Lord of Portalegre, Ronches, Murban, Castile de Vide, and other lands, and had to wife D. *Violant* daughter to D. *Manuel* of Castile, sonne to D. *Fernand* the third, and two daughters D. *Blanche*, who was a Nunne in the Monasterie of Lorban, and afterwards Abbesse of Saint *Mary* de las Huelgas of Burgos, and D. *Constance*. Besides these lawfull children, this king D. *Alphonso* had one bastard sonne called *Fernand Alphonso* of Portugall, and one daughter whose name was D. *Leonora* of Portugall, married to an Earle called D. *Gonzalo*. Whilst he stood excommunicated, he made warre against the Moores which remained in Algarbe, in the yeere 1260. and chased them out of Faro, Laule, Algezir, and Albofera, and augmented his dominions therewith. Hee built the towne of B Castro of Portalegre and Extremos: he repayed Veja, and other places which had beene roined by the Moores. He did not leaue to build Monasteries and religious houses during the Interdiction: for he finished that of the preaching Friars of Saint Dominike at Lisbon, and did build that of Saint Clara, of Saint Iren, and others: he gaue great almes, and did many charitable deeds, to expiate the sinne which he intended, by the taking of a second wife, not beeing separated from the first. Moreover, to ease the people, and to haue greater store of fruites in the country, he caused certaine barren and waste ground to be tilled: neither did he forget to maintaine Iustice, punishing theues and malefactours, whome his brothers carelesnesse had made insolent. To conclude, although he were defective and blemished in his marriages, yet was hee a profitable Prince for his country.

1260.

*Religious houses built by D. Alphonso during the interdiction.*

C Whilst these things passed in Portugall, and that the warre continued in Germany *Castile*, against the fauourers of *Richard* elect king of the Romanes, D. *Alphonso* king of Castile sent an Ambassage of certaine Cleargi-men to Pope *Alexander* the fourth, the which were D. *Dominicke* bishop of Auila, D. *Garcia* bishop of Sylues, and *Iohn Alphonso* Archdeacon of the church of Saint Iames, learned men, and of great authoritie, who demanded assignation of the time of his Coronation, and also to contradict the election of *Richard*, who did not care to prosecute his right by iustice, but by force and armes. Attending the euent of these troubles, and the returne of his Ambassadors, D. *Alphonso* king of Castile ordered some things touching the policie of his Realm, he decayed those sorts of money which he had coyned, called Bourgalois, and caused others to be made, which they called blacke pence, and in old Spanish, Prietos, fiteene of which were worth a Maraudis of gold: and he made other lawes which were profitable to the Common-weale. Whilst he was busie about these things, and irresolute of his voyage into Germany, hee had another crosse which stayed him more: for his brother D. *Henry* a turbulent Prince, and an enemy to all quiet, committed many insolencies at Lebriza, where he did remain; tending to open rebellion: wherefore he sent D. *Nugno de Lara* from Seule to suppress him, by whom he was vanquished, and forced to fly to Valencia, from whence the king Don *Iaime* caused him to dislodge, for that he would not discontent his sonne in lawe: wherupon he past into Affrick to the King of Tunes. This Prince foure yeares after crost into Italy, and was made Senator of Rome (which is the chiefe dignity of that city) and grew to haue great authority and credit in the estate of Italy, in the time of Pope *Clement* the fourth, who was successor to *Vrbain* the fourth.

8 The king of Nauarre, who was come into France, finding his affaires in great disorder, sought to settle them, & to maintain his rights in the Counties of Brie and Champagne, beeing in controuersie, the which he preferred by the fauour and authority of the King Saint *Lewis*: and moreover a marriage was made betwixt him and *Isabel* of France, the kings daughter, at Melun, whom he led into Nauarre. D. *Iaime* king of Arragon was the mediator of this marriage, who in a manner at the same time gaue his daughter *Isabel* in marriage to *Philip* the Hardy, sonne to the king Saint *Lewis*, and heire to the crown of France, promised vnto him long before. King *Thibaud* had not any children by this Princeesse, wherefore his brother *Henry* succeeded him in the Realme of Nauarre. He had one bastard-daughter called D. *Marquise*, whose mothers name was D. *Marquise Lope de Rada*, who we may coniecture was allyed to that *Gil de Rada*, who it may be for this iniurie left Nauarre, and retired into Arragon, where he did homage to the King D. *Iaime* for his castell of Rada. This daughter was afterwards married vnto Don *Pero Fernandes* Lord

*Nauarre.*

*children of king Thibaud the 3.*



castile.

compiler of  
the lawes of  
Spaine.Tables Astrono-  
micall of Don  
Alphonso.

Lord of Ixar, sonne to the King D. Iaime, and to D. Theresa Gil of Bedaura, whom he had A secretly married, as we haue sayd.

9 It was at that time that by the commandement of D. Alphonso king of Castile, many learned men laboured to reduce into one body, the booke of the lawes of Castile, commonly called *las siete partidas*, which the King D. Fernand had caused them to begin, and which since hath beene augmented by the succeeding kings, with many ordonances, the which was reviewed againe by *Pero Lopes Alcocer*, Doctor *Escudero*, *Pero Lopes Arrieta*, and in the end by *Bartholomew* of Aricena, Lawyers: these are the lawes by the which the Realmes of Castile and Arragon are gouerned, and the administration and practise of Iustice in those countries.

This King Don. Alphonso giuen to study, it may be more then was fit for a Prince B which had so great a kingdome to gouerne, caused also those famous Astronomical tables to be made, which carry his name, hauing drawne into the city of Toledo a great number of men learned in the Mathematickes and Physickes, as well of his owne countries, as out of Affricke and other parts, both Christians and Arabians, where he comprehends a certaine supputation of the heauenly motion of the starres, and planets, and of their aspects and incounters, setting downe for a rule and fundamentall point of all astronomical account, the situation of Toledo, where he consumed an infinit treasure. Hee did beautifie these goodly Sciences of Physicke and Philosophie, causing the writings of the Arabians, and other Ancients to be put into more familiar tongues: whereby he deserves, that thankfull posteritie should maintaine a commendable memorie of his vertue: yet he is to be blamed, for that these honest exercises did so rauish his spirits, and hindered the care he ought to haue had of the affaires of State, that hee shewed himselfe so slacke and negligent, as thinking to be Emperor, he found himselfe not onely excluded from that dignity, but also dispossessed of his owne Realme; hauing reaped no other fruites of his studies, but the vaine surriame of Wise and Learned. Which doth admonish Princes to preferre action before contemplation, yet ioyning the one to the other with moderation. He left some markes of him in the Prouince of Guipulcoa, in the town of Mondragon, the which was so called by him for certaine causes, whereas the auncient name was Arragate: and did indow it with great priuiledges, whereof the letters are to be seene at this day, Giuen in the towne of Exnatorafe, called at this day, as the Spaniards say, *Adelantamiento* of Caçorla, which are the most ancient letters which are to be found in the Castilian tongue in all Spaine: for vntill this Kings raigne, all records, instruments, and publike writings were made in Latin: but he brought in the Castilian style, in all sorts of writings, causing many bookes, yea of the holy Scripture, to be translated into that tongue, whereby it was much beautified. In this priuiledge there are many assistants or witnesses named, as well of his owne Realmes, as strangers: which shewes, that his Court was frequented (as if hee had beene peaceable Emperour) by Princes and Noblemen of the Empire, which are there named his Vassalls: as *Hugh* Duke of Bourgogne, *Guy* Earle of Flanders, *Henry* Duke of Lorraine, *Lewis* Earle of Beaumont, and other Princes holding their Lands and reuenues in fee of the Empire: Many Princes of the Moores are there also named as Vassalls to this King. In the same qualitie are named in this priuiledge, *Gaston* Lord of Bearn, *Guy* Vicount of Limoges, who (it may bee) had some fees in Spaine, or depending of the Empire. Many also are named in this priuiledge as Benefactors: *Queene Violant*, his children *Don Fernand*, and *Don Sancho*, according to the custome of the Kings of Spaine: and of witnesses a great number.

This king Don Alphonso did also cause a collection of the Histories of Spaine to be made, the which is read at this day, called a generall Chronicle. Beeing by reason of these things in great reputation, and esteemed among strangers, by the report (as it is likely) of learned men, whome he did cherish in all countries. The Sultan of Egypt, a Turke which reigned then, called *Anandaxuer*, sent him presents of cloth, and beastes of Egypt, Lybia, Ethiopia, and other neighbor Countries strange vnto the Spaniards, the which were requited by him with other gifts.

Beeing thus respected by Barbarians afarre off, hee was contemned by them which

A which held their lands, dignities and liues of his bountie: for in the year 1261. there beeing an assembly at Granado, of all the Princes Moores, which held any lands in Spaine, they made a league together, and conspired all against him, and without any long delay, beeing long before prepared, they went to field and forced the townes of Xeres, Arcos, Bejar, Lebrixa, Medina Sidonia, Rota and Saint Lucar, king *Mahumet Aben-Alhamar* of Granado beeing the chiefe, against whome *Garcia Gomes* Gouvernour of Xeres defended himselfe valiantly, but it auayled not. This reuolt did much annoy the elect Emperour Don Alphonso, yet hauing sent some troupes of horse and foote, the Moores which were dispersit in the Christians countrie, were soone suppressed.

The Realme of Valencia had beene subdued by the king of Arragon, so as that time D. B *Simon de Foffes* beeing Vice-roy, there was no alteration in those parts by the Moores: yet this Prince was neuer in good quiet with his subiects, by reason of the importunitie and contumacie of his eldest sonne Don Alphonso, who did continually stirre vp new tumults, vpon colour of portions betwixt him and his brethren: a question which had bin handled, but not decided in many Assemblies of the Estates, and by Iudges appointed by them during D. Alphonso's life-time. He died about the year 1260. soone after his marriage with *Constance* daughter to *Gaston* Lord of Bearn. In the year 1261. the marriage of the Infant D. Pedro was consummated (who then tooke the degree of the eldest) with *Constance* daughter to *Manfrey* Prince of Tarentum, soone after the celebration of the marriage of his sister D. *Isabel* with *Philip* of France, at Clermont in Auvergne. After

C which solemnities the question for the Infants portions was reuiued, with as bad successe as it had beene when Don Alphonso liued: for Don Pedro could not indure that any thing should be dismembred from the Crowne, nor that any lands or titles should be assigned to his brethren, but would haue them to depend wholly vpon him, the which the King their father did not hold fit for the quiet and tranquillity of the Realme, knowing wel the rough disposition of Don Pedro, who was cruell and inexorable: wherefore notwithstanding the protestations of Don Pedro, which were ordinarie, refusing to allow of Order in that respect, but by constraint, and to obey the king his father. It was decreed, that after the decease of the king Don Iaime, the Infant D. Pedro should succeed in the realme of Arragon and Valencia, and should haue by the same right the Principalltie of Cattellogne, limited from the riuer of Singa vnto Cap de Crux. That Don James the younger should haue, with the title of a King, the Ilands of Majorca, Minorca, and the Pityules, and moreouer the Counties of Rossillon, Colibre, Conflans, Cerdagne and Vallespire, with the rights of Montpellier, with charge to acknowledge the Soueraigntie of Arragon for these Segneuries vpon the maine land: but Don Pedro did complaine wonderfully at this portion which was assigned to his brother D. James. There were other quartels pretended by the Nobility of Arragon, complaining that the king D. Iaime did breake their priuiledges and liberties: by reason whereof they made many leagues and factions. The matter beeing debated in the Estate of Sarragossa, and then at Exea, in the year 1265.

E there were orders made for the pacifying of those troubles: As not to giue any honors or militarie fees to any but to Gentlemen of race, and borne in the country. That no Gentleman should be subiect to the tribute of cattell, nor to any other. That in all controuersies which the Nobility might haue against the king, or among themselves, the Magistrate, called the Iustice Maior of Arragon, should be Iudge, beeing assisted by the Councill. That the King should not giue the fees and military rewards, affected to them that do him seruice, as a recompence of their vertue and valor, to any of his lawfull children, who by right haue their portions in the realme. In this assembly of the Estates the King was solicited by the Pope to roote the Moores out of his Dominions, the which was hard to effect, neither was it done.

The warre in Germany began to grow cold by the absence of *Richard*, who for want of F money was forced to dissolue his army, and to go into England, to make a supply, whereas he found his brother *Henry* engaged in ciuill warres, whereby he stayed there, and neuer returned into the territories of the Empire: so as Don Alphonso by his delays lost many good occasions to effect his desseignes. Approching neare vnto the Moores frontiers with a great army, he built a castell in the territorie of Alarcos, which hee named Villa

An. 1261.  
Moores.

Arragon.

Death of D.  
Alphonso 3m.  
sant of Arragon

castile.

An. 1263.

Villa Reall, and since called city Reall by the king D. John the second. The place where A it was built, was before called Pozuello of Saint Gil. Leaving all care of the Empire for a time, he made violent warre against the Moores of Granado, Murcia, and other confederates, so as Mahomet Aben-Alhamar was forced to flee to Aben Ioseph Miralumin of Maroc for succors, who sent a thousand genets or light horse Arabians into Spain, in the year one thousand two hundred sixty three, which was the first succors which past into Spaine since that the kings of Maroc had abandoned and lost it, one and fifty years after the rout in the fields of Toloufa, or Muradal in Andalusia. The towne of Xeres was recovered by the Christians, and manned with a great garrison: Bejar, Medina, Sidonia, Rota, and S. Lucar were in like manner taken, as also Arcos and Lebrixa, from whence the king chased the Moores and planted Christians. Port S. Mary was built, and other small exploits of warre done whilest the good time lasted. Winter comming on, the king dissolved his army, the which was exceeding great: for he had called all such as had in former times bene at the warre, and had horse and armes, exempting them of the village of Martiniega, from the Custome of cattel, and other Tributes and Impositions, besides their ordinary pay. The king with some Noblemen stayed at Seville: during this warre which was in the year 1264, his father-in-law D. Jaime of Arragon met with him in Alcarras, with good troupes of souldiers, to second him against the Moores of Murcia, the which with their king was reduced vnder the obedience of the king of Castille, the year following 1265.

An. 1265.

Moores.

The king of Granado was so ioyfull of these succors which were come vnto him out of Africke, and gaue such great intertainment to these Arabians, at his subiects charge, as many began to murmur against him, in so much as the Captaines of Malaga and Guadix, of friends became his enemies, and many of his followers holding themselves lesse esteemed then these new come, conceived a great hatred against him, so as hee began to feare a revolt of his subiects. And for that he would not be engaged in two wars at once, one ciuill, another forraine, he laboured to make his peace with king D. Alphonso, coming vpon assurance vnto him to Alcala de Bencaide, and there sware his fealty and homage anew, in the presence of Mahomet Alamir his son, promising to pay him 250000. Marauidis of gold for a yearly tribute, and renounced the alliance of Aben Hudiel king of Murcia. Wherefore king D. Alphonso did more easily subdue him, who yielded with all his townes, demanding pardon for his offence, the which he obtained by the intercession of the king of Granado newly reconciled: his life was saued, and some rents assigned him, but his royal dignity was taken from him, in the which the king of Castille placed another Moore, called also Mahomet, brother to Aben-Hut, who had bene slaine in Almerie, to whome he gaue the third part of the reuenues of that Realme. As for the Captaines of Malaga and Guadix, D. Alphonso had promised vnto the king of Granado by this last accord, not to fauor them against him, the which he kept at that time, & did procure a truce betwixt them for a season. During the which Mahomet Aben Alhamar came vnto D. Alphonso at Murcia, to intreate him againe (the truce being expired) not to support these two Captaines, which had rebelled against him: wherein the king of Castille dissembled, refusing to promise him directly, for he had an intent to bridle him by this meanes, and in the end to ruine him. Whereupon the king of Granado returned discontented: being in his country, he sought to corrupt the captaines of the king of Castiles forts, which were neere vnto him: namely, Don Nugno Gonzales sonne to the Earle Don Nugno de Lara, who was discontented for the wrongs and grieuances which his father Don Nugno de Lara, and his Vncle Don John Nugnes had receiued from the king, perswading him to rebell against his Prince, with assurance that he would fauour him, and would giue him succors vpon all occasions.

Castile.

During these actions king D. Alphonso, Emperor elect, had newes of the death of Richard his competitor, who had bin slaine in England, at the seige of a towne of smal consequence, being greatly sollicitated by his partisans and fauorers to go into Germany, assuring him that he should be receiued without any contradiction: but he excused himselfe, either for that he wanted courage or mony, or else being stayed by the aduertisements he had of the king of Granados practises: yet he called a Court in the city of Burgos, to con-

A ferre of this voyage with the Estates of his countries, who did exhort him to march, yea offering him money, whereof he had then need, but there was no meanes at that time.

He had sent Ambassadors into France, for the marriage of his son D. Fernand surnamed de la Cerde, with the eldest daughter of the king S. Lewis, called Blanche, as her grand-mother, in the end of the year 1267: this Princeesse being not full ten years old, according to some Spaniards, and the supputation of Garrybay himselfe, who makes profession to be a great obseruer of times. By this marriage was decided a great controuersie betwixt the house of France, and that of Castile, for the succession of the Realms of Castile and Toledo: the which by right, and the custome receiued of the succession of the elder, did belong vnto the king S. Lewis: for that after the decease of the king D. Henry the first, who dyed without children, being slain with a tyle which fel vpon his head, the succession came to his eldest sister D. Blanche, mother to this S. Lewis, and not to D. Berenguela the yonger mother to king Fernand the 3. whom she had by the king of Leon. But the Spaniards disdaining to be gouerned by a stranger, did easily frustrate this right, through the carelesnes of the king S. Lewis, choosing D. Fernand his cousin germaine for their King. In fauor therefore of this marriage made betwixt D. Fernand de la Cerde, son to D. Alphonso the wife, K. of Castile, and D. Blanche daughter to the king S. Lewis, he did quite renounce all the right and interest which he and his successors kings of France might pretend to the crowne of Castile and Toledo, transferring it to Don Fernand and to D. Blanche his spouse, and to their heires. This accord was made in France betwixt the king S. Lewis his counsell, and confirmed by him, and the ambassadora of Spaine, with whom the Princeesse was sent thorough the country of D. Thibaud, who had married Isabel her sister some ten yeres before.

An. 1267.

Marriage of  
D. Fernand  
with Blanche  
daughter of  
France.

S. Lewis quits  
the right he  
pretended.

Nauarre.

The Princeesse and her conductors were honourably intertained by the Nauarrois, although that they and the Castilians were no great friends: yet for that shee was their Queenes sister, they spared not any thing that belonged to duty and honesty. D. Thibaud was then in France, during his absence there were many things done in Nauarre by excess, or through the error of Gouernors, or the policy of neighbor Princes. One of the principall knights of Nauarre called Gonzalo Tunes of Batzan, retired to the king of Arragon, and made a fort vpon the frontiers betwixt Arragon and Nauarre, which hee called Boeta, from whence he made great spoiles in the country of Nauarre. Notwithstanding the friendship which was betwixt the kings of Arragon and Nauarre, yet there wanted no grieuances and subiect of quarrels betwixt them. One of the most apparent pretensions, which the king D. Jaime had, was, that he sayd, that to succor the king D. Thibaud hee had made great expences, whereof he would be rembourfed: making alwaies vse therof when there happened any disorder. The summe which he demanded was so great, as neither K. Thibaud nor his brother Henry, who reigned after him could ever acquit it. About that time, or soone after was the passage of the Princeesse Blanche into Castile, whom the king D. Alphonso her father-in-law receiued at Logroño: the king D. Thibaud arriued in Nauarre, where he labored to set some good order in his affairs, and to prepare all things necessary for his voyage beyond the sea, which he pretended to make with the king S. Lewis his father-in-law. He did somewhat repaire the breach of friendship which had bin betwixt the K. of Arragon and him, and renewed the accord with him of Castile: and hauing left his brother Henry Erle of Ronay, for Gouernor in Nauarre, he came into France, leading with him D. John Nugnes de Lara, eldest son to D. Nugno Gonzales de Lara, and many other knights of Nauarre and Castile. He also led Q. Elizabeth or Isabel with him, whom he left gouernesse of his Counties of Champagne and Brie, and then he parted with the king S. Lewis his father-in-law, who embarked at Marfeilles, with his whole army in May, 1269, to go into Syria: but he was forced by foule weather to land in Sicily, from whence hee past into Africke, tooke Carthage, and besieged Tunes: but the issue of this expedition was vnfortunate, as we may read in the Histories of France.

An. 1269.

Arragon.

F Some moneths before D. Jaime, or James K. of Arragon, moued with the like zeale to make war against the Infidels in the East, and to free himselfe of a vow which he had made, had embarked himselfe, but he was driuen back by a storme to Aiguemortes. Hee had by reason of these enterprises, familiaritie, and treaties with the great Cham or Emperor of Tartaria, sending a Bourger of Perpignan, called Alain, Ambassadour vnto him. He consulted

sulted of the voyage at Toledo in an assembly of Princes where hee did protest to go in A person, although he were very old. King D. *Alphonso* promised money, *Michel Paleologue* Emperor of Constantinople offered ships and victuals by his Ambassadors, but he could not put it in execution. Yet his children D. *Pedro*, and D. *Fernand* proceeded in their voyage, and arrived in Palestina, where they stayed not long. At their returne they landed in the Iland of Sicily, then enioyed by king *Charles* the first brother to S. *Lewis*, from whence they receiued great honour and good vjage: there the infant D. *Fernand* was made knight by the hands of king *Charles*, whereat D. *Pedro* his brother took occasion to hate him, and neuer after loued him. As soone as K. *Thibaud* was gone out of Nauarre, whether hee neuer more returned, the king D. *Jaime* forgetting not the right he pretended to this realme, made donation and transport thereof to D. *Pedro*, resigning all his interest to him, by vertue of the mutuall donation made betwixt him and the last king D. *Sancho* the Strong.

Castile.

In Castile there was nothing but feasting, for the new marriage of the Infant D. *Fernand*, at the which (being as statly as any had beene scene in Spaine) there were present D. *Jaime* of Arragon, *Philip* eldest son to S. *Lewis* king of France, *Edward* eldest son to the king of England, who had beene armed knight by the king D. *Alphonso*: D. *Pedro* Infant and heire of Arragon, and *Mahomet* king of Granada, not yet proclaimed an enemy with other Princes Moores: the king D. *Alphonso* himself, Emperor elect, his brethren and children, with his vncl D. *Alphonso de Molina*, and a great number of Prelats and Noblemen of his countries, and of France, England, Italy and other places: whither also came the Lords of Lara, D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and other mal-contents, who did then conferre with the king of Granada, and concluded a dangerous league with him. Of this marriage were C born the Infants D. *Alphonso* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, of whom we will make mention in the discourse of this Historie.

The feast being ended, D. *Alphonso* Emperor Elect, began to thinke afresh of his passage into Germany, whither they called him by ordinary messages: but whether feare or necessity did hinder him, he could not begin it. It may be the quarrels of Germany seemed too dangerous vnto him, being also loth to charge his subjects with the expences, for the conducting of an army into Italy and Germany: for that his prodigality had exhausted his treasure, and emptied his coffers. For besides the great expences which hee had made in searching out the Mathematickes and other commendable things which amounted to so great summes of mony, as a Spaniard writes, that for the compiling of the work which they call *Tabulas Regis Castille*, hee spent more then the revenues of S. *Peters* patrimony could amount vnto in ten yeares. He gaue at one time an hundred and fifty Kingdoms of siluer to the Empreffe of Constantinople, who came vnto him to Victoria, to beseech him to ayde her, to redeme the Emperor *Baudwin* her husband, prisoner among the Turkes, from whom *Michel Paleologue* detained the Empire. And withall it is likely, that he spared not any mony to practise the Germaine Electors, by whom hee had beene chosen: together with the feasts, triumphs, gifts and presents of his sons marriage: and the promise for war which it behooued him to make, to defend himselfe against the trecherie of the Moores, and of those that were vnited vnto them. All which things kept him so low, as he had neither meanes nor courage to pursue that which he had ambitiously affected. The rebellion of D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biscay, the fist of that name, who had beene made king during the fore-sayd marriage, and of D. *Nugno de Lara*, and others, may in some sort excuse him. These with other their confederates were entred into a secret league with *Mahomet Aben-Alhamar* king of Granada, who for his part had openly broken the truce with the captaines of Malaga and Guadix, vassals to the king of Castile, annoying them all he could by open force: wherefore king D. *Alphonso* came to Seuille to oppose himselfe against this king of the Moores, and to prevent the designes of these conspirators, calling an assembly there of all his knights and other his faithfull subjects. Having a great army readie, and an occasion being offered, hee did assaile and suddenly take the town of Cadiz ill garded, and the Iland which was vnder the protection of the King of Maroc, where the souldiers got great spoiles: but for that there wanted people, he left it still in the Moores hands. This was in the yeare 1269.

Portugal.

The King being at Seuille, D. *Denis* infant of Portugal came vnto him, being well accompanied

A accompanied by the Noblemen and Knights of the country, who befought his grandfather to make him knight, and moreover, that he would discharge the Realme of Portugal, of the homage and vassalage it ought to the king of Leon. King D. *Alphonso* was desirous to gratifie this young Prince, sonne to his daughter D. *Beatrix*: but thinking it would be taken ill by the Noblemen his subjects, hee aduised the Infant to propound it in an open assembly, the which he called to that end. The demand being made in the name of Don *Denis*, who was yet a child of eight yeares old, by a Knight of Portugal, the opinion of D. *Nugno de Lara* (who had not yet declared himselfe) was, that by no meanes he should diminish the authority and greatnesse of his Crown, the which he should do, if he did quit this homage to the king of Portugal, and that in any other thing he was of opinion, the king should gratifie his grand-child D. *Denis*: wherewith the king seemed discontented against the Earle D. *Nugno*: wherefore the rest seeing that he would haue it so, they aduised him to do it. Whereupon the Realme of Portugal was freed from all homage and obedience due to the kings of Leon and Castile, this yeare 1269. And D. *Denis* being made Knight by the king, he returned ioyfull to his father, who about the same time was absolved, and the generall Interdict, in the which the Realm had beene for twelue yeres space, taken away by Pope *Clement* the fourth.

17<sup>th</sup> aduise  
of D. *Nugno* de  
Lara.  
11.

This prodigality with some other reasons, did much discontent the Noblemen of Castile: and made the Earle D. *Nugno* to run into open rebellion, for that the king had taken it ill, for deliuering his opinion freely in open Councell. After these things audience C was giuen to the Ambassadors of the Miralmumin *Aben-Ioseph*, who were come to complain in their Masters name, for the taking and sacke of Cadiz, and to demand reparations: but they were sent home with good words. King D. *Alphonso* being parted from Seuille to come into Murcia, being at Villa Reall, he was abandoned by his brother D. *Philip*, the Earle D. *Nugno de Lara*, D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and other Noblemen & Knights which came into Castile, to put the League in execution which they had made with the king of Granada against their king, and to seeke to draw others vnto them, making the ground thereof to be the dismembring of Portugal from the Crowne of Leon: which league was renewed in Lerma. Many other Noblemen and knights ioyned with them, the chiefe whereof, besides the Infant D. *Philip*, the Earles D. *Nugno de Lara*, and *Lope Diaz de Haro*, were D. *Estevan Fernandes*, D. *Fernand Ruis de Castro*, D. *Ximen Ruis de los Cameros*, D. *Jean Nuges*, and D. *Nugno Gonçales de Lara*, children to the Earle D. *Nugno*, D. *Aluar Diaz*, D. *Diego Lope de Haro*, brother to D. *Lope Diaz*, D. *Lope de Mendoça*, D. *Gil Ruis de Roa*, D. *Aluar Diaz de las Asturias*, and D. *Roderigo Rodrigues de Saldagne*, all discontented with K. D. *Alphonso*: some for one cause, some for another.

The first thing they did, after they had sborne the League, was to send the Infant D. *Philip* into Nauarre, to see if he could draw D. *Henry* the Regent of that Realme to ioine with them, for the interest he had to pull downe D. *Alphonso*, who detained so many Provinces belonging to the Crowne of Nauarre, the Confederats promising him (yet without any such intent) to ayde him in the recovery thereof. If hee would fauour them with the forces of the Realme which he had vnder his command, where they pretended to stay, and there assembled all forces, friends and meanes. The Regent Don *Henry* hauing duly considered of the consequence of this enterprise, being wife and well aduised, excused himselfe, that he was but Lieutenant to his brother, to whom hee must yeeld an account of his gouernement, and that he desired nothing more, then to restore him his Realme in the same estate that he had deliuered it him, without attempting to trouble his Estate by any new enterprises, vpon a vaine hope of bettering it. Don *Philip* returned into Castile with this answer, being frustrate of his expectation. Soone after D. *Henry* had newes of the death of his brother K. *Thibaud*, which hapned in the town of Trapani in Sicilie, in his returne from the voyage of Tunes, whereas the king S. *Lewis* was also dead, and the army forced by pestilence, and other discommodities, to returne, hauing done nothing of consequence.

17<sup>th</sup> aduise  
of D. *Henry* of  
Nauarre to  
the Confederats  
of Castile.

M m

D. Henry

D. Henry the Grosse, first of that name,  
24. King of Nauarre.

**D**On *Thibaud* hauing held the Crowne of Nauarre 17. yeares and about foure moneths, and dying without any lawfull children, Don *Henry* his brother succeeded him in the yeare 1271. he was surnamed the Grosse, for that he was exceeding fat. And although the common opinion be, that fat men are most commonly of a soft and mild disposition, yet this was of a fower and froward conuersation; the which he did especially shew to Don *Armingol* Bishop of Pampelone, whom he did afflict much. *D. Isabel* the Queene Dowager who was in France, when as *D. Thibaud* her husband dyed, receiued his bodie (the which was carried with that of the King *S. Lewis*) and caused it to be buried in the Church of Prouins: and whether it were for the griefe of her husbands death, or some other infirmity, she liued not long after him. The Confederates of Castile, seeing Don *Henry* receiued king of Nauarre, sent to Don *Philip* againe, to sollicite him to ioyne with them in league. The new king Don *Henry* made answer, that seeing he was now absolute, and was not to make accompt of his actions to any one, hee was very willing to receiue the Confederates into his Realme, and to assist them with all his power: but vpon condition, that they should in like manner come with all their forces and friends, to put him in full possession of the lands of Bureua, Rioje, Alaua, Guipuscoa, and others, the which king *D. Alphonso* had vniustly vsurped and detained, belonging to the crowne of Nauarre.

Answer of the  
king of Nauar  
to the Confede-  
rates of Castile.

This demand seemed great and difficult to the Infant Don *Philip*; and as one which had not reiected all loue of Brother or Country, he refused this alliance which would be so deare and burthensome, and therefore he made answer, that neither he nor his companions had any such power, as to accomplish that which he demanded, confessing freely that he would not do so great wrong vnto the King his Lord, as to dispossesse him of so great a country. The king Don *Henry* hearing this answer, would not enter into their League, being loth to breake the accords which Nauarre had with Castile, but vpon great aduantage: wherein he did wisely not to incense so mighty an enemy against him. Don *Philip* returning into Castile, met with his Confederates, to whom he related what he had done, the which they allowed.

Castile.

King *D. Alphonso* was wonderfully perplexed, during these practises, employing all his friends to pacifie and to diuert these conspirators from their enterprize. First he sent Don *Henry Perez* of Arana with letters of credit vnto them: the king went in person to Valencia with Queene *D. Violant* his wife, to intreate the king *D. Jaime* her father to mediate an accord for him, or to keepe him from ioyning with the Confederates: with whom Don *Henry Perez* labored in vaine, aduertising the king of all that past, as many of the Councell of Castile did in like manner: wherefore after many messages of either side, and many fruitlesse negotiations, which did rather kindle the fire then quench it, king *D. Alphonso* was forced to come to Burgos. The Confederates did not onely sollicite the king of Portugal to enter into their league, but also *Aben Ioseph* k. of Maroc, promising a safe access and all fauor against this Prince: the which was discovered by a letter written by this Morish king in the Arabian tong to the confederates: In the meane time the king of Granada began to make open war against Castile, ouer-running the country of Andalusia with the horsemen which he had out of Affrick: against whom he sent the Infant *D. Fernand de la Cerde*. *D. Alphonso* being come to Burgos some of the rebels came vnto him vpon passport, where there were diuers conferences, the king shewing himselfe tractable in many things, for the desire he had to go into Germany: but all preuailed not, notwithstanding that there was an assembly of the Estates at Burgos for this pacification, the which was held without the towne, for the safety of the Conspirators, who reiecting all treaties of peace, retired to Granada, their troupes committing infinit spoiles where they past without any respect, loue, and charity of their country, yea in the country of Guadix, whereas the Captaine a Moore was enemy to *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*: and they say, they entred into Granada with about 5000 cattel, and many carts laden with spoile which they had taken.

Mahomad

Mohomad Mir, the second King  
of Granado.

**W**Hile these fugitiue Knights were at Granado, the king there dyed, which was in the yeare 1273. hauing reigned 36. yeares, and some moneths. By their support and assistance, his sonne obtained the Crowne, being also called *Mahomad* as his father, but surnamed *Mir Almus-Lemin*, otherwise *Abedialle & Aboabdike*, and *Alamir Aben-Azar*: for after the death of *Aben-Alhamar* there were great diuisions vpon the election of a new king: some demanding a younger brother to this *Mahomad Mir*, who was called *Ioseph Aben Alhamar*, others would haue one of the Captaines of Malaga or Guadix, desiring thereby to make them leaue the alliance of the king of Castile, to the end they might vnite all the Moores of Spaine. For the fauour which the Christians did herein to *Mahomad Mir*, he caused a pallace to be built, which was called the pallace of *D. Nugno*. Such as had held the party of *Ioseph Aben-Alhamar* escaped, and retired with him to Malaga, from whence he went & spoiled the country of Granado: But the knights which were with king *Mahomad*, hauing assembled some forces, went against them, and defeated them neere vnto Antequera.

Monet.  
An. 1273.

King *D. Alphonso* was come neere vnto Toledo, alwaies negotiating a peace, for the which they assembled the Estates againe at Auila, whither came *D. Fernand Ruiz de Castro* and *Roderigo Roderiques de Saldaigne*, who abandoned their companions. Nothing being concluded, the King resolved to make war with all violence: he came to Requena, whereas *D. Jaime* king of Arragon should meet him. During his aboad there, he had intelligence from his Agents in Germany, that the Electors, tyred with his delayes, and desiring to settle a good peace in Germany, had proceeded to a new election in the person of *Rodolphus* Erle of Habsburg and Holfacia, against the which his said Agents had objected many things, and protested in his name of nullity. These newes did much trouble king *D. Alphonso*, who was engaged in these ciuill dissensions, the which he then resolved to compound, at what price soeuer, to the end he might go into Germany to recouer his imperiall authority by armes, the which he had let slip by negligence. Wherefore hee sent the Queene *D. Violant* his wife to Cordoua, with some of his Councell, to treat a peace with the king of Granada, and with his owne rebellious subiects, and likewise with the Miralumin *Iacob Aben Ioseph*, who threatened to passe into Spaine. He intreated and coniuured the king of Arragon to ayde him to subdue them, if they wold not yeeld to reason, the which he promised, and he sent Ambassadors presently into Italy to Pope *Gregory* the 10. to make new protestations against the Election of *Rodolphus*, and to lay open vnto the Pope his pretensions and reasons. The Ambassadors were Friar *Aymar* a Iacobin, & *Fernand* of Zamora, Chancellor to the king, and Chanoine of Auila, who deliuered their charge in open Consistorie: yet the negligence and little regard which the king their master seemed to haue of the Empire, did make good the election of *Rodolphus*, so as they returned into Castile, without any effect.

13.

Pope *Gregorie* hauing afterwards called a Councell at Lyons, whether he came in person for the reformation of Christendome, especially for the reconciling of the Greeke Church with the Romaine or Latin, and in like manner to relecue them in the East, who went to ruine. He aduised king *D. Alphonso*, and admonished him by the Bishop of Astorga, to desist from his pretension of the Empire, where hee should do nothing but spend, and thrust himselfe and his kingdome into open danger, without any hope of benefite: which aduice could not please the King, who being aduertised that the Queene, who was at Cordoua, had brought the king of Granada, and the Noblemen Confederats to some reasonable conditions, he came to Seuille, whither all the Noblemen came with the Queene, and the Infant *D. Fernand*, where as an accord was made. The Noblemen and Knights were restored to the kings fauour, and to their goods and honours.

Councell at Lyons  
under  
Pope Gregory  
the tenth.

Accord betwixt D. Alphonso and his rebellious subjects.

An. 1274.

The King of Granada promised to pay a yearly tribute of 300000. Maraudis of gold to him of Castile, and did pay him a great summe of ready money: the which D. Alphonso demanded to make his voyage into Germany, whereof he still dreamed. There was great dispute touching the Capitaines of Malaga and Guadix, for king Mahomad would have D. Alphonso wholly to abandon them. but in the end the Queene D. Violant procured a truce for them for a year. Thus the conspiracie made against D. Alphonso was dissolved in the year, 1274. the which had continued almost five yeares. Hee that wrought best effects in this negotiation of peace, and that tooke most paines was Gonçal Ruiz of Atienza, a gallant Knight, and a faithfull servant to the king D. Alphonso. There is no doubt, but this Prince, by his inconsiderate bountie, his negligence in great affaires, and contempt of his subjects and Councillors, was the cause of great troubles and divisions, which were both preiudicial and dishonorable vnto him, although that conspiracies can not be excused.

Many Princes came to the Councell of Lyons, and many sent their Ambassadors: namely, *Michel Paleologue* Emperour of Constantinople sent *Germain Patriarke* of Constantinople, *George Acropolite*, and *Theophanes* Metropolitan of Nicea in Bithynia, with charge to make a shew to desire an Accord betwixt the Greeke and the Latine Churches: but in effect it was to diuert, by this goodly pretext, the Armes of *Baldwin* his aduersarie, and of *Charles* King of Naples and Sicily, who pressed him, and to assure his Estate which hee had gotten by vniust and violent meanes.

Arragon.

Thither went Don James king of Arragon in person, who came to do his filiall submission vnto the Pope: yet the king being desirous to be crowned in this Councell, by the hands of Pope *Gregorie*, (a Ceremonie whereof he made great account) he refused him, vnlesse he would acknowledge himselfe Vassall to the Church of Rome, and pay the arrerages of the Rent which the deceased King Don Pedro his father had promised: the which the King Don James would not do, holding it an vnworthy thing, so to debase the greatnesse of his Crowne, and restrain the libertie of his Realme in any sort. Wherefore seeming to haue some feeling thereof by his words, and making his merits knowne vnto the Church, by so many victories gotten against the Moores, in regard whereof, they should do him honour, hee returned very much discontented to Montpellier.

Troubles in Arragon.

Both this yeare 1274. and some others before, the Realme of Arragon and Cattelogne had bene in continuall tumults and rebellions, the Nobilitie opposing themselves against the king, vpon colour of breach of their priuiledges and liberties, besides the continuall practises of the Infant Don Pedro against his brother Don Fernand, who drew the Nobilitie and Townes of Arragon into pernicious factions: Don Pedro proceeding so maliciously, as the king Don James their father was forced to take the gouernement of the Realme, and the managing of affaires from him: the which hee did in an open assembly of the Estates called to that end at Exea, in the which were condemned for contumacie, Don *Artal* of Luna, *Lopes Ortis* Sentia, *Symon* of Ahones, *Diego Gurrea*, and *Pedro Ortis*, by the sentence of *Roderigo Castellol*, holding then the Magistracie of Iustice Maior of Arragon: by reason whereof, and of these seditions and quarrells, hee was afterwards slaine by *Bertrand Canelis*, and Don *William Raymond Odens* smothered in the water, by the commandement of the Infant Don Pedro, who accused his brother Don Fernand of treason, and practises against the life of their father: whereof diligent information was made, and Don *Raymond Foulques*, Vicount of Cardonne, Don *Pedro Verga*, *Galferand de Pinos*, and other Noblemen were pursued, both by reason thereof, and for that they refused to do their due seruices and obedience vnto the king, in his warres, voyages, and expeditions, as feudataries are bound, whereuppon they were deprived of their fees and military honours, according to the custome of Spaine, by the which Places and States were giuen to be held in fee, vnder the Soueraignie of the Crowne, vpon condition to yeeld them vp vnto the king being demanded.

It did auail them nothing to obiekt the priuiledges of Cattelogne, which were: That

A That the Nobility might quit the kings obedience in case of controuersies and sutes, especially if there were question of their liberties, and to protest it publicly. To compound which troubles the Estates were assembled againe that yeare 1274. at Lerida, and Iudges appointed by them: but the disorder was so great, as the king incensed with a rash and inhumane fury against his son D. Fernand and his confederates, he gaue him o-uer in prey to his brother D. Pedro, who besieged him in the Castell of Pamar, took him, and caused him to be drowned in the riuer of Singa, and obtained his goods and spoile, for the execution of this cruell act. D. Fernand had married Donna *Aldoncia* of Vrrera, by whom he left a sonne called Don *Philip Fernandes*, which was the stemme of the noble house of Castro in Arragon.

Don Pedro of Arragon drowns his brother.

B These disorders were seconded by the proceedings of the Inquisitors Monkes, against them that were suspected to fauour the opinion of the Albigeois, condemned by the Popes. This Commission was affected by Friar *Raymond* of Begnafort a Iacobine abouementioned, and giuen to Friar *Pedro Cadrieta*, and *William Colonico* of the same Order, who inquiring of this crime with great vehemency, did many exploits in Cattelogne, namely, in the Diocesse of Vrgel, where they tooke out of the graue the bones of *Araud* of Castellbon, and of *Ermeinde*, or *Brunicende* his daughter, Grandmother to *Roger Bernard* Earle of Foix, deceased a litle before, and caused them to be publicly burnt, condemning their memorie. Such was the estate of Arragon after the returne of the king D. James from the Councell of Lyons.

C D. Henry king of Nauarre newly come to the Crowne, was to dispute with D. Pedro infant of Arragon, for the right which he pretended, to the Realme of Nauarre, as Cessionarie to D. Jaime his father: but it fell out happily for him, that there grew so great diuision betwixt the father and the sonne: by reason whereof the Infant D. Pedro entered into familiarity with the king of Nauarre, that he might be fauoured by him in his enterprises: and the better to encourage him, he sent a knight vnto him called D. *William* of Cruillas, to make an accord betwixt them for this pretended right, whereof the king D. Henry made no great account, yet he gaue him good words, and intainted this young Prince, still keeping Don Jaime in feare, that they would agree to his preiudice, which was a good meanes for the king of Nauarre to be assured of him: for D. Jaime fearing this league should take effect, preuented his sonne, and sought D. Henrys friendship, making a truce for many yeares with him, during the which they should not talke of right, pretensions; nor of any reall nor personall actions. So King Henry the Grosse inioyed his Realme quietly, by the discord of others:

Nauarre.

This king was married before he came to the Crowne, being but Earle of Ronay, to *Jeanne* daughter to *Robert* Earle of Arthois, Brother to Saint *Lewis*: so as hee was allyed to the Royall houses of France and Spaine. The king had Don *Thibaud* by this marriage, whome the nurse let fall out of a Gallerie, in the towne of Estella, and slue him: some say, it was his Gouernour, who let him fall vnadvisedly, and was so grieved,

Generality of Nauarre.

E as hee cast himselfe headlong after the child, and slue himselfe: Hee had no other sonne, Wherefore the masculine line of the Earles of Champagne in Nauarre, ended in this king, hauing continued but forty yeares. Hee had besides one daughter by his wife called Donna *Jeanne* by her mothers name, who came to inherit the Realme of Nauarre with the Counties of Brie, Champagne, and other Estates of her Father. The Spanissh Authours write, that the King and Queene, her father and mother, caused her to be receiued and declared Queene in the Estates of Nauarre being but two yeares and seuen months old, which was a meanes to vnite Nauarre to France for some yeares. This King Don Henry being Lieutenant in Nauarre for Don *Thibaud* his brother, being yet vnmarried, had the company of a Lady, the heire of the house of Lacarra, of whom hee begate a sonne, whome he named Henry as himselfe. Being growne, he was much fauoured by the kings which succeeded his father, and obtained the dignitie of Marthall, or chiefe Commander of armes in Nauarre: They hold, that the noble family of *Henriques* in Nauarre, Lords of Ablitas, is descended from him. D. Henry the Grosse reigned only three yeares, 7. moneths, and 17. dayes. He died in the city of Pampelone in the Bishops palace this yeare 1274. and was interred in the Cathedrall church.

Family of Henriques of Nauarre Lords of Ablitas.



There is no particular mention of his deedes, nor of his gouvernement in Nauarre, but that he brake an vnion made in the time of the king D. *Sancho*, betwixt the Bourgers and inhabitants of Pampelone, from that time diuided in Nauarriere, a Bourg, the reason that moued him thereunto, is not set downe, but that it it was preiudiciall to the Cittle.

D. Ieanne heire  
of Nauarre.  
15.

D. Pedro San-  
ches de Montagu,  
Lord of Calcant,  
Regent in  
Nauarre.

The heire of  
Nauarre trans-  
ferred into  
France by  
her mother.

Realme of Na-  
uarre, seized  
by the kings of  
Castile and Ar-  
ragon.

Donna *Ieanne* the onely daughter and heire to the king D. *Henry*, remained in the power of the Estates of Nauarre, beeing onely three yeares old: presently there grew great troubles among the Nauarrois, as well for the gouvernement of the Realme, as for the bringing vp of the Infanta. The gouernement of the Realme was in the hands of *Pero Sanches de Montagu*, Lord of Calcant: but for the bringing vp of the Infanta D. *Ieanne*, who was then in the custodie of the Queeneher mother, there was great dispute in an assembly called to that end in the city of Pampelone. Some would haue her deliuered to the king D. *Alphonso*: and of this number was Don *Garcia* Almorauid: against these Don *Pero Sanches* of Montagu, Don *Armingol* Bishop of Pampelone, with many others, were of opinion, that she should be put into the hands of D. *Iames* king of Arragon: but the Queene her mother desired she might come into the hands of the French, demanding *Philip* king of France to be tutor to her daughter and Realme. In these debates which were neither gouerned by modestie nor reason, the Queene (feearing lest some inconuenience should fall vpon her daughter and her selfe, beeing assisted by the Noblemen and Knights which were of her faction) stole away in the night, and carried the Infanta (who was the cause of all the quarrell) with her into France, where shee was courteously in-  
C  
tertained by King *Philip* the third then reigning, her cousin germaine. The Nauarrois hearing of her departure, disputed no more for the daughter, but applied themselves wholly to the vnions which were made betwixt the kings of Arragon and Castile, either of themselves, or receiued King of Nauarre, vpon fauour of the rights which they pretended to haue.

Don *Iaime* of Arragon was first aduertised of the death of the King Don *Henry*: wherefore hee sent Ambassadors presently vnto the Estates, intreating them not to hinder him in the possession of the Realme which did of right belong vnto him, nor onely by reason of the adoption and donation which the king D. *Sancho* the strong had made vnto him, but by a more ancient title: for that (sayd they) the kings which had held the Realme since D. *Alphonso* the Warrior, had vsurped it by force, and were intruders without any lawfull title, to the preiudice of the Kings of Arragon. Moreouer, he let them vnderstand, that there was due vnto him by the deceased kings of Nauarre, 60000. markes of siluer, which did augment and better his pretension to the sayd Realme: for which considerations the Ambassadors required them to receiue the king D. *Iaime*, or D. *Pedro* for their king, which they should best like of, promising them all good vsage. On the other side, king D. *Alphonso* desiring that his sonne D. *Fernand de la Cerde* should obtaine this realme, renouacing the ancient rights which he pretended thereunto, and without any other request, he gaue him an army to seaze thereon. It fell out that these two pretendants demanded ayde and support one of another, to recouer that which they both desired.

The Noblemen and Deputies of the Estates, seeing the great danger which did threaten the Realme by these diuisions, resolved to send the Bishop of Pampelone, and the gouernour, to Sos, to accommodate their affaires in some sort with D. *Pedro* of Arragon, who came thither, where they agreed, that in regard of 60000. markes of siluer, they should stand to that which should be set downe by Don *Sancho* Arch-bishop of Toledo, and brother to Don *Pedro*, who was held to be a Prelate of a good conscience, and as for the rest, they should vse no force of either side, but all peaceable meanes: whereupon they made truce for a certaine time. The Ambassadors beeing returned, the place of the Nauarrois assembly was changed to Puente la Reyna, whether came the chiefe Prelates, Noblemen, and knights of the Realme, and the Deputies of the Townes of Pampelone, Tudele, Estella, Olite, Sangüessa, Puente la Reyna and others of the same iurisdiction.

There in the presence of this honourable Assembly Don *Garcia Ortiz* of Aqagna, one of

A of the Agents for the Infant of Arragon, required to haue the King D. *Iaime* receiued for King of Nauarre, making a large relation of his rights, with promises and asseuerations that it should redound to the great good of the Realme: whilst they are thus busied, D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, Infant of Castille, entred the country in armes, where he had many knights of his party: Comming therefore by the country of Oja hee past Ebro, and besieged the towne of Viana, but finding it well garded, hee left it, and came to Mendaia, the which he tooke, and afterwards won the tower of Moreda, and committed great spoiles finding no resistance in fields. This force offered by the Castilian, made them incline more to Arragon; and to the end they might preuent the danger which did threaten them, they sent the Bishop D. *Armingol* againe to the Infant D. *Pedro*, being at Tarassone, although he were a Castilian; yet was hee not of D. *Fernands* faction, and with him were the Gouernor D. *Gonzalo* Yuaues of Batzan, and his sonne D. *John* Gonzalez of Batzan, D. *Gil* Balauin Gouernor of Tudele and D. *Martin* Gaces of Vnca. These Deputies gaue him to vnderstand from the Estates, that they should be very glad if hee had any good interest to the realme of Nauar, and that they desired much to know from him, what good alliance they might now treat together. To whom D. *Pedro* made answer that he desired there should be a promise of a marriage betwixt the Infanta D. *Ieanne*, and his eldest sonne D. *Alphonso*: and if that he should die before shee came to full age, then shee should marry with D. *Iaime* his second sonne, and if the marriage could not be accomplished with the Infanta, that it should then be with some one of her cousin  
C  
germans, issued from the daughters of King *Thibaud* the first, especially of the Duchesse of Brittan. He offered to giue them his sonne D. *Alphonso*, to assist them in the gouernment of the realme: he did withall lay open vnto them the right which his father D. *Iaime* had to the realme of Nauarre, and the cession which had beene made vnto him, concluding, if these things were not pleasing vnto them, that they should aduise to receiue him for their King within a yeere, deliuering the whole realme freely vnto him.

The Ambassadors being returned with this answer, the assembly was put off to O-  
D  
lite, where hauing consulted of their affaires, they made an accord with the Infant of Arragon, according to the Articles which follow. That the marriage betwixt D. *Alphonso* of Arragon his eldest sonne, and the Infanta D. *Ieanne* should take effect: and if shee should die before the consummation, the Estates should seeke to marry him to one of her cousin germains, daughter to *John* Duke of Brittain; and in case D. *Alphonso* should die before the consummation of the marriage, the Infanta, or one of her cousins, should be giuen to him of D. *Pedros* sonnes which should be next heire to the crowne of Arragon. And whereas the Estates of Nauarre, could not for some lawfull let accomplish it, then they should pay vnto D. *Pedro*, a hundred and forty thousand Markes of siluer, for the expences hee had beene at in the defence of the realme of Nauarre, and that out of the reuenues of the crowne, besides the 60000. markes which were already due, making in all the sum of 200000. markes, as it was currant at that time, payable within one yeere after the sayd let, accounting from Easter day: which accords should not be any preiudice to the rights and pretensions which his father D. *Iaime* and he had to the realme of Nauarre, wherein the Estates promised to be fauourable vnto them, and to aide them all they could. These promises were made and sworn by most of the Noblemen and Deputies assembled in the yeere 1274. vpon paine of high treason if they failed, except in regard of the marriages, for that the Princesses were not in their power.

But D. *Garcia* Almorauid and others, who were otherwise affected, did not allow of these accords, neither would they consent, nor swear them, which caused great troubles and diuisions within the realme, neither did any of these Articles take effect, for that *Philip* King of France, tooke the realme of Nauarre into his protection, and made his sonne King, to whom hee married the Infanta D. *Ieanne*, frustrating the King of Arragon; for the Queene D. *Ieanne* widow to D. *Henry*, beeing retired into France, with the Infanta her daughter, heire to that crowne, and being aduertised of all that had past in the assembly of the Estates at Olite, was so incensed, as shee deliuered her daughter into the hands of  
King

Accord be-  
twixt the Es-  
tates of Na-  
uarre and D.  
Pedro of Ar-  
ragon.

Nauarre under the protection of the French.

King Philip, who receiued both her and the realme of Nauarre into his protection, and caused her to be brought vp with his two daughters, *Marguerite* and *Blanche*, whom he had had by his second wife, *Mary* of Brabant, being also very young. This Infanta *D. Jeanne* was tall, beautiful, and of as good a grace as any Princeesse of her time, wherefore King Philip married her very yong, by a future promise, to his sonne Philip, surnamed the faire, who succeeded in the realme of France.

Eustache of Bellemarche Governor of Nauarre.

16 The Estate of Nauarre standing vpon these termes *D. Garcia Almoraid*, a great enemy to the Gouernment of *D. Pedro Sanches* of Montagu, Lord of Calcante, and a fauourer of the Castilian faction, tooke occasion to enter into quarrell and to trouble the realme, vpon certaine iarrs which were betwixt the Inhabitants of Pampelone, who had bene long diuided and in mutiny one against the other. Those of the quarter, called Nauarriere would haue made certaine fortifications against the Bourg, but they were hindred by the Gouernor, who thought that such barres betwixt the Inhabitants of one towne would be the very nurfes of hatred and sedition: Wherefore *D. Garcia* taking vpon him to support the Inhabitants of Nauarriere, the realme grew into such factions, as there was nothing but Insolences, murther, thefts and such like disorders committed; to remedy the which the Estates were againe assembled at Pampelone, whereas disagreeing who should gouerne the country, they resolu'd to send into France, to beseech King Philip to send them a Nobleman to supply the place of Viceroy, for their Princeesse, who was vnder his Gouernment. King Philip sent them a knight, who was wife and very vertuous, called *Eustache Beaumar*, or *Bellemarche*, who was receiued and respected, in whose hands the Estates did sweare fealty vnto their Queene, whose person he did represent.

This knight by his wisdom and milde courtes did soone reduce the realme to a quiet peace, *D. Jaime* King of Arragon, being icalous that the French did thus set footing into Nauarre, and being out of hope of the marriages which were concluded with his sonne *D. Pedro* at Olite, he beganne to demanda the other point of the Capitulation, which was to deliuer him the Realme, and that the Estates should assist him with their forces to recouer his rights, the which being not accomplished, a warre began betwixt Nauarre and Arragon. The pacification made within the realme by the French viceroy, continued not long, for some knights, enemies of all rest, began vnder hand to accuse, and to speake seditious words against their Gouernor, saying, that it was an ignominious thing for the Nauarrois to be gouerned by a stranger, seeking to draw the people of Pampelone into a muteny. Moreouer hauing practised some gentlemen of Castille, neere vnto the frontiers of Nauarre, making them to enter the country in hostile manner, to the end they might draw the Gouernor into armes, and to haue means in some incounter or charge, to dispatch him. The French Gouernor seeing the affaires troubled towards Castille, came to Estella, hauing giuen commandement to all knights and souldiers to come thither with their armes and horses, where he was aduertised of the treason which was plotted against him: wherefore in the night time he returned to Pampelone, where hauing complained in open council of this treachery and rebellion, he did wonderfully amaze the confederars, but especially the chiefe actors, seeing their mallice discovered: wherefore as it often happens that the wicked, being reproched of their wickednesse, grow more impudent and mad, these conspirators were so rash, as they commanded him to retire into France, saying, there were men ynough in Nauarre, better able to gouerne then he: to whom the Gouernor answered, that he doubted not of the sufficiency of the Noblemen of Nauarre, and that for his part hee had not affected that charge, but it had bene imposed vpon him by King Philip his Lord, who was Tutor and Protector of their Queene and her realme; wherein they (who were priuat persons) should not hinder him, neither was he resolu'd to obey them: notwithstanding hee would assemble the Estates, and if it were sayd by a common consent that he should retire into France, he would obey, so as they gaue him a discharge, and testimony of his administration, otherwise he could not with his honour shew himselfe before his King, the which he esteemed more then his life.

The assembly being called at Pampelone, there was nothing concluded, for they found

A found not any iust cause why they should refuse the Gouernment of this French knight: wherefore after many disputes, and seditious speeches vsed by the confederats of *D. Garcia Almoraid*, the chiefe Author of this disorder, they departed, and presently went to armes: so as the Gouernor was constrained to fortifie himselfe in the Bourg of Saint Sernin: the Inhabitants whereof promised to assist him; and to die at his feet, rather then to suffer him, who was Lieutenant to their Soueraigne Princeesse, to take any wrong, whether also *D. Corbaran* of Bidaure retired. Against this Bourg, they of Nauarriere banded for the other faction, *D. Garcia Almoraid* being their head: committing all acts of hostility, one against the other, which choller and the fury of a barbarous multitude could inuent; so as neither the authority, admonitions nor intreaties of Prelats, and other great personages, which seemed Neuters and Meadiators of peace, preuailed any thing, but did rather adde oyle to this fire.

They did labour much to make a truce for forty daies, which did but giue them means to fortifie themselves, to commit all the cruelties which ensued, for the mutines of Nauarriere during the truce drew in, by the means of the Bishop Pampelone, great supplies of strangers, with the which the truce being expired they attempted the Bourg: but seeing they could not force it, they went into the Vignes of the aduerse partie, the which they cut and pulled vp by the rootes; and not satisfied therewith, they murdered all the little Infants which they of the Bourg had put forth to nurse in those villages, beating out their braines (with a most barbarous inhumanity) against the stones and walles, adding to these impieties, many iniurious words against their aduersaries, to the dishonour of their Queene.

Moreouer this brutish people hauing intelligence that *D. Pedro Sanches* of Montagu, who in this last tumult had bene opposite to the Gouernor *Eustache Bellemarche*, would reconcile himselfe vnto him, they came in the night into his lodging, and murdered him cruelly. Such insolencies did the Inhabitants of Nauarriere commit against the Maiesty of God and their Queene: wherefore they drew a heauy Iudgement vpon them: for the French King being aduertised of their rebellious actions, vpon the discovery of their conspiracy, was wonderfully offended: wherefore he raised a great army, meaning to punish those which had carried so little respect vnto his greatnesse, and had bene the cause of the ensuing miseries, which army he himselfe would lead into

D Nauarre, in the yeere 1276, but being arriued at Saluaterre in Bearn, and forced to stay there some time, by reason of the abundance of snow which had fallne, and stoppt the passages of the mountaines, he was so sollicitated by them that were not well pleased with this voyage, as he resolu'd to returne, giuing the floure of his army to *Charles* (the Historics of France call him *Robert* the second) Earle of Artois, to conduct it into Nauarre, who crossing the mountaines by Iacca, came by Sanguessa to Pampelona, refusing to passe by the Valley of Roncal, for that the Inhabitants held the party of them of Nauarriere: To whose succors there were certaine bands of Castilians entred into the realme, who would haue retired, when as they heard of the coming of the French, but being charged in the reereward, they lost some men, and as they retired slowly, the French and Nauarrois of their party charged them againe, wherevpon they turned head, but they were defeated and put to flight, with great losse. And for that during the fight the Nauarrois cried often vnto the Castilians, *Aqui tornais*? that is to say, doe you returne? and that this demand was often heard; they say that the hospitall which was builded to bury them that were slaine in this incounter, was for this caused named *Aqui tornais*, and so continues vnto this day. The Earle of Artois besieged Nauarriere, the which he prest in such sort, as *D. Garcia Almoraid*, who was within it with many of his confederates, fearing they should not bee able to defend it, got out in the night, abandoning those miserable wretches to the punishment which they had deserued. These commanders retired to the castle of Sar, from whence the French dislodged them, forcing them to flie into the Island of Sardinia.

The Inhabitants of Nauarriere finding themselves in the morning without captaines, were much troubled, and like men which were better theues and mutines then souldiers, they beganne to cry out for mercy, and to craue pardon of the Earle of Artois, who seeming

*D. Garcia Almoraid* chiefe of a faction.

Pampelone diuided into two factions.

Bishop of Pampelone a fauourer of the seditious.

*D. Pedro Sanches* de Montagu murdered.

An. 1276.

Earle of Artois sent into Nau. to punish the rebels of the realme.

*D. Garcia Almoraid* abandoning the rebels.

Nauarriere of  
Pampelone  
ruined.

Seuerer punish-  
ed.

Castile.

Pope ratifies  
the election of  
Rodolphus.

seeming to pity them much, whilst he entertained them with words on the one side, hee A  
caused the walles and forts which were vnmanned to be assailed on the other, so as the  
souldiars entred sodainely, and made a cruell butchery of this wretched people, neuer  
ceasing to kil whilst that day lasted, and when night came they fel to the spoile, commit-  
ting such excesse and violences, as victory, hatred and fury doth sugiest to insolent foul-  
diars: and not content to haue slaine the men, and taken their goods, without respect  
of holy or prophane, they extended their rage euen vnto the houses and buildings,  
which they did ruine and burne: wherewith the other quarters of the towne were indo-  
maged, the fire flying from one to the other, doing great harme to them that had not  
offended. The Chamber of accounts was fired, where there were many titles, letters  
and ancient Records of the realme of Nauarre burned: the rest which could bee saued, B  
was carried to the castle of Tiebas, whereas the Treasor and Chamber of accounts of  
Nauarre hath continued long. The fury beeing ended, those which had escaped the  
sword, were condemned, and publicly executed as traitors: not any one escaping the  
seuerity of that sentence, but such as the innocency of their age excused, and all their  
goods were confiscated.

Thus Nauarriere of Pampelone was ruined by a iust iudgement of God, in reuenge of  
the brutish cruelties; which these mutines did vse against innocent age, in the villages, a-  
gainst the city, and other their insolencies and rebellions. For the murther committed  
vpon the person of D. Pedro Sanches of Montagu, Lord of Calcante, and other their in-  
solencies, there were called in question and accused before the Estates of Nauarre which  
were called to that end, D. Goncal Inigo, John Ingalbiz and his sonne, Symon of Varriz, Mi-  
chel Garces of Varriz, Garcia Perez of Ligoani, Pedro Ximenes of Sabalca, Symon Perez of  
Opaco, Ineque Gil of Vrdauiz, Sancho Iniques of Vrdaniz, Goncalso of Arbiçu, and Ruy Gon-  
gales his brother, Sancho Perez of Aguerre, & Ochoa Perez his brother, John of Armenda-  
riz, John and Sanches the Biscain, al which appearing not, their cause was more hainous,  
hauling for their aduerser parties, Ruy Peres of Echales, Fernand Perez of Echales, Michel  
Perez of Subica, and Pedro of Aybar. By these proceedings and excutions, the rest of  
mutines were terrified, and the realme remained in peace.

17 During these actions in Nauarre, D. Alphonso King of Castille, made preparati-  
on to march, with an intent to desposse the Emperor Rodolphus, who had beene chosen  
to his preiudice, notwithstanding that he had beene perswaded by many of his friends  
not to make any more account of the Empire, seeing the occasions which might haue  
fauored him were lost: yea Pope Gregory being come to the council of Lyons, consider-  
ing the miseries which might come to Christendome, if D. Alphonso should wilfully  
pursue his pretended right, hee sent one vnto him, called Fredul Abbot of Lunel, after-  
wards Bishoppe of Ouiedo, to perswade him to rest satisfied with his royall Estate,  
and not to trouble himselfe any more with the affaires of the Empire, seeing that by  
the consent of all the Electors, Rodolphus had beene crowned in the towne of Aix La  
Chappelle. And to make him beleue that hee gaue him fatherly counsell, hee dispen-  
sed with him to take the tenth of all the reuenues of the Clergy, for fixe yeeres to make  
warre against the Moores. But D. Alphonso being obstinate, hee thought that if hee  
went to see the Pope, he might draw him to set downe some order betwixt him and  
Rodolphus, so as both might intitle themselves Kings of the Romans: wherefore hee told  
the Abbot of Lunel, that he desired to passe into France, and to conferre personally  
with his Holinesse, in some commodious towne, either Montpellier, or where hee  
pleased.

The Pope hearing this answer, perswaded, himselfe that D. Alphonso had no great de-  
sire to be Emperor, wherevpon without further deliberation, hee ratified the Election of  
Rodolphus, with the consent of the whole consistory, in a conuocation at Lyons, calling  
him King of Romans, and commanding all the Princes and Prouinces of the Empire,  
to obey him: aduising Rodolphus to passe speedily into Italy, to receiue the crowne of the  
Empire. It may be he had regard to the diuersity of humors betwixt the Germans and  
Spaniards.

D. Alphonso hauing in the meane time seized his affaires, with his Nobility, and  
giuen

A giuen order for the government thereof (not caring to seeke any truce with *Aben Joseph*  
King of Maroc, holding it would be dishonorable, which notwithstanding was the cause  
of great mischief, as we shall see) he went from Toledo, to goe into France, to the Pope,  
yet was he aduertised, that he had proceeded to the confirmation of *Rodolphus*. He was  
accompanied by D. Manuel his brother, the Queene D. Violant the Infants D. Sancho, D.  
John, D. Pedro and D. Isime his children, with many Noblemen and Knights of Marke, of  
Castille, Leon, and his other dominions. He left the government of the realme to his  
eldest sonne D. Fernand, and the Moores frontier, to the Earle D. Nugno of Lara. Hee  
had giuen order to haue a fleet prepared of many ships, in the ports of Asturia, Gallicia,  
and Andalusia, the which coasting along Spaine, Languedoc and Prouence, should at-  
tend him at Marceilles, being furnished with many souldiars, and great store of victuals;  
B sending with it the superfluous horses and baggage of his traine. D. Alphonso marching  
through the country of his father in law D. Isime, he came to Tarragone where he was  
honourably entertained by him, then they arriued at Barcelona, about Christmas, in the  
yeere 1275. D. Alphonso stayed there with his traine six weekes, being often aduised by  
the King of Arragon, not to proceed, giuing him many great and considerable rea-  
sons: but there was no means to diuert him from this voyage, beeing so farre ad-  
uanced.

Being come to Perpignan, hee stayed some time to conclude of the time and place  
of their interview; the towne of Beaucaire was chosen, and the Archbishop of Nar-  
bonne had commandement to goe and meet him, and to conduct him. Hee left the  
Queene his wife and his children at Perpignan, except D. Sancho whom he sent into  
Castille, by the aduise of the King of Arragon; and crossing Languedoc hauing the Arch-  
bishop for his guide, he arriued at Beaucaire, whereas the Pope met him with some of the  
chiefe Cardinals, the council of Lyons being ended. D. Alphonso treated of many matters  
with the Pope, but he could not obtaine any thing that hee propounded. He shewed  
him the nullity of *Rodolphus* election by many reasons, complainyng greatly of his cor-  
firmation, making a great instance vpon that point in vaine; but the Pope wanted no  
excuses. Then he laied open to the Pope the reasons he had to the succession of the  
house of *Suabe* after the death of *Conradin* King of Naples and Sicile; and Duke of Sua-  
be, who was inhumainly beheaded by the French at Naples, in the yeere 1269. who ha-  
uing left no lawfull children, the succession of the house belonged to him, in the right  
of his mother D. Beatrix, who was the right heire of that Dutchy, whereon *Rodolphus*  
had to his preiudice seized: besides he complainyng of the French King, who had in-  
truded, and seized vpon the realme of Nauarre, which by ancient rights belonged to the  
house of Castille, whereof he produced some reasons to iustifie his saying, but all was  
in vaine: finally he besought the Pope to be a mediator for the deliuey of D. Henry  
his brother, who since the battaile, and defeat of *Conradin*, was prisoner in the hands of  
Charles King of Naples and Sicile. D. Alphonso propounded many other things vnto the  
Pope, but without any effect: So as he spent the whole spring and part of the Sommer  
E in this negotiation, vntill that the Pope leauing him much discontented, returned  
to Rome, yet hee still vsed the title and armes of the Empire, vntill that he was forced  
by censures to leaue them, the Archbishop of Seuille hauing charge to intimate them  
vnto him.

18. King D. Alphonso being buised in this vaine pursute, the Moores his confederats  
and vassals of Spaine, called in *Aben Joseph Miralmumin* of Affrike, thinking they might  
not onely shake off the Christians yoke, but make some notable breach in the Estates  
of Leon and Castille, the King being absent, or at the least they should seize vpon Andalusia;  
and for that wee haue often made mention of this King *Aben Joseph*, it is  
needful we should relate what he was, and treat some thing of the Moores Estate in  
F Affrike, for that those of Spaine haue had their support from them. The *Miralmumin*  
*Aben Mahomad* the old, of the race of the Almohades, beeing dead, after he had lost the  
battaile of Muradal, we made mention that his Grand-child called *Caid Arrax*, reigned,  
who was the sonne of Buxaf, dead before his father *Mahomet*. This *Caid Arrax* was the  
fifth King of Affrike, of the race of the *Almohades*, whose Empire extended from the  
West

An. 1275.

Pope and is.  
Alphonso  
King of Cas-  
tile met at  
Beaucaire.

Complaints &  
request of D.  
Alphonso to  
the Pope, but  
in vaine.

Moors.

Kingdome of  
Tremessen.Kingdome of  
Fez.Almorada the  
first Miralmin  
of Maroc.Budebuz the  
seventh King  
of Maroc.Jacob Aben  
Ioseph first  
King Merin at  
Maroc.

West Ocean vnto Egypt. There were many Admirals, or *Gouernors* vnder him, ruling A the *Pröuinces*; among the which *Gomaranga Aben Zein*, of the Linage of *Abdalues*, held that of *Tremessen*, who behauing himselfe couetously and violently in his gouernment, fell in disgrace with his King *Caid Arrax*, so as carrying himselfe rebelliously, the King came and besieged him in a castle called *Tremezezir*, whereas a Moore, cousin to *Gomaranga*, going out of the fort slue the *Miralmin*, seeming to yeeld vnto him, and shewing him a place whereby the castle might be taken. The army amazed at the death of their King, was instantly set vpon by the garrison of *Tremezezir*, being led by *Gomaranga*, and put to flight, by which victory the Moore did appropriate that *Pröuince* vnto himselfe, causing himselfe to be called King of *Tremessen*, and this was the beginning of that Kingdome.

At the same time there was in the city of *Fez*, a family of Moores, called the *Benataxes* and *Merines*, which descended from a famous Moore, called *Merin*, who had bene a Christian and became a Mahometist. The chiefe of this house at that time, was called *Bucar Aben Merin*, and gouerned the city of *Fez*, vnder the *Miralmin* *Caid Arrax*; after whose death, and the defeat of his army by *Gomaranga*, before *Tremezezir*, this *Bucar Aben Merin* fell vpon the *Almohades*, which had escaped, and gathered them. felues together about *Fez*, whom hauing put to rout, he carried himselfe for King of *Fez*, imitating that which his companion *Gomaranga Aben Zein* had done in *Tremessen*, and giuing a beginning to this new Kingdome. A brother of his called *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, C vnturped (in the same troubles) the Principality in *Ribat*: so as the Estate of the *Almohades* reigning in *Maroc*, was then much decayed. These being aduertised of the death of *Caid Arrax*, and of the tyrannies aboue named, did presently aduance a kinsman of his, to the royall seat, his name was *Almorada*, who was the sixth *Miralmin* of the race of the *Almohades*. He was no sooner crowned King, but he went to field with an army, to punish these rebels which had intitled themselves Kings in their gouernments: First he came and assailed *Bucar Aben Merin*, the new King of *Fez*, but he was repulst, and vanquished by him; so as the race of the *Merins* kept the possession of *Fez*, and of the territory, in the plaine country, or *Algarue*, as the Moores call it. So as *Bucar* dying a peaceable King, his sonne *Hiaja* reigned after him, vnder the tutelage of *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, his vnkle, for that he was then very young, but he liued not long; wherefore *Jacob Aben Ioseph* remained heire of the realme of *Fez*, and was much esteemed and feared amongst the Moores, being called (as an honour) the old or elder of the *Merins*. This Moores good fortune was not so bounded for *Budebuz* nephew to *Almorada* king of *Maroc*, being rebelled against him, and retired to *Fez*, he gaue him an occasion to get the realme of *Maroc*, and to ioine it vnto *Fez*. *Budebuz* intreated *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, to aide him against his vnkle, promising to giue him all that he held of the realme of *Fez*, vnto the ruler *Natab*.

*Jacob Aben Ioseph* gaue him such succors, as *Almorada* being amazed, durst not attend him within *Maroc*, but fled, being pursued by certaine horsemen which *Budebuz* sent after him, whom they ouertooke and slue, carrying his head to the King of *Fez*: wherefore *Budebuz* was peaceable King of *Maroc*, the seventh and last of the *Almohades*. Finding himselfe settled in his Kingdome, he would haue mocked *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, who had helped him to attaine this dignity, not caring to performe any promise, but threatened to take *Fez* from him, by reason of which Ingratitude, there beganne a cruell waire betwixt them, the which hauing continued three yeeres, at the last it was ended, by the defeat and death of King *Budebuz*, being slaine in battaile, of whose Estate *Jacob Aben Ioseph* seized, giuing an end to the raigne of the *Almohades*, and a beginning to that of the family of *Merin* in Affrike, about the yeere of our Lord 1270. It is this *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, which we haue sayd, had sent one thousand light horses Arabians into Spaine to *Mahumet Alhamar* King of *Granado*, vnder the conduct of a capitaine with one eye, of great authority: with whom D. *Alphonso* the wise, King of Castille, hauing not vouchsafed to treat of a truce, when as he went in France to court the Pope, *Mir Almuz* who had succeeded in *Granado*, and hee conspired together, to the preiudice of Castille, and all the Christians in Spaine: for this King of *Granado* being discontented with the

Accorde

A accords which he had made at his first entrance, in the which he could not procure King *Alphonso* to abandon the capitaines of *Malaga* and *Guadix* his enemies, he feared that these Moores which had bene enemies to his father and him, would attempt some thing against his realme; and therefore he resolted, at what price soeuer, to ruine them. And for that it was a meanes to imbarke him in a warre with the King of Castille, hee did solicit *Jacob Aben Ioseph* to vndertake the enterprise of Spaine, as his predecessors Kings of Arabia had done, offering him the townes and ports of *Algezire* and *Tariffe*, for his descent, whereof the *Miralmin* did willingly accept, finding himselfe assured in his Estate, and mighty in rich and armes: but it happened that they of *Malaga* and *Guadix*, seeing that the truce, which they had with the King of *Granado*, was nere expired, and doubting they should haue warre, and not be releued by the forces of Castille, by reason of the Kings absence, they held it the best course to reconcile themselves to the King of *Granado*, as in like manner the capitaine of *Comares* did, who was of the same league.

Notwithstanding the *Miralmin* hauing leauied great forces to passe into Spaine, sent some troupes of Moores to receiue the townes of *Algezire* and *Tariffe*, according to the accord, the which were deliuered vnto them: so as he stayed not long to come himselfe in person to *Algezire*, whereas afterwards he past his troupes to the number of seuentene thousand horse: The two Kings met in the country of *Malaga*, whereas they concluded to make warre against the Christians; the African King towards Ecclia, and he of *Granado* by *Iaen*: This passage was contrary to the expectation of the Christian Princes, for the *Miralmin*, who could not make so great a leauy of horse, without knowledge, made a shew as if he would goe against one of his subiects which was rebelled, and had by stealth taken the towne of *Ceuta*; and the better to dissemble his designe, hee had sent to intreat the King of *Arragon* to assist him in this warre with tenne Gallies, and some ships of burthen, and with fise hundred horse, to whom hee promised good entertainment. Don *Fernand de la Cerde* Viceroy and Lieutenant generall in Spaine for his father, did not descouer that these forces were prepared for Castille, vntill they had past the straight, being then at *Burgos*, hee was aduertised of the League betwixt these Moorish Kings, and of the reconciliation of them of *Malaga* and *Guadix* with the King of *Granado*, all which inconveniences grew by the Kings absence, wherefore, both of himselfe, and at the instance of Don *Nugno de Lara*, who was at *Cordoua*, hee made the speediest preparation hee could, to oppose himselfe against the violence of these Infidels.

Don *Nugno* knowing that the *Miralmin* tooke the way of Ecclia, drew neere vnto that quarter, with lush forces as he could gather together: but finding the passage stoppt, hee was forced for to fight with the Moores, where after a long fight hee was defeated and slaine, yet most of his men which escaped entred by night into Ecclia.

E The victorious Moores hauing found the body of Don *Nugno*, cut off his head and sent it to *Mahumet* King of *Granado*, who was glad of this victory, but very much discontented for the death of the Earle Don *Nugno*, who had bene the cause that hee reigned, wherefore hee sent his head to *Cordoua*, to bee buried with his body. The like misfortune happened to Don *Sancho* of *Arragon* Archbishop of *Toledo*, who hauing gathered together all the souldiars of *Toledo*, *Guadalajara*, *Madrid* and *Talauera*, presented himselfe vpon the frontier, where hee encountered the King of *Granados* army, inuading the Diocesse of *Iaen*, where hee was slaine and his army put to route. His body, head and hand, where he ware the Pontifical Ring, beeing separated, were recovered from the Moores, and brought to *Toledo*, where they were buried with great sorrow of all the people, taking it for a mournfull presage for the affaires of Spaine: D. *Gonçalo*, Bishop of *Burgos* succeded him in this dignity, and was afterwards made Cardinal, the first amongst all the Bishops of the Church.

They write that the Archbishop Don *Sancho* did not die fighting, in the charge, but that beeing taken, there grewe debate betwixt some capitaines Moores, some struing to lead him to the *Miralmin* *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, and others to King *Mahumet*, and

N n

that

The King of  
Maroc passeth  
into Spaine.D. *Nugno* de  
*Lara* van-  
quished by the  
Moores and  
slaine.Rout and  
death of D.  
*Sancho* of *Arragon* Arch-  
bishop of *Toledo*  
by the Moores.





Emperor Henry the sixth sonne to *Frederic Barbarossa* Duke of Suabe, in the realmes of A Naples and Sicile. And the better to assure him the royall title, he caused him to marry *Constance* Neece or lawfull daughter of *Roger*, who was a professed Nunne in the Monastery of Saint Mary, or as some write at Saint Peters of Palermo, dispensing with her vow and profession, by his papal authority, by whom the Emperor Henry had *Frederic*, who was afterwards Emperor, the second of that name. Henry sought long to dispossesse *Tancred*, but it was in vaine. He being dead, his sonne *Roger* reigned little, after whose decease, *Queene Sibille* caused an other sonne called *William*, to be presently crowned, being very yong, whom the Emperor Henry found meanes to circumvent, vpon collour of making some good accord with him: and hauing by policy drawne him to Palermo, without entring into any conference, he caused him to be gelyt, and sent him into Germany, with his three sisters. By this meanes the Normands command in Naples and Sicile, fell into the hands of the house of Suabe. After the death of Henry, *Frederic* his sonne being Emperour, and duke of Suabe, succeeded in these realmes, the which hee enjoyed, notwithstanding many crosses which the Popes gaue him, against whom *Gautier* of Brene, husband to *Queene Sybille*, who had escaped out of prison, led an army, but hee was taken and slue himselfe in prison. *Frederic* had by many wiues many children: by *Constance* of Arragon, Henry the elder, duke of Suabe, and King of Romans: by *Jolant* of Brenne, daughter to the King of Ierusalem, *Conrad*, also duke of Suabe, and King of Romans, after the decease of his brother, and moreover by testament King of Naples. By *Mahaut*, or *Isabel*, according vnto some, daughter to *Iohn* King of England, he had Henry the yonger, who was King of Sicile by Testament, and by a concubine *Manfroy*, *Conrad* and Henry succeeded after their father *Frederic*, respectively, in the realmes of Naples and Sicile. And for that they were young and absent, *Manfroy* was appointed to be Gouvernor of these Estates by the Emperor, in his brothers names. Against whom Pope *Innocent* did chose the King of Englands brother to be King of Naples and Sicile, but he neuer past into Italy. By the practises of Popes, these realmes were in great combustion, so as *Manfroy* was obeyed but by the lesser part. Wherefore *Conrad* King of Romans was forced to passe into Italy, with a great army, by meanes whereof he reduced these realmes vnder his obedience, who was afterwards so transported with a desire of raigne, as he caused his brother, Henry the yonger, to be slaine at Saint Felix, in Basilicata, and *Frederic* his Nephew, sonne to the elder Henry, to be poysoned, hauing inuited him to supper: for which parricide God suffered that hee himselfe should die of poyson, which *Manfroy* his bastard brother gaue him.

Sicile and Naples in the house of Suabe.

Parricide committed by Conrad.

Manfroy's parricide.

Charles of Anjou made king of Naples and Sicile.

By these deaths the realmes of Naples and Sicile came by lawfull succession to *Conradin*, brother to *Frederic* that was poysoned, sonne to Henry the elder. But *Manfroy* who had gouerned in an others name, and tasted the sweet of command, resolved then to keepe these realmes for himselfe, sending men into Germany to dispatch *Conradin*, if it were possible, were it by poison or otherwise: in the meane time he held his authority of Lieutenant or Viceroy, against the Popes attempts: and after a while faigning that *Conradin* was dead, he clad himselfe in mourning, and making a great speech in an assembly of the Noblemen and States of the realme, seeming to bee very sorrowfull for the death of his Nephew, he perswaded them to chooe him King of Naples and Sicile by a generall consent, where he reigned thirteene yeeres: and the better to maintaine himselfe, he made a league with the Venetians and other Potentates of Italy: Against whom Pope *Vrbain* the fourth, called out of France *Charles* brother to Saint Lewis, Duke of Anjou, and Earle of Prouence, who had married D. *Beatrix* of Arragon, Proprietary of that Earldome, according to the Arragonois, who was inuested by him in the realmes of Naples and Sicile, in the yeere 1262. with charge that hee should expel *Manfroy*, and pay a rent vnto the Church as feudatarie. *Charles*, by the perswasion of D. *Beatrix* his wife, who was iealous to see her two sister Queenes, the one of France, the other of England, yndertooke the voiage of Italy, where his inuestiture was confirmed, and he crowned with his wife, at Rome, at Saint *Iohn* of Latran, by Pope *Clement* the fourth. Then passing on against *Manfroy*, who came to incounter him, both armies met about

A about at Bencuent, in the yeere 1266. whereas *Manfroy* was slaine in bataille, and his men vanquished; so as *Charles* remained peaceable King of Naples and Sicile. The body of *Manfroy* was not buried in holy ground, for that he stood excommunicate, but in a field nere vnto Beneuent, from whence he was afterwards transported vnto the confines of Campania, his wife and children, being taken by the French, died in prison. Some yeeres after *Conradin* (the right heire of these realms) past into Italy, being perswaded by many Italians of the Gibeline faction, who hauing incountred the French army neere vnto Arezzo, vanquished it: wherefore marching boldly on, hee had a second incounter with King *Charles* his army, neere vnto Alba, the which was vnfortunate for him; for his army was not onely defeated; but himselfe taken prisoner (thinking to saue himselfe, in a disguised habit) and carried to Naples, whereas King *Charles* by a detestable inhumanity (thrust on by Pope *Clement*) in the yeere 1269. cut off his head, with that of his cousin *Frederic* Duke of Austria, and of many Noblemen of Naples and Sicile, which had followed *Conradin* party. By these meanes the Popes gaue these realmes vnto the French, and called them the two Sicilles, the one on this side, the other beyond the Far. Henry brother to D. *Alphonso* King of Castille, Lieutenant of Rome, was partisan to *Conradin* in this warre, and was taken, as hath bene sayd.

Manfroy vanquished and slaine by the French.

If the Sultan of Egypt, a barbarous Prince, hauing the King Saint Lewis, and his brother *Charles* prisoners, had intreated them in like manner, the French would haue held it very strang. But God powred forth his vengeance vpon the French some yeeres after, in the Island of Sicile, whether they called D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, who had succeeded D. *Jaime* his father, in the yeere 1276. who without delay caused himselfe to be crowned in Saragossa, by D. *Bernard Olluelia* Archbishop of Tarragone: but before he receiued the crowne, he made protestation, that he would not be bound to any submission, nor promise, which D. *Pedro* his Grandfather had made vnto the Pope, or the church of Rome, to the preiudice of the liberty of his realme, to the end they should not pretend that hee was their Legee-man, or vassal.

In the same assembly of Estates of Saragossa, he caused the oath to be confirmed to his son D. *Alphonso*, to raigne after him, as heire presumptiue, and for that at his coming to the crowne, he had not assembled the Estates of Cattelogne at Barcelona, according to the ancient customes, there to promise and sweare the obseruation of the rights, lawes and priuileiges of the country, the Noblemen of Cattelogne, being long inured to tumults, they made a league and conspired with the townes, for the preservation of their liberties: the chiefe of which conspiracy, were D. *Roger Bernard* Earle of Foix holding many fees, and much land in Cattelogne, *Arnold Roger* Earle of Pallars, *Ermengaud* Earle of Virgel, and *Aznar* his brother, *Raymond Foulques* Vicont of Cardone, *Bernard Roger* Eril, *Raymond Anglesol*, and *William Raymond Ioffe*, whereof we will hereafter make mention: But wee must returne into Castille, where we haue left King D. *Alphonso* the wise much troubled, for the disorders which had happened during his absence.

E 21 Being arriued at Toledo, euery man repaired thether, and especially the Infant D. *Sancho*, who had made truce for two yeeres with the Moores. Thether came also D. *Lope Diaz* of Haro, who was so hardy, as to deliuer a message for them all, that it would please him to declare his sonne D. *Sancho* his successor in the realmes of Castille, Toledo, Leon and other places, seeing hee had already giuen some proofes of his vertue and valour against the Moores, and that he was the eldest of his sons lyuing: to whom the King made but a cold answer in the beginning, but hauing afterwards assembled the Estates in the towne of Segobia, by the counsel of the Infant D. *Manuel* his brother, he resolved to gratifie D. *Sancho*, whom he made heire of the crowne after his decease, and in this quality hee was receiued by them all. Thus D. *Alphonso* and D. *Fernand*, the children of Don *Fernand de la Cerde*, were put from the royall succession, which did belong vnto them by right, although that some excuse this fact of D. *Alphonso*, laying that there was no law at that time which did binde him to leaue the realme more to one then to an other; as since there was made and receiued in the time of D. *Fernand* the fifth, in the city of Toro, where it was decreed vpon this difficultie that the children of the elder brother deceased,

Castille.

An audacious speech of D. Lope Diaz de Haro.

D. Alphonso reuokes the children of D. Fernand his eldest sonne from the succession, and gives it to D. Sancho.

deceased, should in that respect be preferred before the vncke, representing their fathers A person.

The Queene D. *Violant*, and D. *Blanche* widow to D. *Fernand*, were so discontented with this resolution of the Estates of Segobia, as taking his young children with them, they went out of the country of Castille, to D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, brother to the Queene D. *Violant*. Many Noblemen and townes of the Realme did also hold it to bee very vniust, foreseeing many great miseries which would ensue, if the children did liue. King D. *Alphonso* finding this discontentment, came to Burgos, where transported with choller, he caused his brother D. *Fadrigue*, or *Frederic*, to bee smothered, without any forme of iustice, and commanded that D. *Symon Ruiz* of Haro, Lord of Los Cameros, should be burned in the towne of Treuigno, for that they had assisted the Ladies in their B retreat into Arragon, the which terrified euery man. He sent also to D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, to complaine that he had receiued these Princesses, and the children; whereof he excused himselfe with good words.

cruelty of King D. Alphonso.

An. 1278.

The Queene D. Violant weeping.

Alhambra of Granada.

22

Portugal.

During this enterprize the Infant D. *Sancho* caused the Queene his mother to returne into Castille, to whom it was tedious to liue out of that Realme, where shee had some Mignons, as Histories report, who tax her of adultery: and he procured D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, to detain the children of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, his Nephewes, prisoners in the castle of Xatua, to the end they should not carry them into France, to King *Philip* the 3. their mothers brother: who after she had done her vttermost endeauor for the deliuerie of her children, in the end she came to the King her brother, to implore his aide and protection. The siege of Algezire was vnfortunate, for the army at sea was in a man- ner all lost, by the ambushes of the Miralmumin, who victualled the place; and as for that at land, there died so great a number of men as they were forced to rise, for the King of Maroc was vpon the passage, and came to Algezire, where the truce was renewed, not comprehending the King of Granado, who fortified the city of Granado that yeere, and there made that famous fort, which is called Alhambra, as statelie a building as any is in Spaine. The capraine of Malaga being againe revolted, and come vnder the protection of the King of Castille, began two forts which defend that city, called Alcazara and Gebralfaro.

In the yeere 1279. the Infant D. *Sancho* and the King D. *Pedro* had an interview betwixt Requena and Bunol, whereas they made a league, from whence the Infant returned to his father being at Badajos, whether also the rest of his children came, and there they resolved to make warre against the King of Granado: and therefore he sent away D. *Sancho* to assemble his forces in Castille, hauing in the meane time a desire to see D. *Denis* sonne to his bastard daughter, to whom he sent to intreat him to come to Badajos. He was a very gallant Prince, whose Estate King D. *Alphonso* his father had begun to set vp the yeere before, giuing him 40000. pounds of currant money yeerely: but this yeere 1279. he had the whole realme, by the decease of King D. *Alphonso* his father, who was buried in the Monastery of Saint Dominike of Lisbon, which he himselfe had built. This King *Alphonso* had reigned two and twenty yeeres, and died seuentie yeeres old. Ten yeere after his body was transported to the Monastery of Alcouaça.

### D. Denis the first of that name, and the sixth King of Portugal.

23 The King D. *Denis* his sonne was seuentene yeeres old when he began to raigne, and was surnamed the builder, for that he made many goodly buildings in his realme,

A Realme, as well holy, as prophane, Churches, Monasteries, Towers, Ports of the sea, and whole townes, wherof mention is made, that he did build and re-edifie, to the number of foure and fortie. At his comming to the Crowne, and before, there had bene some discontentment betwixt him and his mother D. *Beatrix*, daughter to D. *Alphonso* king of Castille, the which (it may be) did stay him from going to him to Badajos: for being come to Yelbes vpon the confines of Portugal, three small leagues from Badajos, he fell into a sudden distrust, and turned head, wherewith the King his Grandfather was much discontented.

King Don *Alphonso* thereupon parted from Badajos, and came to Seuille, where he had newes that the Infant D. *Sancho* came towards the city of Iacn, with great troups of soldiers from Castille, Leon and Toledo. Wherefore he sent him those men he had, where there were certaine skirmishes rather to the Christians losse then the Moores. Beeing at Seuille, there came certaine messengers vnto him from *Philip* of France, to bee a meanes for the deliuerie of the children of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, who were detained at Xatua, and for other affaires. There it was concluded, that the two kings should meet at Bayone in December, in the yeare 1280. The king of Castille came thither with his children, and *Philip* the French king came to Salueterre in Bearne, where by Mediators it was concluded, that the realme of Iacn should be giuen to the children of *la Cerde*, the which they should hold in fee, and do homage to the king of Castille, and the Infant D. *Sancho*: but he being aduertised of that which his father had concluded, would not consent thereunto, so as by his meanes they returned without any effect, even touching the warre against the Moores, for the which there had an vnion bene propounded betwixt the kings of France and Castille, to inuade and conquer Affricke with their vnited forces, but it was left vnresolved. Beeing returned, D. *Sancho* made an enterprize vpon the king of Granado, but his men were charged by the Moores neere vnto Moclin, who slue aboute 2800. whereas *Gonzalo Ruiz Giron* master of S. *James*, was fore hurt, and died within few daies after, to the great griefe of D. *Sancho*, and many others: whereupon he entred into the territories of Granado, where he made a wonderfull spoile, euen to the city gates.

The yeare following 1281. there was an interview betwixt the king D. *Alphonso*, the infant D. *Sancho*, and D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, at a place called Campillo, about Agreda, where there was a League (sworne betwixt them against all Princes, and there were townes and castles deliuered for assurance of either side: yea they concluded to make war against Nauarre, and to diuide the conquest betwixt Castille and Arragon: it was at such time as the king D. *Pedro* plotted the warre of Sicily, whereof wee shall make mention. King D. *Alphonso* being alterwards come to Burgos, he married his two sonnes, D. *Pedro* to the daughter of the Earle of Narbone, and D. *John* to the daughter of his sonne-in-law, *will am* of Montferrat, to whom he gaue two millions of Marauidis of the money of those times. The Infant D. *Sancho* did afterwards meet with D. *Pedro* at Tarraffone, where they renewed their contract, but it tooke no great effect. The Realme of Castille beeing in great want, there was a decree to make copper money, and some peeces of siluer.

24 About the end of the yeare 1281. the king being importuned to release the children of his sonne D. *Fernand*, did somewhat relent, sending D. *Fredalo* Bishop of Ouido to the French king, vnder colour to send him vnto the Pope to procure a Croysado against the Moores: but the Infant D. *Sancho* was aduertised of all, and beeing discontented, that his father had disguised this businesse, he came to Cordoua, and made a league against his father with *Mahomad Mirk*. of Granado, who promised to pay him the third of the reuenues of his Realme for a tribute. Then did D. *Sancho* begin a miserable pursuit, the which he neuer ceased, vntill he had driuen his aged father, with griefe and heauinesse, into the graue: who indeed had worthily deserued all the miseries which fell vpon him: for he shewed himselfe wilfull in his conceptions, and many times without iudgement in his prodigality without reason, and tractable to his owne losse: sharpe and very seuer vnto those which did not applaud his actions, but sought to perfwade him to the contrarie. And he was to vniust in his iudgements (as appeared by his grand-children, the sonnes of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*) as it was an admirable thing, so many imperfections should bee found in a king so studious: yet it did not besit a son to be the scourge of his fathers vices.

D. Sancho of Castille makes a league with the Moores to dispossesse his father.

The

Portugal.

The new King of Portugall, who would not trust king D. *Alphonso* his Grandfather, A was now in quarrell with his brother, called also D. *Alphonso*, whome he pursued with Armes, but aswell this controuersie, as that he had with his mother, were pacified by the meanes of Don *Sancho* of Castile, and of Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, to whose daughter called Don *Isabel*, borne of the Queene Don *Constance*, daughter to *Manfroy* King of Naples this Prince was married, which marriage was celebrated at Troncofo, in the yeare 1282. with royall pompe, about that time Don *Sancho* burst forth into open rebellion against his father. This King Don *Denis* did afterwards enter into league with Don *Sancho*, who drew vnto his seruice D. *John* his brother, besides D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, *Diego Lopes* his brother, *Ramir Diaz*, D. *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Pedro Aluares* of the Asturias, *Fernand Roderigo* of Cabrera, and many others, which were out of the coun. B trie since the death of the Infant Don *Fredericke*, and of *Symon Ruis de los Cameros*.

Castille.

D. Sancho takes  
upon him the  
regency and  
refuseth the  
title of King.

The Infant Don *Sancho* was so well beloued, as in a short time all men followed him, leauing the king D. *Alphonso* poore and miserable. The conspirators beeing assembled at Vailledolit, they were all of opinion, that D. *Sancho* should intitle himselfe king of Castile, and of the other dominions which his father had enioyed: but he shewed himselfe so newhat modest, saying, that he would not do his father that wrong, to intitle himselfe King during his life time: but would rest satisfied to be tearmed Infant of Castile, the eldest and heire of those Realmes. So D. *Sancho* carried great respect vnto the king his father, in words and vaine titles, but he made himselfe king in effect, ordaining lawes both for peace and warre, disposing of Captaines and Gouernors, and of the treasure at his owne will: the king D. *Alphonso* beeing driuen to that extremity as hee was forced to send his royall Crowne, with Jewels of inestimable value, in pawne for 70000. doubloons to *Jacob Aben Ioseph* Miralmumin of Maroc, complaining vnto this Infidell king, of the wrongs he had receiued from his sonne and subiects who were Christians. They say, that king *Jacob* beeing a Barbarian, did heare of D. *Alphonso*'s afflictions with teares in his eyes, and shewing this royall Crowne vnto his Knights, he sayd, That he did willingly embrace this occasion, to succour a King of an ancient race, with his person and goods against the impietie of a wicked sonne: giuing so good an answer vnto the King D. *Alphonso*, as he was much esteemed and commended of all men. Necessitie and indignitie did so transport D. *Alphonso*, as he accepted the Moores offer, intreating him to passe the streights with his forces, the which he did: In the meane time D. *Sancho* married D. *Mary* daughter to D. *Alphonso*, Lord of Molina, his great vnckle, brother to the king D. *Fernand* the third, who seeing himselfe supported by the kings of Arragon and Portugal, came to Cordoua, where by the aduice of the Noblemen and Knights of Castile that were present, and by a decree pronounced by the mouth of D. *Manuel*, in the name of the whole Nobilitie, the king D. *Alphonso* was depriued of all his Realmes: the causes they pretended, were the death of D. *Fredericke* and of *Symon Ruis*, obseruing no forme of Iustice, nor any orderly proceeding: the breach of the rights and priuiledges of the Nobility, and the waisting of the treasor. D. *John Nugnes de Lara*, nor D. *John Nugnes*, and *Nugno Gonzales* his children, D. *Aluaro Nugnes*, D. *Fernand Perez Ponce*, with many others, would not assist at this assembly, nor consent vnto this act ofso pernicious a consequence. E

The Miralmumin *Jacob Aben Ioseph* past at Algezire, with great troupes of horse, and the two kings had an interview at Zahara in Granado, whereas he of Maroc arriued first. The manner of this interview is worthy obseruation, for the humanitie and courtesie which this mightie Moorish King vsed to a Prince of a contrarie Religion, sometimes his enemy, and deiected from his dignitie. Hee caused a great and rich Pauillion to be set vp in the open field, in the which were two seates made like thrones, the one beeing higher and more eminent then the other: and hauing placed the chiefe Noblemen of the family of the Merins (from whence he was descended) at the entry, he commanded them all to kisse k. D. *Alphonso* feet, and that they should not suffer him to light from his horse before he were neere vnto the Pauillion, where beeing arriued, King *Aben Ioseph* and hee embraced one another like breethren, and so entred into the Pauillion holding hands. The royall and magnificent ceremonies which they vsed in their sitting downe, were great and long, either struiuing to giue the more honorable place vnto the other: but in the

Humanity and  
modestie of the  
Moorish king.

A the end the king of Castile was forced to sit in the highest, the king of Maroc saying: It was reasonable that D. *Alphonso*, a king descended of kings, and borne of a king, should be set aboue rather then himselfe, whom God by his mercy had aduanced to that dignitie of late time.

These Monarkes beeing set, they conferred of their affaires, and hauing resolved, king D. *Alphonso* returned to Seuille, to gather together these small forces which were faithfull vnto him. The Moote marched with his army towards Osuna and Estepa, and then came to Eccia, where the two kings ioyned, and hauing taken *Castro*, they presented themselves before Cordoua: but the Infant Don *Sancho* had entred into it the night before with great troupes of horse, where as they spent twenty dayes in vaine, without any memorable act done by either side. Rising from thence, the king of Maroc, with the consent of D. *Alphonso*, did ouer-runne the champion country, and going through the pace of Muradal, he entred into the fields of Montiel, destroying all he incountred, and finding no resistance. Returning towards Eccia, D. *Alphonso* parted from Seuille to go and meet him, according to the king of Maroc's desire. Beeing come vnto the campe, king Don *Alphonso* grew into so great a distrust, vpon reports, or some other vaine imagination, that the king of the Moores would stay him, as he parted by night in great haste, and returned to Seuille. The Miralmumin beeing much discontented at this ielousie, sent vnto him to excuse himselfe, and to assure him that he neuer had any such thought, intreating him to send him his troupes, the which he would entertaine, and so enter into the countrie of Granado against king *Mahomad* his enemy, hauing conspired with Don *Sancho* his sonne, whereunto D. *Alphonso* yeilded, and sent him a thousand horse, who presently receiued pay: but growing suddenly into a ielousie that they would leade them into Affricke, they abandoned the Miralmumin, and sent him the remainder of his money. The King of Maroc seeing these proceedings, grew discontented, and returned into Affricke, yet nothing estranged in his affection to pleasure D. *Alphonso*. D. *Fernand Perez Ponce* of Leon, Commander of these thousand horse, durst not returne to king D. *Alphonso*, hauing no lawfull excuse to haue abandoned king *Jacob Aben Ioseph*: but whilest he intertained himselfe about Cordoua, there was an oportunitie offered which did deface this blemish.

D It was strange, that these thousand horse did charge ten thousand which sallyed out of the city, the which were assembled from all the parts of Spaine for Don *Sancho*, and defeated them. Wherefore returning to Seuille they were well receiued: D. *Sancho* (who was then absent from Cordoua) was much discontented at this route, and did so sharply rebuke his men for their rashnesse, daring to present themselves against his fathers Standard royall, the which he did euer greatly reuerence. Thus Don *Sancho* did honour the Images and royall ensignes, but not the king his father: who beeing much incensed with the continuall vexation of his sonnes rebellion, who had vsurped his Realmes, hee pronounced in the presence of many men of marke, both Clergie and Secular, in the Cittie of Seuille, about the end of that yeare 1282. the curse of God and his vpon D. *Sancho*, a sonne, sayd he, disobedient, rebellious, and a parricide, declaring him incapable and unworthy to raigne: depriuing him of his succession and inheritance, and discharging the subiects, as much as in him lay, from all oath and homage which they had done vnto him. This act was done with great solemnitie and maiestie, but they were but words, which D. *Sancho* did not much esteeme; who at the same time returned to Cordoua, and conferred with the king of Granado at Priego, to whome hee restored Arenas, and renewed their League.

In the yeare 1283. D. *Sancho* beeing come to Carceres, to Pont d'Alcantara, and to Ledesma, he forced the Infant D. *Pedro* his brother to hold his party, who notwithstanding had a great desire to follow his fathers, who intended to giue him the countrie of Murcia, with the title of a king. He did the like to the Infant D. *John*, who aspired to haue the kingdome of Leon for himselfe, all which was forced. Many knights which followed these Princes, and which were well affected to king D. *Alphonso*, escaped, and passing thorough Portugal came to Seuille. The towne of Agreda reuolted and followed the kings partie, the Infant D. *Sancho* beeing come against it, he had newes that *Alasin d'Arbar*, Gouernour

D. Alphonso  
dislikes the  
King of Maroc

Hypocrite of  
the Infant D.  
Sancho.

An. 1282.  
Curse of the  
father vpon D.  
Sancho.

1283

Gouernor of Treuigno, was also reuolted, and had receiued Don *John Nuges de Lara*, A with a great boote which he had taken in the territories of Burgos, into Treuigno, from whence he made roads, and did annoy his people. D. *Sancho* sent D. *Lope Diaz de Haro* against them, who made them to keepe within their fort. Thus was the warre managed betwixt the father, and the sonne in Castile and other places depending.

25 During the which D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, had giuen libertie to his soldiers vpon the frontier, who were daily in skirmish against the Nauarrois, especially they of Sos and Filera, against the Inhabitants of Sanguesa; and they were so incensed one against another, as they could not be pacified: yet the diligence of *Eustache Bellemarche*, Gouvernor of Nauarre, made them to lay aside armes, and to conclude a truce for a time. *Bellemarche* returned into France, and in his place a Knight called *Guerin* of Amplepuis, B gouerned the Realme of Nauarre. *Philip* the third King of France, being Protector of this Realme for his Neece Queene *Jane*, had also occasion to thinke of the affaires of Spaine, for that the children of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, borne of his sister D. *Blanche*, had not only bene deiectioned by the King D. *Alphonso* from the right of succession to the Crowne of Castile, which did belong vnto them, as children to the eldest sonne, but also these two young Princes, D. *Alphonso* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, were kept prisoners in the castell of Xatua by the king of Arragon: and moreouer being aduertised, that besides the Arragonis attempts in former times, their king had made a new accord at Campillo with D. *Sancho* of Castile, where among other things it was concluded, that they should inuade the Realme of Nauarre at their common charges, and diuide the conquest equally. C Moreouer, that at another enterview betwixt D. *Sancho* of Castile, and D. *Pedro* of Arragon, the Infant had resigned vnto D. *Pedro* all the right he pretended to Nauarre, promising neuer to make warre there without his liking to the end he might bee the more freely assisted with the forces of Arragon, to dispossesse his father. King *Philip* was wise, and of power to preuent all these practises, all which he made frustrate in regard of Nauarre. Yet he did in vaine sollicite the kings of Castile and Arragon for the deliuerance of his Nephewes, who were at Xatua. He sent good troupes of horsemen into Nauarre, for the guard of the countrie, and to be ready vpon all occasions.

Practises of the  
Castilians and  
Arragonis  
against Nauar.

The factions betwixt the Nobilitie of Castile (some holding the partie of King Don *Alphonso*, others that of Don *Sancho* his sonne) fell out happily for the French and Nauarrois in many things: for Nauarre serued for a retreat to all those that were in disgrace with Don *Sancho*. Many of the chiefe of Castile, and other places depending, came and ioyned with the troupes of France and Nauarre, and making roades into Castile, did alwaies keepe the Realme of Nauarre in reputation, and made the forces to be redoubted, the which changed many Gouvernors in a short time: for after *Eustache Bellemarche* and *Guerin* of Amplepuis, *William* of Broede was sent thither, and then *Iohn* of Constans L. of Dompierre, Marshall of Champagne, in the yeare 1283. when as among other Noblemen of Castile, there fled into Nauarre Don *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Pero Alvarez* of the Asturies, Don *Ramir Diaz*, Don *Fernand Ruis de Cabrera*, and Don *Fernand Ruis de Saldagne*, who ioyned with others which made themselves strong in the Countrie, which were the Infant Don *Laine* of Castile, Don *John Nuges*, Don *Aluar Nuges* and others, all being assisted by the troupes of France and Nauarre, they made roades as far as Toledo, with great ruine of the country and people, for the French King hated Don *Sancho*, as an vlturper of his Nephewes right, neither was he lesse enimie to Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, as well for the detention of his nephewes, and his practises with Castile, as for that which had happened in the Realme of Naples, betwixt the Arragonis and the French, as you shall heare.

These spoilers being a competent armie of foure thousand horse, and great numbers of foot, returning towards Toledo, had a desaigne to enter into Arragon, and to assaile Tarrasone, whereof Don *Pedro* being aduertised, who kept a garrison of three hundred horse at Logroño, for the defence of Castile, he sent to intreat the Infant Don *Sancho* to march thither, and to succour him against the French and Nauarrois, who came to destroy his Realme of Arragon, the which he did presently: so as being ioyned with the king Don *Pedro* they saued Tarrasone: yet the Arragonis lost the castell of VI, the which

A which was wel defended by *Ximeno* of Artieda: they also lost Lerida and Filera, the which were giuen in gard to them of Sanguesa: Baylo and Arbujs were ruined, and the French and Nauarrois past vnto Verdun. Vpon their returne, the army of D. *Pedro* and D. *Sancho* attended them, where as they could not auoyd the battaile, which the French presented them: but the Knights of Castile which did accompany them, told them that they had willingly ouer-runne the country, and done their indeauors in all assaults, but to charge their lances against Don *Sancho*, it was not their intention: that is to say, to spoile towns, & to ruine poore innocents, who had no interest in great mens quarrels, they did it willingly, yet wold they not attempt any thing against the heads, who might giue them impunity for all their insolencies, and could take reuenge of them, if they shewed themselves too eager enemies. So the troupes of France and Nauarre returned towards Pamplone, from whence some of the Noblemen of Castile went to D. *Sancho*, hauing made their peace.

26 The King D. *Pedro* finding himselfe in this danger, it made him to seeke a peace with Nauarre for some moneths: for he had many questions to decide with his Noblemen and Knights of Arragon and Cattelogne, who complained much of his fower disposition, and his tyrannous manner of gouernement, insulting ouer the greatest, yea against his owne blood, contrarie to all lawe and nature. For wee reade, that there were scarce two yeares expired, after the decease of his father, when as hee forced his brother Don *Janez*, to whom the Ilands of Maiorca and Minorca, with other places adjacent, had bene giuen by testament, with the title of a king, to hold them of him, as fees depending of the Crowne of Arragon, and therefore he caused him to take an oath and do homage, as also for the Counties of Rossillon, Cerdagne, Conflans, Vallespierre, Colibre, Omelades, Carlades, and for the rights of Montpellier: with promise for himselfe and his descendants Kings of Maiorca, to come to the Estates of Barcelona being called, and to deliuer the city of Maiorca, the towne of Perpignan, and the castell of Cerdagne, vnto the Kings of Arragon, whensoever they should demand them, in regard of which submissions and promises, the king Don *Pedro* did confirme these lands and portions to the king Don *Janez* his brother: for the which he would haue the Earles of Foix and Empurias, D. *Dalmis* of Rocabertin Vicount of Castelnau, *Raymond* of Vrgio, *William Canet*, *Bernard Hugo Serrallongue*, *Dalmis* of Castelnau, *Ponce Zagardia*, *Arnaud Corsaccio*, *William Sans*, with the Deputies of the Ilands of Maiorca and Minorca to become cautions. Sometime after picking a quarrell against the Nobilitie of Cattelogne, and their priuiledges, this king Don *Pedro* did so furiously assaile the Earles of Foix, Vrgel, and Pallars, with the Vicount of Cardona, who were the most apparent, as hauing besieged and taken them in Balaguer, he detained them long in a miserable prison, especially the Earle of Foix, whom he intreated vnworthily in the castell of Siurana. Moreouer, a little before this last warre of Nauarre, hee had attempted and executed great matters against the French, reigning in Italy, hauing employed the men and meanes of Arragon and Cattelogne, to the great discontentment and oppression of all his subiects, and hee was newly returned out of France, whether the warre of Naples and Sicily had drawne him, vpon the occasion which followeth.

Arragon.

Injustice of  
D. Pedro as  
against his bro.

27 The French hauing conquered Naples and Sicily, vnder *Charles* the first brother to Saint *Louis*, they committed many vnaccustomed insolencies among these nations, against the honor of women, with other exactions and spoiles vnder colour of Iustice: by reason whereof (as also by the iust iudgement of God, to whom without doubt the cruel deaths of *Conradin*, and of the Duke of Austria, whose heads King *Charles* had caused to be cut off, by the pernicious counsell of Pope *Clement*) the Sicilians did sollicite D. *Pedro* King of Arragon to pursue the right which he had vnto these Realmes, as husband to Q. *Constance* heire thereof, being daughter to king *Manfroy*, promising to ayde and assist him with their persons and goods: he which did most labour in this poursuite was called *Iohn de Proculla* or *Prochida*, borne at Salerne, Phisition to the deceased King *Manfroy*, who by his perswasions induced the king Don *Pedro* to affect this conquest: for the effecting whereof, he first made a secret league with Pope *Nicholas* the third, and with *Michel Paleologue* Emperour of Constantinople, obayning from the Pope a promise of Inuestiture

Insolencies of  
the French in  
Sicily.

Inuestiture of the Realmes of Naples and Sicily. *Martin* the 4. beeing Pope after the de- A  
 cease of *Nicholas*, the king sent *Hugh Mataplana* a Carolan to Rome, to sound his dispo-  
 sition, touching the confirmation or renewing of this League, and to intertaine him (for  
*Martin* was friend to *Charles* King of Naples) and to disguise the cause of his Ambassa-  
 dors voyage; he had charge to moue the Pope and the Consistorie, to canonize Don  
 Friar *Raymond* of Pegnafort according to the aduice of a Prouinciall Councell held a li-  
 tle before at Barcelona, by the Prelates of Arragon and Cattelogne. In the meane time  
 D. *Pedro* did arme forty galleys with many ships, the which he caused to passe along the  
 coast of Affricke vnder a colour of restoring *Bouqueron* king of Constatine in Affricke,  
 who was expelled by his brother: and the better to couer his enterprise, the Ambassador  
 besought the Pope to take the Realme of Arragon into the protection of the Church, B  
 whilst that the king D. *Pedro* should be absent in the warre of Affricke, and to demand  
 leaue to exact a tenth of his Cleargie. The king was demanded by the Ambassadors of  
 France, the reason of this great preparation, with offers, that if it were against the Inf-  
 dels, King *Philip* their master would ayde him with all his forces, and withall protesting,  
 that if it were to preiudice *Charles* king of Naples, he would take it ill: to whom he made  
 no other answer, but that he had meanes sufficient to end the warre which hee had vnder-  
 taken, without employing any others. To *Arnaud Roger* Earle of Palliars, who deman-  
 ded of him, in the name of the whole Nobilitie, whether he meant to leade them, he made  
 a sharpe answer, that if his left hand presumed to inquire too curiously of that which the  
 right intended to do, he would cut it off. So the army parted from Tortosa, beeing folli-  
 cited by *Nicholas Copula* and *Raymond Portella*.

Sicilian eues-  
 song.

In the meane time the French were slaine thorough out all the townes of Sicily, with  
 such rage and hatred against the nation, as whereas they knew any women to be gotten  
 with child by the French, they opened their wombes, and flue both mothers and chil-  
 dren, for that they would not leaue any of their seed in the countrie. Onely one French-  
 man called *William Porcelos* Gouvernor of Galataphimia was let go vntouched, for the  
 good opinion they had of his modestie and temperance. And then D. *Pedro* arriving at  
 Palermo, he caused himselfe to be crowned King, in the yeare 1281. King *Charles* being  
 desirous to be reuenged of this iniurie, he led an army against *Messina*, but he was repul-  
 sed into Calabria, without any effect. The king of Arragon left Queene *Constance* his wife  
 in Sicily with three children: D. *James* who was king of Sicily, D. *Frederick* and D. *Tolant*, D  
 establishing a Councell of Estate, whereof the chiefe were *Willyam Galseran* a Cattelani,  
*Alain Leonine*, holding the place of chiefe Iustice of Sicily, and chiefe author of their re-  
 bellion against the French, *John Prochids*, and *Roger de Loria* his Admiral, to whom hee  
 appointed an army of 25. galleys: but he wold haue in either of them two Captains, one a  
 Cattelani, the other an Italian, the marriners should be part Cattelans, and part Italians,  
 but the rowers should be all Italians. Hauing thus settled the affaires of this Realme, hee  
 returned into Spaine, where he had many matters to attend: for besides open force, there  
 past many scandalous books betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and D. *Pedro* king of Arra-  
 gon, so as not able to decide their quarrels neither by law nor armes, they challenged E  
 one another with a certaine number of Knights of either part: and this combate was al-  
 lowed by the Pope; an vnworthy thing for a Christian Prelate. The place beeing appoint-  
 ed at Bourdeaux, in the king of Englands country, a neuter-Prince in this cause. King  
*Charles* came at the day appointed, but he found not his aduersarie. Wherefore hauing  
 attended most part of the day in the place appointed for the combat, and seeing no man  
 appeare, he returned. The King of Arragon who had onely an intent to circumuent his  
 enemy by the expectation of a combate, and in the meane time diuert him from the war  
 of Sicily, had stayed in a safe place, from whence he came vnkowne to Bourdeaux with  
 great speed, where attending vntill king *Charles* were parted, when he thought he was far  
 enough off, he shewed himselfe in the place of battel, as if hee had had a great desire to  
 fight, complaining that he had sayled, where after he had made the protestations requisite  
 in the like case, he tooke an act of his presence from *John Graille* Seneshall of Guien (to  
 whom he left his helmet, his target, his lance, and his sword in witness of his appearance,  
 and that he had kept his faith and promise) he returned with the like speed into Spaine:  
 and

A and a little before the French and Nauarrois forraged Castile, he arrived at Logroño;  
 where he entertained a garrison in fauour of D. *Sancho*, as we haue sayd. For these subtil-  
 ties, Pope *Martin* (who had succeeded *Nicholas* the 3.) beeing a French-man borne, did  
 excommunicate the king D. *Pedro*, giuing his Realme of Arragon to *Charles* of Valois se-  
 cond sonne to *Philip* King of France, who with the Popes dispensation married *Constance*  
 daughter to *Charles* Prince of Salerne, the onely sonne to this *Charles* King of Naples,  
 causing a Croysado to be preached against this king D. *Pedro*. Whilst that *Charles* King of  
 Naples was in Gascony, the king of Arragon's Admirall called *Roger de Loria* a Calabrois  
 a very expert man in sea-fights, came running along the coast of Italy, with 45. galleys,  
 and many other vessels, doing much harme: so as this army being discouered at Naples,  
 B approaching so neere the city, as the souldiers might be heard, prouoking the garrison by  
 iniuries and casting of darts into the towne, *Charles* Prince of Salerne issued forth with  
 36. gallees, and some other vessels against his enemies, where there was a furious fight,  
 but the Admirall of Arragon was victor, who tooke and carried away nine galleys, with a  
 great number of prisoners of note: and amongst the rest *Charles* who would needes go  
 forth against the will of the Popes Legat, and contrary to the commandement which  
 his father had giuen him at his going into France, not to depart out of Naples, nor to  
 hazard a battell, either by sea or land in any sort whatsoever. The desire of glorie prouo-  
 ked it, and brought him to this misery, which cost many Noblemen their liues, for the  
 prisoners beeing brought to Messina, he beheld with his eyes the heads of 200. Gentle-  
 men cut off, to reuenge the death of *Conradin*. His father beeing returned to Naples,  
 C found the affaires in a pittifull estate, and liued not long after. At his death there were  
 two Legats in Sicile to treat of an accord with Queene *Constance*, who was a wise and re-  
 ligious Lady, but not able to draw her to any reason, they did aggravate the Excommu-  
 nication against the King D. *Pedro*, and interdicted the Sicilians, the which did so incense  
 them, as running in a rage to the prisons where the remainder of the French were that  
 had bene taken by *Roger de Loria*, they sought to enter to murder them: but the French  
 made resistance, so as these mutiners seeing there was no meanes to effect what they in-  
 tended, they set fire of the prisons and burnt them all. After which there was an assembly  
 of all the chiefe Magistrates of the townes of Sicile, to resolve what was to be done with  
 D *Charles* Prince of Salerne, and nine other Noblemen which were prisoners with him,  
 where they concluded, that after the example of *Conradin*, and the other Noblemen;  
 they must all dye.

*Charles Prince*  
*of Salerne de-*  
*feated and ta-*  
*ken by the Ar-*  
*ragonais.*

Reuenge of  
 the death of  
*Conradin* of  
 Suabe.

Whereuppon wee may not let passe an act of Queene *Constance*, full of pietie and  
 courage: for this Princeesse hauing sent on a Friday morning, to aduertise *Charles* to  
 thinke of the saluation of his soule, and that he was condemned to die after the same ma-  
 ner that *Conradin* had done: he answered, that hee tooke his death the more patiently;  
 for that hee should receiue it the same day that our Sauour Iesus Christ had suffered.  
 This answer deliuered to the Queene, shee sayd, If it be so that the Prince takes his death  
 so patiently by reason of that day, for my part I am resolved to shew him mercie for his  
 sake, who the same day suffered death and passion for vs all. Whereuppon shee com-  
 manded he should be preserued without any harme, letting the people vnderstand (who  
 did presse her to put him to death) that shee ought not in a matter of so great impor-  
 tance, and which might be the cause of great inconueniences, to resolue nor execute any  
 thing, without the priuiey of the king her husband: and therefore shee commanded that  
 Prince *Charles* should be carried into Cattelogne to the king Don *Pedro*, to dispose of  
 him as he should thinke fit by good aduice. This generous and Christian-like act, is wor-  
 thie of eternall prayse, as the excellence which king *Charles*, through bad counsell, and an il-  
 governed passion, had committed against *Conradin* and other Noblemen his prisoners, is  
 to be blamed and detested. This *Charles* Prince of Salerne was afterwards king of Naples  
 F the second of that name.

24 Alter the king D. *Pedro* returns out of France, expecting daily (by reason of the  
 Popes censures, and his enterprises against Nauarre) to be set vpon by *Philip* k. of France,  
 and *Charles* of Valois his son: and the Noblemen and Knights of Arragon & Cattelogne,  
 being tyred by him in the former wars, & ill intreated, as they thought, in their freedoms,

O o

(whereof



Union in Arragon against the king for their liberties.

(whereof the townes and commonalties of his Countreys did also complaine) they did also stirre vp troubles and seditions, and made an vnion together. The heads of the Nobility were, *Symon of Virea* the elder, *D. Pedro Fernandes* Lord of Ixar, and *D. Pedro of Ayerbio*, both base brothers vnto the King, *Pedro Cornet*, *Artal Alagon*, *Lope Fernuex de Luna*, *Atlan des Foffes*, *Sancho* of Antillas, *Gombald* of Beneuent, and *Symon* of Virea the younger, all of Noble families, and moreover *Lope William* of Oteicia, *Pedro Isordain Pegna*, *Gombald Trameset*, *Giles* of Bidaure, *Pero Garces Nuez*, who were Knights, whose predecessors had bene advanced by Kings. These hauing made a league with the people did promise and swear to let the king and his sonne *D. Alphonso*, (who was his Lieutenant generall) vnderstand, that if they did not containe themselves within the limites of the lawes of the country, they would withdraw themselves from their obedience, and declare themselves enemies, and pursue them by armes that should seeke to breake them. The king had called the Estates to Tarassone, and afterwards to Saragossa. There he intreated, promised, and did all he could to breake this vnion: but he was forced to yeeld, and therefore he granted vnto the Arragonois, the priuiledge which they call general, whereby the liberty which had bene somewhat restrayned, was againe restored, the ancient manners of the Country, and customs of their Ancestors, fit for the country, put again in practice. And moreover, there were lawes made for their Kings, which they should be bound to obey. And for that they were in a mutine in some places, by reason of certaine Impositions layed vpon salt, the trafficke thereof was made free by the Estates. Notwithstanding all these things, the king refused the iudgement of the Iustice Maior of Arragon, the which was then exercised by *Pedro Martines Artassone*, whom he deposed from his office: but soone after this dignity was fortified with stronger lawes. The like assembly was made at Barcelona, and to the same end, where they obtained confirmation of their old statutes and customs, which they call *Usatiques*. They of Valencia beeing called to the Estates of Arragon, would not appeare, pretending liberty to assemble apart. In this Realme of Valencia there was a Magistrate established, who was President of the Iustice, who should be an Arragonois, and should do right vnto the townes and Noblemen of that Realme, who enioy the priuiledges of Arragon: the first in this dignitie was *Alphonso Martines*. In Ribagorça there was also a peculiar Iudge created at Grados, from whence the first appelles should go to Barbastro, or to the Iustice of Arragon, and the second to the king, or to Iudges deputed by him: but these last ordonances were made and executed in the yeare 1285. at the Estates held at Huesca, where as the king did preside. They being transferred to Zufaria, the king beeing absent, *John Giles Tarin* Iustice Maior of Arragon was President, where it was sayd, that he was a lawfull Iudge, yea in causes commenced against the King: who beeing cited and not appearing, there were decrees made against him in many instances. In the end the king confirmed the decrees of the Iustice Maior, and whatsoever should be concluded by the Estates, the Deputies, and Councillors hauing giuen their suffrages. At that time the king *Don Pedro* spoiled his brother *D. James* king of Majorca, of the Countrey of Rossillon, for that he had retired himselfe into France, and had made a League against him with king *Philip*, who had promised him the Realme of Valencia, after the conquest which he did hope to make thereof, and of the rest of *D. Pedros* country. In these combustions was the estate of Arragon about the returne of the king *D. Pedro* from the warre of Nauarre attempted with the Castilians.

King of Majorca deposed by his brother.

Castile.

29 As for *D. Sancho* Infant of Castile, he with all his followers had bene also excommunicated by Pope *Martin* the 4. The Arch-bishop of Seuille, the Deane of Tudelle in Nauarre, and the Arch-deacon of *S. James* in Galicia were the denouncers thereof: wherefore it was concluded in *D. Sanchos* Council, to kill all those that should intimate or bring these censures: yet the Commissioners deputed by the Pope went on in their Commission, and did interdict all parts of Spaine, holding the Infants party. On the other side the fury of armes ruining the country, Queene *Beatrix* the widow of Portugal, *D. Mary* wife to the Infant, laboured to procure a peace, and to remedie those great miseries, at which time there was some hope that the king and his sonne should haue an interview: for the king was come to Constatine, & the Infant to Guadascanall, but the Infants minions and bad Councillors did hinder it. The Ladies pursuing this holy enterprise, *Don Sancho* fell sicke

A sicke at Salamanca, and in such extremity, as the Physicians had abandoned him: the king in like manner fell sicke vnto death, whereby it seemes that God was highly offended against these miserable Princes, whose reconciliation was thus preuented. The king seing his end drawing nigh, he gaue by his will, Seuille and Badajos, with the title of a Realm, to his sonne *John*, with charge, that he should hold them of the Crown of Castile and Leon. To *D. James* his other sonne he gaue the Realme of Murcia with the same condition. Hee pardoned all such as had carried armes against him, except his sonne *D. Sancho*. In the beginning of a will of his made in Nouember 1283. he makes great complaints of his aduersities, and doth much blame the kings of Portugall, Arragon, England, the Pope, and others, who had fauoured *D. Sancho*, cursing him and all his posteritie, and leauing heires of his Soueraigne Realmes, *D. Alphonso* and *D. Fernand de la Cerde*, one in default of the other, and if they dyed without issue, he gaue them to *Philip* king of France, and to his descendants: He gaue many other Legacies to his other children, to Churches, and to his Officers and domestique seruants. By another testament apart, made in the yeare 1284. he ordained, that his heart should be carried and interred on mount Caluarie in the city of Ierusalem, and his body in his city of Seuille or Murcia, in the which his Executors should please. He dyed in the yeare 1284. and was buried at Seuille, hauing reigned 34 yeares, 10. moneths, and 23. dayes.

Alphonso king of Castile giues portions to his sonnes.

Cause of the father vpon D. Sancho and his posterity.

An. 1284.

This Prince was a president of the weaknesse and inconstancie of humane things, not onely in the goods which they call of Fortune, but also of those of the mind, whereof he was as well furnished as any Prince that hath bene before or since him, all which did him more harme then good: for neither vertue, knowledge, honour nor riches auayle not, if the blessing of God do not accompany them, but they rather ruine a man. And in truth this Prince may be termed miserable in all these things. He was a great and mighty king, but nothing did suffice him, by reason of his prodigality, and ill-measured bounty: he was neuer sincerely beloued of his subiects, by reason of his sower disposition and wilfulness, proceeding from too great a presumption of his knowledge: so as hee did neuer beleene any good counsell: It was the fruite of his Philosophie, the which had made him so ouerweening, as he presumed to controule the Author of Nature, saying, That if he had bin present at the Creation of the world, he should in many things haue bene of another opinion, with other such speeches full of impietie. By iudiciarie Astronomie, whereunto he was giuen beyond all reason, he had foreseene (as he thought) his adventures, the which made him affect the Imperiall dignitie, where hee purchased more dishonour then euer any Prince. This vanity made him cruell to his brother *D. Frederick*, and other Noblemen, to preuent the conspiracies which threatened him, but could not auoid them: the which he had done, if leauing these diuinations, hee had relied wholly vpon the providence of God, without any further search. But it is the will of God, the curious should haue this torment, alwaies to feare their misfortune, which they would know by damnable means, giuing effect to vanity, and to the spirit of error, against those that follow it. The Queene *D. Beatrix* his mother (who it may be was superstitious, and giuen to these impieties) had neuer any contentment after his birth, hauing vnderstood when hee was in his cradle, from a Grecian, who was a great Sorceresse, that he should bee deprived of his Realmes.

The end of the twelfth Booke.



## THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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### Order of the Kings raigning in Spaine, whereof mention is made in this 13. Booke.

| CASTILE. |  | LEON  | ARRAGON.          | NAUARRE.               |
|----------|--|-------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 11       | D. Sancho                                  | 4-23. | 10 D. Alphonso 3. | 25 Philip the faire 1. |
| 12       | D. Fernand                                 | 4-33. | 11 D. James 2.    | 26 Lewis Hutin 1.      |
| 13       | D. Alphonso 11-34. Some number him for the | 12-   |                   | 27 Philip the Long 2.  |

O o 3

D. Sancho

D. Sancho the Braue, the fourth and last of that name,  
the 11. of Castile, and 32. of Leon.



Don Sancho  
of Castile's titles

In the yeare 1284. D. Sancho caried himselfe as king, hauing performed his fathers obsequies in the city of Auila, where he was at the time of his decease, where he mourned in shew, for that which he had long desired, as we may iudge by his actions. He commanded that D. Maria his wife should be called Queene, and their daughter called Izabell, beeing but two yeares old, to bee declared and receiued heire of those Realmes, if he had no issue male: the titles which he gaue himselfe were, King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seuille, Cordoua, Iaca, Murcia, Badajoz, and Algarbe. He came to Toledo with D. Maria, and there they were crowned. By a complot made with D. Pedro king of Arragon, D. Iohn Nages of Lara was dispossessed of the fort of Albarrazin, a free place holding of no man, the which was very preiudiciall to Castile: this place was afterwards giuen by the king D. Pedro, to a bastard sonne of his called D. Fernand, whome he had by D. Agnes Zapate. The Infant D. Iohn brother to the new king, with the helpe of some knights, which were fled out of Castile, thought to surprize Seuille: but the king posted thither with speed, & disappointed their desseignes. Being in that city, Ambassadors came to him from Aben Joseph king of Maroc, to settle some order betwixt Affricke and Spaine, but the king D. Sancho being incensed, that the king of Maroc had come to make warre against him in his fathers fauour, answered his Ambassadors very sowlrely, saying, that he held his bread in one hand, and a staffe in the other, and that if any one would seeke to take away his bread, he would strike him with his staffe. The Ambassador, whose name was Abdalla, returned to Algezire, from whence they began to make roads into the territories of Medina Sidonia and Xeres, which caused the king D. Sancho to looke to his affaires: who for this cause began to make prouision of galleys and other vessels, in the sea townes of his Iurisdiction, and did entertaine a Captaine of Genoa, called Benet Zacharie with 12. galleys, to whom he gaue the port of S. Mary in propriety, vpon condition, that he should for euer entertaine one galley armed. This king hauing called a Court at Seuille, hee disanulled many priuiledges which were extorted in time of necessitie. Beeing returned into Castile hee disposed of matters of Iustice, and punished many which had bene rebels vnto him, causing some heads to be cut off.

These things past in the yeare 1284. about the end of which he had newes of the preparation which the king of France made to inuade Cattelogne, by reason whereof, he and his vnle D. Pedro of Arragon had an interview in Ciria, where they were moreover aduertised that there was intelligence betwixt king Philip and him of Maroc, to make warre at one instant, the one in Cattelogne the other in Andalusia: wherefore beeing parted D. Sancho came to Burgos, to hold an assembly of the Estates.

D. Iohn Nages of Lara being dispossessed of Albarrazin, as we haue sayd, by Don Lopes Diaz de Haro, being the Commander, he put himselfe into Tudele, the which hee defended for Philip the faire king of Nauarre, against the king D. Pedro, and not onely repulled him, but also tooke great store of victuals and cattell which was brought to the enemies campe: for he had within it about 300. horse, and a great number of foote: so as D. Pedro seeing that he should do no good before Tudele, he spoiled the countrie, and returned: not to his Realme, to defend the passage against the king of France, who came to assaile him: from whom the Earle of Artois, whome the Spaniards call Charles, and the French Roberts, was sent to the king Don Sancho beeing at Toledo, to perswade him to set at liberty without exception the sonnes of his deceased Brother Don Fernand de la Cerde, who were

Arragon.

Castile.

A were prisoners in the hands of D. Pedro King of Arragon; and then he intreated him not to succor the King of Arragon in the warre which the French King pretended to make against him, to whom the King D. Sancho made no other answer, but that he would send his Ambassadors to King Philip, to treat of those affaires: wherevpon he sent vnto him D. Martin Bishop of Calaoarra, and D. Gomes Garcia of Toledo Abbot of Vailledolir, who found King Philip at the entry of the country of Cattelogne, with a great army, besieging Girone, who were but sleightly entertained, and returned without any effect. They write that the Earle of Arthois being dispatched from the court of Castile, taking his leaue, the King D. Sancho receiued a packet out of France: hauing opened it and read the letters, he sayd vnto the Earle that he had good friends in the court of France, who aduertised him of all that passed, intreating him to ioine with them, and to become his friend: yet the Histories of France say, that this Earle of Arthois had bene before in Castile, after the suppression of the rebels of Nauarre, in the life time of King D. Alphonso, at which time this packet was brought, and not now: the which the Earle of Arthois hauing reported to the King it caused a great tumult and search in court. In the meane time the King D. Sancho made preparation to succor Xeres, the which was already inuested by the army of the Miralmumin of Maroc, where there were eighreene thousand horse Moores, or Arabian Affricans; and came from Toledo by Talauera and Merida to Seuille, whether the Moores made daily roades: euen vnto the gates, the King D. Sancho hauing not yet sufficient forces to suppress them: but within few daies after there came vnto him about foure thousand horse, as well of the military orders of Spaine, as of Noblemen, with the which he made a sufficient army to goe to field. Hauing mustred his troups, he marched towards his enemies, to whom hee presented battle, but the King of Maroc would not accept thereof: for besides the great forces at land which came daily to the King D. Sancho, hee had a mighty army at sea, which lay in the Port of Saint Mary, where there were about a hundred saile of great vessels. The King of Maroc raised his siege from Xeres, and afterwards they were made friends, hauing an interview at Pegna Ferrada, or according vnto some in Albuhera, where the King of Castile receiued a present of Iacob Aben Joseph, of two millions of Maraudis of gold, then currant. This peace was not pleasing to the Infant D. Iohn the Kings brother, nor to Don Lopes Diaz of Haro, who demaunded nothing but warre. About the end of the yeare 1285, the Queene D. Maria was brought to bed in Seuille of a sonne, called D. Fernand, who succeeded the father in those realmes.

Accord betwixt the Kings of Maroc and Castile.

An. 1285.

Philip the 3. King of France, and his sonne Philip the faire King of Nauar, being entered into Cattelogne, had taken Perpignan, ruined seuen and twenty townes and castles, & laied siege to Girone. The victuals for the campe were brought from Narbone to the neereft hauens and ports of Empurias, Roses and others, and from thence was carried a litle space by land with a gard of horsemen. Which the King desiring to preuent and withall to take the treasor which he knew was brought to pay the souldiers, he came and laied an ambush of fife hundred horse, and about two thousand foot betwixt the sea and the French campe: whereof the King of France, being aduertised by his spies, sent before, by the aduice of the Constable of France, three hundred choise men at armes, vnder his charge, who being come to the ambush, and discovered to be few in number, were presently inuironed and charged with great cries, by the Arragonois, who thought to defeat them, but the French who were come thither to fight, did encounter them in such sort, as although they were much inferior in number, yet they seemed more then equal in valour and courage.

Arragon. Perpignan taken by the French.

The siege of Girone.

The Arragonois animated by their King, who was present and fighting, behaued themselves valiantly, so as the one yielding nothing vnto the other, the fight continued long without aduantage, vntill that the King D. Pedro being grievously hurt in the face with a Lance, retired himselfe out of the fight, wherevpon his men beganne to faint. Many of his horsemen escaped with him, but as for the footmen they were all cut in peeces, there were some horsemen slaine vpon the field, on either side, but most Arragonois.

The King D. Pedro hauing caused himselfe to be carried to Villa-franca, died soone after

after of his wound. He had reigned nine yeeres, three monthes and foure daies; A generous Prince, but ambitious beyond all measure, being growne an irreconcilable enemy to the French, since the successe of the Island of Sicile, the which he left to D. Jaime or James his younger sonne.

### D. Alphonso the third of that name, and the tenth King of Arragon.

D. James King of Majorca dispossessed by his Nephew.

Alain Leontin Author of the Sicilian Euen-song a double traitor and his end.

Girone taken by the French.

**3** On Alphonso his eldest succeeded to the realme of Arragon, this yeere 1285. Don Pedro being aduertised by his Physicians, the chiefe whereof was Arnauo of Villeneuve (whose workes we haue but much curtailed by the Inquisitors) that he drew nere his end, he did sollicite his sonne D. Alphonso to hasten the conquest of Majorca, which he had vnderaken, and did much desire; wherefore D. Alphonso presently after his fathers death, led the army to Majorca, and tooke the Island, ioyning that of Majorca to the other titles of the Kings of Arragon. In this action the chiefe Commanders were D. Blasco of Alagon, Sancho of Antillas, Pedro Garces Nuez, Pedro Sefes, Blasco Ximenes of Aierbio, Symon Perez Andosilla of Arragon: and of Cattelogne, D. Pedro de Moncade, Raymond of Vrgi and Maimon Plaigaman. Euen vpon the death of the King D. Pedro, there arriued in Cattelogne, Charles Prince of Salerne, called the halting, a prisoner, being conducted by Raymond Allemen, Symon of Estorio and William Ponce Castellans, who had bound themselves to the Infant D. James, who was appointed King of Sicile, to carry him into Cattelogne, or to loose their liues, swearing that if any came to rescue him, and that they found themselves too weake, they would kill him and cast him into the sea. You must vnderstand that one of the chiefe conspirators in Sicile against the French, called Alain Leontin, a counsellor of Estate, and chiefe Iustice of the realme, which is one of the greatest dignities, staid not long before he receiued from the Arragonois, a worthy reward for his notable treachery, and immoderate appetit of reuenge: for being discovered that he sought to reconcile himselfe vnto the French, for some discontentment, he was sent prisoner to the castle of Siurane, from whence he neuer parted, being knowne to be a double traitor: and God brought him to this end, to shew that he detests those, that for their priuat passions seeke the ruine of Estates.

The Constable of France returning to the campe before Girone, he was receiued with all possible signes of ioy: whereas soone after they had newes of the death of D. Pedro King of Arragon, whereof hauing aduertised the besieged that they should not continue obstinate; Raymond of Cardona, who commanded within the towne, demanded leaue to send one thither to vnderstand the truth, who brought him word that hee had seene the King his maister dead: wherevpon he yeelded vp the towne to the French King, the souldiars and Inhabitants departing and carrying away what they could, except gold and siluer which they were to leaue, for the which they were sercht. At this siege the plague fell into the campe, and the King himselfe grew sick, so as this warre ceased, and they began to thinke of their returne into France. The King had entertained certaine gallies of Pisa and Genoa, which hee now sent backe, hauing no more vse for them.

Sayling towards Italy, they were met by Roger of Loria Admiral of Sicile, who came to Cattelogne with five and fortie gallies, to succour the King of Arragon his Maister, of whose death he was then aduertised. This man who was polittike, and loath to loose any opportunity, hauing vnderstood from these captaines the Estate of the affaires in Cattelogne, and especially of the enemies army, he entertained all their fleet, and lead them backe towards Ampurias, where they found the remainder of the French fleet in the haven, whom they did sodainely set vpon and burne, all the souldiars and mariners hauing escaped, and ioynd with the rest of the Land-army. King Philip, who caused himselfe to be carried in a litter, was much grieved at this losse, and his sicknesse

A sicknesse did so increase, as he gaue vp the ghost in the towne of Perpignan, whether the armie came with great difficulty, the Arragonois hauing stoppt the passages of the mountaines, so as they were forced to make their way by the sword.

Death of Philip the third King of France.

### Philip the first of that name, the fise and twentieth King of Nauarre.

**4** Philip his sonne, called the faire, who succeeded him, was both King of France and Nauarre, hauing a little before married D. Jean the heire of Nauarre. Of which marriage were borne three sonnes, Lewis Hutin, Philip the long and Charles the faire, all which three were Kings of France and Nauarre one after an other, hauing no children. They had also two daughters, Joane who died young (who is not in the French Genealogies) and Isabel Queene of England, mother to Edward the third, who contended for the succession of the Realme of France against Philip of Valois.

At that time 1286, the Realme of Nauarre was gouerned by a Gentleman called Clement of Launay in quality of Viceroy, who defended it against the daily inuasions of the Arragonois. A captaine of Nauarre, whose name was D. John Corbaran, hauing the charge of the frontier towards Arragon, was defeated and taken by D. Pedro Cornet, an Arragonois. The Nauarrois also entring into the country of Arragon, besieged Tiermas, but could not take it, yet they did great spoiles. About the end of the yeere there was a truce made betwixt these two Kingdomes, and a defence made not to molest one another vpon paine of death. There was also a truce concluded betwixt Philip King of France, and Nauarre, and Don Alphonso King of Arragon, during the which they sought meanes to make a peace betwixt them, for the controuersies of Sicile and other places.

An. 1286. Clement of Launay Viceroy of Nauarre.

The death of Philip the third King of France being knowne in Castille, the King D. Sancho sent backe the Archbishop of Calaoorra, and the Abbot of Vailledolit, his Ambassadors, to Philip the faire his sonne, to seeke some meanes of an accord, for many considerations: one and the most important was, that the Kings of France, father and sonne had bene the meanes at Rome to stop the dispensations of the marriage which D. Sancho had made with D. Maria his cousin. These Ambassadors carried backe into Spaine, an enterview of both Kings graunted in the towne of Bayonne; yet they met not, for the King of France would not passe the mount of Marcan, and he of Castille staid at Saint Sebastians, sending their deputies to treat and end their quarrels. For King Philip there came Robert Duke of Bourgogne and others, for the King of Castille came D. Gutierrez Archbishop of Toledo, successor to the Cardinal D. Gonzalo, with the Bishops of Calaoorra, Burgos and others. The first demand which the French made, and whereon they did insist, was, that the King D. Sancho should leaue his wife D. Maria, to marry one of king Philips sisters, which should be either Marquerite or Blanche; which the Ambassadors of Spaine found to be out of reason: and hauing giuen aduice thereof vnto their King, who was nere, he was so much offended, as hee recalled them, and would not haue the conference to proceed any further. The Abbot of Vailledolit, who was superintendent of the Kings reuenues, by this voiage fell into disgrace with his master, and was accused to haue put this sauage demand into the Frenchmens heads: wherefore hee was straightly looked into, and dismissed from all affaires. The King went from Saint Sebastians to Victoria, where the Queen attended him, from whence they past to Burgos, from thence he went to Saint James in pilgrimage. Passing by Sahagun, he caused the bodies of the King D. Alphonso the sixth, and the Queenes which were there interred, to be removed.

Castille.

Conference of Deputies for the Kings of France and Castille.

**5** His voyage being ended, hee honoured D. Lope Diaz de Haro, Lord of Biscay, with the dignity of high Steward, and Standard-bearer of the realme of Castille, giuing the suruiuaunce vnto D. Diego Lope de Haro his sonne, with promise neuer to dispossesse them of their offices, so as they did serue him and his sonne D. Fernand faithfully, without affecting

Haro Lord of Biscay exceedingly honored by the King D. Sancho.

affecting any other parties, appointments or alliances, the which they promised solemnly, upon paine of losing Biscay, and all they had in Castille and Leon: and the King gaue into the hands of D. Lope, for assurance of that which he had promised, most of the forts in Castille.

By meanes of these things D. Lope Diaz was made Earle the first day of the yeere 1287. with command ouer all the country, from Burgos vnto the sea. To D. Diego Lopes da Haro the Earles brother, was giuen the Gouvernement of the Moores frontier: about which time the marriage was made betwixt D. John the Kings brother, and D. Maria Diaz de Haro, daughter to the Earle D. Lope: who had a great desire to see the King D. Sancho diuorced from the Queene his wife, to haue him marry the daughter of Gaston Lord of Berne his cousin, hoping that the children which should come of that marriage, should inherit those realmes, and those which hee had had by Queene Mary should be excluded, for that the marriage was made without the Popes dispensation: but God did otherwise dispose. This Princeesse was brought in bed this yeere of her second sonne, called Alphonso, and then the King retired D. Isabel, heire of the Estate of Molina, whom her mother D. Blanch, sister to Queene Mary, would haue married to D. Alphonso King of Arragon. This great power and authority which the King had giuen to the Earle D. Lope, discontented many Noblemen of Galicia, but especially of Leon, so as hee was prest to abate this power, too great for a subiect, the which hee abused: but the King had no will to diminish any thing, wherefore he tried to content them with good words: and in the meane time he ordained, that the Earle D. Lope should goe into the Marches of Galicia, with good numbers of souldiers, to suppress such as would attempt any thing against his will. The Earle D. Lopes held a garrison at Astorga, and the King went another way to see his Nephew D. Denis King of Portugal, to reconcile him with D. Alphonso of Portugal, who held some places vpon the frontiers of Leon, where by reason of his quarrels hee kept some souldiers, whether also some banished men of Castille retired themselves, who made roades into the territories of Leon. The two Kings of Castille and Portugal met at the siege of Ronches, and tooke it by composition: by the which D. Aluaro de Lana, who had retired himselfe to D. Alphonso of Portugal, was restored to D. Sanchos fauour. At this siege the King of Portugal did counsell the King of Castille D. Lope Diaz de Haro, who did abuse the authority which he had giuen him tyrannously, else it was to be feared there would grow great troubles in Castille.

This aduice was wel taken by the King D. Sancho, and from that time hee began to study by what meanes he might take away or diminish that extraordinary power, but it was too late: It is not the custome for such as are once mounted, to stoop. The Earle D. Lope finding the Kings intent, retired to Gaston of Berne his cousin, there to make some faction: where he had newes of the death of D. Aluaro de Lara his competitor and enemy, whereof he was exceeding glad, and returned into Castille, but he found that the King had giuen his offices, and all that D. Aluaro had enioyed to his brother D. John Nugnes de Lara, so as D. Lope found himselfe preuented; wherevpon he debauched the Infant D. John his sonne in law, leauing the court much discontented. D. John made some roades about Salamanca; wherefore the King being in the towne of Carrion, the weeke before Easter, whether the Earle D. Lope Diaz came well accompanied, he complained vnto him of the excess which his sonne in law D. John had done, to whom the Earle answered proudly, that hee had not done any thing but what he had aduised him; and that if hee would heare the Infants reasons, hee should goe to Vailledolit, and hee would bring him to Cigales. This proud manner of speech of the Earles, seemed strange vnto the King, and increased his desire to punish them both: Notwithstanding he went to Vailledolit, and the Earle with his sonne in law came to Cigales, not daring to come in the Kings presence in any great towne. There the Deputies of either part did confer dayly, at a place called Louerucla, whereas these iarrs were somewhat reconciled: wherevpon the King came towards the frontiers of Arragon, to treat with the King D. Alphonso touching the deliery of his Nephewes, the sonnes of La Cerde, whereof hee was much sollicit, euen by the Earle D. Lope Diaz.

Not

A Notwithstanding before the King D. Sancho could approach nere to Tarassone, where the King of Arragon was, the Earle had preuented him, who hauing spoken with the King of Arragon, hee reported vnto his maister, that he found by the way, that the King of Arragon would not be pleased with this kinde of enterview, and therefore hee had no need to passe any farther. The Earle finding himselfe somewhat crost by the enterview of the King D. Sancho and him of Portugal, did also thinke that this would bee nothing fauorable vnto him.

6 As for D. Alphonso of Arragon, whom we haue left carefull to execute the charge which the King his father had giuen him, to dispossesse the King D. James his vnckle of the Islands of Majorca and Minorca: after the conquest thereof hee had brought backe his victorious army to Valencia, and there was receiued and acknowledged for King by the Valentians. Yet he was admonished by D. Bernard, William Entenza and Symon of Vreca, Ambassadors for the Estates of Vreca, to come speedily to the assembly at Saragossa, where hauing sworne and promised the obseruation of the customes, rights and preiudges of the country, and receiued the oth of fealty from the deputies, he might lawfully take vpon him the title of King of Arragon, the which (said they) he might not vse before this act and ceremony, according to the ancient customes of Arragon. The King hauing giuen them audience at Moruiedro, he answered them courteously, that he would repaire thither with speed: and as for the royal title, he had held it reasonable to take it, seeing he had bene so saluted by the Archbishop of Tarragone, and by the Catalans and Valentians. Being come to Saragossa, he tooke and receiued the oth, and was crowned by the Bishop of Huesco, in the absence of the Archbishop of Tarragone, to whom (by the Popes decree) this office doth appertaine, where he protested that he held the realme as hereditary from his father, and was not bound to any. At this assembly of the Estates, which was in the yeere 1286. there grew great contention touching the reformation of the manners of courtiers, and the ordering of the Kings house, the noblemen and deputies of the Estates of Arragon maintayning that the knowledge thereof was incident to their charge; the King and his household seruants on the other side denied that there was either law or custome which tied the King or his followers to any such subiection.

D In the end it was concluded that the reformation of the court should bee made by twelve of the principal families (which they call in that country Mesnadas) the like number of Knights, foure Deputies of Saragossa, and one of either of the other cities the which should giue their voices in that case. This vnion of Arragon obtained a decree, that the King should haue certaine counsellors chofen, that is, foure of the chiefe Noblemen, which were D. Pedro d' Aierbe the kings vnckle, Pedro Cornet, Arsal Alagon and Pedro Martines de Luna; foure knights of noble and ancient races, which were D. Fortunn Sanches Vera, Symon Perez Salanous, Symon Perez Vera, and Arnaud de Castro, and foure of his household seruants: that is D. Gyles de Bedaure, Rodrigo Sanches Pomar, Alphonso de Castel nouo and Fernand Perez Pigna: Moreouer two knights for the realme of Valencia, two citizens of Saragossa, and one of either of the other cities of Huesca, of Tarassone, Jarca, Barbastro, Calatajub, Turol and Daroca: with a condition that whilst the King should remaine in Arragon, Ribagorça or Valencia, two of the noblemen, two of his household seruants, two Knights of Arragon, one of Valencia, and the foure Deputies of the realme of Arragon, should follow and reside in court; as counsellors appointed by the vnion, the which by the mouth of D. Fortunn, Sanches de Vera, Sancho Martines Lucanella, and the Deputies of Saragossa, Huesca and Turol (who were sent to that end) protested that if he did not receiue, obserue and maintaine these orders, they would seize vpon his reuenues, and of all the fees, offices and dignities of such noblemen as should contradict them: thus were the Kings of Arragon intreated in those times.

F This yeere the King restored D. Philip de Castro, sonne to his vnckle D. Fernand Sanches, who as we haue sayd was cast into the riuer of Singa as wel to the possession of the castle of Pomar, as to the rest of his fathers patrimony: and for that there were some remainders of Moores which stood out in the Island of Minorca, the King soone after went thither with an army in person, and cleared the whole country, making forced them

Arragon.

Reformation  
of the Kings  
house brought  
to the generall  
estate.

Adversus expecta-  
la out of  
Minorca.



to fly into the castle of Agaie, and to compound, from whence according to the treaty, A they were transported into Affrike, by D. Raymond Marques and Berenger Majol. In the meane time King D. Alphonso did sollicite the Pope by his Ambassadors to receiue him into fauour, which the French did hinder: for besides the rights, pretended by Charles of Valois, and granted to him by the Pope, to the realme of Arragon, and lands annexed, which were interdicted, there was moreover, that not only the two yong Princes D. Alphonso and D. Fernand de la Cerde were detained prisoners by the King of Arragon, but also Charles, called the Limping, sonne and heire to Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicile: for whose release Philip the father and sonne, Kings of France, had bene earnest solicitors, and taken armes, and euen at that instant Philip the faire did presse the Kings of Castille and Arragon, and in regard of Charles the Limping, Edward King of England did labour to make a peace betwixt him and the Kings of Arragon and Sicile brethren. In the meane time there was continual warre in Italy, whether Robert Earle of Arthois had bene sent, who with the aduise of a Cardinal the Popes Legat, and Mary Princeesse of Salerne, wife vnto Charles, who was prisoner, gouerned the realme of Naples. They were then vpon termes of a good accord, when as these Gouernors hauing sent a great army into Sicile, vnder the command of Renaud del Balfo, Earle of Auellin, tooke the towne of Cattanea; whereof King D. Alphonso being aduertised, he sent backe Roger de Loria Admiral of Sicile, to succor and defend his brothers country. The Earle of Auellin hauing made this prize, hee sent the galleys, which had transported his army, backe to Naples, to bring the rest of his troupes which were yet on land: and at the same instant, Guy of Montfort, Earle of Languillare, with the Earles of Boullen and Flanders, hauing leauied men in Tuscany, were ready to imbarke vpon the banks of Sienna, when as Roger de Loria the Admiral arriued in the Italian seas, who hauing descouered the fleet which went to transport the souldiars at Naples, hee pursued them, and tooke them easily, hauing none to make any defence, and loone after hee espied about sixty gallies sayling towards Sicile, which was the army of those French Noblemen aboue named, which had imbarqued in Tuscany, whose Admiral was called Arrighin, a Geneuois. Roger charged them couragiously, and put them to rout, without any great difficulty, for the souldiars in the French fleet could fight better at land then at sea: the Commanders were taken, all which paid their ransoms, except the Earle of Montfort, who was detained prisoner, and there died.

These two victories were the recouery of Cattanea the which was yeclded to the Arragonois, by the Earle of Auellin, who with his companions, returned with their bag and baggage to Naples. By this meane the treaty of peace which Edward made was broken, but he desisted not, vntil he had drawne them to these conditions: That Charles should be set at liberty, paying twenty thousand, or (as some say) thirty thousand markes of siluer for his ransom. That he should procure the Pope to inuest King James in the realme of Naples, that he should take away the Interdict, and absolute the two brethren of Arragon, and that he should be a meane to make Charles Earle of Valois quit the interest he pretended in Catalogne, by vertue of a donation made vnto him by Pope Martin: for the execution whereof hee should haue three yeeres time, and in case he could not performe them, hee should returne againe to prison: for assurance whereof, hee should giue his three sonnes, Lewis, Robert and John in hostage, with forty gentlemen of the county of Prouence. The which Charles hauing promised, and the hostages deliuered, he was released foure yeeres after his taking. He came into France, and labored in vaine with Charles of Valois, who would neuer relinquish the title hee had to Catalogne. Pope Nicholas also would not yeeld vnto that which Charles had promised touching the realme of Sicile, the which hee sayd was a fee belonging to the church, wherefore he past speedily into Italy with good troupes of men, led by Emery of Narbone. Being in Tuscany, he spent some time to fauour the Guelphes party, against the Gibilins, the which were two frantike factions, afflicting Italy since the diffention betwixt the Popes and Emperor Frederic, continued among the Italians without subiect or sense, with horrible examples of Impiety and inhumanity. The French which deli in these quarrels, held the Guelphes faction.

Conditions of  
peace betwixt  
the King of  
Arragon and  
Naples priso-  
ner.

Charles of Va-  
lois wil not  
yeeld up his  
right to Cat-  
alogue.

Charles

A Charles beeing come to Rome, Pope Nicholas the fourth crowned him in the yeere of our Lord 1289. King of both Siciles, from the which he could not be dissuaded: where- with they Arragonois held themselues much wronged, and fell to armes more violently then before. Surtees affirms that this yeere King Charles the Limping came and presented himselfe armed betwixt the valley of Ionquera and the hill of Panizage, making a shew as if he came to yeeld himselfe to the King of Arragon, according to the treaty, and that hee returned sodainly to Perpignan. The Calabrois, neighbours to Sicile, were daily sollicit to reuolt: the which the Inhabitants of the Cathenzan did, who gaue themselues to King James: wherevpon King Charles beeing accompanied by the Earle of Artois, led an army thither, to succor which place, King James beeing come with his Admiral, and hauing landed his men, hee was encountred and defeated by the French, and forced to saue himselfe in his galleies, yet without any great losse; wherefore the Arragonois desiring to diuert this siege, they sailed towards Gayete, where hauing seized vpon a hill neere vnto it, they gaue many assaults, but without any effect. King Charles, and the Earle of Arthois, leauing sufficient troupes to entertaine the siege of Cathenzan, marched towards Gayete, being resolu'd to giue battaile to the Arragonois: but they kept themselues from fighting, beeing lodged in a place of aduantage and neere vnto their galleies.

There was a mediation for a truce betwixt the two kings and the realmes of Sicile and Naples, the which King Charles yeelded vnto for five yeeres, against the aduice of the Earle of Arthois, who held the victory in his hand, assuring himselfe to force the enemy to fight: wherevpon hee grew much discontented, and leauing Italy, returned into France with his troupes; vpon this truce Cathenzan was yeelded. This first conquest which the kings of Arragon made out of Spaine, was the cause of great broyles, warre and ruines in Christendome, for which they chiefly smarted, whereof the Popes were the subiect, as they stood well or ill affected to those Princes, of whose miseries, and of their ruines they were secure spectators, beeing defended from all danger through the opinion of their holinesse and authority.

At the death of Pope Martin, his successour Honorius the fourth, had settled and confirmed D. James of Arragon, and absolved the King D. Pedro, but Pope Nicholas the fourth, maliciously and without any feare of the shedding of Christians blood, did kinde a new warre betwixt the French and Arragonois, whereas hee would not crowne Charles King of Naples alone, but of Naples and Sicile together. D. James of Arragon holding Sicile at that time, at his coronation he tooke the armes which the realme hath since carried, which are an Eagle sable in a field argent, the which Mansfroy was wont to beare, and the bends geules in a field Or of Barcelona.

8 The King of Castille being sollicit, and much troubled to resolu'e vpon the deli- uery of his Nephewes of Cerde, detained in Arragon, and to recompence them in such sort as his souerainty might remaine entire and peceable to him and his successours, hee sent to that end Ambassadors to Philip the faire, King of France, beeing at Lions: but what they could not then effect by treaties and negotiations, occasion did afterward bring to passe, for there happened a great excess in the court of Castille, wherevpon ensued the deliuey of the Infantes of Cerde: the which notwithstanding was as much displeasing to the King of France, who had pursued it, as to him of Castille, who feared it, and auoided it all hee could. A most dangerous freedom for them that were deliuered, but of the restraint of their persons, as shall appeere.

The King Don Sancho being at Alfaro, with the Queene his wife, Don Gonçalo Archbishop of Toledo, with many other Prelats and Noblemen of his realmes, hauing alwaies a desire to restrain and punish the pride of the Earle Don Lope Diaz de Haro, and of the Infant D. John his sonne in law, who were there present, hee sayd vnto them, that if they would not remaine both prisoners, they should deliuer vp the forts which they held within the realm, whereat the Earl and D. John grew into such choller and rage, as beside words of contempt which they vsed, they laied their hands vpon their swords before the King their Lord, threatening to kill them that should offer to lay hands vpon them,

P p

An. 1289.

Truce for five  
yeeres betwixt  
the French  
and Arragon-  
nois.

Castilla.

Quarrels in  
court where  
D. Lope Diaz  
de Haro is  
slaine.

9

King of Ar-  
ragon sets the  
Infants of Ger-  
de at liberty.

*D. Alphonso  
de la Cerda  
saluted for  
King of Castil-  
le.*

**Portugis.**

## Genealogy of Portugal

bref.

The

**NAME:**

An. 1290.

Capille.

Remenciations  
reiterated of  
the rights  
which the  
Kings of  
France com-  
ming from  
Saint Lewis  
have to castil-  
le.

**Tumult at B&B  
dairs.**

*Cruelty of the  
King D. Sado-  
cho,*

Am. 1291:

100

*Nugnes* was fed with hope to recouer *Albarrazin*. The Queene who was come to *A* *Cuenca*, to see the King her husband sicke, wrought meanes to winne *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, whom they had often attempted to draw vnto the Kings seruice, but hee trusted him not, but now hee was perswaded, vpon a promise to giue in marriage to his sonne, called also *D. Iohn Nugnes*, *D. Isabella*, the heire of *Molina*, and the Queenes Neece, the which was performed: but hauing his head euer fraught with ieaousie and distrust, hee was so easily induced to beleene any aduertisement, as hee was still ready to dislodge so as the King beeing at *Palenca*, and discontented with *D. Nugnes* carriage, beganne also to distrust him. And for that hee had need of captaines, hee drew the Infant *Don Iohn* his brother out of prison, in the yeere of our Lord 1291. to imploy him against his rebels, hauing caused him to take a new oth, to be faithfull vnto him, and to his sonne *D. Fernand*, whose hands hee caused them all to kisse, as to the heire of the crowne. From *Palenca* hee went in pilgrimage to *Saint Iames*, and by the way reduced vnder his obedience *D. Iohn Alphonso d' Albuquerque*, a knight of great authority in *Gallicia*, who had bene wonne by *D. Iohn Nugnes*. At his returne to *Vailedolit*, he found that his second sonne *D. Alphonso* was dead.

Arragon.

Peace betwixt  
France and  
Arragon.

The same yeere a peace was concluded betwixt the Kings of France, Naples and Arragon, the Ambassadors of these Princes being assembled with the Popes Noncio at *Tarascon*, at the instance of *Edward* King of England. For the King of Arragon came *D. Nugnes Mataplana* Bishop of *Sarragossa*, *Raymond Anglesol*, *Berenger Puchert*, *William Lunfort*, and *Bernard Pinelio* all Lawiers, who treated and agreed vpon these conditions. That the donation, made by Pope *Martino* to *Charles* of Valois, of the realme of Arragon and the appurtenances, should bee voided and of no force, paying a tribute of thirty ounces of gold yeerely to the Church of Rome. That the Island of *Majorca* should bee restored to the lawfull Lord, vpon condition that hee should acknowledge the King of Arragon for his soueraigne. That the Arragonois should depart out of the Island of *Sicile*, and leaue the free possession vnto *Charles* King of Naples. That *D. Alphonso* King of Arragon should bee at Rome on *Whitsunday* that present yeere, & lead an army against the Infidels. That he should perswade his brother *D. Iames*, and his mother *D. Constance*, to quit the realm of *Sicile*, or else to make war against them.

These were the principall Articles of this peace the which the Arragonois held inuoluntarily, accusing their King of impiety towards his mother, and treason to his brother: yet it was concluded and signed. And for the confirmation thereof, the bishop of *Sarragossa* and *Berenger Puchert* went to Rome. Some doubt whether the full conclusion thereof were made during the life of King *D. Alphonso*, or at the entrance of the King *D. Iames*: for *D. Alphonso* died about this treaty, as hee made preparation to marry the daughter of *Edward* King of England, called *Leonora*: yet it is likely this peace was made in the life time of King *D. Alphonso*, yea some Authors affirme, that King *Charles* the Limping and he met in the valley of *Lunquera*, either of them beeing accompanied with twelue gentlemen onely, who carried no other armes then their swords, and that there they ratified and signed this accord: as for the effects and execution thereof, it is credible they followed in the time of his successor. King *D. Alphonso* died in the seuen & twentieth yeere of his age, hauing reigned fife yeeres and seuen monethes. Being nere his end he would bee attired in the habit of *Saint Francis*, for an opinion which reigned then, that there consifted some great vertue in that weed, and so hee was carried to the conuent of *Franciscans* at *Barcelona*.

1290.

About that time the King of *Granado*, had conference with the gouernor of the frontier of *Castille*, for the King *D. Sancho* being called *D. Fernand Perez Ponce de Leon*, and renewed the treaty and league with *Castille*, for the confirmation whereof there was a Moorish knight sent to the King to *Burgos*. *Ioseph Aben Iacob* had succeeded his father *Iacob Aben Ioseph*, in the realme of *Maroc*, since the yeere of our Lord 1285, hee hauing reigned fife and twenty yeeres, with the reputation of a generous Prince, and a good Iusticer. This yeere hee past into Spaine, and came to besiege *Bejar*, but hee could not take it, wherefore he returned into *Affrike* with little honour. Meaning to returne some time after into Spaine with greater forces, hee could not passe, beeing stayed by the fleet

*A* of *Castille*, which was great and mighty, for feare whereof he stayed vpon the banks of *Tanger*, for *Benoist Zachary*, Admiral of *Castille*, had taken thirteene galleys from him: by fauour of which victory the King *D. Sancho* marcht into *Andaloufia*, to make an enterprise vpon *Tariffe*.

By the way he conferred with *D. Denis* King of Portugal, made a new league with *Castille*, him, and a future marriage was concluded betwixt *D. Fernand* of *Castille* and *D. Constance* of Portugal, who were both very young. And for the fulfilling of all promises in due time, there were townes and castles deliuered in pawne of either side, yet the King *D. Sancho* had no aide from him of Portugal, in this expedition. Being come to *Seuille*, and hauing their ordained what was needful for the siege, *Tariffe* was battred, and furiously assaulted, and in the end taken, the gard whereof was given to *D. Roderigo*, master of the *Calatraua*. A little before a marriage had bene treated of by Ambassadors, betwixt *Don Iames* the new King of Arragon, and the Infant *D. Isabella* of *Castille*, daughter to *D. Sancho*, beeing onely nine yeeres old. For confirmation whereof, pacification of the troubles, and other alliances, the two Kings of *Castille* and Arragon, met together in *Calatrabub*, in the yeere of our Lord 1292. but the marriage tooke no effect.

Tariffe taken  
by the Castil-  
lans.

An. 1292.

For as much as *D. Iohn Nugnes de Lara* the elder, continued still to trouble the realm, the King *D. Sancho* hauing taken *Canette* and *Moya* from him, hee forced him to retire into France, whether Ambassadors were sent soone after, to renew the league with King *Philip*, *Don Sancho* fearing that by some sinister reports hee might bee diuerted from his friendship, *Don Iohn Nugnes* beeing absent, *Don Isabella* of *Molina* his daughter in law, died without any children, whose inheritance fell to the Queene *Donna Maria* her aunt. The Infant *D. Iohn* carrying still a hatred in heart against the King his brother, rebelled againe, ioyning with *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara* the younger, and drawing vnto his partie many Knights, but the King pursued them in such sort, as *D. Iohn de Lara* was forced to yeeld vnto his mercy, and the Infant to flee into Portugal.

11 About that time *D. Alphonso Perez de Guzman* lived in great reputation in Spaine, being a wife and valiant Knight, who had long serued the *Miralmurin Aben Iacob* of *Maroc* and his father, leading their armies in qualitie of Lieutenant generall in the warres which they had against the other Moores of *Affrike*, where hee had wonne honour and great riches, with the which being returned into Spaine hee purchased much land and great Seigneuries. This knight and *Donna Maria Alonso Cornel* gaue beginning to the family of the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, famous in our time in Spaine, the Lords whereof in the beginning intituled themselues Earles of *Niebla*. To this *D. Alphonso Perez de Guzman* the King *D. Sancho* gaue the gouernment of *Tariffe*, the which hee promised to keepe safely with lesse charge by two third parts then the Maister of the *Calatraua* had done. The Earle *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara* hauing continued some time in France, had meanes to make his peace with the King and so returned into *Castille*, where they did presentlie imploy him against the Infant *Don Iohn* of *Castille*, and *Don Iohn Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*, who with many other of their confederates spoiled the whole cuntry of *Leon*: but in an encounter hee was defeated and taken: afterwards beeing but sleightly garded, hee found meanes to escape, and came to the court at *Turo*, whereas Queene *Mary* was deliuered of *D. Beatrix* her daughter, in the yeere of our Lord 1293. The King *Don Sancho* beeing aduertised that *Mahumet Mir Almus Lemi* King of *Granado* was like to make some attempt, hee sent the Earle *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, with *Don Iohn Nugnes* his sonne, and *Don Nugno Gonzales* vnto the frontier. The Earle of *Lara* the father beeing come to *Cordoua* died.

Beginning of  
the house of  
Guzman and  
Dukes of Me-  
dina Sidonia.

An. 1293.

*E* This motion of the *Granadin Moores* was but an idle brute, wherefore the troups returned. And for that *Don Denis* King of Portugal did receiue the Infant *Don Iohn* of *Castille* and the other rebelles, the King *D. Sancho* sent him word, that according to their capitulations, hee could not giue any retreat vnto his enemies, and therefore hee intreated him to cause them to depart his Cuntry with all speed, the which hee did.

*D. John of Castille brings the Moores into Spaine against the King his brother.*

*All of great civillity of D. Alphonso Perez de Guzman.*

*Cruelty of D. John of Castille.*

The Infant D. John going to sea, meaning to passe into France, was driven by a storme A to Tanger, from whence hee went to kisse the hands of the Miralmumin *Aben Jacob*, who entertained him courteously, and having conferred with him of the affaires of Spaine, knowing that he was desirous to annoy the King of Castille his brother, hee offered him five thousand horse to make the enterprize of Tariffe, the which D. John did willingly accept, returned into Spaine, and besieged Tariffe, thinking to finde it vnfortified, but D. *Alphonso Perez de Guzman* had wisely provided, and defended it valiantly. It is not knowne by what accident a sonne of D. *Alphonso* was fallne into the Moores hands: but some Authors write that D. John seeing there was no meanes to take this place by force, having demaunded a parle, hee led this child vnto the ditch, and told the father, who was vpon the walles, that if hee did not deliuer the fort, hee would cut his sonnes throat: wherevnto D. *Alphonso* answered, that the towne was for the Kings, who had giuen it him to keepe, and that it was his duty to defend it: as for his sonne, hee might doe what hee pleased, adding moreouer, that to let him vnderstand that he ment not to preferre the loue of his house, before that of his Prince, and the crowne of Castille, hee would rather giue a knife, if hee needed one, and at the same instant threw him his sword from the walles, and so retired to his lodging.

The Infant Don John incensed at this disdainfull answer, presently caused this poore Innocents head to bee cut off: at which spectacle the souldiers which were vpon the walles gaue a great shout, the which was heard by Don *Alphonso Perez*, beeing at the table with his wife: whereat beeing moued, hee tooke his armes, and commaunded them to follow him.

Beeing come to the place where they had made this noyse, hee beganne to incourage the souldiers, saying that hee was there to succour them, if they were prest, thinking it was some assault which the enemy gaue vnto the towne: but the souldiers told him that no man prest them, and reported vnto him the cruelty which they had seene executed vpon his onely sonne: If it bee no other thing, sayd Don *Alphonso*, be careful of your gard, and so returned without any outward shew of alteration, and without speaking any thing to his wife, hee sat downe at the table with her. This is honoured amongst the Spaniards for one of the most generous acts in this house of *Guzman* that hath bene seene in Spaine. The Moores and their capitaine Don John, seeing that they had to deale with resolute men, rayed their siege, and returned into Africa. Heerevpon the Miralmumin deliuered vp Algezire to the King of Granada, for that the entertayning of so great a garrison was both chargeable and preiudiciall vnto him. Thus the Kings of Maroc were dispossessed of all they held on this side the sea.

Soone after there arriued in Spaine the Infant Don Henry, sonne to the King Don *Fernand* the third, and vncle to this King *D. Sancho*, beeing freed from a long imprisonment with the French at Naples. Hee was well receiued, and did accompany the King into Biscay, whereas D. *Diego Lopes Diaz*, being come out of Arragon, had caused some troubles, the which were pacified by the Kings presence. The country did then belong vnto D. *Maria Lope de Haro*, wife vnto the Infant D. John, who was banished out of Castille. The King being returned to Vailledolit, and from thence to Alcala de Henares, he fell sicke, which made him to dispose of the affaires of his realme: hee left Don *Fernand* his sonne and successor, vnder the government of the Queene Donna *Maria*, to whom hee would haue all the Noblemen which held the chiefe dignities, and others which had charges within the realme, swaie: wherevnto hauing obeyed in his presence, he caused himselfe to be carried to Madrid, and from thence to Toledo, where hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1295. hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, and was buried in the great church of that city.

*Death of the King D. Sancho.*

An. 1295.

*Nauarre.*

Whilest these things past in Castille, the realme of Nauarre was gouerned in the name of King *Philip* and of the widowe D. *Lane*, by a French Knight called *Hughe* of Constans, after the accustomed manner, notwithstanding the great Estates of the Realme, governments and other charges, were for the most part giuen to the *Nauarrois*, all which were entertained with the Kings money, and then they made their accounts

A accompts by Liures, Solz, and Deniers, after the manner of France. Aboue all things the frontiers towards Arragon were carefully garded, in which country in the latter wars they had made a great breach, and taken many places which they held by the treatie of Tarascon, or at the least in making a peace there was no mention made of yeelding them vp. *Diego Sanchez de Garritz* beeing Merino or Prouost of Pampelone, the towne was set on fire in the night by *Symon* of Ardaiz, *Michel* of Alcanegui, and *Garci Sanchez*, men of base condition, desirous to do ill, wherewith many houses were burnt: these men beeing taken, were hanged. The Gouvernor did fortifie many places and houses within the realm, especially vpon the frontiers, and caused the English to dislodge out of the country, about the yeare 1295. by reason of the ciuill warres betwixt the kings of France and England: B vnto that time continued the League betwixt France, Nauarre, and Castile, which was vnto the decease of the king D. *Sancho*: but then by reason of the factions which were continued betwixt his children and them of Cerdes, all leagues were broken.

### D. James the 2. of that name, II. king of Arragon.

12 IN Arragon presently after the death of King D. *Alphonso*, D. *Pedro* his brother assembled the Noblemen and Deputies of the Townes at Saragossa, to consult least the Realme should receiue some preiudice, during the absence of the king Don James his elder brother: thither came Don *Symon* of Vtreca, *Bernard William Entenza*, *Pedro Cornes*, *Philippes Fernandes de Castro*, *Athon de Fosset*, *John Ximenes* of Vtreca, *Sancho Antillas*, *Artal and Blasco* of Alagon brethren, *Lope Ference*, *Pedro Martines*, *Roderigo Ximenes de Luna*, *Gombald Entenza* and others. The king beeing arriued at Saragossa, hee was there receiued and crowned, hauing sworne and promised the obseruation of the rights and priuileges of the Country: protesting that hee tooke possession of his fathers kingdom, belonging vnto him by right, as the elder, and not as an increase by reason of his brothers death, the which he declared, to the end he might keepe his interest to the Realme of Sicile, against his brother Don *Frederick*, who murmured, that the intention of the deceased king was to leaue him this land for his portion, being discontented at the peace concluded with *Charles* king of Naples and the French: the which D. James desired might take place, confirming it as soone as he came to the crowne, seeking by all means to haue peace with the French, but especially with the Sea of Rome, held at that time by *Boniface* Arragonais.

*Peace confirmed betwixt the French & Arragonais.*

13 By the meanes of Pope *Boniface* the eight a finall accord was made, about the coming of Don James to the Crowne of Arragon, with *Charles* king of Naples, the King Don James promising to deliuer his children, who were detayned in Cartellogne for Hostages: and moreouer to marry one of his daughters called *Blanche*, and to quit him the Realme of Sicile, which was but a charge or losse to Arragon. The Pope and king *Charles* for their parts, promised to procure *Charles* of Vallois to relinquish the right which hee might pretend in Cartellogne, by the Inuestiture made vnto him by Pope *Martin* the 4. for the accomplishing of which accord King *Charles* stayed some time in France, and also by Commission from the same Pope to mediate a peace betwixt France and England: but returning into Italy, and thinking to haue free possession of Italy, hee found that Don *Fredericke*, brother to the king Don James of Arragon, had seized thereon, by reason whereof there began a more violent warre then before. The Pope hauing cited the two brethren of Arragon, Don James came to Rome, and purged himselfe by oath, that he was ignorant of his brothers enterprise, offering to king *Charles* (who was present) I ayde to recouer the Iland: whereuppon they continued friends. Thither also came queene *Constance*, widow to Don *Pedro*, and *Roger de Loria* the Admirall, who were much honoured by king *Charles*, intertaining *Roger* into his seruice.

*Frederick of Arragon seized upon Sicile.*

14 The king D. James was made Standard-bearer of the Church by the Pope, who moreouer did inuest him in the Ilands of Corfica and Sardinia, which were held by the *Pisans*

*Robert sonne to R. Charles put to rout by the Sicilians.*

*D. Fredericke  
put to route by  
the French.*

*Robert sonne  
to King Charles  
put to rout by  
the Sicilians.*

Pisans and Geneuois: vpon condition, that he should conquer them by armes at his own charge, and a certaine rent, which (some say) was two thousand markes of siluer to the Church of Rome, with other burthenfome conditions. According to the offer which the king of Arragon had made vnto king *Charles*, he gaue him thirty gallies, with the which hauing ioyned his fleet of forty gallies, whereof *Roger de Loria* was Admirall, they sayled all towards Sicile, and hauing incountred *D. Frederick* with 60. gallies, commanded by *Frederick d'Orta* a Geneuois, they gaue them battell, put them to route, took 22. gallies, and about 6000. prisoners, and if the Cartelans, who tooke part with *Charles*, had not made way, to giue *D. Frederick* means to escape, he had bene also taken. *Roger de Loria* was depriued of his goods in the Iland of Sicile, and condemned as guilty of high treason. *Don Frederick* saued himselfe in Cattelogne, where he did somewhat repaire his forces, and then returned to Messina. There hee found that the Sicilians had had their reuenge vpon the French, for they had fought with them, and taken *Iohn de Loria*, nephew to *Roger*, with sixteene gallies, and had cut off his head as a rebell, which caused *Roger* to shew himselfe cruell vnto his prisoners. Afterwards king *Charles* hauing sent *Robert* his third sonne with commission into the Iland, and hauing taken Catanea, as he resolved to go and meet with a flecte of 60. Gallies, which *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, his brother did leade the Sicilians, vnderstanding that *Robert's* gallies were in the port of Catanea; vnmanned, went and assailed them, tooke some, and disperst the rest in the view of *Philip*, against whom hauing directed their prowes, they also gaue battel to his 60. gallies, whom they put to route, tooke him prisoner, and carried him to Palermo: wherefore *Robert* their king after these two routes, thinking that he should not be safe in Sicile, abandoned Catanea, and returned to Naples. Whilest these contended for Sicile, the King *D. James* did quietly enioy his Estates of Arragon, hauing in the yeare 1295. made a new league with the Kings of France, Portugal, and Granado, against the new King of Castile in fauour of *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, the titularic king of that Realme.

### D. Fernand, or Ferdinand the 4. of that name, 12. king of Castile, 33. of Leon.

*Castile.*

*D. Alphonso de  
la Cerde, and  
D. Iohn of Cas-  
tile cont. ad  
for the cause.*

15 IT is a scourge greatly to be feared, with the which God (being displeased) doth punish nations, when he giues them children for Princes, and women for Gouvernors: for the young age and weake sexe being alwaies little respected, and these instruments easie to gouerne by flatterers, and to be terrified by the violent, wee haue alwaies scene in such raignes, Maiestie in contempt, Iustice troden vnder foot, the people oppressed, the good recoyled, Truth banished, and the Country in prey to their neighbors. *D. Fernand* of Castile being a child, the yeare 1295. when his father *D. Sancho* dyed, the gouernment of him, and of his Realme by the will of the deceased King, should remaine in the hands of the Queene *D. Mary* his mother. A little before *D. Henry* his great vnckle was come into Spaine, who hauing bene chased out of the country for his turbulent spirit, during the raigne of *Don Fernand* the third had runne through many countries, both Christians and Infidels, and tryed diuers conditions: so as after many yeares he brought backe into Spaine the same qualities which had expelled him, yea far worse: by whose aduice the Queene was forced to gouerne her selfe, so as in effect he was Regent himselfe, which the Earle *D. Iohn Nunez de Lara*, and his brother *D. Nugno Gonçales* did enuie. Besides the Noblemen who during the life of the deceased king were out of the Realme, hoping in this new raigne to be restored, through the fauour of their partisans and friends, were now returned, which did not a little trouble the Queene mother, who for these considerations was forced to giue *D. Henry* great authority against her will. *D. Diego Lope Diaz de Haro* had vsurped the authoritie in the ancient patrimonie of his house of Biscay, and there were newes that the Infant *D. Iohn* came out of Affricke, to contend for the kingdom: Besides, that on the other side *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, fauoured by the forces of Arragon, France, and Nauarre, carried himselfe openly for king of Castile.

Not.

*Troubles rais-  
ed by D. Henry.*

A Notwithstanding all these crosses and dangers, this Princeesse who was of a great courage, caused *Don Fernand* her sonne to be proclaimed and crowned King of Castile, Leon, and other lands depending in the city of Toledo, writing vnto the Noblemen and Prouinces to acknowledge and receiue him: and to the end they should doe it the more willingly, she did release them of a tribute called Sica, which the deceased king, being prest with great necessitie, had imposed. In the beginning no man refused it, but the Noblemen mentioned bred such a confusion, as she had almost sunke vnder the burthen. *D. Henry* to settle his authoritie of Regent, which he sayd did belong vnto him, stirred vp the townes of Castile to open rebellion, so as the Queene mother and her sonne being come to Vailledolit, where she had called an assembly of the Estates, they shut the gates against them, and caused them to stay without vntill night: neither would they then suffer such as had accompanied them to enter, but onely she, her sonne, their Officers and household seruants. *Don Henry* came thither, who hauing scarce saluted the Queene, he began to perswade her to end this dangerous warre, and to disperse the conspiracie of so many Princes against her and her sonne by her marriage with *Don Pedro* of Arragon, to whome this Princeesse gaue a courragious and sharpe answer, reiecting this marriage as vnfit and pernicious.

The Infant *Don Iohn* the Kings vnckle, being arriued in Granado, came to Extremadura, and seized vpon the towne of Pont, or Alcantara, and then entered into Portugal, where by the fauor of the King *Don Denis*, he tooke vpon him the title of King of Castile, both of them writing to the Inhabitants of the frontier, that they should hold him for their Prince and Soueraigne Lord: and *Don Denis* not content herewith, sent to proclaim warre against the Queene *D. Maria*, and *Don Henry*. The wise Queene mother withstood all these dangers, and preuented them as well as she could, yeelding to the malice of the time, resisting soepe, and giuing contentment to others, with the least preiudice she could.

The king of Portugal came to Cite Roderigo, whereas the afflicted Queene mother with her sonne and puple were, and there they did in some sort renew their old allyances: they imposed silence to the Infant *Don Iohn*, who seemed to relinquish: and they did againe conclude a future marriage betwixt the king *Don Fernand*, and *D. Constance* Infanta of Portugal. To these intestine troubles, were added the enterprises of the Nauarrois and Arragonois, who led by *Alphonso de la Cerde*, calling himselfe King of Castile, entered the country by S. Esteuan de Gormas, and passing vnto Leon, hee was there receiued without any difficultie. There *Don Iohn*, who was rebelled againe, caused himselfe to be crowned king of Leon, diuiding betwixt them the Realmes of Spaine: so as *Don Alphonso* should be king of Castile, Toledo, Cordoua, Murcia, and Iuen: and the Infant *Don Iohn* of Leon, Galicia, Extremadura and Seuille. Into this confederacie entered the Kings of Arragon, Portugal, Granado, and the Queene *D. Violant*, widow to the king *Don Alphonso*, with whom there also ioyned *Philip* of France and Nauarre, with many Noblemen and Knights of the Countrey: in all whose names *Don James*, king of Arragon, had sent to proclaim warre against the Queene *D. Maria* and her sonne *Don Fernand*, in the yeare 1269. so as there was a pittifull reuolt in all parts of Spaine: these afflicted Princes, mother and sonne, hauing no entrance into any towne without great difficultie. After this inuasion of Leon, the Nauarrois and Arragonois led by *D. Alphonso*, entered into Sahagun, where they crowned him king of Castile, and tooke Villagarcia, Tordeillas, Medina del Riosecco, la Mota, Villa Fafila, with many other places and forts.

*D. Alphonso de  
la Cerde, calling  
himselfe King  
of Castile.*

*Confederacie  
against the  
King of Castile.*

*An. 1269*

Notwithstanding being at the seige of Maiorga, a place distant fise leagues from Sahagun, he continued there three moneths, and finding no man to make resistance, God shewed his power, for the plague falling in the Nauarrois and the Arragonois Campe, they were forced to rayse their seige, and make a truce with the Queene widow to return home, who being oppressed with infinit miseries, without counsell, ayde, or support, not onely made a truce, but also sent them linnen, carpets, and such like things, to the end they might carry away the bodies of many Noblemen and Knights which were dead of this contagion, the more honorably, among the which were the Infant *D. Pedro* of Arragon, *Don Symon* of Virea, and *Raymond Anglesol* Arragonois, giuing commandement that

*Plague in Don  
Alphonso de la  
Cerde's campe.*



*Infant of Castile by the king of Granada.*

that they should suffer them to cary them away without any let or hinderance. Thus some retired into Nauarre, and others into Arragon. The king D. James on the other side, being entred by the frontiers of Murcia, had conquered the greatest part of that kingdom. Hee of Portugal, notwithstanding the conference and league made at Cite Roderigo, showed himselfe in armes vpon the frontier, and had spoiled the countie vnto Simanca, and neere to Vailledolit, where beeing aduertised of the Nauarrois retreat, hee returned also, hauing taken most of the places of Alfajares and Sabugal, with some others about those quarters: but the king of Granada thinking to effect some great matter in Andalusia, was repulsd by D. *Alphonso Perez de Guzman* Gouvernor of that Prouince.

16 During these warres, many Iewes moued with feare more then with deuotion, turned to the Christian Religion in Spaine, where they had dwellings & Synagogues almost in all the good townes. The occasion was, that in the citie of Auila, there rose vp a certaine man of the Iewish nation, who rearmd himselfe a Prophet, with whom another of the town of Aillon, thrust on with the like spirit, did ioyn: who telling of many secret reuelations, prophesied vnto the Iewes that the time of their deliuerance did approach. The authority of these two personages, well knowne, was not little among them, and therefore they were easily credited; and the rather, for that they did accompany their preachings and discourses, with modestie, grauitie, and holinesse in their outward behaviour: so as these newes running throughout all Spaine, the people gaue themselves to prayers, fasting, almes, and all other commendable good workes, attending the day of their redemption, the which was foretold them by these Prophets, and appointed the last day of the fourth moneth: on the which (sayd they) should appeare many signes in heauen, with a loud sound of a trumpet. Thus hauing past the time in great repentance, feare and terrour, vnto that day, they were throughout all the townes, early in the morning, all attired in white before their Synagogues, as they are accustomed to do the day of their expiation, to pray vnto God to see those celestiall signes, and to receiue their Messias: but seeing nothing, they returned to their houses, whither fleeing come, as they say, there appeared many crosses on the walles, and vpon their garments; whereof some made good vse, thinking it came from our Sauour Iesus Christ, who reprooued their hardnes of heart: and therefore acknowledging the error wherein they had liued, receiued the holy baptisme; among the which was a great Philition called *Alphonso*, who did afterwards write against the Iewes obstinacie. Others persisting in their impietie, did beleue that these crosses were illusions of the diuell to deceiue them.

The storme wherewith Castile had bene beaten from Nauarre, Arragon, Portugal, Granada, and her owne rebels, beeing somewhat pacified, the Queene-mother leede an armie into the country of Leon, whereas the Infant D. *John* reigned, and besieged *Paredes*: and on the other side D. *Henry* went to the frontiers of Granada, where hee was defeated and put to flight, and without the speedie assistance of *Alphonso Perez de Guzman*, he had bene taken. This losse which did much preiudice the Realme of Castile was accompanied with combustions and praetises, which Don *Henry* made, to the hurt of the king Don *Fernand*, in the citie of Toledo, and the Diocesse of Auila and Segobia, where hauing gathered some troupes together, he marched to the campe before *Paredes*, and wrought so, as he made them raise the seige, vnder colour of holding a Parliament which was called at Vailledolit and in the meane time he fought vnderhand to corrupt the Deputies of townes and commonalties, and of the other orders of the countie, to the preiudice of Don *Fernand*. The Queene D. *Maria* preuented all these disorders, which were not hidden from her, but with great paine, seeking to content Don *Henry*. During these garboiles, they had newes, that the Nauarrois breaking the truce, had seized vpon the Iuisuerie of the citie of Nagera, a place strong by nature, the which they fortified, saying, that they held it in the name of the Infant Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*, whome they called king of Castile, and as they would haue gone on along the riuer of Oja, they were repulsd by Don *Iohn Alphonso de Haro*, who besieged them in the Iuisuerie, and prest them in such sort, as they were forced to leaue it, and to yeeld: this was in the year 1297. when as the kingdom of Nauar was gouerned in the name of the King and Queene of France by *Alphonso de Ronay*.

*Alphonso de Ronay Gouverneur of Nauar.*  
An. 1297.

At

A At which time Don *James* king of Arragon was in Italy, where the peace made in the year 1295. betwixt him, the king of Naples, and the French king, was renewed and confirmed in the towne of Anania, in the presence of Pope *Boniface*, and the better to confirme the friendship betwixt these Princes, the king of Nauarre yeelded vp the townes of Lerda, Vlsiera and Sauueterre vnto the king Don *James*, beeing taken from the Crowne of Arragon: so as for this cause, the peace and amity betwixt Nauarre and Arragon was firme and vnited against Castile. By these treaties the fort of Albarazin was yeelded vppe to D. *Iohn de Lara*, to entertaine him, and was taken from D. *Fernand* bastard brother to the king Don *James*, as if it had bene vniustly taken from the father of Don *Iohn*, who did homage to the king of Arragon.

B The widow Queene of Castile seeking by all meanes to preferue her sonnes Realme from so many imminent dangers, renewed againe the treatie of mariage betwixt him and the Infanta D. *Constance* of Portugal, in the towne of Alcaniz, whether the Infanta was brought by the king her father, and accorded for a future spouse vnto the young king D. *Fernand*, and to make a more strict League of friendship, the King D. *Denis* concluded a marriage betwixt D. *Beatrice* Infanta of Castile, and his eldest sonne D. *Alphonso*, who was then but eight yeares old. These marriages were made with great disadvantage for the king of Castile, for the conuentions made in consideration thereof, were these. That the king of Portugal should hold in pawne Oliuencia, Conguera, Campo Moya, and S. Felix de los Gallegos, places belonging to the Crowne of Castile. Then did the king D. *Denis* renounce the league which he had with the Infant Don *Iohn*, who reigned in Leon, and gaue vnto the widow-Queene three hundred horse to go against him, but they returned soone after, hauing not done any thing. The Infant Don *Alphonso de la Cerde* on the other side seized on the towne of Almazan, and the troupes of Don *Iohn Nugnes*, and of the Infant Don *Iohn* had almost surprized Sigença; who finding themselves in great want of siluer, coyned great store of false money, vnder the stampe of the king Don *Fernand*, and did many other acts which were not commendable, the which necessitie, and ambitious obstinacy do force men vnto: so as D. *Denis* king of Portugal, at the instance of the widow and the young King, entred into Castile by Cite Roderigo, in shew to make warre against the Rebels, but it was all counterfeite: for the effects did shew he came more to fauour them then otherwise: whatsoever it were, hee did not act of an enemy against them, but propounded some conditions of peace, fauourable for them; beeing of opinion, that to retire the Infant Don *Iohn* from his pursute, and to draw him to the king Don *Fernand*'s seruice, they should grant the Realme of Galicia to him and his for euer, and that of Leon for his life time; the which beeing disliked by the Councell of Castile, the king of Portugal grew thereat discontent, and so returned into his countie: after which the Rebels tooke heart, and it was the cause of a new reuolt of many knights and townes, and protestations of others to do the like, if they did not what they demanded: wherefore the Queene D. *Maria* and her Councell, were forced to yeeld to many vnworthy things, and was rather gouerned with her sonne and her Councell, by her subjects, then she did gouerne them.

C

D To this was added a new care which came from Nauarre, where as *Alphonso de Roleed* was Gouvernor in the year 1300. who sent an Ambassador into Castile, in the name of king *Philip* the Faire, and D. *Jeanne* his wife, Queene proprietarie of Nauarre, to demand the lands and ancient patrimonie of the Crowne of Nauarre, vsurped by the precedent kings of Castile, extending from the limits which were then betwixt the two kingdoms, vnto Atapuerca, and places neere vnto the citie of Burgos; which Ambassadour beeing a knight of Nauarre, was sent backe to the Queene D. *Maria* and her Councell, with the best words they could giue him. The French king was then much troubled with the Flemings of Bruges and others, by whom he had received a notable route, with the death of many Noblemen: among the which were *Robert* Earle of Artois, *Renald* of Nesle Constable of France, and aboue two hundred men of esteeme. The Ambassadour beeing returned, the Gouverneur held a Councell with the Infant D. *Alphonso de la Cerde*, D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, and other enemies to the king of Castile, at a place called Duegnas, where they resolved to send D. *Iohn Nugnes* vnto King *Philip*, with other Ambassadors,

*Nauarre.*  
An. 1300.

Castile.

Foundation of  
Bilbao.D. John Nue-  
nes de Lara de-  
fested and ta-  
ken prisoner.  
An. 1301.

to the end he should authorize the promises made in this assembly, to ayde one another A  
to conquer the lands of the riuer of Oja for the Crowne of Nauarre, and the Realme of  
Castile, for the Infant D. *Alphonso de la Cerde*. These Ambassadors were well received in  
the Court of France, and present dispatches were made, with approbation of all that had  
beene done, the king writing vnto the gouernor, that he shold giue all ayde and assistance  
to them that were fled out of Castile against the King D. *Fernand*.

17 At that time we find, that the towne of Bilbao was built by Don *Diego Lopes de*  
*Haro*, who had made his peace with the young King Don *Fernand*, and did enioy Biscay.  
This place is built vpon a riuer called in the country language Ybay cabal, which signifi-  
eth Great-riuer: for it is the greatest in all these quarters, and some affirme, that it is the  
riuer which was anciently called Neruium, very navigable, the which falls into the sea at B  
Portugalette, two leagues from Bilbao. This towne retained the name of a little hamlet  
neere vnto it so called as that time, but they now call it Bilbao the old, to make a differ-  
ence betwixt it and the towne, where there is at this day as good trafficke for the Nor-  
therne parts, as at any vppon that coast. It was first peopled by men borne thereabouts.  
Beyond that towne the Bascangado language is no more in vse, which they will haue to  
be the ancient Cantabria.

In the assembly of Vaileddolit, the Queen D. *Maria* had obtained great summes of mo-  
ney from some of the townes and Commonalties, to make warre against the rebels, and  
D. *Henry* had beene made Gouernor of the Moors frontier, who notwithstanding sought  
to entertaine the troubles and diuisions, wherein he tooke great delight, neither did hee  
care if that Tariffe had fallen into the king of Granados hands. Don *John Nuegnes de Lara* C  
beeing returned out of France, hee beganne to ouer-runne the Bishopricke of Calaoorra,  
with the Nauarrois and French, against whom D. *Alphonso de Haro* advanced with some  
troupes leui'd in hast, and finding him in a conuenient place, he fought with him, defea-  
ted him, and tooke him prisoner, deliuering him into the hands of the Queene D. *Maria*,  
who hauing recovered from him all the places he held of the Crowne of Castile, and  
made him sweare that he shold from thenceforth faithfully serue her sonne D. *Fernand*,  
she gaue him his libertie. In the yeare 1301. the King of Portugall came to Plaisance to  
meet with the Queene D. *Maria*, where they did treat to sue vnto the Pope for a dispen-  
sation of the marriages which they had contracted betwixt the Infants of Castile and of  
Portugall, conferring of the charges they must be at, not onely to obtaine these dispen-  
sations from Pope *Boniface*, but also the legitimation of the King D. *Fernand*, for that the  
marriage betwixt the deceased King D. *Sancho*, and D. *Maria* of Molina, had neuer beene  
dispensed withall. For the effecting whereof they must haue good store of doubloons: for  
Pope *Boniface* although he were of a Spanish race, yet would he not do any thing for  
them without a good fee. After the taking and composition of D. *John Nuegnes de Lara*,  
the Infant D. *John* seeing himselfe abandoned of his best friend, reconciled himselfe vnto  
the widow Queene, and to the King Don *Fernand* her sonne, quitting the title of king of  
Leon, and all that he held in that country: and for that D. *Diego Lope de Haro* held the  
country of Biscay, which did belong vnto his wife D. *Maria Diaz de Haro*, hee had in re-  
compence therof the townes of Mansilla, Paredes, Medina de Riosecco, Castro-nouo and  
Cabreros: for the Councell were not of opinion, that they should discontent Don  
D. *Diego Lopes* in dispossessing him.

These things thus repayed, it seemed that all troubles had beene pacified within the  
Realme, but those which were entertayned by the Infant Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*: where-  
fore it was resolu'd to repell him courageously, beginning by the siege of Almazan,  
which held for him: but D. *Henry* who desired no peace in Spaine, disappointed this en-  
terprife, and afterwards the King of Arragon and he hauing met at Ariza; they made  
leagues and confederacies, without acquainting the Queene or her Councell therewith.  
The King of Arragon tooke Lorca, both towne and castell, by the sufferance of Don  
D. *Henry* and Don *John* also. Thus was this courageous Queene oppress'd with a thousand in-  
supportable difficulties in her Gouvernement and Regency, which were procured by her  
owne subiects, besides the feare she had of forraigne enemies.

There was a new assembly of estates called at Burgos, and afterwards continued at  
Zamora.

A Zamora, where there were granted a subuention of great summes of money for the war;  
and also for the dispensations which they demanded from the Pope, who by that meanes  
granted them, and they were published. The Infants D. *Henry*, and D. *John* beeing still dis-  
contented, did soone begin to make new practises, to diuide the king and his mother,  
whose wisdom and iudgement did displease them. The Queene beeing at Burgos, there  
came other Ambassadors to her from the French king, to aduise her to do him reason for  
the lands of Nagera, the riuer of Oja, and others that were held by the precedent kings  
of Castile, otherwise they did protest in their Masters name, that he would haue recourse  
to armes: whereat the Queene was much perplexed, apprehending greatly the forces of  
such a king as Philip the Faire was. Hauing conferred with D. *Henry*, D. *John* of Castile,  
and D. *John Nuegnes de Lara*, it was concluded with the Ambassadors, that the Queene of  
Castile, and the Gouernor of Nauar should meet at Victoria, where they should treat of  
all differences. Whilst that this poore Princeesse did labor to maintaine her sons estate, the  
Noblemen aboute named carried away the king to Leon, and did separate him from her:  
neither was there any thing concluded at the interview of Victoria, for the great differen-  
ces of either part.

The king D. *James* sent a knight vnto D. *Maria* Queene of Castile beeing at Victoria, to  
tell her, that if she would be a meanes, that he might hold the towne of Alicante without  
any controuersie, he would restore all that he had taken in the Realme of Murcia: wherun-  
to she would not consent: for hauing (like a Lady of iudgement) intelligence what was  
C done by her neighbours, she did not now so much feare the king of Arragon as shee had  
done, seeing him in trouble with his Nobility, by reason of a tribute which he had impo-  
sed as well vpon the Nobility as the rest of his Realme, called *Selga*: wherefore she fought  
to haue intelligence with the malcontents of Arragon, to intertaine and augment these  
diuisions. About this time dyed the Queene D. *Constance*, mother to the king D. *James*  
and D. *Frederick* at Barcelona.

The Queene-mother of Castile hearing the wrong they had done her, in carrying a-  
way her son, she came with all speed to Vaileddolit, and to disappoint her aduersaries des-  
seigns, she sent vnto the king of Portugal, to effect the marriage betwixt the king her son,  
and the Infanta D. *Constance*, that by this means she might get from him the places which  
D he held in pawne of the Crowne of Castile, wherunto the Portugois yielded. But they  
which held the young king D. *Fernand*, desirous to entertaine the king of Portugals fauor,  
to the end they might be supported by him in their tyrannies, aduised him not to yeeld vp  
any thing, promising that the marriage should be accomplished when he pleased: where-  
at he was very glad, and stayed not long to put the married couple together, but did not  
giue vp the townes. Hereupon the king D. *Fernand* called an assembly of the Estates at  
Medina del campo, whither the Deputies wold not come, without the expresse comman-  
dement of the Queene-mother, but she appointed them to go, promising to be there her  
selfe. The Deputies made great complaints, that the kings person was detained by the In-  
fant D. *John*, and D. *John de Lara*. They for their part objected many things against the  
Queen: In the mean time the king being practised by his mother, stole from the knights  
which had debauch't him, and followed her, holding the way to Burgos, but as he was  
yong and inconstant, before they came vnto the city, he abandoned her, and D. *Henry*,  
who was newly made great Master, and returned with the others; by reason whereof there  
was much dispute. The Queene bearing and dissembling all, being wise, and excusing her  
sons youth, who went to winter at Leon.

Whilst these things were in question, Mahomet Myr king of Granado, hauing alwaies  
entertained the friendship of the seditious Prince D. *Henry* of Castile by rare & continu-  
all presents, after that he had tryed all meanes to recouer Tariffa, in the which D. *Henry*  
had alwaies fauored him, propounding it in the open Estates, and aduising them to yeeld  
F it vnto him: but seeing he could not preuaile by these meanes, he vsed open force, assay-  
ling Andalusia, which was neere vnto him, and laying siege to Alcaudete, the which hee  
tooke thinking to do the like at Baena: *Alphonso Peres* of Saavedra was Captaine of the  
castell, and D. *Fernand Alphonso* of Cordoua, *Payo*, *Arias*, *John Martines* of Argote, and o-  
thers, being in garrison in the towne, he was repulst, and forced to returne into Granado.

An. 1302.

But soone after hearing that the towne of Laen was not well manned, and that a peece of A the wall was fallen, he came with greater forces, and gaue a furious assault, so as many good fouldiers dyed in the defence thereof: and among them *Henry Perez* of Arana, a Knight of a noble house, yet it was preferred from the furie of the Moores: and king *Alphonse* seeing he could not take it, went to *Quesada*, the which hee forced. This king of the Moores was strictly allyed, and a great friend to *D. James* king of Arragon, to whome he had promised to ayde *Don Alphonso de la Cerde* with all his meanes to recouer the Realme of Castile, demanding for his part of the conquest of Tariffe, Medina Sidonia, Alala and Bejar, which were wont to belong to the Crowne of Granado, the which was granted, but he did not see it effected, for he dyed in the yeare 1302. the thirtieth year of his raigne, and of the Arabians 685. In whose place reigned his sonne *Mahumet* the third B called *Aben Alhamar*, or *Alamir Aben-Azar*. About that time dyed *Raymond* that great Philosopher, (yet had he no great learning, but in opinion) he was borne in the Iland of Maiorca, and in his younger yeares was a merchant. Beeing wearie of the world, he retired into the deserts, and there composed that briefe Art, or abridgement of diuine and humane sciences, whereby they haue beleueed that men in an instant might become very learned: the which (he sayd) he had by reuelation. He was religious, and thinking to draw the Mahumetists to the knowledge of Iesus Christ, he past into Affricke, where preaching the faith with an inconsiderate zeale, he was stoned by the Moores. Notwithstanding his writings being examined and censured some yeares after his death, by the Iudgement of *Aimeric* a Iacobin, and other Inquisitours Spaniards, they were condemned by Pope C *Gregory*, sitting at Auignon, as dangerous and full of ill doctrine, contrary to our faith.

Castile.

Entervue of  
the kings of Cas-  
tile and Por-  
tugall.

18.

An. 1304.

The king of Castile, beeing (as he thought) at libertie, for that he was from his mother desired to confer with *D. Denis* king of Portugall his father-in-law, the which the Queene D. Maria, D. Henry, and D. Diego Lopes de Haro fought by all meanes to hinder, but they could not: for these two kings met at Badajos. The apparent colour of this interview was, that the king D. Fernand had of his father-in-law a present of a million of Marauidis of mony currant in those times; but what was treated in secret was suspect to D. Henry, to Diego Lopes de Haro, and euen to D. John Manuel, son to the Infant Manuel with others, D who fearing lest they should plot something against them, made a league with the king of Arragon, and D. Alphonso de la Cerde, and would haue comprehended the Queene-mother in their league, but she refused it, and gaue good reasons for her excuse: wherefore they receiued the Infant D. Alphonso de la Cerde for king of Castile, the which the Queene seeking to hinder, she laboured in vaine, and retired to Medina del campo, the Inhabitants of which towne were faithfull to her sonne. Thereupon, being in the yeare 1304. Don Henry, who was very old, dyed, whose inconstant and turbulent spirit had troubled both himself and others, and so this league vanished: he was buried in the church of Saint Francis at Vailledolit. This death did much content the king, who was then at Cordoua, and hauing there settled his affaires with the new king of Granado, who made a league with him vpon the same conditions, and paying the same tribute which his father had done, he departed, leauing D. John Nuges de Lara for Governour general of the frontier, diuiding all the goods and possessions which D. Henry had held among his Knights, whereof a good part fell to D. John Nuges, although the king loued him little, but he feared him. The Queene-mother was then forced to follow his humors, yet she did all things for his profit and good. By her meanes D. Diego Lopes de Haro reconciled himselfe vnto him. But there fell out another contention betwixt D. Diego and the Infant D. John, who notwithstanding any accord that had bene made, would haue the Country of Biscay, which did belong vnto him in the right of his wife. The Queen and the Noblemen of the Councell sought to pacifie them, but not able to do it, they stayed the decision of this controuersie, to end matters more important to the realm, with the king of Arragon, and the Infant D. Alphonso de la Cerde: for the one held in a manner all the Realme of Murcia, and the other intitled himselfe still king of Castile: for the which Don John of Castile was sent to the king of Arragon, to take some good course with him, to end their pretensions and quarrels, who preuailed so, as the king of Arragon put that which concerned him.

Compromise be-  
twixt the Chris-  
tian Princes  
of Spaine.

A himselfe to compromise, choosing for Arbitrators the King of Portugall, who had married his sister Donna *Isabel*, the same Don *John*, and the Bishop of Sarragossa. The Infant Don *Alphonso* content in like manner that his right should be friendly decided, did choose and elect for Arbitrators, the kings of Arragon and Portugall, and the same Don *John*: the which, the King Don *Fernand* did willingly allow of, but not the Queene his Mother, who did fore-see, that the end of this compromise would fall out to her sonnes preiudice.

This election of Arbitrators signified to the King of Portugall, and accepted by him, hee went to Tarassone in Arragon, passing by Medina del Campo, from whence the King Don *Fernand* did accompany him vnto Soria. To Tarassone there also came B the King of Arragon, Don *John*, and the Bishop of Sarragossa, who employed themselves to examine the rights and pretensions of the parties, whilest that the King Don *Fernand*, and the Queene his Mother, attended their sentence in Agreda. In regard of the Realme of Murcia, the King of Portugall, Don *John*, and the Bishop did pronounce: That the riuer of Segura should make the separation betwixt the Lands of Murcia and Valencia, so as that which is to the South of Murcia, should be of the Iurisdiction of Don *Fernand*: and from the sayd riuer towards Valencia, should belong to the King of Arragon: so as Don *James* did not onely get the towne of Alicante, which hee had demanded, but also many other places.

As for the differences betwixt the king Don *Fernand*, and Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*, which were greater, for that Don *Alphonso* pretended the whole Realme of Castile to belong lawfully vnto him, it was iudged and arbitrated by the kings of Arragon and Portugall: That for the right and interest which the sayd Don *Alphonso* pretended, by an arbitrarie sentence pronounced vpon the pretension of Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*, the king Don *Fernand* should giue and surrender vnto him the places which follow: Alba de Tormes, Bejar, Val de Corneja, Gibraleon, Gargantalaolla, Torremenga, Passaron, el Reall de Mancanares, Algaua, Mont de la Greda de Magan, the Towne of Sarria, with the appurtenances thereunto adjacent, Monçon, Lemos, Robayna Aliadra, Almonia, Canall, and la Barka Estercolina, Torre Blanca, Rodo Eledia, Hornacuclos, las Hazennas of Corduba, the D Royall right and inheritance of Bonilla, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, Colmenar of Sepulveda, and Aldea maior, with Sal de Campos, Vencos, Gaton, Ferran, Moliellas, the Salt-pits of Rubio, Belbimbre, Castro Caluon, the Port of Vizagra of the Cittie of Toledo, and the Martinengas of Madrid, and of Medina del campo.

All these fore-mentioned places were adiudged and giuen by the Arbitrators, to the Infant Don *Alphonso*, into the possession whereof, hee should (without any opposed contradiction) bee actually put and inuested by the king Don *Fernand*, by our Lady day (otherwise called the Natiuitie of the blessed Virgin *Mary*) in September following: and in consideration thereof, the Infant Don *Alphonso* should no more intitle himselfe king of Castile and Leon, nor carrie the armes quartered of Castile and Leon, as hee had done before, and continued it to that present day: and hee should deliuer vp, and surrender vnto the king Don *Fernand*, the Towne of Almagan with the appurtenances adiacent, and some other places which hee had taken during the warre.

This arbitrarie sentence was giuen and pronounced by the Arbitrators in the yeare one thousand, three hundred and foure, whereunto were added and annexed great penalties and forfeitures to the partie that should infringe or violate the same: at the which were present Don *Raymond* Bishop of Valencia, Don *Martin* Bishop of Lisbon, the Bishop of Huesca, and the Bishop of Cordoua: Don *John Osorio* Master of the F knights of Saint James, *John Ximen*, *Diego Gonçales* Secretarie of Tarassone, *Gonçalo Gonçales*, *Raymond Altar* of Aguilar, *Pero Lopes* of Padilla, *Fernand Gutierrez* of Quixada, *Gonçalo Diaz de Cavallos*, *Lope Garcia* of Hermosilla, *Martin Fernandes*, *Porto Carrero*, *Alphonso Perez* of Saavedra, *Sancho Ruiz* of Eicalante: moreover, there were also present at that time, *Yelafco Peres* of Leyua, *Stephen Peres* of Auila, *Lope*

*Perez* of Burgos, with many other Noblemen and Knights; and it was written and signed by *Andrew Perez* of Corbera, publike Notarie of Tarrassone. In this last sentence *Don John* was no Iudge, but Agent and Attorney for the king *D. Fernand*, in whose name hee yeelded. As for the Infant *D. Alphonso*, what shew soeuer he made, he was nothing pleased, as it will appeare by the euent. The kings hauing bene some daies together as well at Tarrassone, as at Agreda, parted good friends.

These matters beeing ended they resolued to determine the controuersie betwixt the Infant *D. John*, and *Don Diego Lopes de Haro*: to which end *D. Diego* was cited to come to Court, which was then at Medina del Campo, to answer to the demands of *Don John* and of his wife *D. Maria Diaz de Haro*, heire proprietarie of Biscay: *D. Diego* would not plead in the Court of Leon, but he appeared in that of Castile, which gaue ninty dayes *B* respite to the defender, notwithstanding if he let the thirtieth day passe and did not present himselfe, or giue a lawfull excuse, they might seaze vpon their sheepe, oxen, cotes, and swine, and eate them, tying the secte against the walles and trees, in signe of the demanders possession.

*Don Diego* appeared, and pleaded for his defence, that considering the accords and transactions made heretofore, betwixt him, *Don John*, and *Donna Maria* his wife, by the which they had yeelded vnto him the possession of the Segneurie of Biscay, in regard of the recompences which they had receiued, wherewith they were contented, and had sworne and confirmed it by oath: they were now fallen from all the right they could pretend to the sayd Segneurie, and the dependances. The cause beeing pleaded of either side, with allegations of maine reason, they were referred to counsell: and in the C meane time, the Queene *D. Maria* foreseeing some new trouble, laboured by all meanes to accord them, or to vndergo an arbitrarie and friendly sentence: but *Don Diego Lopes* would not yeeld thereunto, but departed without the King or Queenes priuite, and returned into Biscay, the which was very ill taken. The assembly beeing ended, the king came to Valedolit, where he was so importuned by the Infant *Don John*, as he pronounced sentence, by the aduice of his Council, containning, That *D. John* and his wife *Donna Maria Diaz* should be put in possession of Biscay: yet he did suspend the execution of the sentence, thinking that *Don Diego* would grow thereby more tractable: but he was resolute to hold his Segneurie: so the king seeing his obstinacie, would haue dismembred the country of Guipuscoa from his Crowne, to giue it to his vnkle in recompence: wherunto he yeelded, to end all quarrels: but *D. Maria Diaz de Haro* beeing obstinate, sayd resolutely, that she demanded nothing of another mans, and that she would neuer quite her fathers inheritance, no not if they would giue her ten times as much as the Segneurie of Biscay was worth.

These poursuites did so trouble and disturbe euery man, and euen *Don John* himselfe, as they all thought it fit and conuenient (the King so commanding) to surcease the processe for two yeares, during the which the parties should haue truce, and not attempt anything one against another. And for that the great loue and friendship betwixt *Don Diego Lopes de Haro*, and *Don John Nuges de Lara*, was suspect vnto the king, he sought in the meane time to breede and stirre vp some ieaousie and diuision betwixt them, gratifying *Don Diego* in many things, making his Sonne *Don Lopes Diaz de Haro* Lord Steward of his house, but it was not possible to diuide them: neither could *Don Diego* by any meanes bring *Don John Nuges* in fauour with the king, who was resolute to make warre against him, against the opinion of the Queene his mother, and all his Council: so as hee was forced and constrained to dislodge hastily in the night from Aranda of Duero, and came to *Don Diego Lopes* and his sonne, who altogether made a league and confederacie against the king: Whereupon there were many enterprises and incounters, without any great effect: so as beeing returned to Aranda, and the king not able to draw *Don Diego* from that partie, there was a day appointed to meet at Cerezo, and in the meane time a truce was made.

There *Don Alphonso Perez de Guzman* who did negotiate for the king, prevailed so with them of the league, and the Queen-mother with the king *D. Fernand* her son, who attended the resolution of this assembly in the towne of Pancoruo, that all these, that

Sentence giuen  
by the king  
against *D. Diego  
Lopes de Haro*.

*A* is to say, the Lords of Haro father and sonne, and *D. John Nuges*, should remaine his seruants, and he receiued them into grace, yeelding vnto them all they were wont to enioy, and they for a gage of their faith deliuered some places in pawne. *Don John* of Castile, who pursued the Seignurie of Biscay, was not pleased with this accord, wherefore he did presse theking to haue the sentence giuen by him in fauour of *D. Maria Diaz* his wife, put in execution, wherewith the king was much troubled; and both he, the Queene and others of the Councell, sought by all meanes to agree these parties contending, who were resolued to go to armes: to preuent the which, the king made many great offers vnto *Don Diego Lopes*, the which he refused: but afterwards he repented it often. There was so great labouring for a peace, and especially by the Queene-mother, as in the end they yeelded to this composition. That *Don Diego Lopes* should, during his life, enioy the Segneurie of Biscay, and lands belonging thereunto, and that after his decease the possession should be giuen to *Don John*, and to *D. Maria* his wife, or to their heires, except *Vrdugna*, *Val de Balmeseda*, and *S. Olalla*, which three places should remaine to *Don Lopes Diaz de Haro*, sonne to *D. Diego*: to whom moreouer the king should giue for the enter-tayning of this peace, *Miranda of Ebro*, and *Vilalua of Lofa*. *D. Diego Lopes* yeelded to these conditions, to please the king though vnwillingly.

The troubles and seditions wherewith the Realme of Castile was afflicted at that time, was a plague which humane policie could not preuent: for when as one fire was quenched, another was suddenly kindled: so as these miseries continuing, men perished, the C treasures were wasted, and Christians ruined one another in these ciuill warres, giuing meanes and leysure to the Moores of Granado to assure their Estates, who furnished themselves with such store of munition, and built so many forts, towers, and castels, vpon the sea coast, as they maintained themselves for many yeres, against all the attempts of their enemies. *D. John Nuges de Lara* was not pleased to see an accord made betwixt *D. Diego Lopes*, and the Infant *D. John* of Castile: wherefore he retired from Court, and fortified himselfe in *Tordehumos*, where he was besieged by the king: but in the end the King was forced to giue him *Moja* and *Cagnette*, and to receiue him againe into fauour, seeing his vnkle *D. John*, to hinder the sege vnder-hand, caused the Knights to disband: yet for all this they liued not long in peace, for all these seditious men, although they had many quarrels among themselves, yet they agreed in this point, to keepe the Realme in perpetual combustion. The Infant *D. John*, and *D. John Nuges* did afterwards make a league against the king, vpon a false aduertisement, that the king meant to kill them: whereupon they troubled the State againe, so as they had great difficulty to retire the Infant *D. John* from this enterprize: but as for *D. John Nuges*, he continued in his rebellion, and would not come to the Estates held at Burgos, where there was question to treat of the kings patrimony, and the reuenues of the Crowne, which were greatly impaired.

As for the  
State of Castile.

### E Mahumet Aben Alhamar, the third king of Granado.

*T*He Moores (as I haue sayd) during these garboiles, did fortifie themselves in Granado, ouer whom reigned *Mahumet Aben Alhamar* the third king, and third of that name, by the decease of his father *Mahumet Myr*, who at his death had left two sonnes, the which reigned one after another, and one daughter. The younger was called *Mahumet Aben Nacar Aben-Lemin Abeadille*. King *Mahumet* during his raigne was blind by an accident, his sister was married to a great knight, a Moore, called *Ferrachen Arracz*, or Capitaine of Malaga, who was alwaies much esteemed by the king, and honoured for his vertue. This *Ferrachen* vsurped the towne of Ceuta in Affrick, and did great exploits both by sea and land. He had many children by his wife, who was Infant of Granado, among the which were *Ismael* and *Mahumet*, who reigned in Granado, as we will hereafter shew. This king *Mahumet Aben Alhamar* being blind, had from his entrance continued the war by his captaines against the Christians, the which had been begun in his fathers life time, and tooke *Bethmar* and other places, during the boyles in Castile.

Ornada.

Wherefore for a time he exempted himselfe of the tribute, which his predecessours had A payed to the kings of Castile: but the king Don *Fernand* in the year 1304. hauing (as hath bene sayd) renewed their League, and sent *Fernand Gomez* of Toledo his Chancellor, with a Lew called *Samuel*, to Granado, to demand the tribute, where they treated a truce with *Mahumet*, whereat *Mahumet* was well pleased, and they did agree that either should enioy the places which they had taken one from another: that is, the king of Castile *Tariffe*, and the king of Granado *Alcandese*, *Quejada*, *Bedmar* and others, and that the yearly tribute should be payed to the king of Castile. Which Articles were signed by king *Mahumet* and the Ambassadors, and afterwards confirmed by the king *D. Fernand* in the city of Cordoua, whether was sent to that end from the king of Granado, an Algaui called *Mahumet*. This truce continued about foure yeares, during the which the B Moores were carefull to furnish their countrie with all things necessary, to repell the inuasions of their forraigne enemies: yet had they troubles among themselves: for *Mahumet* beeing growne contemptible among his subiects, by reason of his blindnesse, *Aburabe* an audacious Moore, who was Gouvernour of Almeri, began to tyrannize, and to vsurpe the title of King: and although he were chased away, and forced (the towne being taken) to flie into Affricke, yet he left not to call himselfe King, and would haue surprized Ceuta.

During these things, *Arnaud* of Puyane, Bishop of Pampelona, a Basque by nation, held their Synods for reformation of his Clergie, which was very needfull. Two yeares C before their had bene a Synode held of many Bishops at Pegnascel, where it was decreed that Priests might keepe Concubines secretly, but not openly.

In Arragon a marriage was treated betwixt the Infant *D. Maria*, daughter to the king Don *James* and *Lewis Hutin* the eldest Sonne, and then with the Earle of Poitiers second sonne to King *Philip* the Faire, and of the Queene *Don Jeanne* his wife, but it tooke no effect. We haue sayd before, that the King *Don James*, the better to entertaine the peace which he had made with the French reigning in Naples, had promised to marrie *Blanche* the daughter of *Charles* the Limping, the which he did. By this Ladie he had the issue which follows: Don *James* his eldest, who was married to *D. Leonora* Infant of Castile: but hauing not touched her, he sent her home, and made himselfe a knight of the order of Saint Iohn of Hierusalem, and was afterwards Master of the order of Montesa. D *Alphonso* his second sonne was king after him. Don *Pedro* the third, Earle of Ampurias, *D. Raymond Berenger* Earle of Prages and Ribagorça, Don *Iohn* who was Archbishoppe of Toledo, and afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria, and Arch. bishop of Tarragone. Moreouer *D. Constance* married to Don *Iohn Manuel* of Castile, sonne to the Infant *D. Manuel*: *D. Maria* who was wife to Don *Pedro* Infant of Castile, sonne to Don *Sancho* the 4. *D. Blanche* a religious woman, and a Prioresse of Sixena: *D. Violant* married to the prince of Tarentum: and *D. Isabella* wife to Don *Frederick* Arch-duke of Austria: these were his lawfull children: and by his stolne loues he had a daughter, which dyed young, and Don *James* of Arragon, who hauing married the daughter and heire of Don *Lope de Luna*, was Earle of Luna.

The marriage treated betwixt *D. Maria* of Arragon, and the second sonne of France, by the meanes of Pope *Boniface*, tooke no effect, for that the conditions propounded seemed very preiudiciall to *Lewis Hutin*, to whom the succession of Nauarre by right belonged as the eldest, the which the Pope and the king of Arragon would haue transferred to the Earle of Poitiers, with the Earledomes of Champagne and Brie, and other lands belonging to Queene *Jeanne* their mother. This Donna *Jeanne* Queene of Nauar, a little before her death, caused that famous Colledge of Nauarre to be built in Paris, endowing it with good rents in Champagne, as well for the enterpayning of Regents and Professors in Diuinity and Humanity, as of the chappell and Ministers thereof. The same Princeesse built the towne called Pont de la Roine in Nauarre, otherwise called Cares, and hauing liued in France one and thirty yeares, and neuer returned into Nauarre, she died in the year 1305. leauing *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, who reigned in France and Nauarre successiue one after another, and *Isabel* who was Queene of England, married to *Edward* the second, her children. She was buried at the Franciscans in Paris. A yeare after the

Nauarre.

Priests allowed to keepe concubines.

Arragon.

Genealogie of Arragon.

Nauarre.

An. 1305.

A the decease of this Lady King *Philip* desired to make an allyance with Castile, demanding by his Ambassadors *D. Isabel*, sister to the King *D. Fernand*, but this marriage tooke no effect, for some reasons not written, some say it was three yeeres after the death of Queene *Jane*.

### Lewis Hutin the first of that name, six and twentieth King of Nauarre.

B 19 *Lewis*, sonne to King *Philip* and Donna *Jane*, surnamed *Hutin*, first of that name amongst the Kings of Nauarre, succeeded his mother in the sayd realme: he did not intitle himselfe King, vntill hee had bene crowned at Pampelone, but onely the eldest sonne and heire of the Realme: his surname of *Hutin* signifies mutin or riotous, which he purchased after his comming to the crowne of France, or as some say before, whether it were that he had bene the cause of contentions, or that hee had pacified them. The Queenes death being knowne in Nauarre, the Estates assembled at Pampelone, where they resolued to send Ambassadors into France, to beseech King *Philip*, to send them *Lewis* his sonne, their naturall Prince; and hauing written letters to that effect in the name of the Estates, they dispatched *D. Arnaud* of Puyana, Bishop of Pampelone, and Don C *Fortun Almoraid*, who were well and honorably accompanied: who being come to the court of France, they gaue the Kings to vnderstand the great grieve the people of Nauarre had for the death of their Queene, and Soueraigne Lady; for whose consolation, they besought them that their new King *Lewis* might goe thither as soone as might bee, accompanying this extreame desire of the Nauarrois, with necessary reasons, for that they had great complaints to make of the gouernment of their Viceroys, who had gouerned the affaires of the realme, to the great preiudice thereof. Whereof the continuall absence of their soueraigne Magistrate was the cause, who could not visibly see the Estate of his country and people, but was serued by the eyes and eares of others, whose reports are commonly false, and the truth either concealed or dissembled. This request seemed iust vnto the Kings, both father and sonne: yet King *Lewis* came not into Nauarre but two yeeres after, and in the meane time hee married *Marguerite* daughter to Robert Duke of Bourgongne, with whom hee had in marriage fifty thousand Liuers in siluer, and the lands of Gyen vpon Seine: of which marriage issued *Jeanne*, who was Queene of Nauarre, married to *Philip* Earle of Eureux, son to *Lewis* of France, by whom the Kings of Nauarre haue pretended right to the Dutchy of Bourgongne against the Kings of France: for Robert Duke of Bourgongne, father to this *Marguerite*, hauing had many children, most of them left not any heires, and their posterity which had children, failed soone, there remaying no issue of the house of Bourgongne, but that of this Lady, married to *Lewis Hutin*.

E 20 Whilst that the King of Nauarre delaied the time to come into his Realme, there were Gouvernors, or Viceroies, after the accustomed manner. The great quarrels which had happened in France some yeeres before, betwixt King *Philip* the faire and Pope *Boniface* the eight, had caused many disorders, by reason whereof there was a great famine throughout all the realme. Pope *Boniface* had excommunicated King *Philip*, and giuen his realme in prey to him that could take it; but hee was a prey to the French, who being led by *Nogaret* of Saint Felix, and by the intelligence of *Sarra Colonne*, surprized the Pope at Anania, and intreated him so ill, as soone after for rage and spight hee died at Rome: whose successor *Benedict* the eleventh, absolved the King, his house and his realme, who held the sea but eight months. After whose decease there grew great F factions for the election of a new Pope, so as the sea was voided aboue tenne monethes, for that the French and Italian Cardinals, beeing assembled at Perugia, could not agree, who in the end concluded, that three French Cardinals should be named by the Italians, or else three Italians by the French, one of the which should bee chosen Pope by the other faction.

Nauarrois send Ambassadors to the King of France and to Lewis Hutin their King.

Genealogy of Nauarre.

The



The Italians would needs name three French prelates, whom they knew to bee discontented and enemies to King *Philip*, among the which was the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, called *Bertrand Gor*, sonne to *Bernard*, a Basque by nation, who was chosen Pope by the French, and that at the instance of King *Philip*, who during the delay of forty daies, which had beene referred for the two parties, after the nomination, to aduise which of the three they should choofe, was aduertised of all: and they say that hee aduertised the Archbishop that he was one of the three named, and that if hee would promise and sweare vnto him to doe many things which he propounded, and among others to change the Popes sea from Italy into France, it was in his power to make him Pope. The good Archbishop desirous to attaine to that dignity, promised it, and did effect it being chosen, causing all the Cardinals and Officers of the court of Rome to come to Lions, where he was crowned in the Church of Saint Iust, that yeere 1305. There were present the French King, with many other Princes and Noblemen, and an infinite multitude of people of all sorts.

Duke of Brittain  
any slaine at  
the eyes con-  
solation.

During the pompe of this coronation, *John* Duke of Brittain was slaine with the ruine of an old wal, on the which there was a world of people to see this spectacle, and the King and Pope himselfe were in great daunger. Hee was called *Clement* the fifth, who sent three Cardinals to Rome, to gouerne the city, and other places of the territories of the Church. Hee made his residence in France, for the most part in Auignon where other his successors remained for the space of seuentie yeeres, which were *Clement* the fifth, *John* the two and twentieth, *Benedict* the twelfth, *Clement* the sixth, who bought Auignon of Queene *Iane*, *Innocent* the sixth, *Vrbaine* the fifth, and *Gregory* the eleuenth, who returned the sea to Rome: It is called by the Italians the new transmigration, and captivity of Babilon. This Pope granted to the French King the tithes of the Clergy, for reparation of the spoiles which the warre had caused, and the right of patronage of many Churches which were vacant, to prouide Ministers and Pastors worthy of their charges. King *Lewis Hutin* did accompany his father during all the alterations, so as he could not so soone goe into his realme of Nauarre, as he desired, besides hee was very young: notwithstanding all dispatches were made in his name. After that the Kings of France had

Pretention of  
Soveraignty  
in Nauarre by  
the Kings of  
Castille.

An. 1306.

Lewis King of  
Nauarre comes  
into his realme.  
An. 1307.

vnited the crowne of Nauarre to theirs, all quarrels for precedence, which the King of Castille pretended, ceased, the which hauing in former times gotten ouer France by their great power, they now lost by the same right of a greater power, which was that of France. *Philip* Earle of Poitiers, brother to King *Lewis Hutin*, to whom the King of Arragon had fought to marry his daughter *Mary*, vpon condition that they should make him King of Nauarre, was married in the yeere 1306. to *Iane* daughter to *Orselin* Earle of Bourgongne, the marriage was celebrated at Corbeil, after the which *Lewis* King of Nauarre went vnto his realme, well accompayned with French Nobility; being at Pampelone, hee was crowned, to the ioy of his subiects, in the yeere of our Lord 1307. and then hee beganne to stile himselfe King, being about sixteene yeere of age. Hee swore to obserue the lawes and rights of the realme, and then hee went to visit the towns and places thereof, with a great concourse of his vassals and subiects, who had not of long time scene their Kings and Soueraigne Princes, to whom the King shewed himselfe milde and affable: Notwithstanding being in the towne of Estella, hee caused *D. Fortun Almoraid* and *Martin Ximenes* of Ayuar to bee put in prison, who had mutined for the preuiledges of the Nobility of Nauarre, against the French Gouernors, and had meddled in the government, for the preferuation of the country: whereat the Nauarrois were somewhat discontented, but hee paid them with reasons, and parting out of Nauarre, to returne into France, hee carried these two prisoners with him: *D. Fortun* died in prison, but *Martin* got his liberty through the fauour of the Earle of Vallois, who notwithstanding liued not long after. Hee was followed by about two hundred gentlemen Nauarrois, whom hee aduanced in France, both to make them more affectionate by his bounty, and to accustome them to the manners of the French, and also to haue so many hostages, of those whom hee distrusted.

Pope Clement  
the fifth trans-  
ports the Pa-  
pal sea into  
France.

21 Pope *Clement* the fifth, hauing (as we haue sayd) done a memorable act, which did much import the Italians and other nations, to haue transported the Papal sea into France

A France vnderooke an other businesse worthy of no lesse fame, the Knights Templers being growne very rich, were by consequence insolent; they were enuied by great men, and generally hated; so as the people either moued in conscience, and desire to reforme, and roote out vice, or seeking to haue part of the spoile, in the yeere of our Lord 1308. made informations against them through al Christendome: sending word to the Bishops to make inquiry in their Bishopriks, of their liues, manners and religion, citing them generally to appeere at a councell which hee had called to that end at Vienne in Dauphine, in the yeere of our Lord 1310. Before and after this councell, many of them (after informations made) being attainted and conuicted of greuous crimes of heresie, Apostasie, & other impieties, against God, nature and al good manners, great executions followed, many being conuicted were put to death by fire, and other punishments: many (whose accusations were not well verified) being cruelly tortured, and of this number was the great Maister of the Order, called *James Mole* of Bourgongne, many also without any confession, were put to death: wherefore the Pope hauing made a strict serch, resolved to abolish this Order, and pronounced this sentence against them, in the presence of the Kings of France and Nauarre, of *Charles* Earle of Vallois, *Philip* and *Charles* brethren to *Lewis Hutin* and others. The execution of this sentence was suspended, in regard of the Knights Templers of Castille, Arragon, Majorca and Portugal, the suppression of whom the Pope referred to the disposition of the Apostolike sea, to prouide according vnto reason.

An. 1308.  
Papal sea for  
the abolition  
of the Temp-  
lers.

Sentence given  
by the Pope a-  
gainst the  
Templers.

C Thus ended the Order of the Templers, which had continued about two hundred yeeres: a president which should be followed in other things, which hauing beene instituted to a good end, and whose beginnings were not wholly to be blamed, are since so degenerat, as the professions of Christians is made odious and abominable to other nations. In time the knights Templers of Castille, Portugal and Arragon were suppressed with the rest, being growne the more odious to all men, for that they had beene condemned by a councell. The Knights of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem were enriched with the spoiles of these Templers, who had in the yeere of our Lord 1308. taken the Island of Rhodes, or at the least hauing beene conquered by other Christians, were put in possession by Pope *Clement* the fifth. These Rhodiens (as they were afterwards called) made profession of the order of Saint Augustine, and obtained great preuiledges from the Popes, enioying this Island about two hundred yeeres. They had helpt to ruine the Templers, and therefore had part of the spoile. Pope *Clement* and King *Philip* the faire diuided their mouable goods betwixt them.

Hospitalliers  
enriched with  
the spoiles of  
the Templers.

22 Other Orders of holy knight-hood had their beginnings by the ruines of this, as those called of Christ in Portugal, by the deuotion and diligence of the King *D. Denis*: who assigned them rents and reuenues of the Templers Comanderies and benefices: and it was ordained that they should carry for a marke or badge, a white crosse with a red. This King of Portugal wrought so, as the knights of Saint Iames were separated and exempted from the subiection of the Mastery of Castille, wherein hee was assisted by the Apostolike Authority, who made Alcacar de Sal the chiefe place of the order of Saint Iames, the which was afterwards translated to Pamela, *D. Fernand* King of Castille seized vpon the places, townes and forts, and all the reuenues of the Templers in his country, to dispose thereof as should be thought fit.

Portugal.

Order of Chris-  
tus in Portuga-  
l.

23 The Order called our Lady of Montesa tooke its beginning by the ruine of the Templers, in the realme of Valencia which is like vnto the knights of Calatrava, and vnder the Order of Cisteaux, vnto whom were rents assigned out of the Templers confiscations. This Order was afterwards confirmed by Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth, successor to *Clement* the fifth. In the time of this *Clement*, *Robert* King of Naples sonne to *Charles* the Limping, was crowned in Auignon, being before Duke of Calabria, a great enemy of *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, of which Kingdome of Naples, we will forbear to speake, for that it concerns not the affaires of Spaine, vntill that the Arragonois were called to that crowne by Queene *Iouane* the two and twentieth, as we shall heereafter shew.

Arragon.

An. 1309.

Warre made  
by Castille and  
Arragon  
against  
Granado.

Moore.

24 The accord betwixt the Kings of Castille and Granado, as soone as the King D. A. *Fernand* saw his estate somewhat settled, was broken: for the Kings of Castille and Arragon hauing met at Monreal, in the yeere of our Lord 1309. besides the marriage which was created betwixt the Infant D. *James* of Arragon, and the Infanta D. *Leonora* of Castille, they concluded to make warre against King *Mahumet* *Aben-Alhamar* the blinde: and although the conquest of Granado did belong to Castille, yet a sixth part thereof was granted to the King of Arragon, who made preparation to besiege Almercy, whilst that the King D. *Fernand* should besiege Algezire.

The King of Granado aduertised of this plot, was much incensed against these Princes, which had not kept their words, but especially against the King of Arragon, who had no interest to Granado; the diuision being made betwixt the ancient Christian Kings, and by the Popes authority. He sent a good garrison to Algezire, and to all other places; attending the event of this warre, the which was begunne by the King of Arragon, who sent some galleys in fauour of *Aborabe* the Moore, who was expelled, styling himselfe King of Almercy, who besieged Ceuta in Affrike, and tooke it by meanes of these succors; at the same time the King of Arragon came and layed siege to Almerie, and he of Castille to Algezire.

The Moores incensed most against the Arragonois, went to field on that side, and gaue many routs, and hindrances to them that held the siege, and to them that came to it. Algezire being well furnished, defended it selfe in such sort, as the King D. *Fernand* finding the siege would bee long, sent the Archbishop of Seuille, D. *Alphonso* *Perez de Gusman*, and D. *Iohn Nignes de Lara*, with part of the army to Gibraltar, the which C place was yeilded, and the Inhabitants and souldiers transported into Affrike, with their baggage, in ships which the King of Castille did furnish, according to the accord: for an old Moore being there, who complaining vnto the King of diuers alterations, where vnto he had bene forced, all the people were resolute to passe into Affrike, and not to liue any more in Spaine. This Moore beeing come thither at the newes of the taking thereof, sayd vnto the King: I was an Inhabitant of Seuille, when thy Great grand father D. *Fernand* tooke it, from whence being expelled, I came to remaine at Xeres, from thence D. *Alphonso* thy grand-father chased me, and I retired to Tariffe, the which being taken by the King D. *Sancho* thy father, I thought to liue here in peace, from whence you dislodge mee: wherefore I will passe into Affrike, to spend the remainder of my daies, with all the Inhabitants of this place, where wee shall haue no cause to feare the Christians.

The King Don *Fernand* being returned to Algezire, and seeking by all meanes possible to force it, the Moores by commission from their King made an accord with him, to yeeld vnto him all the places taken in the former warres in Andalusia, and moreouer fifty thousand doubloons, so as hee would raise the siege from before Algezire. This accord was made when as the King could not doe any more by reason of the commodities which his army suffred, through the continual raine, and other crosses, so as many Noblemen died of infirmities, amongst the which was Don *Diego* *Lopes de Haro*; by whose decease the Siegneurie of Biscay went out of the familie of Haro, and fell into the possession of them of the bloud royal of Castille, by D. *Iohn* husband to Donna *Maria* *Diaz de Haro*, daughter and heire to *Lope* *Diaz de Haro*, slaine at Al-faro. During this warre D. *Alphonso* *Perez de Gusman* died also in an encounter against the Moores, beeing shot through with an arrow, hee left one sonne and heire, Don *Iohn* *Alphonso de Gusman*, Lord of Saint Lucar.

These losses were increased by the retreat of Don *Iohn* of Castille, who carried many knights away with him, the which did much weaken the army: wherefore the King resolved to agree, and receiued the sum of gold aboue mentioned, with the places of Quesada, Bedmar, Quadros and Chungin.

Thus Algezire was deliuered, and a truce made betwixt the Realmes of Castille and Granado: but when as the King D. *Fernand* found himselfe seized of these townes, and of a good summe of money, hee did not much care to maintaine that which hee had promised, but sent Don *Pedro* his brother with the rest of the army, to the castle of

Gibraltar taken.

Accord betwixt Granado and Castille.

Bispe falls to D. Iohn of Castille.

A of Tempul, neere to Algezire, the which he tooke, and then returned to Seuille, where D. *Iohn Nignes de Lara* was newly arriued out of France, from Pope *Clement*, of whom he had obtained permission for the King, to take the tithes for the warres against the Moores. King *Mahumet* the Blinde was soone after depofed by his owne brother *Mahumet* *Azar* *Aben-Lemin*, being fauored by many great men Moores, who were discontented to be gouerned by a blinde King, who could not lead them to the warres in person. He was taken and dispossessed in the yeere 1309. hauing reigned seuen yeeres, the six hundred ninty and two of the Arabians.

As for the siege of Almercy, it was nothing fortunat for the Arragonois, who were beaten both by the succors that were sent from Granado, and by the besieged which sallied out vpon them, so as they lost many good knights and valiant souldiers. Such was the religious dury of vassals to their Lords, and of subiects to their Prince, & so holy and inuolable the military discipline in those daies, that *Martin* *Ximenes* of Ayuar, holding a fee of *Symon* *Perez* of Arenos, slaine in that warre, was accused of felony, for that he had not succored his Lord in fight: but he prouoed his alibi, and that he was not in that encounter: and D. *Pedro* *Martines de Luna* being accused of the like crime, purged himselfe by oath, before the King and Noblemen, that he was not at the charge whereas *Symon* *Perez* had bene slaine, D. *Fernand* Infant of Majorca was at this siege, where he gaue great proofes of his valour.

Some Authors make mention of memorable exploits, done about that time in Grece, by some troupes of Arragonois and Cattelans, the which we may not omit. It happened about the yeere 1302. that in Italy betwixt *Charles* the Limping King of Naples, and D. *Frederic* of Arragon, holding the Island of Sicile, contrary to the treaty of peace made at Tarascon, after many routs giuen and receiued of either part, there was an accord made by the meanes of *Charles* of Valois and others; the conditions were. That D. *Frederic* should enioy the realme of Sicile during his life, the which after his death should returne to King *Charles* of Naples, or to his successors. That the Princes treating this peace, and hauing interest therein, should bee a meanes that the Island of Corsica and Sardinia should be giuen to D. *Frederic* and his descendants.

The townes taken by the Arragonois and Cattelans on this side the straight should bee yeilded vp. The Mediators should bee sutors that the interdict of Sicile should be discharged, and the prisoners should be deliuered, amongst the which was *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, sonne to *Charles*, and *Gautier* Earle of Brenne, which accord was ratified by Pope *Boniface*, who imposed a tribut of fifteene thousand florins of gold vpon the realme of Sicile, paiable yeerely vnto the church of Rome. Vpon the conclusion of this peace, the captaines and souldiers of either part retired into other countries. *Roger de Loria*, who had bene in great reputation to bee an excellent sea captaine, yea the best of his age, retired himselfe into Spaine, where he died in the city of Valencia, in the yeere 1305. and left an honorable posterity. About foure thousand Cattelans and

E Arragonois, and amongst them some Sicilians sayled towards Grece, vnder the command of *Roger Florio*, *Berenger Entenza* an Arragonois, and others, to serue the Emperor *Andronicus* *Paleologus* then raigning, whose sonne *Michel* *Paleologus* slue *Roger Florio* in treason at Adrianople, a man of valour, of a German race, but borne at Brindisi, much lamented; wherevpon the troupes of Cattelans and Arragonois did choofe for their General *Berenger Entenza*, being commanded vnder him by *Fernand* of Ahones, *Corbaran* of Lect, *Bernard* of Rochfort, *Raymond* of Montanero, *William* *Sisnar*, *Symon* *Albert* and others. Being mutined by reason of these Grecean Princes, they fortified themselves vpon the straight of Calipoli, and there made warre with all violence against the Emperor *Andronicus*, and cut in peeces *Caio* *Iean* one of his children, with foure hundred horse, which were sent against them, at a place called Pont Roial, six miles from Constantinople. But soone after *Berenger Entenza* beeing incountred at sea, and taken by *Edward de Oria*, was carried prisoner to Pera, and from thence to Trebysonde: yet the rest of his army held the fort of Calipoli still.

The strength of this army consisted in two thousand five hundred horse at the most, who being led by *Bernard* of Rochfort, who was chosen their head after the raking of

The King of Granado depofed.

Arragon.

Tribut imposed by the Pope upon the realm of Sicile.

25 Cattelans and Arragonois in Grece and Thrace.

Grecians defeated by the Cattelans.

Entenza

*Entenza*, gaue a notable defeat to *Michel Paleologus*, sonne to *Andronicus* (who had with him all the Cauallarie of Constantinople) neere to the towne of Apros in Thrace, so as *Michel* being wounded was forced to saue himselfe by flight, and shut himselfe into Adrianopoli, whereas the Cattelans beseege him long.

Their fort of Calipoli being afterwards assailed by *Andriol Moro* (who led *Theodore Paleologus* Marquis of Montferrat into Italy with an army) was so well defended, as there were about sixe hundred with their commander *Andriol* slaine there. Yet necessity in the meane time did consume these Cattelan troupes being in an enemies countrie, few in number and farre from all succors, so as finding themselves in extreame despaire, *D. Fernand*, Infant of Majorca, arriued happely, being sent by *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, to giue them some releefe. Then was *Berenger Entenza* returned from prison, who seeking to resume his authority of capitaine generall, against *Bernard* of Rochfort, there grew such a quarrel betwixt them and their partisans, as *Entenza* was slaine; wherefore the Infant of Majorca detesting so rash and mutinous an army left them, and thinking to returne into Sicile, fell vpon the Isle of Negrepont, where hee was staied and carried prisoner to Saint Omer, a fort of Athens: being put into the hands of *Gautier* of Brenne, ruling in that country.

The French  
defeated by  
the Castellans  
in Greece and  
Gautier of  
Brenne slaine.

Genealogie of  
Majorca.

Soone after *Bernard* of Rochfort and *Albert* his brother, commanding the Cattelans at Calipoli, suffered themselves to bee surprized by the Gouvernor of Negrepont called *Thibaud* of Sipoise, who deliuered them to *Robert* King of Naples, who caused them to die in prison: by reason whereof the Cattelan troupes beganne to ouerrunne the country, like made men, without commanders, and without order, and falling vpon the country of Macedonie which was nere, they past through it like a lightning, ouerthrowing all they incountred, vntill they came into the territorie of Athens, whereas the French commanded; staying there they demanded to bee entertained in pay by Duke *Gautier*, but hee desirous rather to chase away this vagabond people, who were poore and insolent, went to incounter them with his forces, to fight with them, by whom notwithstanding hee was defeated and slaine, and almost all his men. By this victory the Cattelans made themselves Maisters of all that the French held in that country, and lodged themselves there, whereas since they had many commanders successiue, as *D. Manfroy* son to *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, then *D. Frederic Alphons* his brother, who remained Gouvernor there, and married the daughter of *Boniface* of Verona a Nobelman of great power in Negrepont, with others: from thence is come the title of Dukes of Athens to the Princes of Arragon. *D. Fernand* Infant of Majorca being deliuered out of prison through the fauour of *Robert* King of Naples, his kinsman, married *Isabel* the heire of Morea by whom he had *D. James* who was King of Majorca after *D. Sancho* his vnckle, hee tooke Clarence, and made many other conquests in Morea. *D. Fernand* to his second wife married a Princessse of Cypres, of whom *Fernand* was borne, who was husband to *Eschine* daughter to *Hugues* King of Cypres. After this second marriage, and the birth of this sonne, *D. Fernand* of Majorca Prince of Morea, hauing performed great matters both in the East and West, died in the floure of his age, about the yeere of our Lord 1315. so as the affaires of the Arragonois in that countrie went to ruine.

He was the third sonne of *D. James* King of Majorca the first of that name, whose posterity we haue gathered out of histories, after this manner. He had by his wife *Esclermonde* of Foix, *James* his eldest sonne, who being wholly giuen to deuotion, left the succession of the realme, to his yonger brother, and became a Franciscan friar. *D. Sancho* the second sonne was King after the father, in the yeere of our Lord 1312. who hauing married the daughter of *Charles* the second King of Naples, named *Marie*, had no children by her, wherefore dying, hee left the Realme of Majorca, to *Don James* sonne to his brother *D. Fernand* above named. Of this first stemme of Majorca, wee finde there issued these three sonnes, *D. James*, *D. Sancho* and *D. Fernand*, and one daughter named *D. Sancha*, married to *Robert* Duke of Calabria; to the which some adde *D. Philip* the fourth sonne.

Nauarre.

But returning to Spaine, we finde that about the time of these last wars of Granado, whereof

A whereof we haue newly made mention, or soone after, the Nauarrois renued their old quarrels against them of Arragon, to whom (notwithstanding any accords) they were neuer good friends: so as going out of Pitiella, a place then of the Kingdome of Nauarre, they entred the neighbour country of Arragon, and committed great spoiles, whereat *D. James* King of Arragon being incensed, hee sent an army to beseege that place, but they were dilodged by the Inhabitants of Sanguesse, a frontire towne of Nauarre, being assisted by some French troupes, who fought with them and they were defeated. The Arragonois being returned againe into Nauarre, and hauing runne as farre as the towne of Olite, and foraged the country, they were againe charged by them of Sanguesse and other neighbor places, being ready to passe the riuer of Arragon, at the ford of Saint Adrian, and were there defeated with great slaughter of their men, and the losse of the Standard royal of Arragon, which they of Sanguesse carried away, by reason whereof, and in remembrance of their vertue and valour, they carry for their armes, by grant from King *Lewis Hutin*, the bands gueules of Arragon, but in a field argent.

Arragonois  
defeated.

26 In the yeere of our Lord 1312. were the troubles of Lions vpon Rhoin, betwixt the Inhabitants of the towne and their Archbishop *Peter* of Bresse, by reason that he did surse vpon the Kings Iustice: King *Philip* sent his sonne the King of Nauarre thither, who tooke this Prelat prisoner, and sent him to the King his father, for which cause, and for that he durst presume to lay his hands vpon an Archbishop, he was called *Hutin*, or mutin as some say. The citizens of Lion being pacified, they mutined againe, by reason of the differences which they had with their Archbishop, but they were suppressed, and punished by the same King of Nauar, and reduced vnder the King his fathers obedience. It was at that time that *Marguerite* Queene of Nauar, the Countesse *Ieanne* of Poitiers & *Blanche* of la Marche, who had married the three brethren of France, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* and *Charles*, were accused of adultery, & put in prison at Chasteau Gaillard, of the which the Countesse *Ieanne* of Poitiers, was found innocent and absolved: but *Marguerite* Queene of Nauar, and the Contesse *Blanch* being conuicted, were condemned to perpetual prison, whereas *Marguerite* died soone after: the adulterers were put to death with cruel torments: the which were *Philip* and *Gautier* of Aunoy brethren. An vther of the chamber, who serued as baud and messenger of their loues, was hanged. It is reported of this Queene of Nauar, that seeing any faire yong man passe by, she caused him to be taken, & brought secretly at night into her chamber, & that after she had taken her dishonest pleasure with him, she caused him to bee cast into the riuer of Seyne, to the end hee should not vaunt thereof: the which was discouered by a scholler, who saued himselfe by swimming, being not wel bound. Thereof grew that ambiguous sentence, *Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est*. This vnchastnesse is attributed by some to *Ieanne* mother to *Lewis Hutin*, Queene of Nauarre, who was a scourge to the Flemings, and the cause of all the wars betwixt the King and them.

An. 1312.  
Troubles at  
Lions.

The king *D. Fernand* about the end of the war of Granado, gaue order for the building of Sauueterre, and Azpeity in Guipuscoa, granting then the rights & preuiledges of Victoria: he married his daughter *Isabel* to Duke *John* of Brittain, and made *D. John Manuel* of Castile, sonne to *D. Manuel*, Lord Steward of his house, taking that dignity from his brother *D. Pedro*, to whom in recompence he gaue Almazan and Berlanga: whereby it appeeres that these offices depended on the kings pleasure. This *D. John Manuel* had two daughters, which were both Queenes, the one named *D. Ieanne*, wife to *Henry* the second King of Castile, and the other *D. Constance*, married to *D. Pedro* King of Portugal. During the marriage of Duke *John* of Brittain, and of *D. Isabel* at Burgos, the Infant *D. John* of Castile, alwaies like himselfe, turbulent & seditious, came nere vnto the city, accompanied with soldiars, & would not enter without assurance, the which was giuen him: yet notwithstanding the King commanded he should be taken and slaine; whereof being aduertised by the Queene mother, vpon whose word hee was chiefly entered into the Citie; hee went forth verie early in the morning, seeming for to goe a hunting, and so escaped: Being pursued in vaine by the Kings men which hee had sent after him. Many knights and among others *D. John Nugnes de Lara*, detesting the Kings treachery, and withal ill affected to him, followed *D. John*, and beganne new troubles.

Distrust of D.  
John of Ca-  
stille, and trea-  
chery of the  
King D. Fer-  
nand, the  
cause of great  
troubles.

R r

Alliance re-  
newed betwixt  
Castille and  
Arragon.

Two brethren  
executed un-  
justly.

Alcaudete tak-  
en by the  
King of Cas-  
tile.

troubles in the Realme of Castille. The Duke of Brittain gave them leau to end A their quarrels, and carried away his spouse into Brittain. The Queene mother, with the Archbishop of Saint Iames, and the Bishops of Palence, Lugo and Mondogedo, labored to pacifie, and content these rebels, and in the meane time D. *Constance* the Queene reigning was brought in bed of her sonne D. *Alphonso*, in the city of Salamanca, who was heire of the Realmes of Castille and Leon. The King of Castille and Arragon, had an interview at Calatajub, where a promise of marriage was made betwixt D. *Leonora* of Castille, who was but three yeeres old, and the Infant D. *James* of Arragon, and an other marriage was concluded betwixt D. *Pedro* brother to the King of Castille with Donna *Maria* daughter to the King of Arragon, and there the two Kings made a new league and confederation against the Infidels, to make warre against whom the King of Castille called an assembly of the Estates of Castille at Villedolit, from whence D. *Pedro* the Kings brother was sent with an army, to beseege Alcaudete. In the meane time the King staied in Castille, making seizures, and taking by force certaine castles which did belong vnto his Rebels. Afterwards hee came in person into Andalusia where being arrived at Martos, hee caused two knights brethren to bee apprehended, being accused for a murder committed on the person of Don *Iohn Alphonso de Bedonides*, who had bene slaine at Palence, going out of the Kings lodging. These two brethren whom they called *Peter* and *Iohn* of Carauajal, being condemned without any great proofes, to bee cast downe head-long from the top of the rocke of Martos, as they were at their execution, protesting of their Innocency, they adiourned the King to appeere before the Tribunal seat of Almighty GOD, within thirty daies after, to giue reason of the death which he made them suffer vnjustly: notwithstanding all this, they were executed.

The King being come to the Campe before Alcaudete, hee beganne to beill, and came to Iacn, where hee remained some daies, litle regarding his Physitions, in the meane time D. *Pedro* tooke Alcaudete.

### Mahumet Aben-Azar the fourth King. of Granado.

Moore.

IN the realme of Granado, the yonger brother hauing dispossessed the elder, had much ado to be receiued, and obeyed by the Moores Granadins, who resisted him, especially *Farrachen* his brother in law, captaine of Malaga: so as Alcaudete could not be releued. The new King *Mahumet Aben-Azar*. *Aben-Lemin*, being in some sort seiled and assured of his Kingdom, caused his brother that was prisoner to be cruelly slaine, and sent to the King D. *Fernand* being at Iacn, to renew the league which the Kings his predecessors had with Castille, the which was done, the Infant Don *Pedro* being present, where amongst other resolutions, it was concluded, that all together should make warre against *Ferrachen* of Malaga: but the sodaine death of Don *Fernand*, crossed this designe.

Castille.

Death of King  
F. Fernand the  
fourth.

Naples.

The King being laied to sleepe one afternoone, the thirtieth day from the assignation which was giuen him by the two gentlemen which were executed at Martos, when as they of his chamber thought that he slept more then was fit, they entred into his chamber to see what he did, where they found him stark dead, the which was attributed to the iudgement of God. This vnexpected death which happened in the yeere of our Lord 1312. did much trouble the Realme, he was about fife and twenty yeeres old, he had reigned about seuteene, and was buried in the great church at Cordoua.

Soone after *Philip* the Faire the French King died, leaving the Crowne and Scepter to *Lewis Hutin* King of Nauarre his sonne. Some hold that this King *Philip* had the like adiournement to the Iudgement of God, in the towne of Bourdeaux, where there was a knight of the Templers executed in his presence, being borne at Naples, who seeing the

A the Pope and the King at a window, to behold this execution, cried out with a loud voice, seeing there is no worldly power to the which I may appeale from the sentence giuen against the Templers by the Pope, at the Kings instance, I doe adiorne them both to appeere before God within one yeere, so as that yeere being 1313. they both died.

An. 1313.

*Lewis Hutin* had then reigned eight yeeres in Nauarre, when he came to the crowne of France, King *Philip* the faire his father is noted to bee very vnfortunat in many things, both in religion, in the gouernment of his realme, and in his owne house. Hee was neuer in peace with the Church of Rome, in the which (although he were the eldest sonne) he caused many scandales, hauing had deadly hatred with the Popes, especially with Pope *Boniface* the eight, whom hee forced to die miserably: hee transported the Sea of Rome into France, *Clement* the fifth being made Pope, whom he vsed as a fit instrument, in many bad practises, as hatred and couetousnesse did moue him: hee did ruine with a strang cruelty and without discretion the Order of the Templers, which sect, admit it were corrupted yet many deserued better vsage: he falsified the money in France, exacted tithes of the Clergy, imposed the tribut called *Maltofts*, and the fifth penny vpon all Marchandise: he was prodigall without iudgement: hee intreated the Flemings vnjustly, and their Princes cruelly, by captiuities and vnworthy vexations, not sparing the innocent virgin *Philip* daughter to Count *Guy*, who had bene giuen him in hostage, whom they say he caused to be smothered: others affirme he caused her to be poisoned: some say shee was drowned, with many gentlewomen and maidens of honour which did attend her, others, and it may be the most certaine, write, that she died for griefe. All this Kings children died young, their wiues were accused and convicted of adultery, and his owne suspected to haue bene vnchast: yet he instituted the Court of Parliament of Paris, and caused the palace to bee built, which may bee numbred amongst his memorable deeds. The first notable act which his sonne *Lewis Hutin* did after his comming to the crowne of France, was that he caused *Enguerrant* of Marigni, Earle of Longueville to be hanged, being accused to haue hindred the King from subduing the Flemings, but the chiefe occasion was, for that he was suspected to haue robbed King *Philips* treasure, the which was found empty by his children *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*: he had no greater enemy then *Charles* of Valois the Kings vncler, to whom *Enguerrant* had once giuen the lie, debating in council of the bad gouernment of that treasor as they say. There is no great memory of that which past in Nauarre, after that King *Lewis* came to the crowne of France, his daies being but short, for eightene monthes after he died at Bois de Vincennes, being about foure and twenty yeeres old, leaving *Clement* his second wife, daughter to *Charles* the second King of Naples and sister to King *Robert*, great with child of a sonne, which liued not. Hee had married *Clement* presently after the condemnation of his first wife *Marguerite*, by whom hee had one daughter, named *Jeanne*, who was Queene of Nauarre, but not so soone: for attending Queene *Clementes* deliuey, *Philip* of France, Earle of Poictiers, was chosen Regent of the two Realmes of France and Nauarre, so gouerne them vntill the child which should bee borne, if it were a male, should come to the age of foureteene yeere; and if it were a daughter, that to her and her sister *Jeanne* should belong the Realme of Nauarre, with the counties of Champagne and Brie: but he should succeed to the crowne of France, by vertue of the law Salique, as some Authors thinke: but rather by the right of custome inueterat amongst the French, conformable to the order which God hath set in nature, and according to the good constitutions of ancient Estates, not to receiue a woman to the crowne, who is made to bee gouerned, and not to command. Whatsoeuer it were, this law was then practised, as well in regard of France, as of Nauarre, whereas *Philip* the Long, brother to the deceased King reigned, in the yeere of our Lord 1315. not without great troubles and tumults amongst the Nauarrois.

27  
Vnfortunat  
observations in  
Philip the  
Faire and his  
posterity.

Marriage of  
Lewis Hutin  
and his death.

Rr 2

D. Alphonso

### D. Alphonso the twelfth of that name thirteenth King of Castille and foure and thirtieth of Leon.

Castille.

28 **T**He unhappinesse of the house of Castille, continued the minority of King D. Alphonso, being numbred by some the eleventh, by others the twelfth of that name: for the Infant D. Iohn of Castille, and D. Iohn Nuges de Lara (two firebrands which had often put the Realme into combustion) hearing of the Kings death, were returned, the one from Valencia, the other out of Portugal, whether they were fled, to ruine the Estate, after their accustomed manner; and seeing that the Infant D. Pedro, brother to the deceased King, by the consent of the Queenes, was entred into the manning of the affaires; and the government of the King, who was at Auila, they came to Vailledolit, and told the Queene Donna Maria, that they were well content she should gouerne, but that they would neuer endure that D. Pedro should haue that authority: and from that time they sought all meanes to get the King into their hands, but the Inhabitants of Auila, and D. Sancho, their Bishop elect, gaue him so good guards as they labored in vaine, being resolued not to giue the possession and government of this yong Prince to any one that were not appointed by the assembly of the Estates: imitating therein the fidelity and care of their ancestors towards King Alphonso the ninth, whereof followed great factions, and tyranous ciuil warre throughout the whole realme: the ring-leaders whereof, on the one side, were the Infant D. Pedro, fauored by the Queene Donna Maria: and on the other the Infant D. Iohn, a warlike and fagious Prince, who had ioyned vnto him D. Iohn Nuges, and the fauor of Queene Constance the Kings mother: either of them being followed with a great number of knights: a generall assembly beeing called at Palence, the deputies of the Estates were also diuided, some desyring that the Queene D. Maria and her sonne D. Pedro should haue the gouernment of the King, and others demanding that D. Iohn alone should haue this charge: so as there was nothing done, but to animate them more to ruine the publike, and their priuat enemies. The Inhabitants of Auila, without any further respect, did acknowledge the Queene Donna Maria and D. Pedro for tutors to the King, and Gouernors of the realme, yet would they not suffer them to lead the King out of their towne. D. Pedro with this aduantage made a progresse throughout the Realme, and comming to Toledo, and from thence into Andalusia, hee was receiued, and generally obeyed.

### Ismael the fifth King of Granado.

Moors.

Sedition in  
Granado against  
King Mahomet.

**I**T happened that in the realme of Granado, the citizens of Granado had rebelled against King Mahomet Aben-Azar, the murthrer of his brother: the Author of which rebellion was Ismael, the sonne of Ferrachen, and of the Kings sister, who held Malaga. He with the fauor of his father, and of a mighty Moore, of the lignage of the Merins of Maroc, called Ozmin, pursued King Mahomet in such sort, as he shut him vp, and besieged him in the fort of Granado, called Alhambra, the which notwithstanding was well manned with Moores of his party, and strong both by nature and art. D. Pedro aduerted by this disorder by King Mahomet, who was a friend and ally to Castille, and intreated by him to succor him, went to field with such troupes as he could gather together in so short a time: but before he could come to Granado, hee had newes that the fort was yeilded to Ismael, and that King Mahomet had resigned the realme vnto him, beeing contented to liue in a priuat Estate in the towne of Guadix, without any other title, then Lord of Guadix: wherevpon D. Pedro returned, and came and assaulted the castle of Rute, a verie strong place, and which hee tooke, whilst that the affaires of Granado were yet in disorder. Thus King Mahomet was dispossessed of his crowne, which hee had gotten

A gotten by tyranous cruelty, hauing enioyed it about foure yeeres.

The faction of Castille which followed D. Iohn, assembled in the towne of Sahagun, whereas Queene Constance fell sicke, and died so poore, as shee had bene forced to sell her Jewels to feed her. This death and the prosperities of D. Pedro, made D. Iohn to propound some meanes for an accord, so as he and D. Pedro agreed, that the nourishment of the King should be at the disposition of the Queene Donna Maria his grand-mother, & as for the gouernment, it should be common betwixt them two, as it seemed the Estates of Palence had thought fit: wherewith the Queene D. Maria seemed wel pleased: for at the least shee got by this accord, that the Kings person was deliuered vnto her, whom she led to Toro, in the yeere 1314, where she caused him to be bred vp, vnder the care of

An. 1314.

B a noble Lady, grand-child to Theodore Lasfari, sometimes Emperor of Greece, her name was Vataca. An other assembly of the Estates was called at Burgos, where it was decreed that the gouernment of the King, and the regency of the realme should be reduced al into one body betwixt Queene Mary, D. Pedro and D. Iohn, and if any one of them should die, it should remaine to the two others, that did suruiue, and to one if two died. There was an order set downe for the augmenting of the reuenues of the crowne, with many other decrees, for the good of the King and realme. D. Iohn Nuges de Lara died then being come to the assembly of the Estates, and left no children.

Death of D.  
Iohn Nuges  
de Lara.

The Estates being ended, D. Pedro came into Andalusia, to assist Mahomet Aben-Azar, who held Guadix, being deprived of the realme of Granado, leauing the Queene D. Maria, and the Infant D. Iohn to gouerne in Castille. D. Pedro had an encounter vpon the frontiers with the Moores, whereas he slue a thousand five hundreth, and did afterwards take from them the castle of Cambil and Ardauidos. Mahomet Aben-Azar, caused himselfe to be still called King of Granado, notwithstanding that hee had promised to leaue this title to Ismael: but this victory of D. Pedros freed him, hauing in his company the maisters of the knights of Saint Iames and Calatrava. They write that among the Moores which were slaine vpon the place, there were about forty captaines, and almost al the floure of Granado, so as King Ismael found himselfe much weakened, wherefore D. Pedro and his captaines, both this yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1315, and the next following, made many courses and enterprises in the territory of Granado,

An. 1315.

D spoiling the vignes and fields, euen vnto the city gate, King Ismael making no resistance in field, nor any pursuite, when as they retired charged with spoiles. After this the King of the Moores hauing tried to besiege Gibraltar, hee was repulst, and forced to retire with shame, by D. Pedros army, the which surprized the towne of Belmes, which was ill garded, and then forced the Moores of the castle to yeeld, at which siege they lay three weekes, and yet no succours came from Granado, (being but eight small leagues from thence) but too late, after the yeelding, which succours returned notwithstanding without fighting. During this warre Ismael laboured to haue a truce, or to make an accord with the Christians, but D. Pedro would not harken to it, desyring to roote that race of Infidels out of Spaine, whereof hee seemed to bee in a good way, and in great hope, wherefore they anoyed one another all they could, but King Ismael seeing that in the end he should not be able to subsist, he sent to sollicite the King of Maroc, for the community that was betwixt them in sect and nation, to aide him to defend the realme of Granado against the Christians, the which beeing lost hee must not thinke that euer the Arabians should haue any access or entry into Europe, for assurance of which African Kings armies, hee not onely offered Algezire, but also al the places which are from Algezire vnto Ronde inclusiuely; Ronde, Castellar, Axuneua, Estepona, Marbella and others.

29 Whilst that Christian Princes made warre against Infidels, the Clergy and pillars of the Romish Church were not well vnited amongst themselves. After the death of Pope Clement the fifth, the Cardinals beeing assembled at Carpentras for the election of a new Pope, they grew into so great a fury, as two of them were murdered in the Conclau, the rest disbanded, and were dispersed throughout France, abandoning all, seeing there was no meanes to accord them.

King Lewis Hutin who liued then, was very carefull to pacesse this scandale, causing



Sarragossa and  
Toloufa, made  
Archbishop-  
ricks.

them all to come to Lions where they held their conclaue in the conuent of Iacobins, A where after his death, there was chosen by two and twenty Cardinals, *James* of Oca, Cardinal of Saint Rufinus, Bishop of Portuense, borne at Cahors, who was called *Iohn* the two and twentieth. This Pope made Sarragossa an Archbishoprike, and likewise Toloufa, and erected Cahors, the place of his birth, to a Bishoprike.

Philip the long, the second of that name, the  
seuen and twentieth King of  
Nauarre.

Nauarre.

30 IT was in the yeere of our Lord 1315. that *Philip* the long came to the crowne of France and Nauarre, at whose entrance they beganne to dispute of the law Salique: for many Noblemen were of opinion, that *Iohn Posthumus*, the sonne of King *Lewis* being dead, the realmes of France and Nauarre did belong by right of succession, to *Leanne* of France his daughter, by *Marguerite* of Bourgongne.

Those which held this partie, were *Eude* Duke of Bourgongne, *Lewis* Earle of Neuers, *Himbert* Daulphin of Viennois, and others of their faction: but *Philip*, who for the diuersity of opinions and interpretations feared that the law Salique did not extend to the succession of Kingdomes, and that possibly his right was not grounded thereon, contrary to the custome receiued in all other nations, and especially in Nauarre, whereof he pretended to dispoine *Leanne* the heire thereof as well as of the crowne of France, having also many noblemen which fauoured him, hee wonne his cause, by means of greater efficacy then disputes, and allegations of rights: for hee gaue *Leanne* his eldest daughter in marriage to the Duke of Bourgongne, and for doury the countie of Bourgongne her patrimonie: To the Earle of Neuers his second called *Marguerite*, and *Marie* the third to the Daulphin: in this manner hee stoppt their mouthes, and made them content with the rest, recoyling *Leanne* his Neece not onely from the crowne of France, but also from the Realme of Nauarre, which was not to bee questioned with Force and authority preuailed in this point; besides this Princeesse was not gracious with the French, by reason of her mothers fault. The Nauarrois followed the authority of the French, because they could not withstand it, and receiued *Philip* the long for their King, that yeere 1315.

castile.

The Kings Tutors, and the Gouvernors of the realme of Castille were required by the Estates in an assembly made at Carrion, to giue caution for their gouernment, and to giue an account what they had done, *Don Pedro* obtained liberty from the Pope to receiue the tithes, and to proclaime a Croisade against the Moores, against whom hee made violent and succesfull warre, as hath bene sayd, whereof his fellow Tutor was enuious, and gaue him many crosses, to draw him into daunger; of such force is enuie, that to preiudice an other, hee doth often bring ruine vnto himselfe, and to a whole Estate.

Thus the affaires of great Monarkes are often times ill mannaged by them, who haue the most important charges, who being loth to yeeld one vnto an other, in that which concerns the good and profit of the State and the seruice of their Prince, and being alwaies enuious of the honour and glory of their companions, let slippe occasions, dissemble, delay, and had rather incur the perpetuall infamy of traitors, cowards and peruerse emulators, then to aide one an other in a good action.

Thus did *D. Iohn* against *D. Pedro*, crossing and hindring his gallant designs and enterprises of warre, vpon the Moores frontiers, whilst that hee gouerned within the heart of the Realme; sometimes staying the Nobility of Castille and Leon from going to *D. Pedro*, sometimes keeping backe the treasure, and alwaies finding meanes to crosse him, and to make the people lesse obedient vnto him, so as the Queene *Donna Maria*, who was a verie wise Ladie, and saw cleerely into these troubles and bad affections, had

A had much toyle to keepe them from an open diuision: and did often and wisely call an assembly of the Estates to that effect, sometimes at Vailledolit for the Castilians, and sometimes at Medina del campo for them of Leon and Extremadura.

In their yeare 1317. *Don Berenger* Arch-bishop of Saint *Lames*, brought a commandement and censures from the Pope to put *Don Alphonso de la Cerde* in possession of the lands and goods which were adiudged by the Arbitrators at Tarassone: whereunto the Gouvernours would not obey, but sent their reasons to the Pope, excusing themselves, that the Infant had not for his part kept the conditions set downe in the sentence.

31 *Don Pedro* notwithstanding the enuie which his vnckle *Don Iohn* bare vnto him, did still seeke to annoy the Moores all he could, and in the beginning of the yeare, 1319. he resolved to beseege the towne of Tiscar, which was held by a Moore, called *Mahumet Andon*, and was one of the strongest places in Spaine: yet the happines, iudgement, and good fortune of *Don Pedro* were such, as (notwithstanding it was with great toyle and danger of the fouldiers) it was taken: whereat euen the Christians themselves wondered, considering the strength of the place. The castell made some resistance after the taking of the towne, but in the end it yeelded by composition: That the Moores which were within it with their Lord *Mahumet Andon*, should depart with bag and baggage, the which was granted and kept. 4500. soules went out of the place, and were put in safety into Baena. This did increate *Don Iohns* enuie against the prosperities of *Don Pedro*: wherefore he approached then vnto the frontiers, being thrust on by ialousie, to attempt something against the Moores for his part: hee came to Baena, euen as *Don Pedro* prepared to beseege the towne of Belmar, being aduertised of *Don Iohns* comming, he marched that way, that they might ioine their forces together, and do some notable exploit in the enemies countrie. Having ioyned at Alcaudete with great demonstrations of loue, they led the armie ioynly through the champian countrie towards Granado, whereof *Don Iohn* led the foreward, and having taken the castell of Yllora, they presented themselves before Granado, standing a whole day in battell in the sight thereof, and yet king *Ismael* neuer sallied forth, nor sent any one forth to skirmish with them, nor to discover them.

*Don Pedro* was of opinion to begin the seege, but *Don Iohn* held it fittest to retire, saying, that they neither had men enough, nor munition sufficient to beseege such a towne: whereas the king was in person, accompanied with all the flower of his knights and fouldiers, and an incredible multitude of people: for at that time they thought there lived within that citie about 200000. persons, although there were scarce 500. heads of families Moores by race, for all the rest were Christians Renegados or their descendants, or Christian slaues.

Vpon these perswasions, the Princes and Captaines began to turne head, hauing changed the order of their march, *Don Iohn* being in the rereward. When as the Granadins saw them dislodge, king *Ismael* sent forth his men, commanding them to charge the enemy in the rereward, and to presse them in such sort, as they might put them out of order, if it were possible, and that they should not then forget that which the discipline of warre required: the which they did execute resolutely, so as *Don Pedro* was forced to turn head with the foreward to succour *Don Iohn*: but the disorder was such amongst *Don Pedros* men, as he could not bring them to march in Battaille, nor to keep any good order: where he tormented himselfe in such sort, hauing his sword drawne, crying sometimes to one, sometimes to another, as he was out of breath, and lost his speech, and in an instant by this strange accident he fell downe dead from his horse: the which being reported to *D. Iohn* who saw himselfe in danger, the contrarie of passions wherewith he was afflicted, were of such force, as it happened to him as to his nephew, so as loosing his speech, he fell amazed from his horse. The armie hauing lost their two Commanders, notwithstanding any indeauour of the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Masters of the militarie Orders of *S. Lemes* and Calatrana, all were put to rout, and were pursued farre by the Moores with great slaughter, who spoyle their campe, and ceased their pursuit: wherefore the Christians which were about *Don Pedro* that was dead, and *Don Iohn* drawing towards his end had meanes to escape, laying him that was aliue on an horse, and the dead bodie vpon a moyle: but being surprized by the night, they which conducted *Don Iohn* marching

Moores.  
An. 1319.  
Tiscar a strong  
place taken by  
Don Pedro.

Strange death  
of D. Pedro of  
Castile, and D.  
John his vnckle

ching more slowly then the rest, saw him expire: wherefore fearing to be pursued, they A left the bodie vpon the field, and saued themselves as they could. Don *John* left one son of the same name, who for that he had lost an eye, was called the blind, and was his heire and successor in the Segneurie of Biscay. He sent to intreat King *Ismael* to send him his fathers bodie. The King caused it to be sought for, which being found, hee commanded it should be brought to Granado, where it was layed in a great hall, in the fort of Alhambra, vpon a herse couered with rich cloth of gold, setting a great number of waxe tapers about it; the king commanding the Noblemen, and knights Moores, with all the Christian captiues that were in Granado, to pray about the dead body: doing many other solemnities after their manner, then he sent to D. *John*, that he should send for his fathers body, the which he gaue him willingly, being sorry for the accident which had happened, for Don *John* had neuer done him wrong. Don *John* the blind sent many Knights thither, to whom the bodie was deliuered, and they were accompanied to the first towne of the Christians, then they tooke their way to Cordoua, from thence it was transported to Burgos, whither they had carried D. *Pedro*, and there they were interred. By this vnexpected victorie the affaires of *Ismael* king of Granado grew in reputation and force, recovering many places which had bene lost before. Don *John Manuel* the sonne of D. *Manuel* of Castile maintaining the warre against the Moores. Towards Murcia *Ismael* tooke Huescar, Ores, and Galere, places belonging to the Order of Saint *James*: and returning towards Andalusia, he besieged Martos, and tooke it by force, commanding them to kill all they found aliue in it: yet most of them saued themselves in the fort, and defended it against the Moores, who lost many of their best men: and among others, a Nephew to C *Ozmin*, the which gaue great occasion of murmure against king *Ismael*, for that he did so hazard his Nobility in these dangerous assaults. In this estate stood the warre of Granado, the which was ended with them of Andalusia, vpon king *Ismaels* returne to Granado, vpon condition, that the Castilians, being ready to chuse new tutors for the yong king D. *Alphonso*, should not receiue nor acknowledge any, but that should confirme this truce.

Castile.

During these alterations, the Q. *D. Maria* was gone into Portugal, where she had conference with her son-in-law, D. *Alphonso* Infant of Portugal, at Font d'Aguilero, a Bourg of Cite Roderigo, & frd thence was returned with the yong K. of Castile to Toro, where she had newes of the miserable end of D. *Pedro* and D. *John*: whereupon she made present dispatches to all the chiefe townes of the realme, and to the Noblemen, aduertising them of this disaster, and exhorting them to continue faithfull vnto the king her grand-child, and not to receiue commandement from any, but from him or them that should bee appointed by the Estates: for she feared D. *John Manuel*, who was rich and mighty, and desirous of innovations, would seeke to attaine to the Regencie of the king and Realme: and saw on the other side, that D. *John* the blind had the like ambition: against whom the Q. opposed D. *Philip* her son, (but as the most certaine Authors say D. *Alphonso*) vnle to the king D. *Alphonso*. All these Noblemen being well followed, and keeping the field with good troupes of soldiers, they were ready to ioyne in battell neere vnto Auila, the which was preuented by D. *John Manuel*. The Infant D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, who was Lord Steward to the king, was an actor in these ciuill seditions, so as the realmes of Castile, Leon, and their appurtenances, were full of all excesse, violence, and insolencies, the which continued long: notwithstanding that the Estates had chosen for tutors D. *Philip* or Don *Alphonso*, D. *John Manuel*, and D. *John* the blind in the yeare 1320. In the meane time the K. D. *Alphonso* to make his name more reuerent amongst his subiects, granted certaine priuiledges vnto townes, and among others, to wall in a Bourg, called Renteria, the which was named Villanoua of Ojarçum in Guipulcoa, and gaue it the title of a town, & the priuiledges of S. Sebastian from whence it is but a league distant. The Infant D. *Philip*, or *Alphonso* sware the truce made betwixt the king of Granado and them of Andalusia, where in the Citie of Cordoua was comprehended, for that they had giuen their voice for the gouernement of the King to Don *John Manuel*, against whome King *Ismael* was incensed.

Tumults in Castile for the gouernement.

An. 1320.

This yeare D. *John*, Infant of Arragon, son to the king D. *James* the 2. was consecrated Archb. of Toledo, in the towne of Lerida in Cattelogne, in stead of D. *Gonçales* deceased, many

A many Prelates beeing present, and namely, D. *Ximenes de Luna* Arch-bishop of Tarragone, and Don *Pedro de Luna*, first Arch-bishop of Saragossa, erected to that dignitie in the yeare 1318. by Pope *John* the 22. ouer the Bishops of Pampelona, Calahorra, Calagada, Tarassone, Huesca, Segobia, and Albarazin. These two Arch-bishops of Tarragone and Saragossa did watch if the new Arch-bishop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine, would march through their Dioceses with his crosse before him, to the end they might oppose themselves by vertue of a certaine Constitution made at the Councell of Tarragone, and so it happened: whereupon the Arch-bishop of Toledo and all his followers were excommunicated by them, for entring into their Iurisdicions: which censure and excommunication was published by him of Saragossa: whereat the King Don *James* was much offended, and did write vnto the Pope, making great complaints of this manner of proceeding: but being afterwards perswaded that it was done to maintaine the dignity of the Churches of his Realme, he was pacified. The Primate appealed from their sentences and proceeded against them. The Pope calling the deciding of this question to the Apostolicke see, absolved the Arch-bishop of Toledo in the meane time, and gaue him facultie to absolve his followers and seruants. He was the seuen and fiftieth Arch-bishop of this sea, Primate of Spaine.

At the same time, or litle before, the king of Arragon had giuen to the knights of Monteca, the towne and castell of Monteca, wherof this Order carries the name: the first Master was *William* of Errill, who tooke the white habite of Galatrua, in the yeare 1319. in the Monasterie of Santa Cruz, from the hands of the Commander of Alcaniz. These knights had some yeares after facultie to leaue the habite of Cisteaux, and in stead thereof to carie a redde crosse vpon their brefts granted by Pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, and confirmed by Pope *Martin* the fifth. The King D. *James* by the aduice of his Estates held at Tarragone, did make a perpetuall vnion of the Realmes of Arragon and Valencia, and the principalltie of Cattelogne, the which from that time, should not for any occasion be dis-ynited. In which assembly, the Infant Don *James* the eldest and heire to the Crown, being readie to marrie D. *Leonora* of Castile, suddenly, by a strange affection, quitting both his wife, and so goodly a succession as that of the Realme of Arragon, told the king his father, that he had made a vow neither to marrie nor to raigne: so as notwithstanding all the perswasions of the king and Noblemen, he quit his birth-right to his brother D. *Alphonso*, after the example of *Eau*. Beeing there set at liberty by the king, he discharged the Estates of the oath they had made vnto him, and presently put on the habite of the Knights of Ierusalem, the which he receiued by the hands of *Bernard Solier*, in the presence of his brother Don *John* Arch-bishop of Toledo, Don *Symon* of Luna, Arch-bishop of Tarragone, *Berenger* Bishop of Vic, and *Raymond* of Ampurias, Prior of S. *John* in Cattelogne, and others. Afterwards this ill aduised Prince, hauing left this Order, became one of Monteca, where he spent his dayes in dissolutenes and filthy pleasures. This age afforded other such like examples in Don *James*, eldest sonne to the king of Maiorca, and *Lewis* sonne to *Charles* the lymping king of Castile, who became Franciscan Friars: but they were moued by zeale of religion, and were not giuen to vices. His second brother D. *Alphonso* was by the same Estates of Tarragone acknowledged, and sworne heire of those kingdomes after the decease of Don *James* their father. This Infant had married D. *Theresa* of Entenza, and had in her right the Countie of Virgel, which came vnto her by succession from her vnle Don *Armingol* of Cabrera, vpon condition she should marrie the Infant Don *Alphonso*: of which marriage was borne at that time Don *Pedro*, who was king of Arragon, the fourth of that name. At the same Estates of Arragon were pacified the quarrels betwixt Don *Arial* of Alagon, and Don *Symon Cornet*, who kept the Realme in diuision: and that according to the aduice and order of the Magistrate called the Iustice Maior of Arragon, called *Symon Peres* of Salanoua, the parties should vndergo the iudgement of the King and his Estates. Doubtlesse the authority of this Magistrate at that time was great, who might both censure the King and the Estates, and appoint them a place, and admit them that did assist, or reiect them.

But returning to the affaires of Castile, the election of Don *John* of Arragon to the Castile. Arch-bishoppricke of Toledo, did not much please the Queene D. *Maria*, fearing hee would

Arragon. Order of Monteca.

32.

Union perpetua. all in E. Part of Arragon, Valencia, and Cattelogne

33.

James heire of Arragon quits his inheritance

An. 1322.  
Death of R.  
D. Mary of Ca  
stile.

would not greatly fauour D. *Alphonso* king of Castile, but would alwaies hold the partie A of Don *Manuel* his brother-in-law, who was a mighty Prince in Castile, and wonderfull factious: but the Pope assured the contrarie, and past his election: and to speake the truth he neuer supported D. *Iohn Manuel* in any action that was preiudiciall to the King, although that Toledo and the iurisdiction thereof were in his gouernement, by reason of the tutelage: so as they fell to such debate, as Pope *Iohn* was forced to send a Cardinal Legate into Spaine, to reconcile them, and to bring the Archbishop into his fea, the which he had abandoned. The Queene D. *Maria* hauing called the Estates at Palence, in the year 1322. as she prepared her selfe to go thither, she fell sicke at Vailledolit, wherof she dyed, to the great griefe of all good men: for by her wisedome and bountie, she had bene the support and onely defence of Spaine, against the rebellious and ambitious desires of Princes and Noblemen, wherein she laboured wonderfully, with great happinesse and commendable successe. The young king and the Realme were deprivied of this support, for the which he soone after smarted. The Queenes bodie was layed in the Monasterie of las Huelgas at Vailledolit, which she had caused to be built, hauing also founded in her time that of Saint Paul in the same towne, and that of the preaching Friars at Toro, with others. We read as a memorable thing, vpon the religious exercises, and concerning the diuine seruice, in the Constitutions of D. *Iohn* Arch bishop of Toledo then liuing, that the Priests do offer the Hostie at the least foure times in the yere, and that after Morning prayer.

Arragon.

34.

The same yeare the Estates beeing assembled in the towne of Siracusa in Sicile, the king Don *Frederick* caused his sonne Don *Pedro* to be crowned king with him, and they raigned together in that Iland. Don *Pedro* did afterwards marrie *Izabel* daughter to *Iohn* King of Bohemia, or of *Henry* Duke of Carinthia, as some say. It was at such time as the expedition was made for the conquest of Sardinia, wherof D. *Alphonso*, Infant of Arragon, was Generall by the resolution of the Estates, held at Gyrone, and in consideration of the subuention giuen by them for the charges of that warre. We haue sayd before, that the Ilands of Sardinia and Corfica had bene giuen in fee by Pope *Boniface* the eight vnto Don *Iames* King of Arragon, and to his successors males or females paying a certain rent to the Church of Rome, for an acknowledgement of Soueraigntie, and that hee should conquer them at his owne perill. The same donation had bene confirmed by Pope *Benedict* in the year 1304. to the same king Don *Iames*, and facultie giuen him to leaue the tythes for this conquest, and a Legate appointed to assist therein: but it was deferred by reason of other lets. The reasons which moued the Popes to make this donation, were their passions and hatred against the common-weales of Genoua and Pisa, who commanded in those Ilands: but the pretext was, that these Ilands lying in the Mediterranean sea, as a barre betwixt Affricke and Italy, diuiding it from the North to the South, they entertained the Potentates of Italy, especially these two common-weales of Genoua and Pisa, who were then very strong at sea, in continuall quarrels and warre, most pernicious for Christendome: fighting for the possession thereof, with great effusion of blood, and wasting of their forces and treasures, the which they should haue employed in better occasions, against the Infidels, vnder this colour, the same of the Castillans and Arragonois and of their Princes being then great, it seemed expedient for the suppressing of all iealousie and quarrell betwixt the Geneuois and Pisans, to take from them the right of these Ilands, and to transerre them to a greater power, which might be able to keep and defend them from the inuasions of Sarraains and Arabians, who still made some breach there. The conquest therefore of the Iland of Sardinia beeing vndertaken in the time of Pope *Iohn* the 22. sitting in Auignon, by this king D. *Iames* the 2. there were many ships of warre and burthen prepared, as well in a port called Fangoso, vnder Tortosa, at the mouth of Ebro, as at Barcelona, Tarragone, Valencia & other places of that coast, wher in they spent much time, whilst that the king D. *Iames* tooke his fourth wife *Eclisende* sister to *Othom* of Moncada, a woman of good yeares: and he made D. *Pedro* his son Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias, the last Earle *Mangolin* being dead without children. And for that the enterprise seemed difficult, by reason of the Pisans power, who enioyed the Iland, and had newly made a peace with the Geneuois, the king of Arragon did sollicite Pope

A Pope *Iohn* the 22. by his Ambassador *Vidz* of Villanoua, to assist him in this warre with his meanes and fauour, to the Princes of Italy: but this Pope beeing distastied by certaine Cardinals which fauored the Pisans, sought to diuert this enterprise all he could: exhorting the king of Arragon rather to pursue his right by Iustice, then by armes: notwithstanding the fleet beeing in a manner readie to set sayle, and the king persifted in his resolution, and bound himselfe to pay great tributes vnto the Church. At that time the chiefe men in the Iland were *Brancalon* d'Oría, and *Hugues* Vicont of Bassi: this last being corrupted by the king of Arragon, shewed himselfe an enemy to the Pisans, and began the war of Sardinia with happie successe. The king drew vnto his partie *Guelph* Earle of Donoratico, Kinsman to Cardinall *Luke Fiesco*, and suddenly sent *Dalmis* Vicount of Rocabertin, and his vnkle *Girard*, *Berrand* of Castelet, and *Hugh* of S. Paix Cattelans, with 200. horse, and 2000. foot, to fortifie his partisans in the Iland. Whilst that the armie assembled in the port of Fangoso, where there met about the end of Iune, in the year 1233. sixty gallies, and 20. ships armed, and aboue twice as many other vessels carrying victuals and baggage. The Infant D. *Alphonso* parted with his fleet, vnder the conduct of *Francisco Carroço* Admirall, and came with a good wind to the port of S. Marke, neere vnto the ruines of the ancient cittie of Sulsi, a Colony of the Carthaginians. The souldiers beeing landed, began to presse the towne from the Church, in the which were *Barnabas* d'Oría sonne to *Brancalon* and other Captaines, who after long resistance yielded it to the Infant D. *Alphonso*. The cities of Cailleri, Eglise, Aquafredda, Ioiosafuarda, Orguilos, Oleastro, Quirano, Patra and other places, held good for the Pisans: whilst they battered the towne of Eglise, the Admirall *Francisco Carroço*, with 20. gallies besieged the port of Cailleri, and *Dalmis* Vicount of Rocabertin by land, seized vpon an hill which commanded the castell, or fort of that city: but this place was releued by *Manfroy* sonne to *Regnier*, one of the Earles of Donoratico, who came to Terranoua with 25. gallies of Pisa, and some number of souldiers, the which hauing landed at Decimo, a Bourg so called, for that it is ten myles from Cailleri: by the fauour of this armie, he gathered together a great number of Sardes, and fortified himselfe in such fort, as hee presumed to offer battaile to the Arragonois. Those that were before the towne of Eglise were wonderfully afflicted with sicknesse, which grew through the bad disposition of the ayre of Sardinia, and euen the Infant D. *Alphonso* was in danger of death, yet persifting at the seage, the towne beeing prest by force, and want of victuals, it was yielded, hauing held out eight moneths: during the which many dyed through the infection of the pestilent ayre, Don *Artal de Luna*, and his sonne of the same name, *Gambault* of Beneuent *Dalmis* of Chastelnoua, *Girard* of Rocabertin, *Gillebert Centillas*, *Pedro Querault*, *Raymond Berenger Ceuillon*, *Raymond Alleman*, *Galcerand S. Paix*, and *Raymond* of Cardona, all men of note: so as the taking of the towne of Eglise, cost the Arragonois deare. After this exploit, the Infant D. *Alphonso* led the armie to the seage of Cailleri, against whome *Manfroy* aduanced with those Pisans which he had brought, and some Sardes gathered together, where there was a fierce and bloudie battell: but the Arragonois had the victorie, hauing lost D. *Allemande Luna*, nephew to D. *Symon de Luna* Arch bishop of Tarragone, who was much lamented: *Manfroy* being wounded, saued himselfe in the fort of Cailleri: and at that instant there arriued 18. gallies of supplies to the Infant D. *Alphonso* from Barcelona. Wherefore the towne and fort of Cailleri were more straightly and violently battered then before, so as the besieged beeing reduced to great extremities, following the aduise of *Manfroy* their Captaine, and by his leading, made a sudden fallie forth with all their horse, (among the which were 500. souldiers, the best and most resolute spirits among all the Pisans) and charged the Arragonois army, with great terrour and amazement: yet through the diligence of the Infant and his Captaines, the enemy was repulled, with the losse of three hundred horse. Here *Manfroy* was grievously wounded F againe, whereof, and for griefe of this last losse, he died soone after, the which draue the besieged into such despaire, that hauing aduertised the Pisans of their estate, and they sending to demand a peace of the king D. *Iames*, beeing at Barcelona, by the meanes and negotiation of *Brancalon* d'Oría, they came to composition vpon these conditions: That the city and castell of Cailleri should bee yielded vp to the Infant, and the prisoners of either

Sardinia inuaded by the Arragonois.

Eglise yielded to the Arragonois.

Defeat of Pisans and Sardes before Cailleri.

either part deliuered; which city and castell should be deliuered againe vnto the Pisans, A  
vpon condition, that they should hold it, and all they enioyed in Sardinia, in fee and ho-  
mage of the crowne of Arragon; Yea some Authors among the Arragonois say, that the  
city it selfe of Pisa, and that it should be lawfull for the Pisans to traffike in Cattelogne  
and Arragon, and to haue a Confull in the city of Barcelona. These things being accord-  
ed and performed, the Infant D. *Alphonso* gaue many castles, lands and reuenues to No-  
blemen and Gentlemen which had serued faithfully, and valiantly in this warre, in the  
which many galleies of Majorca had continued. He left D. *Philip de Sales* Gouverneur of  
Sardinia, and Commander of the men of warre, and D. *Berenger Carrofo*, sonneto Don  
*Francis*, to command the galleies which were left there for the guard of the Iland. Hauing  
thus disposed of the affaires, the army imbarke at Saint Macaire, and sayled with their B  
Generall D. *Alphonso* towards Barcelona, where they arriued with a prosperous wind, a-  
bout the beginning of August, in the year 1324. There were great signes of ioy made at  
the landing of this victorious armie, and thank-giuing vnto God in the city of Barcelo-  
na; but some write, that the king Don *James* going forth to meet his sonne triumphing  
and full of glorie, for the warre of Sardinia so happily ended, seeing him attired in the ha-  
bit of a Sarde, he grew sad, and would not speake vnto him, vntill hee had taken a more  
seemly garment: wherefore in the midst of this pompe, the Infant put on his coate of  
armes, and then the king his father embraced him, and honored him much, saying aloud,  
that he tooke great delight to see him attired like the Commander of a victorious warre,  
and not in the habite of a slaue. After the conquest of Sardinia, the king D. *James* was sol-  
licit by *Castruccio Castracani*, gouerning at that time at Luca, to make the expedition C  
of Corsica against the Geneuois, promising that he would prouide them such worke in  
Italy, as the enterprize of that Iland should be easie: but *Barnabas d'Oria*, who was then in  
fauour with the King D. *James*, diuerted him, shewing that it should bee more expedient  
and profitable, to practise the chiefe Noble men of Corsica, and to draw them to his ser-  
uice. The affaires of Sardinia continued not long quiet, as we will shew: but it is necessary  
to relate first what past in the other parts of Spaine, during these wars and conquests of  
the Arragonois.

Portugal.  
Order of Chris-  
tus in Portu-  
gal.  
An. 1323.  
Genealogie of  
Portugal.  
In Portugal there was then erected the Order of Knights of *Christus*, by Bulls from  
Pope *John* in the year 1320, by the which it was receiued into the protection of the A-  
postolike sea of Rome, and the towne of Castro *Marin* assigned for the chiefe of this Or-  
der, being neere vnto the Moors, and since the conuent was transported to Tour. The  
knights of this Order carry a red crosse split and opened by the foure branches, with a  
white line, so as one crosse makes two, the one red, the other white. The election of the  
Master belongs to 13. persons: that is, the Prior, the Commander maior, the Treasurer,  
the Secretary, and nine Commanders. The election was made, euery one of these 13. gi-  
uing his voyces; the which being publickly pronounced, he that had most voyces was cho-  
sen Master. The first was D. *Gil Martines*, who had bene Master of the militarie Order of  
Auis. The elect is bound (swearing in the Priors hands) to promise to bee in fauour with  
the Pope, and the Church of Rome, and to present himselfe vnto the King, to do him the  
homage of fealty. The Commanders of this Order, are, the Prior, the great Commam-  
der, the Treasurer, Secretary, Commander of Arquin, of Rodano, Proença, Olallas,  
Castilejo, Sanacheyra, Prucos, Segura, Lardoça, and Deroimanichal. Since there hath  
bene added the Commanderies of S. Michel, and S. Mary in the Ilands, by the king Don  
Manuel. In the year 1323, the king D. *Denis* endowed this Order with priuiledges fit for  
the dignity thereof, and the ornament of his religion. The same year D. *Beatrice* wife to  
the Infant D. *Alphonso*, was brought in bed of a son in the city of Coimbra, who was na-  
med *Peter*, and reigned after his Grandfather and father: This king *Denis* was in so great  
esteem among the Portugals, as they haue a Prouerbe in vse at this day: *El Rey D. Denis,*  
*que fiz quanto quiz*, that is to say, The king D. *Denis* who did all he would. It is as well by  
reason of the institution of these militarie Orders, as of many foundations and remem-  
brances he left of him: as the Monasterie of S. Francis of Portalegre, and the Monasterie  
of Nuns of the Order of Cisteaux, or S. *Bernard*: of S. Denis, of Odiuela a league and a  
half from Lisbon, where he appointed his body should be interred: and other publike  
workes,

A workes, as causeys, towers, castles, walles, fortifications, and reparations of townes with  
our number. By him the new street of Lisbon, so much esteemed in Portugall, was  
made, as also the castles of Serpa, Moura, Oliuencia, Campo maior, Argela and the for-  
tresse: that of Portalegre, Odiana, Marban, the castell of Abibe, Alegrete, Monches,  
Monfort, Beyros, Arroyolos, Heborra monte, Bosba, Villauiciosa, Montcarraz, Re-  
dondo, Model, Beja, Geromena, Sabugal, Alfayates, Castlerubio, Villamaior, Castel-  
lobon, Castellomejor, Almeida, Castelmendo, and Pinel, most of the which were walled  
in by this king. He did also wall in Braga, Guimaranes, Miranda of Duero, with the Ca-  
stell of Monçon, and Carastolo. He built new Múja, Salutieterre, Montargel, Atalaya,  
Acerceyra, and many others, which we will omit for breuities sake. The king Don *Denis*  
spent his time, and employed his treasure in such things. He had some warre against Ca-  
stile in fauour of the rebels and otherwise; as we haue formerly related: and moreover,  
against his owne brother, whom he spoiled of his lands, forcing him to retire into Ca-  
stile to his wiues kindred. Towards the end of his dayes, there was no good agreement  
betwixt him and his sonne Don *Alphonso*: for the sonne bred such a reuolt and sedition  
throughout the whole Realme, as he was often in armes against the father, and readie to  
giue battell, neere to Coimbra, Saint Iren, Albaran and elie where, being thrust on by  
flatterers and counsellors of iniquity: which disorders Queene *Izabel*, a Princesse full of  
piety, did happily repaire, and preuented the effusion of blood, praying continually vnto  
God for concord betwixt the father and sonne, the which shee obtayned before the de-  
cease of the king her husband, which was in the year 1325. hauing reigned 45. yeares,  
nine moneths, and 5. dayes, and the 64. of his age. He dyed at S. Iren, and was interred in  
the Monasterie of S. Denis of Odiuela, as hee had ordained by his testament, by the  
which he gaue 140000. liures of money then currant in Portugall, to be distributed to  
poore hospitals, monasteries, widows, orphelins, marrying of maydens, redemption of  
prisoners, and such like, at the discretion of the Queene his wife, and the Executors of  
his testament. Besides, his lawfull children, he had by one, or by diuers concubines, Don  
*Alphonso*, the beginner of the family of *Albuquerque*, Don *Pedro*, who gaue himselfe  
to studie, and hath compiled a Volume of the great Houses of Spayne, D. *John*, and D.  
Fernand, one daughter that was married to D. *John de la Cerde*, and one daughter a Nun:  
D This holy Queene *Izabel*, daughter to Don *Pedro* the third king of Arragon, and  
of Donna *Constance* daughter to *Marfroy* king of Naples, was married being but eleuen  
yeares old, and carried her selfe so wisely and religiously, as she was admired and honou-  
red of all men: she shewed in her royall estate a wonderfull humilitie and modestie: shee  
laboured with her hands to auoyde idleness, and what shee made shee gaue away for  
Gods sake, wherein shee did not spare her meanes which were otherwise great: fasting  
and prayer were her delights, and she was in continuall anguish for her sins, and for her  
peoples: she serued God as she had bene instructed, by gifts, offerings, Masses, and suffra-  
ges without measure. Finally, she was so giuen to contemplation, and to the spirit, as she  
tooke no delight in any thing that pleased the senses: shee fledde and forsooke (as much  
E as possibly shee could) all royall Pallaces, being the Magazine of delights, and of per-  
uerse affections, so as the king Don *Denis* who was of a contrarie disposition, made  
small account of her; giuing himselfe often to vnlawfull and lustfull loues, by whom  
hee had children, the which this good and vertuous Queene caused to bee bredde vp as  
her owne, although shee were wonderfully afflicted to see this bad course of the King her  
husband, fearing, and rightly, that God would punish him: for this consideration shee did  
pray continually for his amendment, which happened in the end. The K. D. *Denis* did oft  
vie her roughly, wherein she shewed such patience, as she neuer vsed any word of com-  
plaint, but only prayed to God to let him vnderstand the truth: yea when she was in a ma-  
ner chased from his presence, and retired to her house at Alenguer, by reason of the quar-  
rels betwixt the father and the son, whereof the minions of the Court layd all the blame  
vpon her, perswading her, that shee intertayned them, against all likelihood of truth. Shee  
did wonderfully esteem the Orders of begging Friars, thinking that their estate was the  
most perfect among the Christians, and therefore shee gaue as well to them within the  
realme as without. Shee built the monastery of S. *Claire* the royal of Coimbra, she finished  
S f the

the house of the Innocents at S. Iren, the which was begunne by D. Martin Bishop of la Garde: and did the like to the Monasterie of Almofter of Nunnes, the which was begun by a Lady called D. Berenguela Ayres: and after the decease of the King her husband, shee gaue herselfe wholly to a religious life, and tooke vpon her the habit of S. Claire, which she vsed euer after: she sould her Jewels, and conuerted them into Ornaments and vessels to serue churches, the which she gaue to many Monasteries. Shee went vnknowne on foot to visit the Sepulcher of S. James, asking almes, and past her dayes in like workes with great zeale: she dyed in the towne of Estremos, whether she went to mediate a peace betwixt her sonne and the king of Castile her grand-child, borne of her daughter. Besides these aboue-named workes, she had built at Torrefnouas a Monasterie of repentants, and at Leyra an hospitall of poore bashfull men. Her body was carried to Coimbra, and layd in the Monasterie of Santa Cruz. The apparitions which the Spaniards write happened vnto her in her life time, and at her death, with such like things, are the impostures of Monkes of those times.

Castile.

36 As for the affaires of Castile, wee find, that after the decease of the Queene D. Maria, (who by her wisdome preuented many mischiefs) the troubles grew greater then euer: all Iustice ceased, and the most insolent were most in credit. King Don Alphonso, although he were young, was much discontented at these disorders, and sought to redresse them, but he was not obeyed: so as by reason of the violences, tyrannies, ruine of places, murthers, and other such wickednesse, which then raigned, he saw his subiects abandon their houses, and retire into Arragon, Nauarre, Portugall and else-where, there to seeke peace and rest: the Gouvernours were the cause of all these miseries, vsing the people of their Iurisdiccions tyrannously, beeing in perpetuall discord among themselves. Those that were of the priuie Councell aduised him to leaze vpon the places belonging to D. Blanche his Cousin, daughter to the deceased Don Pedro, the which were in the hands of Garçilaso de la Vega, in the name of Donna Maria of Arragon her mother: for that (sayd they) it was not fit the King of Arragon should meddle much in the affaires of Castile, nor that he should know all the vices of that kingdome, the which hee did, more then was conuenient, by the meanes of these places, and vnder colour to procure the good of Donna Blanche his Grand-child, watching in the meane time to make his profit with the preiudice of Castile.

See taken  
from the Act  
of the  
Lishop of Toledo.

He which was most vehement in this Councell, was Don Garçilaso himselfe, beeing Marin Maior of Castile. Don Iohn of Arragon Arch-bishop of Toledo, was by that reason suspected of them, hauing for his chiefe aduersarie Don Iohn Manuel, one of the Kings tutors, who had his gouernement in the Country of Toledo, and against whose disordinate desires, the Arch bishop of Toledo, (a better seruant to the King then they esteemed him) had alwaies opposed himselfe. So as they treated secretly with the king to take the royall seales from him, for they held it dangerous, that an Arragonois should be Chancellor of the Realme; who by reason of that dignity was priuie to all that was treated and resolved in the kings Councell.

According to this resolution, there was an occasion offered: The Arch-bishop beeing in the Kings Pallace, and beeing demanded of the affaires of the Bishoppricke, touching the Estate, and the kings reuenues, hee excused himselfe vpon the actions of Don Iohn Manuel his brother-in-law, who was there present, who answered very pe-remptorily for himselfe, so as there were bitter words betwixt them in the Kings presence. For this cause soone after the seales were taken away, and giuen to Don Garçilaso de la Vega: whereat the Arch-bishop Don Iohn beeing much discontented, hee neuer ceased vntill hee had exchanged his Arch-bishoppricke of Toledo, with that of Tarragone, causing Don Iohn de Luna, to be aduanced to the Archiepiscopall dignitie of Toledo, and Primacie of Spaine by Pope Iohn.

1326.

37 In the meane time came the yeare 1326. when as the King tooke vpon him the gouernement of his Realme, at a Parliament held at Vailledolit, whereas D. Philip or Alphonso, Don Iohn Manuel, and Don Iohn the Blind were discharged of their administration, which they had managed with great scandall. There did the king sweare to obserue the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme, and to administer Iustice, maintaining euery

A euery one in his estate, goods, and honour. To whome also the Deputies of the Estates did sweare fidelitie, and offered the rights and ordinarie seruices due vnto the Crowne. This done, the King did choose two wife Knights to bee of his Councell of State, Don Garçilaso de la Vega, aboue-named, and Aluar Nugnes Oserio: and for his treasure a few called Iosiph of Ecchia, to whome he gaue the Superintendencie of the Customes, Imposts, Kents and Reuenues of the Realme.

Old ree'procal  
betwixt the K.  
and his subiects

In the disposition whereof, hee did not gouerne himselfe by the aduice of Don Iohn Manuel, nor Don Iohn the Blind, nor did much esteeme them: whereat beeing ialous and discontented, they parted from Vailledolit without taking any leaue of the King, and made a league together at Cigales. The king was soone aduertised hereof, and did in few dayes breake this plot, making himselfe sure to Donna Constance Manuel, daughter to Don Iohn Manuel at Vailledolit: but this marriage tooke no effect: and he gaue vnto Don Iohn Manuel, (to draw him vnto him) the gouernement of the frontier. Thus was Don Iohn the Blind abandoned, so as hee was more incensed then before: this Prince enterrayned such bad desseignes, as his end was miserable. Hee sought to marrie Donna Blanche daughter to Don Pedro of Castile, to the end hee might enioy the places which shee held vpon the frontier of Arragon, and from thence make warre against the King Don Alphonso: Hee made a league with the new King of Portugall against him, and attempted all meanes to annoy his Prince, notwithstanding that the king Don Alphonso tryed al waies to pacifie him, so as he was forced to vse more violent remedies.

38 During these home-bred troubles of Castile, Ismael king of Granado was slaine by his subiects, vpon this occasion. Among the prisoners which the Moores had brought from Martos, there was a Christian woman, exceeding fayre, who fell into the hands of the kings Cousin, sonne to the Gouvernour of Algezire, who was called Mahumet. This prisoner beeing seene by king Ismael, he grew so in loue with her, as he demanded her of Mahumet: who yeelding more vnto his desires, then to the respect hee ought vnto his Prince, refused him plainely: whereupon the king gaue him many bitter and threatening words: Mahumet either for feare or disdain, to haue beene threatened with iniurious words, layed a plot with Ozmin, who was already much discontented for the death of his sonne, whome they had so little spared at the assault of the rocke of Martos, and resolved together to kill king Ismael, and to place in the royall Seate of Granado, a Moore called Mahumet Aben Alhamar, or the Vermeil, who descended from the first king of Granado, and carried the same name, saying, that the Crowne belonged more rightly to him, then to Ismael, who was allyed to these kings onely by the Mothers side. This king was called to this Councell, and they made a new confederacie with Ozmin, who should bee readie in Armes with his friends and seruants, whilest that Mahumet, sonne to the Gouvernour of Algezire, with his father, and another brother, should execute the murther vpon the person of king Ismael. These things beeing concluded, the Conspirators entred into Alhambra of Granado, and addressing themselves vnto the king, they told him, that they had some matters of great importance to impart vnto him, desiring him to giue them audience in some retired place: the which the king willingly graunted, who beeing entred into a gallerie, the father and the sonne marching before the king, and his brother after, with the great Prouost, or Constable of Granado, whom they called Alguazil Maior, the two foremost turned suddenly vpon the king, and gaue him two wounds vpon the head. The Alguazil seeing this disloyaltie, drew his sword to defend his king, and fought so valiantly against these two traitors, father and sonne, as hee made them giue backe vnto the end of the gallerie, and to enter into a chamber, into the which hee shut them, notwithstanding that the brother, who was the third murderer, had wounded him behind in foure places, who returning afterwards against the king, gaue him a mortall wound in the shoulder. The Alguazil hauing shut vp the two first, came against the third, and forced him to enter into an old cabinet, into the which he also shut him. Beeing thus freed of the traitors, this faithfull seruant came vnto the king, whom he found grievously wounded, and almost fainting, hauing taken him in his armes, and carried him into a chamber, in the which were his mother, widow to Ferrachen and his wiues, where leauing the cure and care of him to them, hee went into the pallace

Ismael king of  
Granado slain  
by his subiects



Court of Alhambra, where as he found many, as well of the conspirators, as of others A which might haue heard the noyse, and vnderstood something of the fact, to whom hee sayd, there was no great danger, and that the kings wounds were light: and hauing called some vnto him, whom he knew faithfull vnto the king, he entred with them into those places where as the traytors were shut, and cut off their heads: then he returned into the chamber where as the king was in the Philitions and Surgeons hands, but there was no more hope of life: wherefore going out of Alhambra, he met with *Ozmin*, who came running at this noyse well accompanied, and asked him of the kings life. The Alguazil dissembling the truth, answered, that all was well, intreating him to accompany him to seaze vpon those that were suspected to be of this conspiracie, the which *Ozmin* durst not refuse: thus of a traytor he became faithfull by constraint, and running through the city B of Granado, they seazed vpon all the friends and seruants of the murderer *Mahumet*, and brought them into Alhambra, where in the heate they were put to death. In the meane time king *Ismael* breathed his last, hauing reigned by force about nine yeares: this was in the yeare 1322. and the 705. of the Arabians.

## Mahumet the sixt K. of Granado.

TO him succeeded his sonne *Mahomet* the sixt, by the meanes and dexteritie of the Prouost or Alguazil, who hauing scene the kings death, and keeping it as secret as he could, he gaue the Noblemen and Knights Granadins to vnderstand, that they should C shew themselues in armes before the castell, to receiue the Kings commandements, and namely *Ozmin*, who was not well assured in his conscience, but studied what hee should do: yet he came well followed. The Nobility being assembled, the Alguazil being faithfull to the king, euen after his death, taking the eldest of three sons (which he had left) in full to the king, he went out of Alhambra, and declared the truth vnto the assembly, how the king had benne slaine by the treason of *Mahumet*, and what had followed, and presenting the child, who was but twelue yeares old, vnto the knights, hee recommended him vnto them, and perswaded them to acknowledge him for their lawfull king. *Ozmin* who was of greatest authority among them, was wonderfully perplexed, and wauering in his discour- D ses, yet thinking that he should rule this Infant better then any other, he was the first that gaue his consent, saying, *Mahumet* is our king. His voyce was allowed by all that were present, and the brute both of *Ismaels* death, and of the election of *Mahumet* his sonne, was disperfed through the town: and soone after the new king was led through the streets and shewed vnto the Granadins, who were discontented at this sudden change, as wel by reason of the King murdered, as of the hasty election of his sonne, beeing so young, yet it held good: but notwithstanding that this yong *Mahumet* obtained the Realme by a law full meanes, yet his end was miserable, being a familiar thing among the Arabians, one to spoyle and dispossesse an other by wicked and cruell treasons, as a people alwaies void of all good gouernement. Such of the conspirators as were not taken, fled: among the which was *Mahumet Aben Athamar*, who in time returned to Granado, and reigned, as E we shall hereafter shew.

Nauarre.

What past in Nauarre during the raigne of *Philip* the Long, who dyed about the time of these reuolutions in Granado, we find not any thing worth the relating: only mention is made of a Gouernor for the king in that Realme, called *Ponce* of Morentain, whome some terme Lord of Rossillon: others, Vicont of Anay, of *Arnau* of Barbastian Bishop of Pampelona, *D. Martin* of Ayuar Standard-bearer of the Realme, *D. Anigo Peres* de Rada a Knight, *D. John Arnau* of Espeleta, of the Abbot of Lerin, of *D. Martin Iuanes* of Vrris, *D. Pedro Ximenes* of Mirafuentes, *D. Garcia Martines* of Ollaogui, *Diego Martines* of Vrris, and *Michel Martines* of Arletta, knights, who made the Councell of state of that Realme.

The end of the thirteenth Booke.

THE

THE FOURTEENTH BOOKE  
of the Historie of Spaine.

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| NAVARRÉ.  |   | ARRAGON.          | PORTUGAL.         |
|---|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| 28 Charles the Faire  | 1 | 12 D. Alphonso 4. | 7. D. Alphonso 4. |
| 29 Philip of Eureux, by reason of Jeanne his wife, daughter to Lewis Hutin. | 3 | 13 D. Pedro 4.    |                   |

Charles

Charles the Faire, the first of that name, and eighth and twentieth King of Navarre.

**T**O King *Philip*, being dead at Fontainebleau without heires male, succeeded in the yeere of our Lord 1321. his brother *Charles* the Faire, in the two Realmes of France and Navarre, to the prejudice of his Neece *Jeanne*, the lawfull heire of Navarre. *Charles* when hee was farre from these successions, had put away *Blanche* his wife, being convicted of adultery, as hath beene sayd, whose life was saved, for that the marriage might bee dissolved without death, by the Popes authority, for that there was betwixt the husband and the wife a spiritual alliance, which had made the marriage unlawfull, so as by consequent there was no adultery, but simple fornication, for that *Charles* the Faire was Godfather to *Blanche*. Wherefore hee tooke to his second wife the daughter of *Henry* of Luxembourg Emperor, and sister to *John* King of Bohemia, having first demanded in marriage *Donna Violant* of Arragon, daughter to the King *D. James* the second, but could not obtaine her, for some reasons. In the beginning of King *Charles* his raigne, *Ponce Morantin* being Governor and Viceroy of the country, the castle of *Gorriti* was surprized by them of *Guipuscoa* from the Navarrois: for this and other considerations, the Governor having raised an army of Navarrois and French, entred into *Guipuscoa*, being resolved to put the country to fire and sword: and beginning by *Toloufa* in *Guipuscoa*, he burned *Berastegui*, and did incredible harm, sparing neither holy nor prophane. Marching towards *Beotiba*, the Navarrois army was stayed at the foot of the mountaines by the *Guipuscoans*, who were gathered together to the number of eight hundred (some say eight thousand) in armes, vnder the conduct of *Gil Lopes* of *Ognes*, Lord of *Larrea*, and were seized vpon the Straights and places of aduantage, where the army should passe, having planted some peasants vpon the tops of the rocks and precipices, who when the body of the army being advanced in these difficult passages, should march, they should roule downe pipes full of stones, which they had prepared, the which ouerthrew many, and besides put such a disorder in the army, as that eight hundred armed men which were vpon the passages, presented themselves, and put all their enemies to rout, with a wonderfull slaughter, and tooke all their baggage: the which was esteemed worth a hundred thousand liuers, a matter almost incredible, considering the inequality of their forces, but it is witnessed, not onely by the records of *Guipuscoa*, but also of Navarre, so dangerous is the hazard of warre, and so great an aduantage doth the situation of a country giue, when it is well chosen by a wife and expert capitaine.

Amongst the men of marke that were slaine in the Navarrois army, were found the Viceroy's brother, and *D. Michel Sanches Alauas*, *D. Martin* of *Roncal*, *Martin Vrtiz*, the Lord of *Rosobel*, *John Corboran* of *Leer*, *John Martines* of *Medrano*, *John Henriquez*, *D. Martin de la Pegna*, *Pero Sotes*, *John Lopes* of *Vtros* Merin Major of the Mountaine, *Peter* of *Ayuar*, *Martin* of *Vrfa sonne* to *Martin* of *Ayuar*, who carried the Standard royal, and others to the number of fiftie and fifty knights. Amongst the prisoners was *Martin* of *Ayuar* and an other sonne of his. The number of souldiars that were slaine, was very great: and of this incounter they doe at this day sing songs, both in Castille and *Guipuscoa*, in their country language. Here of grew other warres betwixt Castille and Navarre.

In the yeere of our Lord 1324. Queene *Mary* being dead, King *Charles* married the third time with *Jeanne* daughter to *Lewis* of France, Earle of *Eureux*, and sister to *Philip* of *Eureux*, who was King of Navarre soone after, by reason of his wife *Jeanne*, daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, heire of Navarre. The same yeere *Navarette* of *Pampelone*, by the permission of *Charles*, was begunne to be re-edified, having beene ruined eight and forty

Marriage of King Charles the first.

Defeat of Navarrois in Guipuscoa.

Men of account slaine.

Third marriage of King Charles.

Princes also  
sente cause of  
liberty and  
disorder.

forty yeeres before by *Robert Earle of Arthois*. This King *Charles* the Faire, nor his brother *Philip* the Long, neuer came into Nauarre, by reason whereof many grew insolent, especially vpon the frontiers, against the will of their Prince, the Gouernors, and Viceroyes winking at them, who regarded more their owne priuat profit and passions then the honour and seruice of their Maister; wherefore betwixt the Nauarrois and Arragonois, of the frontiers of *Sanguessa Real*, and other bordering places, notwithstanding any accord the Kings had made, there was stil roades and spoyling one of another, so as the Arragonois were forced to keepe great garrisons in those parts, whereof the King of Arragon complaind to King *Charles*, who commanded still that they should liue like neighbours and friends, but he was not obeyed.

In the yeere of our Lord 1328. King *Charles* died at Bois de Vincennes, hauing reigned seuen yeeres and some daies, leauing Queene *Jeane* his wife with child, who was deliuered of a daughter, called *Blanche*, married afterwards to *Philip* Duke of Orleance, hee was buried at Saint Denis in France. After the death of this King, there were great quarrels and diuisions both in France and Nauarre. In France, for that during the Queenes being with child *Edward* King of England, sonne to *Isabel* of France, sister to the deceased King, maintained that the Gouernment did belong to him: On the other side *Philip* sonne to *Charles* Earle of Valois, cousin germaine to the three last Kings, said that the regency did belong to him, as next heire to the crowne of France, which did not belong but to males descended of males, and was regent. The Queene being deliuered at Bois de Vincennes of a daughter, *Philip*, of Regent was proclaymed King, against the pretensions of *Edward* King of England, who was put by, vnder collour of the Salique law. Herevpon followed great and continuall warres, which had in a manner ruined France, if God had not releueed it. These contended a doubtfull title, which belonged to neither of them, if the crowne had fallne to the femal: for *Jeane* daughter to King *Lewis* *Hutin*, did precede them al.

Mistake of  
lawes in Na-  
uarre.

2 The death of King *Charles* beeing knowne in Nauarre, this nation, which was accustomed to liue licentiously, for that they had not a long time seene the face of their Kings, thought now they had gotten liberty to doe what they pleased; so as they beganne to mutine and to raise seditions in all the townes of the realme. In the end they discharged their choller vpon the Lewes who were dispersed throughout the townes in great numbers, and very odious to the Christians, as well by reason of the diuersity of religion, as for their excessive vsury, whereby they did exhaust al their substance: wherefore they beganne to spoile them in all places as enemies, at *Estella*, *Viana*, *Funes*, *Marzilla* and many other places, with so great cruelty, and greedinesse to get, as it is sayd they slue aboute tenne thousand persons of that sect, men, women and little children. To redresse which excessse, and to take away the cause, the Estates of Nauarre assembled at *Puerta la Reyna*, to resolute without any respect, to whom the realme of Nauarre belonged, whether to *Edward* King of England or to *D. Jeane* Countesse of *Eureux*. The Estates were referred to *Pampelone*, the chiefe towne of the Realme, whereas their opinions were diuers, many holding that King *Edward* should haue the Realme of Nauarre, as grandchild (borne of the daughter) to Queene *Jeane*, daughter to King *Henry*, rather then the Countesse of *Eureux*, in regard of the sex: others, and with more reason, held for the Countesse, who was in the same degree, but daughter to a sonne, and heire to Queene *Jeane*, and preuailed, drawing the rest to their opinion.

D. Jeane  
Queene of  
Nauarre.  
An. 1328.

3 Thus was *Jeane* Countesse of *Eureux* declared the true and lawfull Queene of Nauarre, in the yeere of our Lord 1328. the realme hauing bene vacant aboute foure monethes. And vntill that she and Cont *Philip* her husband, should come and take possession of the Realm, they declared Regent and Viceroy *D. Iohn Corboran* of Lect, Standard-bearer of the realme, and *Iohn Martines* of Medrano.

Philip

## Philip the third of that name, the nine and twentieth King of Nauarre.

*Philip* Earle of *Eureux*, sonne to *Lewis* of France, who was sonne to *Philip* the third, sonne to the King *Saint Lewis*, is counted by vs for the nine and twentieth King of Nauarre, the third of that name, and was surnamed the noble. As soone as the Election was made by the Estates of Nauarre, they sent Ambassadors to *Ph. of Valois* the French King, to let him vnderstand the reasons that the King elected had vnto the realme, which had mooued the Estates to make this election; and by the same Ambassadors they aduertised *Philip* of *Eureux* and *Jeane* his wife thereof, summoning them to come and take possession of the realme, and to gouerne it. The French King did no way hinder it, wherefore the Kings of Nauarre elect prepared for their voiage, and arriued there about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1329. hauing not seene a King in their country a long time. The Prelats, Knights and wise men of the realme before their comming, had set downe in writing the conditions wherevnto they would receiue them in the succession of the realme, the which before the solemnities of the coronation and soth, they presented vnto *Philip* and to *Jeane* his wife, the which they yielded willingly vnto. The Estates beeing assembled at *Pampelone*, these conditions were sworne by them, whereof the principal Articles were.

An. 1329.

1 First to the Estates to maintaine and keepe the rights, lawes, customes, liberties and preuiledges of the Realme, both written and not written, and whereof they were in possession, to them and their successors for euer, and not to diminish, but rather augment them.

Articles sworn  
by the Kings  
of Nauarre.

2 That they should disanull all that had beene done to the preiudice thereof by the Kings their Predecessours, and by their Ministers, without delay, notwithstanding any let.

3 That for the terme of twelue yeeres to come, they should not coine any money, but such as was then currant within the Realme, and that during their liues they should not coine aboute one sort of new money, and that they should distribute part of the reuenues, profits and commodities of the realme vnto the subiects.

4 That they should not receiue into their seruice aboute foure strangers, but should employ them of the country.

5 That the forts and garrisons of the realme, should bee giuen to gentlemen borne and dwelling in the Country, and not to any stranger: who should doe homage to the Queene, and promise for to hold them for her, and for the lawfull heire of the countrie.

6 That they should not exchange nor ingage the realme for any other Estat whatsoever.

7 That they should not sell nor ingage any of the reuenues of the crowne, neither should make any law nor statute against the realme, nor against them that should lawfully succede therein.

8 That to the first sonne which God should giue them, comming to the age of twenty yeeres, they should leaue the Kingdome free and without factions, vpon condition that the Estates should pay vnto them for their expences a hundred thousand Sanchers (which was a peece of gold then currant) or in other French money euivalent.

9 That if God gaue them no children, in that case they should leaue the realme after them free, with the forts, in the hands of the Estates, to inuest them to whom by right it should belong.

10 That if they infriny any of these Articles, or any part of them, the subiects should be quit of their oath of subiection which they ought them.

These Articles being promised and sworne by the King and Queene, they were solemnly crowned, and the Deputies of the Estates, Noblemen and Officers of the crowne tooke

Coronation of  
Philip II. Em-  
perour.

4

Genealogy of  
Nauarre.

5

Beginning of  
the house of  
Beaumont in  
Nauarre.

Donation  
made by the  
Infant D. Al-  
phonso de la  
Cera to the  
Kings of Na-  
uarre.

Ambassadors  
sent from Na-  
uarre to Cas-  
telle.

tooke their oth of obedience, in the Cathedral church of Pampelone. And afterwards there were orders set downe by the King and Queene for the Government of the Realme: the which being written were sent into France, and confirmed by King Philip of Valois at Paris the same yeere of our Lord 1329. After that time the French Kings had no command in Nauarre, hauing held that realme eight and fifty yeeres vnto the crowne of France: yet King Philip of Valois retained of the inheritance of his cousin, the Countesse of Bry, and a while after hee gaue them other lands in exchange, yet not of that value.

Philip and Jeanne King of Nauarre had these children following, Charles who succeeded in the realme, Philip Earle of Longueville, Lewis Earle of Beaumont le Royer, and afterwards Duke of Duras, Jeanne married to the vicont of Rohan, Mary Queene of Arragon, wife to D. Pedro the ceremonious, Blanche Queene of France, last wife to Philip of Valois, and Agnes Countesse of Foix married to Gaston Phebus: some of which were borne before their Election, and some after. Lewis the third sonne of this marriage was Earle of Beaumont in Normandie, for that he married the heire of that house, by whom he had one sonne called Charles of Beaumont, who married the daughter of the Vicont of Maulcon in Nauar, and was the first Standard-bearer of the realm, through the fauour of King Charles his vncl. Of this Charles of Beaumont is descended the house of Beaumont in Nauarre. After the death of the Countesse of Beaumont, Lewis married Jeanne daughter and heire to the Duke of Duras, vpon the coast of Macedonia, towards the Adriaticke sea, and was intituled Duke.

These things being done in Nauarre, King Philip being aduertised that the French King marched with a mighty army against the Flemings rebelled, who had chased away Lewis their Earle, and committed many insolencies against the Kings Officers, both in words and deeds: he parted out of Nauarre, being loath to faile him at need who had so kindly suffered him to take possession of the Realme, leauing the Queene D. Jeanne to gouerne Nauarre. He was present at the battraile which King Philip of Valois gaue the Flemings at Cassel, whereas twenty thousand were slaine vpon the place: by means whereof Count Lewis was restored to his Estate, and the Flemings subdued. This waere being ended, the King of Nauarre returned into his realme: It was then that the Infant D. Alphonso de la Cera, sonne to D. Fernand, eldest sonne to King D. Alphonso the Astrologuer, being ill intreated in Castille, where he pretended the crowne, made a donation vnto the crowne of Nauarre, of the rights which he pretended in Guipuscoa, Alaua, Rioja and other lands, the which had in former times belonged to Nauarre, and were usurped and retained by the Kings of Castille. Some affirme that this donation was made in the yere of our Lord 1330. But howsoever, King Philip desirous to do Iustice, & to gouerne his Realme wel, which had great need, and therefore was necessary to entertaine peace with his neighbours, made no great account thereof at that time, but sent Ambassadors to D. Alphonso then reigning in Castile, to seeke his friendship. The Ambassadors found the King at Talauera la Reyna, who entertained them well. Their Ambassage was, that the Realme hauing many yeeres wanted the Soueraigne Magistrate, and in a manner abandoned by their Kings, it was no wonder if many things had happened contrarie to the ancient alliances betwixt the houses of Castille and Nauarre, for what did the Viceroys and Gouernors care, being strangers (hauing no resemblance of manners, nor other bond of friendship with the Spaniards) how all things went, so as they were obeyed in the country, and that they might vaunt they had rather done wrong, then receiued any, keeping continuall garrisons of strangers, ready to commit any insolencies: whereof God had some times shewed his Iudgement, euen in the last incounter neere vnto Beotibar: where by an extraordinary and miraculous punishment, God had chastised the negligence of the foure last Kings, which had held the realme of Nauarre, who had respected it so little as they had scarce looked towards it, yea the two last neuer came nere it, which had made the bad to grow more insolent, and so to continue, vntill that the lawfull heires of the crowne of Nauarre were come to their possession, by the decease of King Charles the Faire, Philip Earle of Eueux, husband

A husband to their true Queene D. Jeanne, being called to raigne, who had sent this Ambassage vnto him, to let him vnderstand these things, as a neighbour Prince and friend, with whom they desired to entertaine peace and friendship, by all good offices which Princes and neighbour Estates may receiue one from another.

The King D. Alphonso hauing heard this Ambassage, fitted vnto the desseignes of the new Kings of Nauarre, moderating the things which had past betwixt these two realms, before their Election, answered, that hee was glad the Nauarrois had had means to recouer them for their Kings, to whom the crowne did by right belong, and that for his part he desired to entertaine a perpetuall friendship with King Philip and Queene Jeanne, and to shew it by the effects in any occasion that should be offered, wherewith he would acquaint his subiects, to the end their Kings vassals, both Nauarrois and French, should be well intreated in Castille, and if any wrong were done them, it should be repaired: and that they should aduertise their Kings on his behalfe, to doe the like in their countries. The Ambassadors returning with this answer, gaue great contentment to King Philip, who to administer Iustice, erected a new Court of Parliament in Nauarre, the which was called New to distinguish it from the Old, hee and the three Estates of the realme naming men, worthy of that charge. The like Ambassage was sent by him into Arragon and Portugal, who were returned with pleasing answers. Matters beeing thus settled in a better Estate then before, the King and Queene returned into France, leauing for Gouernor a French gentleman, called Henry of Guliac, or of Solibert; but with a more limited power then former Viceroys and Gouernors. Such was the Estate of Nauarre vnto the yeere 1331.

Let vs now returne to the History of Arragon, the which we haue left at the new conquest of Sardinia, in the which soone after the departure of the Infant D. Alphonso they fel to rebellion, beginning in the towne of Sassari, the which is one of the greatest of the Island, by the faction of them of the house and family of Oria, great and mighty Lords, especially in that towne, whereof the chiefe were Francesquin, Martin, Branca, and Vinciguerra, all of the family of Oria. These with their partisans hauing sought many means to expell the garrison of Arragonois which was at Sassari, in the end they rebelled openly, and by their example, and vpon the first oportunity, the Pisans holding the city and castle of Cagliari, seemed to haue a desire to doe the like: whereof the King of Arragon being aduertised, he neglected all other desseignes, and thought of the preferuation of this Island, which hee had subdued with great charge and losse: and for the which and for that of Corsica, hee was bound to pay vnto the Pope and to the Sea of Rome, an excessiue tribute of two thousand markes of siluer, and to entertaine a certaine number of souldiers for the defence of the church.

The decease of D. Sancho King of Majorca without children, had made him desirous to ioyne the Islands and the Siegneuries which he had enioyed vpon the firme land to his crowne of Arragon, wherefore he had sent the Infant D. Alphonso into the counties of Rossillon and Cerdagne, with forces to seize thereon, but he was so careful of the affaires of Sardinia, as he did easily incline to the request which D. Philip, brother to the deceased King of Majorca, made in fauour of his Nephew D. James, sonne to the Infant D. Fernand their brother, who as wee haue sayd died Prince of Morea: wherefore the realme of Majorca, and the succession of the King D. Sancho was left vnto this D. James being yet very young, except the right of Soueraignty. Being now forced to send an army into Sardinia, to his great charge, the Pope was intreated by the Infant D. Pedro (who was sent Ambassador expressly to that end by the king his father) being at Auignon, to share this tribute to five hundred markes, and to exempt him from the moiety of the souldiers pay, wherevnto he was liable by reason of the same contract, and for the sayd Islands, for the defence of the territories of the church. The Infant D. Pedro was courteously receiued by the Pope, and fauourably heard in the consistory, where he obtained abatement of halfe the tribute and of the souldiers pay for tenne yeeres, and moreouer to receiue the tithes for two yeeres.

In the meane time the King D. James armed twelue gallies in Cattelogne, and sent the before to Sardinia, vnder the charge of Bernard Celspuade, to assist the Arragonois, and

Ambassadors  
sent from Nauarre  
to Arragon  
and Portugal.

Arragon.

Sardinia re-  
bels against  
the Arrago-  
nois.

D. James King  
of Majorca,  
second of that  
name.

and others that held for him in the Island: *Barnabo* who had beene faithfull to the King A of Arragon, was now dead, whose children *Cassan*, *Galeor*, *Geoffroy* and *Brancalon*, shewed themselves enemies vnto him, and so in like manner did *Federic*, *Azon* and *Iohn Alaispina*, Marquises, who were rich and of great power in Sardinia: Notwithstanding that their vncles *Christian Spinola*, entertained the friendship of the King D. *James*, and was acceptable vnto him. These men by a general conspiracy, had taken armes, in fauour of an army which the Pisan and the Gibiline faction of Genoa did raise to send into Sardinia, the which was newly increased by two and twenty Genoua gallies, which had beene first entertained by *Frederic* King of Sicile, making warre against *Robert* King of Naples, of the which *Gaspar d'Oria* was General, who afterwards leaving the party of the Arragonois and Sicilians, and carrying away the King D. *Fredericks* money, hee ioyned with the Pisans, who made him Admiral of all the fleet. Then beganne there cruel warres betwixt the Cattelans and Genuois, whom *Francisco Carrofo*, Generall of the Gallies of Arragon, and a sworne enemy to that nation, did punish seuerly when as he tooke any one of their Pirats. Hauing imbarcked certaine troupes of old souldiers, Arragonois and Cattelans, he came and presented himselfe before the port of Caillieri, about the end of August, in the yeere 1325. and held the city and fort as it were besieged.

Estates of Arragon.

This yeere the Estates were called at Sarragossa in Arragon, where were present D. *Pedro de Luna*, Archbishop of Sarragossa, D. *Sancho* de Arragon the Kings brother: Don *James* of Arragon of Xerica, D. *Symon Cornel*, D. *Pero Martines de Luna*, D. *Blasco Mazade Verga*, D. *Iohn Ximenes* of Virea, Don *Symon de Fosses*, Don *Raymond* of Perault, Don *Martin Gil* of Atrofil, Don *Gombald Tramasser*, Don *William Entenza*, Don *Michel Peres Gotorio*, Don *Gil Gayces* of Atrofil, Don *Michel Gurrea*, Don *Blasco Mazade Celles*, Don *Symon Peres* de Punia, Don *Symon de Fosses*, Don *Garcia Peres pegna acuta*, D. *Pedro Ruis de Sagra*, D. *Ponce Ignés Entenza*, D. *Lope Ximenes* de Luna, D. *Pedro de Laino*, D. *Michel Peres Zapata*, with other Noblemen and Knights that were present, and the Deputies of D. *Blasco* de Alagon, of D. *Lopes* de Luna, of D. *Alphonso Fernand* of Lxar, and others absent, and the Deputies of the townes and commonalties hauing any place in the sayd Estates. There D. *Pedro*, sonne to the Infant D. *Alphonso*, was sworne presumptiue heire, and successor to the crowne, after the decease of the Grandfather and father: the which was then decreed and practised, for that Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias did maintaine that if his brother D. *Alphonso* should die before their father, the realme did belong to him by right of Proximity, wherefore he refused then to sweare vnto his Nephew, but hee did afterwards. There the Articles of the generall priuiledges were confirmed, the which had beene accorded and sworne by the deceased King Don *Pedro*, and it was ordained for a law, that no free man should be put to the racke, and that confiscations should not bee allowed, but in cases of coyning, and high treason.

Right of representation.

The young King of Majorca beeing vnder the Gouernment of his vncke D. *Philip*, E was there made sure to Don *Constance* of Arragon, daughter to the Infant Don *Alphonso*, hee beeing eleuen yeeres old, and she but siue: these were the chiefe actes of this assembly.

Battle at Caillieri before Caillieri.

The Pisans army, led by *Gaspar d'Oria*, approaching neere vnto the Gulph of Caillieri, whereas *Francisco Carrofo* laie with the army of Arragon, there was a cruel and dangerous battaile for the looser, for their rests were vp: but the Arragonois were victors, who by this memorable victory, tooke a part of the towne of Caillieri, called Stampaces; beeing assaulted at sea by *Francisco Carrofo*, and at Land by *Raymond* of Peralta. Soone after there fell so daungerous a sedition betwixt the Land and Sea forces of the Arragonois, as both captaines and souldiers ranne like madde men one vpon another with greater obstinacy then against their enemies, and many were cruelly slaine: so as this rage had in a manner ruined the Arragonois Estate in that Island, but God had otherwile decreed: for the Pisans beeing very weake, and brought low with the long precedent warres, which they had sustained both against the Genuois and Arragonois, did quit the Island of Sardinia, by an agreement made betwixt the King

Pisans quit the Island of Sardinia.

A King of Arragon, and their Senat, in the yeere of our Lord 1326: so as the towne of Saffari was yielded to the Arragonois, the Marquis of Malespina surceasing, and promising to be obedient to the King and his Lieutenants. Thus the Kings of Arragon became Lords of Sardinia without contradiction, for a time: but in their owne country of Cattelogne, and Valencia, there was continual trouble and quarrels, which grew amongst the Noblemen of the country, beeing in ordinary things, that whereas there is great store of idle Nobilitie; there is alwaies warre and contention; to the oppression of the people.

Pisans quit the Island of Sardinia.

Troubles and quarrels where is much idle Nobilitie.

B D. *Arnaud Roger* Earle of Palliars, and *Raymond Folch* Vicout of Cardona, were then in armes one against another, by reason of a murder committed on the person of D. *William Queralt*, whereof the Earle of Palliars was accused, and either of them hauing a great troupe of friends and Partisans, held all Cattelogne in confusion; with their horrible insolencies. In the county of Valencia, D. *James* Lord of Xerica, was in quarrell with his owne mother; D. *Beatrice* of Loria, and would haue put her out of her lands and possessions, so as this quarrel did in a manner diuide the King and his sonne D. *Alphonso*, the one supporting the mother, and the other the sonne. These quarrels were reconciled with much paine: for when as the Soueraigne Magistrate doth meddle in his subjects quarrels, and of a Iudge becomes a Partisan, his authority leanes to the one side, and the remedies are more difficult, and lesse effectually. D. *James* of Xerica, during these troubles, married the widowe Queene of D. *Sancho* of Majorca, whose name was *Mary*, sister to *Robert* King of Naples; a woman of an vncast life.

The soueraigne should meddle in his subjects quarrels, and should make a large and not a Partisan in his subjects quarrels.

C In the yeere of our Lord 1327. Don *James* the Young of Majorca did homage for the Islands, and Land which hee held, as well in Cattelogne, as on this side the mountaines to the King of Arragon, as to his soueraigne, in the presence of Don *Philip* his vncke and Tutor, Don *Pedro* and Don *Raymond Berenger*, the Kings children, *Caston* of Moncade, Bishoppe of Huesca, and many others: and within few daies after Don *James* King of Arragon died in the towne of Barcelona, hauing reigned fixe and thirty yeeres, foure monthes and a halfe. A Prince rather inclined to good then bad, to whom learning and learned men owe the foundation of the Vniuersitie of Lerida, in Cattelogne, seuen and twenty yeeres before his death, which hee endowed with many preuiledges, and would haue that alone throughout all his dominions, forbidding all other schooles but for Grammer and Logicke. His bodie lies buried in the Monastery of Santa Cruz.

### D. Alphonso the fourth of that name, the twelfth King of Arragon.

E DON *Alphonso* his sonne, succeeded him, to whom was giuen the surname of pittifull. Hee was not the eldest, but that Don *James* his eldest brother, quitting in his fathers life time, the succession of the crowne of Arragon, as wee haue said, entered and inuested himselfe into that Order of Knights of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem: Hee was King.

6

This was his issue; During his fathers life, hee married first Donna *Theresa* of Entenza, Countesse heire of Vrgell, by whom hee had the Infant Don *Pedro*, borrie at seuen monthes end, who was King, and the Infant Don *James* Earle of Vrgell and Vicount of Ajar, and moreover foure other sonnes and one daughter, who died verie yong, and are interred at Sarragossa in Saint Francis Church with their mother Donna *Constance*, who was wife vnto Don *James* the last King of Majorca. Donna *Theresa* had not the title of a Queene, for that shee died foure daies before the King Don *James* her father in lawe. Beeing King, hee tooke to his second wife, Donna *Leonora* of Castille, daughter to the King Don *Fernand* the fourth, who was mother to Don *Fernand* Marquisse of Tortosa, who married at Ebor, Donna *Maria* of Portugal, daughter

Genealogy of Arragon.

Tt





Don *Iohn Manuel* reuolted against his King and country, by reason of the disloyalty A vsed to *D. Iohn* the blinde, and allied himselfe with the Kings of Arragon and Granado, being the more incensed with the newes hee had, that the King treated a marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, leauing his daughter *D. Constance Manuel*, to whom hee was made siure, as we haue sayd. The Infanta was called *Mary*, and was daughter to King *D. Alphonso*, who had in the yeere of our Lord 1325, succceeded King *Dennis* his father in the realme of Castille, and of *D. Beatrix* of Castille, sister to the King *D. Fernand* the fourth, so as she was cousin Germaine to his future Spouse.

### D. Alphonso the fourth of that name, the seuenth King of Portugal.

Portugal.

Genealogy of Portugal.

Dukes, Marquises and Earles not hereditary in Spaine.

Murder of Garcilaso de la Vega.

8 **T**his *D. Alphonso* of Portugall was surnamed the braue, for that he was valiant and generous. He was about fife and thirty yeeres old, when hee beganne to raigne, and had beene made siure to *D. Beatrix*, beeing but eight yeeres old, and was married at the age of sixteene. They had many children, whereof *Alphonso*, *Dennis* and *Iohn* died young: then they had *D. Pedro*, who was King after his father, *Donna Maria*, of whose marriage with King *D. Alphonso* of Castille, we haue begunne to speake, and *D. Leonora* or *Eluira*, who was wife to *D. Pedro* the Ceremonious, King of Arragon. This King *D. Alphonso* had beene very turbulent in his fathers life time, maintayning certaine rebels against him: yet beeing come vnto the crowne, hee became vertuous, and a great fauor of Iustice, making many good lawes, and governing his realme wisely: yet hee had great quarrels with *D. Alphonso Sanches* his bastard brother, to the great oppression of his subiects: for *Don Alphonso Sanches* was a braue knight, and could well defend himselfe, hauing the fauour of the Castilians, and of the King of Arragon, who sought many meanes to reconcile them, but in vaine: The subiect of their quarrels was onely ielousie, conceiued in the heart of King *D. Alphonso*, for that King *Dennis* their father had loued this bastard exceedingly. But in the end the King was Maister, neuer ceasing vntill he had chased him into Castile, after which he confiscated his goods, and proceeded against him by course of Iustice.

9 During the treaty of marriage betwixt *D. Maria* of Portugal and *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, *D. Iohn Manuel*, with the helpe of the Arragonois and Granadins, beganne to ouerrunne the territories of Castille, from Almança vnto Pegnasil, ruining, burning and spoyling all they incournt: Then did the King make his well-beloued fauorite and counsellor, *D. Aluar Nugnes Oforio*, Earle of Transamara, Lemos and Sarria, and Lord of Riuiere and Cabrera, for in those daies there was no Earledome hereditary in Castille nor Leon, and hereof Spaine doth yet retaine those maiesties of antiquity, that the children of Noblemen carrying the titles of Dukes, Marquises or Earles (which were all personall and temporall dignities) dare not take them after the decease of their fathers, without a new permission from the King, except some which haue that right by preuiledge.

Hee did this to oppose him to *D. Iohn Manuel*, against whom hee sent *D. Garcilaso de la Vega*, whilst that hee remained at Cordoua, and prepared for his future marriage with the Infanta of Portugall: *Don Garcilaso* comming to Soria, was ill receiued, for the Nobility hauing had a false aduertisment that hee was come thither to carrie many Knights prisoners, they murdered him in Saint Francis Church, beeing at Masse with his people. They were the fruites of the Infidelity which the King had vsed against *Don Iohn* the Blinde, a Prince of his owne bloud, by reason whereof euerie one grewe very ielous both of him, and of his priuate seruants. This murder did much displease the King, and incensed him against *Don Iohn Manuel* more then before.

Hee

A Hee came to Toledo, where hauing assembled great forces, hee went and beleaged Eicalona. *D. Iohn Manuel* on the other side laid siege to Huete, but neither of them preuailed. The marriage with the Infanta of Portugall was in the end concluded, and moreover *D. Blanche*, daughter to the deceased *D. Pedro* of Castille, the Kings vnicle, was accorded to the Infante *D. Pedro* of Portugall. Pope *Iohn* beeing aduertised of the reuolt of Castille, gaue charge to *Don Pedro* of Toledo, Bishop of Carthagena, newly made Cardinal, to mediate a peace in the realme, interposing his Apostolike authority: but hee labored in vaine; for hee found the King so incensed, as hee would not heare of any composition with his subiects, giuing the Cardinal probable reasons: wherefore hee made his report vnto the Pope, and discharged himselfe of his commission.

B During these troubles, *D. Fernand Rodriguez* of Bilbao, Prior of Saint Iohn, a great friend to *Don Iohn Manuel*, caused the cities of Toro and Zamora to rebell against the King, saying that it was by reason hee had aduanced *D. Aluar Nugnes Oforio* to the dignity of an Earle: the towne of Vaileddolit did the like, whereas *Ioseph* of Eccia a Jew, Intendant generall of the imposts, had like to haue beene slaine. Herevpon the King left the siege of Eicalona, and came to Vaileddolit: where the inhabitants, beeing animated by the Prior of Saint Iohn, shut the gates against him: yet beeing come to a parle with *Don Iohn Martines de Leyua*, *Iohn Veles* of Gueuara, *Fernand Lador* of Rioja, and *Ruis Diaz* his brother, *Pero Rodriguez* of Villega, and *Garcilaso de la Vega*, sonne to him that had beene slaine at Soria: these knights and others wrought so, as the King dismissed the Earle *Don Aluar Nugnes*, and so was receiued into the towne, and by the same meanes hee made a composition with Toro and Zamora, from thence hee went to Ciudad Roderigo, to celebrate his marriage.

C Seeking for to retire out of *Don Aluar*'s hands, the fortes which hee had giuen vnto him in charge, hee could not recouer them all, and moreover *Don Aluar*, beeing discontented with this disgrace, hee presently went and ioyned with *Don Iohn Manuel*: wherevpon the King was aduised to kill him: And seeking a murtherer, and a fit occasion, hee found a man furnished with the qualities of a disloyall Courtiars: this was *Raymyr Flores de Guzman*, who notwithstanding that hee had beene a verie great friend to the Earle, offered to dispatch him, vpon the great promises which the King made him: wherefore sayning to bee in disgrace with him hee went vnto the Earle, by whom beeing well entertained, lyuing and lying together, hee had meanes and opportunity to kill him whilst that the King did celebrate his marriage in Alfayates, and did capitulate with *D. Alphonso* King of Portugal, who came in person to Font Grimald.

D The Court beeing come neere to Medina del Campo, the King was aduertised of the death of Count *Aluar*, to iustifie the which hee caused his processe to bee made, and condemned him himselfe sitting in the seat of Iustice at Tordehumos: hee caused his body to be burned, and his goods to bee confiscated as a traitor, whereof *Ramir Flores de Guzman*, had for his reward, and the price of his friends bloud, which he had shed, the castle of Beluer, and the towne of Cabreros. These are commonly the fauours of the best beloued Courtiars, which abuse the familiarity of their Kings, or relie to much thereon. King *Don Alphonso* perceiuing the misery whereinto hee did runne, desired to make a peace with *Don Iohn Manuel*, but hee laboured in vaine, for the Prior of Saint Iohn vndid all that hee could doe.

E The same yeere, beeing the yeere of our Lord 1329, the marriage which had beene treated some months before, betwixt *Don Alphonso* King of Arragon and *D. Leonora* of Castille, sister to this King *Don Alphonso* of Castille, was celebrated at Tarassone, whereas both Kings met, beeing accompanied by many Princes, Princesses, Prelates and Knights, and the Ambassadors of *Don Alphonso* King of Portugal. There was the league renewed betwixt the three Estates of Castille, Arragon and Portugal, and decreed not to receiue one an others Rebels, promising withall to assist the King of Castille in his warres against the Moores, with the forces of Arragon and Portugall.

Tt 3

what

Arragon.  
An. 1329.

what issue came of this marriage wee haue before related, when as *D. Leonora* saw her A  
selfe mother to *Don Fernand* her first sonne, which was at the end of the yeere, bee-  
ing desirous hee should succeed the King his father, shee fought by all meanes to  
shewe her selfe a stepmother to *Don Pedro*, her husbands sonne by his first wife, but  
hee finding it, hee kept himselfe farre off during his fathers life. *Don Pedro* for his part  
was of a rough and sower disposition.

As soone as the Infant *D. Fernand* was borne, the King his father gaue him the  
Marquifate of Tortose and Albarrazin, contrary to the Edict and law of Daroca, where-  
of wee haue made mention, whereat the Estates were much discontented, and with  
them the Infant *D. Pedro*, *Don Pedro de Luna*, Archbishop of Saragossa, *Don Michel*  
*Gurrea*, who was at it were Gouvernor of the Realme, a dignity which they were wont B  
to giue to the eldest Princes of Arragon, *Don Pedro* and *Synon Gurrea* brethren:  
this last was Abbot of Montarragon, *Vidal* of Villanoua, *Garcia de Loris*, *Michel Zapate*,  
and other Noblemen: yet they were forced to haue patience, for *D. Alphonso* King of  
Arragon suffered himselfe to bee wholly gouerned by *D. Leonora*: this was the first sub-  
iect of hatred betwixt *D. Pedro* and her.

Castille.

The King of Castille being much discontented for the death of *D. Garcilaso de*  
*la Vega*, came presently after his marriage to his aunt being at Soria, where causing  
informations to bee made against the murderers hee condemned the guiltie to death,  
and did confiscate their goods. Hee assembled the Estates of all his realmes at Ma-  
drid, of whom hee obtained a gift of great summes of Marauidis of gold, to make C  
warre against the Moores, who that yeere had sodainly taken the towne of Priego.  
*D. John Manuel*, as well for the marriage betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Infan-  
ta of Castille, as for that his wife, sister to the King of Arragon, was newly dead, lost  
his support on that side: yet hee married againe with *D. Bianche*, daughter to the Infant  
*D. Fernand de la Cerde*, younger brother to *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, cousin to *D. John* the  
blinde, the heire of Biscay, who was yet at Bayone, whether shee had beene conuaid,  
when her father was slaine, her name was *Mary*.

The King being prest to resist the Inuasions of the Moores, hee found meanes to  
make a peace with *Don John Manuel*, to whom he restored *Donna Constance* his daugh- D  
ter, whom hee had kept in the castle of Toro, and graunted vnto him certaine other  
conditions, whereby hee pacified the intestine troubles of the realme. Being at Vail-  
ledolir, hee caused *Ioseph* of Eccia, the Iew, to yeeld an account of the reuenues of his  
customs, and for that there had beene great complaints made of him, hee tooke that  
charge from him, ordaining that from thenceforth it should bee discharged by Christi-  
ans, with the title of Treasurers, and not of Customers.

An. 1330.

In the yeere of our Lord 1330. the Kings of Castille and Portugal, meeting at Font  
Grimald, renued their alliances and leagues, and did capitulate a new, that the King  
of Portugal should assist him of Castille, with fise hundred horse for the Moores  
warre: and then was a marriage celebrated betwixt *Don Pedro* the Infant of Por-  
tugal, and *Donna Bianche* daughter to *Don Pedro* of Castille. The Rendezuous for the E  
Christians army was appointed at Cordoua, whether the King came with his fise hund-  
red horse Portugois: led by the maister of the troupees of the Order of Christus: so as all  
things being ready they laied siege to Thiebe Hardales:

Moores.

*Alhamet* King of Granada, who kept himselfe in a manner alwaies in the castle  
of Alhambra, gaue the whole conduct of the warre to *Ozmin*, who hauing taken Pruna  
by treason came and lodged with six thousand horse, and good troupees of foote at Tu-  
by, three leagues from Thiebe, seeking by his continuall alarmes to diuert the Chri-  
stians seege, making daylie skirmishes about the riuier of Guadathiebe, which was the  
common watering of both armies: notwithstanding all this, the Christians continued  
their battery, and the towne was valiantly defended by the Inhabitants, who burned F  
the Engines of battery with wilde fire, and did frustrate many of the assaylants attempts.  
In the end *Ozmin* desirous to raise the seege, he resolved to charge the campe with this  
pollicie. He diuided his army into two, and sent three thousand horses farre about, and  
by

Str. 1330  
Ozmin.

A by couered places, to charge the Christian army behind, or in flanke, vpon signe giuen,  
whilst that he with the other three thousand, and his footmen did set vpon them in front,  
thinking that the whole armie would make head against him, and that whilst they were  
in fight, the rest falling vpon them with great cries, should amaze them, and easily  
disorder them: but he fayled in this disseigne: for the king of Castille being aduertised by  
his spies, that part of the Moores army was disbanded, and that the rest came against him,  
hee appointed a good Squadron of horse to defend the rere, and he with the rest went to  
incounter *Ozmin*, whom he fought withall and repulsed, and had defeated him, if the  
three thousand horse, which he had sent to charge the armie behind, had not turned head,  
(finding all things in good order) and come in time to succour *Ozmin*, which was the  
B cause he was not wholly defeated. Whilst they were in fight, the king sent two thousand  
horse to assaile the Moores campe, and to spoyle their baggage, the which they effected,  
bringing away many prisoners.

This ill-succeeding enterprife was poorly repayed the next day by the Moores, who  
sue about fifty souldiers whom they found disbanded about the riuier, and this was all:  
wherefore they retired, and the seege was continued: and then the Moores being out  
of hope of succors, yeelded to haue their liues saued. Afterwards *Priego* and *Lagnetta*  
were yeelded, and the forts of Cuenas and Ortexica recouered, which had beene aban-  
doned by the Moores.

With these victories king *D. Alphonso* returned to Seuille, being much incensed against  
C *Don John Manuel*, who had still secret intelligence with the king of Granada, and being  
ill affected to *D. Alphonso*, had not stirred during the seege, notwithstanding that hee had  
promised to assaile the Moores towards Murcia, neither was hee much contented with  
the Portugois, who left him almost at the beginning of the seege of Thiebe, and returned  
to their houses. By reason of these infidelities, he resolved to haue peace with the king of  
Granada, who sought it and accepted what he offered to his Ambassadors at Seuille, that  
he should pay him twelve thousand doubions of yearly tribute, and do him homage for  
his Realme of Granada, so as he might be allowed to draw victuals out of the Christians  
country, paying the twentieth penny.

10 The king *D. Alphonso* being at Seuille without any cares of warre, he gaue him-  
D selfe to the long-sought loue of *Donna Leonora* of Guzman, daughter to *Don Pero Nug-*  
*nes de Guzman*, who had beene wife to *Don John de Velasco*, whom he enioyed. This La-  
dy (who had not her like for beautie in all Spaine) did so gouerne him, as hee did not any  
thing but by her will, excusing himselfe that the Queene *Donna Maria*, whom hee had  
married but two yeares before, had no children. Being come from Seuille to Xeres of Ba-  
dajos, to visit Queene *Elizabeth* his Grand-mother, Dowager of Portugall, being yet a-  
liue, he found there by chance the Infant *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, that came out of France,  
who kist his hand and yeelded vnto him the right which he pretended to the Realmes of  
Castille and Leon, the which he had long disputed but in vaine. He had the same yeare (as  
some hold) yeelded to *Philip* king of Nauarre, the interest which he had or might pretend  
E as king of Castille, to Alaua, Rioja, Guipuscoa, and other lands adjacent, of the auncient  
patrimony of Nauarre. The king of Nauarre in recompence gaue him certaine places and  
pensions, to entertayne his estate, and so they continued good friends. This *D. Alphonso*  
*de la Cerde* had married a Lady in France of the bloud Royall, named *Malfade*, by whom  
he had two sonnes, *Don Lewis* and *Don John*: this last was Earle of Angoulesme, and  
Constable of France, during the raigne of King *John*, whom the Histories of France, cal  
*Don John* of Spaine. Thus *Don Alphonso* was provided for, being issued from the eldest  
sonne of *D. Alphonso* the Learned. *Don John Manuel* the king, seeing that it was now  
time to liue in peace, employed *Donna Leonora* of Guzman, to bring him into fauour,  
the which she obtayned, yet was it not wholly to his content. This Lady was deliuered in  
F the yeare 1331. of a sonne by the king, who was named *Don Pedro*, and to whome the  
king assigned for a perpetuall inheritance, Aguilar del campo, and many other reue-  
nues.

11 In those times they of the Prouince of Alaua, had a custome to choose a Lord,  
vnder the souerainty of Castille, who did gouerne, and enioyed the reuenues which  
were

*D. Alphonso*  
*de la Cerde*  
quits his in-  
terest to Cast.

An. 1331.

custome of  
Alaua.

were appointed for the Lords of the Countrey: sometimes they were Princes of the house of Castile, the kings children, and sometimes the Lords of Biscay, or of the house of Lara, or others, as they thought good: for the doing whereof, they were accustomed to assemble in the field of Arriaga, neere to Victoria, and there made their election: and those of this election were called brethren, and the assemblee a Brotherhood. Thither came the chiefe families of Alaua, with the Bishop of Calaurra, and the deputies for the Labourers: the towne of Victoria, and that of Treuigno were not of this assembly, but had bin alwaies vnited to the Crowne. This yeare the Brotherhood sent deputies vnto the king, beeing at Burgos, desiring him to incorporate them vnto the crowne, and that they might no more choose any Lord, or subalternall gouernour, for that in the factions and seditions past, they had bene distracted from the kings obedience, by the Gouer. B. nors, whereby the countrey had suffered much. The King desirous to giue them contentment, assuring his estate the more thereby, and increasing his demeynes, came to Victoria, and from thence to the assembly of the Brotherhood, beeing in the field of Arriaga, whereas pibblikely, and in all their names, there was a petition presented vnto him by these Knights hereafter named: D. Lopes of Mendoza, D. Bertrand Iuanes of Gueuara, Lord of Oña, and Ladron of Gueuara his son, Iuan Hurtado of Mendoza, Fernand Ruiz of Mendoza, Arch-deacon of Calaurra, Luis Lopes of Mendoza, sons to D. Lopes Diego Hurtado of Mendoza, Fernand Peres of Ayala, Fernand Sanches of Velasco, Gonçalo Iuanes of Mendoza, and Hurtado Diaz his brother, Lopes Garcia of Salazar, and Luis Diaz of Torres. These beeing followed by many other gentlemen, and the deputies of the Clergie, and third Estate, presented many Articles vnto the King, beseeching him to grant them, promising for their part, that this should bee their last assembly, and that the name and effect of their Brotherhood should remaine for euer extinct. The King hauing heard them, and giuen the Articles to his Councell to peruse, receiued them, and vnited the Prouince of Alaua for euer vnto the crowne of Castile; whereof letters were afterward dispatht at Victoria, in the yeare 1332. And these were the Articles.

Alaua vnited  
to the Crowne  
of Castile.

- 1 That the King nor his successors should not alienate any place of his demeynes.
- 2 That the gentlemen and their goods should bee free and exempt from all subsidies, as they had bin heretofore.
- 3 That the Monasteriall Churches and Collations which belonged to Noblemen, should be preferred for them as before, and whereas the Incumbents were not resident, the gentlemen should receiue the reuenues.
- 4 That all Labourers dwelling vpon gentlemens land, should be subiect vnto them, the Seignurie, and Iustice soueraigne referred to the King, and the Oxe of March, but all amercements should be the Lords.
- 5 That the Gentlemen and others of the countrey should gouerne themselves according to the customes and rights of Soportilla, and in all offences their causes should be judged according to the lawes of the Siere partidas.
- 6 That the Iudges royall, and Captaines of castles should be borne and resident in the country, who could not proceed against any one but vpon complaint, vnlesse they were condemned or banished, and that all prisoners should be deliuered vpon caution, vnlesse they were subiect to a corporall punishment.
- 7 That all Labourers dwelling vnder Monasteriall Churches, and Collations of Gentlemen, should bee free and exempted from all tribute and subiection, except the Oxe of March.
- 8 That Labourers dwelling in Pallaces and Castles of Gentlemen, should haue the same exemptions, so as there were but one at once, and those which nurse Gentlemens lawfull children, should enioy the like priuiledges, during the time of their nourishment.
- 9 The Gentlemen which dwell in villages vnder the Iurisdiction of Victoria, should enioy the same rights with them of the Prouince of Alaua: wherein should bee obserued the sentence giuen betwixt the towne of Victoria, and the villages thereunto belonging.
- 10 Whosoever should kill a Gentleman, should pay 500. solz for a fyne, and whosoever should hurt or dishonor a gentleman, should pay the like summe vnto the party.
- 11 That

- A 11 That there should be no forges of Iron set vp in the territorie of Alaua, to the end the mountaines should not be consumed.
- 12 That no man might build a house without the barre.
- 13 That all sales, donations, answers, assignations and pleas, should be iudged where they had bene begun.
- 14 That a Subsidie being demanded of him, who should tearme himselfe a Gentleman, enioyng the rights of Castile, he should be exempt.
- 15 That the king should make no new building, or towne in Alaua.
- 16 That the villages of Mendoza and Mendeuil should be free from all tributes and Impositions, and enioy the ancient rights, yet their Seignurie should belong vnto the Crowne.

17 That the Bourg of Guenara should be free from all tribute, as it had bene before ordayned by the assembly of Alaua, and likewise of the Oxe of March, the Soueraigntie notwithstanding belonging to the king.

These were the exemptions and chiefe priuiledges granted to the Gentlemen of Alaua, in the yeare 1331. In former times all sures were decided and iudged without any Lawes or Statutes, but onely by naturall reason, and by Arbitrators, but then they were reduced into a frame according vnto certaine Lawes, and they had a certaine seate of Iustice appointed. During the kings aboad at Victoria, he did institute (as some affirme) the Order of the Knights of the Band, to maintaine souldiers in Spaine, the which went to decay: yet some hold it was some yeares before. But this yeare returning to Burgos, hee set downe the Orders, whereof the chiefe Articles are these:

An. 1331.

Order of the  
Knights of the  
band.

They carried a red band foure fingers broade, in manner of a scarfe, which came from the left shoulder vnder the right arme, the which the king gaue onely to Gentlemen which had followed the Court tenne yeares, or bene in the warre against the Moors: and by their Orders it was not to be giuen but to younger brothers, who had no great shares in their fathers inheritances. These Knights beeing receiued, tooke an oath to obserue the rules of the Order which follow:

- 1 That the knight of the band should be bound to speake vnto the king for the common good and defence of them of his countrey, beeing required by them.
- D 2 That he should speake the truth vnto the King, and should be bound to reucale vnto the King what he should knowe or heare spoken against him.
- 3 The Knight convicted of a lie, should not carrie a sword for one whole moneth.
- 4 He should conuerse with souldiers and other men of qualitie, and not with men of base conditions.
- 5 They should keepe their promise to all men, of what estate and condition soeuer.
- 6 They should be prouided of armes and horses, vpon paine to loofe the title of Knight-hood.
- E 7 The Knight should not be seene mounted vpon a Moile, nor without band, nor sword.
- 8 He should be no Iester, but his discourse should be graue and honest.
- 9 He should not complaine of his wounds, nor vaunt of his valour.
- 10 He should not play at cardes nor dice, nor ingage his armes, nor apparell.
- 11 He should honour and serue Ladies and Gentlewomen.
- 12 If two Knights of the band had a quarrell, the rest should bee bound to seeke all meanes to reconcile them.
- 13 The Knight which did vsurpe the band, and had not receiued it from the kings hands, should be bound to defend it against two knights of the Order of the band, and if he did vanquish them, he might then carry it without contradiction, but if he were vanquished, he should be banished from the Court.
- F 14 Any knight winning the prize at the lusts of armes of the knights of the band, should be receiued into their Order.
- 15 That the knight of the band which should draw his sword against another knight of the same Order, should forbear the Court for two moneths: and for two moneths after

Articles of the  
Order.

after should weare but halfe a band, and if he should wound his companion, hee should be fixe moneths in prison, and banished the Court for fixe moneths more.

16 The king should bee sole Iudge of all matters concerning the knights of the Band.

17 All the knights of the Band should bee bound to accompany the king vnto the warre.

18 They might not go to the war with the Band, but against Infidels, and in all other they should lay aside the Band.

19 The knights of the Band should assemble thrice a yeare, to treat of the affaires of their Order, where the king should appoint it, beeing mounted and armed, and the sayd assemblies should be in April, September, and at Christmas.

20 They should exercise themselves in Iousts, Ioco de canna, tossing the pike, and managing of horses, at a certaine time appointed.

21 No knight should liue in Court, without ferding a Ladie or Gentlewoman to haue her in marriage, or otherwise with honour.

22 The knights of the Band should be bound to be at all tourneys within ten leagues of the Court.

23 If any of them did marrie within twenty leagues of the Court, the other knights should be bound to beare him companie, and to honour him and his spouse, making some exercises of armes, and giuing him presents.

24 The first Sunday of every moneth they should come into the great hall of the Pallace, and there exercise all sorts of armes before the king, without offending one another either maliciously, or in choller.

25 A knight beeing ready to dye, he should be visited, comforted, and exhorted by his companions, and after his death they should be bound to assist at his funerals, and should mourne a moneth, all Iousts and exercises of armes ceasing.

26 His Band that was dead should be restored to the king by the other knights, who should be tutors to haue some one of his children receiued into the Order, or to obtaine some preferment for the widow to honour her, and entertaine her estate of Nobility, or to marry some of her daughters.

The first knights of this Order, yet not all at once were chosen, without respect to the elder, to honour him, and not to draw it into consequence.

The king *Alphonse*.

The Infant *D. Pedro*.

*D. Henry*.

*D. Fernand*.

*D. Tello*.

*D. John Nugnes*.

*D. Henriques*.

*D. Alphonso Fernand Cornel*.

*D. Lope Diaz d'Almaçan*.

*D. Fernand Perez Portocarrero*.

*D. Charles of Gueuara*.

*D. Fernand Henriques*.

*D. Aluar Garcia of Albornex*.

*D. Pero Fernandez*.

*D. Guye Ieffrey Tenorio*.

*D. Iuan Estuanes*.

*D. Diego Garcia of Toledo*.

*D. Martin Alphonso of Cardona*.

*D. Gonçal Ruiz de la Vega*.

*D. Iohn Alphonso of Benauides*.

*D. Garcilaso de la Vega*.

*D. Fernand Garcia Duque*.

*D. Garcia Fernandes Tello*.

*D. Pero Gonçal of Agüero*.

*D. Iohn Alphonso Carriello*.

*D. Inigo Lopes Horozco*.

*D. Garcia Guttiere of Caruajal*.

*D. Guttiere Fernandes of Toledo*.

*D. Diego Fernandes of Castiello*.

*D. Pero Ruiz of Villegas*.

*D. Alphonso Fernandes Inge*.

*D. Ruy Gonçales of Castagneda*.

*D. Ruy Ramires of Guzman*.

*D. Sancho Martines de Leyna*.

*D. Iohn Gonçales of Baçan*.

*D. Pero Trillo*.

*D. Suero Perez of Quinones*.

*D. Gonçal Mexia*.

*D. Fernand Carriello*.

*D. Iohn de Rojas*.

*D. Pero Aluarez Ozorio*.

*D. Pero Perez of Padilla*.

*D. Gil Quintagna*.

*D. Iohn Rodrigues of Villegas*.

*D. Diego*

A *D. Diego Perez Sarmiento*.

*D. Menao Rodrigues of Viczma*.

*D. Iohn Fernandes Cornel*.

*D. Iohn of Ceruejule*.

*D. Iohn Rodrigues of Cizuceros*.

*D. Orion of Liebana*.

*D. Iohn Fernandes Delgadillo*.

*D. Gomez Capiello*.

These were at this time the most renowned families of Spaine, whereof some are wholly extinct. Other houses are since growne great, as the Velasques, Manriques, Pimentel,

B *Mendoça, Cordoua, Pacheco, Estunica, Fajardos, Arellanos, Tendillas, Cueuas, Andradas, Fonçecas, Luna, Villandrado, Sotomaiors.*

This Order of Knight-hood did flourish for a time, but for that it was not religious as therest, it was neglected and came to nothing.

At the same time *Henry* of Solibert Gouvernor of Nauarre, by the perswasion, as it is Nauarre likely, of *D. Iohn Manuel*, and of *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, entred into quarrell with the king of Castile: and for that he knew the forces of Nauarre were not sufficient to annoy the King of Castile, and that those of France, were both farre off, and in warre with the English, he insinuated himselfe with the king of Arragon, vnder hope of a marriage betwixt *D. Ieanne* eldest daughter to *Philip* king of Nauarre, and *Don Pedro* Infant of Arragon, and heire to the Crowne: for this effect *D. Pero Gonçales* of Morentin, was sent to

C *Tortosa* in Castelogne, where he was well receiued by the king, who hauing appointed *D. Pedro de Luna*, Arch-bishop of Saragossa, to treat with him of this marriage, they concluded it, as we shall shew, and agreed, that it should be accomplished within a certaine time, and that in the meane time *D. Pedro* should ayde the Gouvernors of Nauarre,

both present and to come, in all the wars they should haue for the realme of Nauarre. The chiefe motiue of this marriage, was *D. Iohn Alonso de Hara*, Seigneur de las Cameros, who

was very inward with *D. Iohn Manuel*, and sought al occasions to annoy king *D. Alphonso*.

*D. Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre being in France, was that yeare deliuered of the Infant *D. Charles*, heire of the Realme of Nauarre, and the Countie of Eux.

D Another marriage was treated of in Portugal, to the preiudice of king *D. Alphonso* of Castile: for *D. Fernand Rodrigues* of Bilbao, Prior of *S. Iohn*, Chancellor to Queene *Mary*,

wifeto king *D. Alphonso*, a great friend to *D. Iohn Manuel*, and to whome the reuenges which the king did vsually take of his Nobility were not pleasing: beeing also incensed at the familiarity which the king had with *D. Leonora* of Guzman, and at the authority shee

had within the Realme, being also much deuoted to the king of Portugall, he preuailed so with him by his practises, as he caused a diuorce betwixt the Infant *D. Pedro* of Portugall, and his wife *D. Blanche* of Castile, who was very sickly, and made him to marrie *D. Constance* daughter to *D. Iohn Manuel*, who thought to haue bin Queene of Castile. The king

of Castile, who dreamed not of these things, thought himselfe assured of the Christians, and was wholly attentue to the actions of the Moores of Granado, with whom he sought

E means to breake the truce, by stopping of their victuals: but beeing better aduised, hee sent to demand the tribute for that yere of king *Mahumet*, the which was paid, so as he suffered the Moores to haue passage for their victuals out of Andalusia, and other places therabouts: yet king *Mahumet* vnderstanding what small assurance there was in this truce,

and watching all occasions, either how to free himselfe from the subiection of the Christians, or to annoy them: he past soone after into Affricke, to sollicite king *Alboacen* Miralumin of Maroc, to make some great enterprife with him in Spaine.

13 And for that the Moores of Spaine haue alwaies had great affinity and intelligence

F with these Miralumin of Affricke, it shall be fit to relate the continuance, since *Ioseph Aben Iacob*, the second king of the race of Merins, whom we left vpon the banks of Affricke trying to passe into Spaine in the yere 1291. when as the king of Castile tooke Tariffe from him: but being stoppt by *Benedict Zachary* Admirall of Castile, he conuerted his designs against *Alboacen* king of Tremessen, and his successor *Boham*.

This Miralumin beeing at the sege of Tremessen, a familiar friend of his called

*Alfiterian*,



Bucalc 3. king  
of the race of  
the Merins in  
Affricke.

Botebid 4. king  
of Maroc.

Abortabe 5.  
king.

Aben Joseph 6  
King of Maroc

Alboali 7. king  
of the race of  
Merins.

Alboacen 8.  
King of the  
Merins.

*Alfetrion*, flue him in his bed: whereupon his son *Bucalc* tooke vpon him the scepter of the Arabian Mores, and was the 3. king of the race of Merins. Being yet in the campe before Tremessen, *Albohaya* his vncle being inuested by the Maroquins to take the Realme from *Bucalc*, he refused it for himselfe, but he aduanced another King of the same family of Merins, called *Botebid*, son to a brother of this *Bucalc*, who seduced him to fly: finding himselfe too weake to make head against him. *Bucalc* thinking to saue himselfe in Affricke was slaine by them that pursued him, neere vnto Mont Atlas. Thus *Botebid* reigned the 4. of the familie of Merins, who at the end of the yeare, ended both raigne and life in whole place *Abortabe* his Brother was the fifth king of Maroc, by the helpe of certaine Christian souldiers, who were then in Affricke, led by a knight called *Gonsalo Santhes* of Tronconies, who notwithstanding had like to haue bene slaine by this ingratefull barbarian, being forced to saue his life by flight, and so retired into Spaine. *Abortabe* reigned onely 2. yeares, and died in the city of Ribate, leauing the Realme of Maroc to his great Vncle *Aben Joseph*, sonne to king *Jacob Aben Joseph*, the first of the familie of the Merins which had reigned in Maroc, and brother to *Aben Jacob*. This *Aben Joseph* had one son called *Alboali*, whome he sought to make king of Fez in his life time, but as he had indiscreetly, and too ambitiously cherished this son, he was forced to repent him, for such was the sons hatred, as he deprived his father of the Realme of Maroc, and appointed him (by the intercession of the Almodes then reigning at Tunis, who had there erected a kingdome of the reliques of their families and forces chased from Maroc) *Bolahu* for his aboade and entertainment: and *Alboali* reigned in the 7. place: but he enioyed it not long for it was the wil of God, that this wicked sonne fell grievously sicke in the towne of Fez, neere vnto Tremessen (not that Fez which is the chiefe of a kingdome) his father *Aben Joseph* came thither to beseege him, and prest him in such sort, as he was forced to leaue the realm of Maroc and Fez, and to content himselfe with that of Sojumenca. By this meanes *Aben Joseph* reconered his Crowne and royall authority in Maroc, who holding *Alboali* unworthy to succeed him: he appointed *Alboacen* his younger sonne to be heire of the Crowne. *Alboali* the elder aduertised of this institution, watched a time when both the father and the sonne were absent out of Maroc, and comming thither on the sudden well accompanied, he seized thereon, thinking by that meanes to haue reconered his realme: but he was beseegeged by king *Aben Joseph* and *Albohacen*, vpon whom making a sally, he was defeated, and sore wounded, so as he was forced to yeeld to his fathers will, and to retire himselfe to Sojumenca, the which was granted him againe for his portion: after which *Aben Joseph* liued 18. yeares quietly king of Maroc, by whose decease succeeded his son *Alboacen*, the eighth king of the familie of Merins, yet with great contention against his elder brother *Alboali*, who fought by all practises to cast him from his throne, and being not of strength sufficient himselfe, he begged ayde of other Barbarian Kings, so as with the forces he obtained from king *Botexefin* sonne to *Boham* then reigning at Tremessen, he came againe to beseege the capital town of Maroc, where *Abderrahamen* a braue knight commanded, who defended it so valiantly, as he forced *Alboali* to retire with shame, who in his retreat was incountred and defeated by the kings army, and soone after beseegeged in his towne of Sojumenca, who seeing himselfe reduced to extremitie, hee took a new composition, promising neuer to pretend any interest to the realm of Maroc, but to content himselfe with that of Sojumenca: for assurance whereof he gaue his sonne called *Bozien* for hostage. Wee must needs confesse that the humanity both of the father and the sonne to *Alboali* was exceeding great, hauing so often rebelled, and aspired to the crowne, a crime which doth often cause all respect of bloud and allyance to bee forgotten, euen in Christian Princes. *Alboacen* rising from Sojumenca, ouer-ranne Pilla, and burnt all the countrie of Tremessen, in reuenge that King *Botexefin* had given ayde to his brother at the sege of Maroc: It is this *Alboacen* which had bene solicited by *Mahumet* king of Granado, to passe into Spaine against Don *Alphonso* the eleuenth king of Castile: and who afterwards hauing subdued the Realmes of Sojumenca and Tremessen, was the greatest Prince in all Affricke.

Returning then into Spaine, wee say, that *Ozmin* Generall of the forces of Granado, dyed about the yeare 1332. soone after the truce made betwixt Castile and Granado: 1332.

A leauing two sonnes *Abraham* and *Abuceber*, after whose death King *Mahumet* put himselfe into fauour with King *Alboacen*, (for *Ozmin* notwithstanding that he was of the same familie of Merins, had alwaies bene an enemy vnto him) wherefore *Mahumet* going to Fez, he was courtously entertained by the Miralmumin, to whome hauing made his complaints of the King of Castile, who did alwaies trecherously breake the truce: he perswaded, and incited him, to ioyne with him against Spaine. For (sayd hee) God hauing made you the mightiest Prince of the Religion, published by the Prophet *Mahumet*, and whome so many Kings and Princes of Affricke obey, thou canst not more religiously, and with greater honour employ thy forces, then against the Christians of Spaine, our persecutors, and the implacable enemies of our law, nor more profitably address thy noble enterprises, not with hope of better successe, then against them, hauing the ports and townes of Spayne at thy command, from the Streight along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea: whereunto the troubled Estate of Castile doth alwaies inuite thee, whereas Don *Alphonso*, who rearmes himselfe King, through an insatiable desire of rule, hauing spoiled his subjects of their lawfull inheritances, and pursued them in their honours and liues by tyrannous cruelty, extending his outrageous disdain euen to women of his owne bloud, and others of noble Families, hee hath so estranged most of the Princes and Noblemen of Spaine, as they now seeke our friendship, and offer to ioyne with vs, to make warre against him. It will be therefore an act worthy of thy wisdom, not to let slippe so great occasions, and besetting the generositie of thy Noble and renowned Family, by this oportunitie to repaire the ruined honour of the Arabians, troden vnder foote in Spayne, for the finnes of our Nation, by the will and pleasure of the great God, who shewes plainly, that hee hath now turned his wrath against the Spaniards, both Princes and people beeing plunged in all impietie, disloyalty, dissimulation, and couetousnesse.

To this effect spake *Mahumet* to the King of Maroc, who heard him with great attention, and answered by the aduice of his Councell: that hee desired nothing more, then to do what he had propounded, but at that time hee could not wholly attend it as it was fit, beeing ler by the warre which he had against the king of Tremessen, the which being ended, hee would employ himselfe in person with all his forces. In the mean time he offered him good troups of horse, and gaue him great summes of mony. Thus the king of Granado returned well satisfied into his country, where beeing arriued, hee sent presently to Don *John Manuel*, to conclude a firme League with him, and the other Noblemen his Confederates, and to resolu of the meanes how to beginne the warre against the King of Castile.

In this league ioynd Don *John Nuges de Lara*, Don *John Martinez de Leyua*, and many others: and there was sent from them vnto Granado with the messengers Moores, Don *Pero Martinez Clauijo*, to haue the king confirme their accord. Wherefore the same yeare 1332. *Rodenan* Captaine of the Lymits of Granado towards Murcia, *Abuceber* sonne to *Ozmin* deceased, and *Machilif* Gouvernour of Antequera, entred the Realme of Murcia in armes, vnto the territorie of Valencia, spoyling, killing, and burning all about Orihuela and Guardamar: from whence they returned laden with spoyle to Granado, whereby king Don *Alphonso* knew that hee mist of force go to armes: for before hee had a conceit that *Mahumets* practises would prooue vaine, and hoped to reclaime his Rebels, by promises and other practises, but he was deceiued. Wherefore to beginne a warre of so great waight and difficultie, hee went in pilgrimage to Saint *James*, and there was made Knight, being in compleat armour, ordaining that from thence forth whoeuer should desire to be made a knight, should present himselfe armed at all peeces. Returning to Burgos, he caused himselfe to be crowned king, to giue more authoritie to his royall Maiestie: he also caused Queene *Mary* his wife to be crowned with great pompe and charge to the Inhabitants. The next day the king did arme and make about an hundred Noble men and Gentlemen Knights, in the Monasterie of Huelgas, being all covered with white. The ceremonie being ended, he gaue to the Cittie of Burgos, the place of *Nague*, with the iurisdiction for euer, to recompence the expences they had bene at in his Coronation.

V v

During





At Saint Care, *John Renant le Chat*.  
 At the castell of Murillo, *Diego Peres of Esperun*.  
 At S. Martin of Vnx, *Garcí Ximenes of S. Martin*.  
 At Vxue, *D. Alphonso of Spaine*.  
 At Gallipienço, *Pedro Arnaud of Vrtuua*.  
 At Casteda, *Stephen of Cormelles*.  
 At Pegna, *Peter of Cuyuero*.  
 At the old castell of Sanguessa, *Garcí Arnaldes of Espeleta*.  
 At Petiella in Arragon, *D. Martin Fernandes de Sazaça*.  
 At Pintano, *D. Simon de Sotes*.  
 At Ongaçaria, *Helias Martines of Irurozgui*.  
 At Leguin, *John Martines of Eufa*.  
 At Yrurtegui, *Martin Garcia of Ollaogui*.  
 At Valcarlos, *Martin Ynigues of Vrça*.  
 At Rochfort, *Lobet of Narbays*.  
 At Monteyran, *Pedro Sanches of Olicaratea*.  
 At Rochbrun, *Willam Arnaud Durdes*.  
 At Guerga, *John de Sauain*.  
 At Thiebes, *Garcí Michel of Escayren*.  
 At Castell-nouo, *Roderigo of Ayuar*.  
 At Burgui, *Pedro Azmar of Ezcura*.  
 At Yfaba, *Martin Garcia of Leyun*.  
 In the Merindad or Iurisdiction of Pampelone, *Fernand Diaz de villa alta*, held the castell of Toloyna.  
*John of Rouceray*, that of Aza.  
*John of Bulli*, Labraca.  
*John Fernandes* of Baguedan, the castell of Oro.  
*Bernard* of S. Pelage, that of Falces.  
*Pedro Garcia* of Ciragueui, Carfar.  
*John Betayroa*, and *Martin Sanches* of Villamera, the castle of Lana.  
*Roger* of Alamaia, Andofilla.  
*Corbaran* of Lect, Reça.  
*Romieu Martines* of Arrornis, Afagra.  
*Alphonso Diaz* of Morentiu, Peralta.  
*Diego Sanches* of Eulate, Artazona.  
*John Velez* of Medrano, the tower of Viana.  
*Diego Lopes* of Alfafua, the castell of Toro.  
*Martin Sanches* of Azedo, Maragnon.  
*John Moreusnt*, the castell of la Garde.  
*Renauld* of Bourray, the castell of Milagro.  
*Alphonso Perez* of Morantiu, the castell of Montjordan.  
*Garcí Sanches* of Espeleta, Lerin.  
*Ordoniz* of Blandiaco, Funes.  
*D. Pedro Ximenes* of Mirafuentes, Arcos.  
*Lope Perez* of Agnoa, the castell of Miranda.  
*Philip* of Coynon, the castell of Belmarques.  
*Sancho Perez* of Lodoga, the tower of Mendauiia.  
*Michel Ramires* of Cufia, the castell of Celatambor.  
*Sancho* of Licaracu, the castell of Larraga.

Which Captaines of Forts were all enterdayned by the King, and enjoyed many privileges, according to the lawes and customes of Nauarre. The treatie of marriage continued still, betwixt the Infant of Nauarre, and *D. Pedro* heire of Arragon, by *D. Pedro de Luna*, Arch-bishop of Saragossa, *D. Pedro Gonçales* of Morentiu, and other Deputies, who hauing beene long together in the towne of Cortez, concluded it in the yeare 1334.

The

A The conditions were, that King *Philip* of Nauarre, should giue in dowry with his daughter *D. Jeanne*, a 100000. Sanchots, which were worth so many Liuers turnois, and for assurance of a future marriage, there were giuen in pawne for Nauarre, Lescar, Arguedas, Saint Care, Murillo, Gallipenço and Murgui; and for the King of Arragon, Fayos, Boria, Malona, Campdalijub, Sos and Sauueterre, & the Articles were signed by the parties with many knights at Daroca. The King of Castille hearing of this alliance, being ialous and foreseeing that they fought but an occasion of warre, he wrote vnto the Gouernor, that hee could neuer vnderstand that his subiects had wronged the Nauarrois, and that if any thing had beene committed which required reparation, hee was readie to see it done: but the Gouernor giuing a deafe care to that which hee had written, persisted in his resolution and seized vpon the Monastery of Hitero by force.

B being then in the possession of Castille, and had before beene of Nauarre. The King of Castille seeing the warre to be ineuitable, sent to the King of Arragon, to intreat him to be a meanes, that his sonne *D. Pedro*, might not ioine with the Nauarrois, nor aide them to annoy Castille. The King of Arragon, beeing verie sicke answered that his indisposition would not suffer him to thinke of such affaires, and that if his sonne had a will to fauor the Nauarrois, he could not hinder him, being in that Estate. This answer beeing made knowne to the Arragonois, they grewe more desirous to ioine with the Nauarrois, wherevpon *D. Lope de Luna*, one of the greatest Noblemen of the Realme, *D. Michel Perez Zapata* and *Lopes Garcia*, accompanied with many other knights, whom the Infant *D. Pedro* gaue them, to the number of fise hundred horse, came to the Gouernor to Tudele, from whence enting into Castille with the forces of Nauarre, they made a great spoile, and brought away a great booty, finding not any one to make head against them: whereof the King of Castille beeing aduertised, hee was much grieved, giuing the speediest order hee could to man the frontiers: hee sent *D. Alphonso Ortiz* Prior of Saint Iohn, to *D. John Nugnes de Lara*, to the end hee should take vpon him the charge to defend the country, with such troups as hee should giue him: but *D. John* notwithstanding his reconciliation with the King, would not trust him, keeping himselfe still in Biscay, and yet the King promised to giue him Maralles and Villalon, with many other things: wherefore King *D. Alphonso* made *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero* General of this warre, and sent with him vnto the frontier *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, sonne to *D. Lopes* the little, *D. Fernand Rodrigues* of Villalobos, *D. John Garcia Manriques*, *D. Rodrigo* of Cisneros, *D. Pero Nugnes de Guzman*, and his brother, *Ramir Flores*, *D. Lopes Diaz* of Almalan, *D. Gonçalo Ruis Giron*, *D. Gonçalo Ruis Diaça*, *D. Aluar Rodrigues Daza*, *Alphonso Fernandes Cornel*, *Garsilaso de la Vega*, and his brother *Gonçalo Ruis de la Vega*, *Pero Ruis Cavilli*, *John Alphonso* of Benauides, *D. Rodrigues* of Sandoual, *Sancho Sanches de Roias*, and many other knights of marke, which did not refuse to march vnder *Martin Fernandes*, although there were many amongst them of greater houses, in regard that hee did represent the person of the Infant *D. Pedro* of Castille, and had displayed the standard royall, and was appointed by the King to be his Lieutenant generall; and as the King sought to make his excuse, saying, that hee would gladly his sonne had beene of age to goe to horse, and that hee would willingly haue made him their leader and general, they answered, that they would not onely obey *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*, whom they knew to bee a worthy knight, seeing hee gaue him them for their Leader, but any one of lesse qualitie, yea a groom of his stable, if he commaunded it.

The Gouernor of Nauarre beeing aduertised of this army of Castillans, fortified the Monastery of Hitero, and sent thether *D. Michel Perez Zapata*, thinking they would come and assaile it. The Castillans being all assembled at Alfaro, leauing the Monastery, marched directly towards Tudele; being discouered, the Arragonois and Nauarrois sallied forth to incounter them, not caring to attend the returne of *Michel Perez*, who had led part of their forces to Hitero.

F The Castillans were stronger in horse, and the place fit to vse them: wherefore beeing ioyned, although the Nauarrois made great resistance, yet they were put to rout, and repulst towards the towne, with great slaughter, and the losse of many that were taken prisoners. And you must vnderstand that neither the Gouernor, nor *D. Lope*

Ten thousand pound.

Warre betwixt Nauarre and Castille.

Obedience of the Noblemen of Castille to their King and Lord.

Defeat of the Arragonois and Nauarrois by the Castillans.

de

*de Luna*, were at this charge, but kept themselves in Tudela, so as the army of Arragonis and Nauarrois were without a head, and were chased euen to the towne gates. The victorious Castillans returning towards Alfaro, incountred *Michel Perez Zapata*, with his troupes, comming from Hitero, who put his men in batteille, by the fauor of a Dich, the which he defended against his enemies, who were full of fury, after their late victory, and fought to force it, but many miscarried: yet the multitude of the Castillans prevailed, and *Michel Perez* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner with many others: if night had not approcht without doubt (as the Histories say) the Nauarrois and Arragonis, in this last incounter, had bene all put to the sword.

Thus the Castillans after two victories, returned with many prisoners, and great spoiles to Alfaro, forbearing for a time to returne into Nauarre, hauing not gotten these victories without losse. Those that were in the Monastery of Saint Mary of Hitero, notwithstanding that they were well fortified, and furnished with victuals, durst not abide there, so as the Castillans seized thereon, from whence they went to beleage the Castille of Tudeguen, in the which there was a garrison of Gascons and Nauarrois, who yeelded the place; being perswaded by the faire speeches of a Castilian monke, who was in the castle with them. The Castillans taking heart by this happy successe returned afterwards thrice into Nauarre, and spoiled the country, carrying away many prisoners, and great store of catteille.

Guipuscoa  
enemies to the  
Nauarrois.

On the other side the people of Guipuscoa, hearing of the warre, vpon the frontiers of Castille, Nauarre and Arragon, hauing no commaundement, entred in armes into Nauarre, vnder the conduct of *Lopes Garcia* of Lazcano, whom they made their captaine, spoyling a great part of the country of the iurisdiction of *Pampelone*; and in the end they laied sege to the castle of *Vnfa*, which they tooke. The King of Castille aduertised of these happy exploits, was desirous to stay the course of their victories, fearing lest hee should kindle a warre betwixt France and Spaine, which should not bee easily quenched: wherefore he commaunded them to containe themselves, and onely to defend the frontiers of his Kingdome, yea hee called home most of the captaines and knights, which were vnder the Infant *D. Pedro's* Banner, being led by *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*. Hee and some others did instantly obey, but *Garcilaso de la Vega*, and *Gonsalo Ruiz* his brother, made an other roade, with certaine troupes, into Nauarre, about Soliere, where they left lamentable markes, burning and spoyling all they found. The newes of these outrages came into France, which did moue many kinsmen, friends and subiects of King *Philip* to apprehend the spoiles which the Castillans had made in Nauarre, among the which *Gaston* Lord of Bearn, and Earle of Foix made hast to passe the mountaines, with many souldiers, *Bernois* and *Gascons*, and hauing taken view of his troupes at *Viane*, which is a league from Logroño, he entred into Castille, where hee made the like spoile as the Castillans had done in Nauarre, and then came and camped before Logroño, the Inhabitants whereof sallied forth vpon them, being led by a gentleman of the country called *Ruis Diaz* of Gaona, but they were repulst into the towne, and pursued so neere, as without the valour of *Ruis Diaz* of Gaona (who with three companions made head against the enemies, at the entry of the bridge, whilst the rest had recovered the towne, and assured the Ports) they had entred Pel-mel with them, and taken Logroño. This Esquier imploied his life for the preservation of his country, imitating (but with lesse happinesse) the example of the Romaine *Horatius Coclès*, for hee was slaine vpon the bridge. The Earle of Foix sayling of his hope to take Logroño by this meanes, returned with his men to Viana.

Defeat of the  
garrison of  
Logroño by  
the Earle of  
Foix.

The King of Castille being in the meane time aduertised of his comming, had commaunded many companies of foote and horse to march towards the frontiers, meaning that when they had raised a great army, they should enter into Nauarre, if it were conuenient, so as it was likely there would bee a dangerous warre betwixt these two mighty Kingdomes: for it is to bee presumed the French King would haue bene engaged, in fauour of his cousin *Philip* King of Nauarre, and nor to giue occasion to the Spaniards to presume to passe so easily ouer the limits wherewith nature had diuided those two nations. But it was the will of God, that in this heat of their courages of either side, *Arch-*

A Archbishop of Rheims came into Nauar, going in pilgrimage to Saint *James* of Galicia, who seeing this warre begunne betwixt the Nauarrois and the Castillans, for eight occasions; wrote a letter to the King of Castille, admonishing him to harken vnto a peace. The King who was no lesse desirous then the Archbishop, embraced this occasion; and shewing that the reuerence of so great a prelat, made him willing to obey his holy aduertisements, he sent vnto him *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*, *D. Gil Carillo* of Albornoz, Archdeacon of Calatrava in the church of Toledo, who was afterwards Cardinal. By the aduice and resolution of which three, with whom was ioyned *Fernand Sanches* of Vailledolit, notarie Maior, or Secretary of Castille, who concluded a peace vpon these conditions.

B That there should be peace betwixt *Philip* King of Nauarre and *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, their vassals and subiects, and a cessation of armes for a certaine time. That foure commissioners should bee named, two for Nauarre, and two for Castille, for the establishment and restitution of what had bene taken of either part, and for the reparation of any thing that should bee committed to the prejudice of this accord. That the Monastery of Santa Maria of Hitero, should be restored to the Monkes, who should remaine Neuters, vntill it were decided to what iurisdiction it did belong: to the end the diuine seruice should not be interrupted, nor they any waies molested by the Nauarrois or Castillans. That the castles of Tudeguen and *Vrta* should remaine in the possession of the King of Castille, vntill their differences were decided, and a definitiue sentence giuen. That in regard of the propriety of the Monastery of Hitero, there should bee arbitrators chosen, a Nauarrois, a Castilian and a Cardinal of Rome, who should bee agreeable to both parties, to iudge thereof, and in the meane time all quarrels should cease betwixt the two realmes, Kings and subiects. These Articles being concluded, they were afterwards confirmed by the two Kings.

Peace betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Castille.

16 During these warres of the King of Castille against the Moores and his Rebels, Arragon, and against Nauarre, the realme of Arragon was troubled with the quarrels and harred of the Queene *D. Leonor* against the Infant *D. Pedro* her sonne in law, shewing herselfe in all shee could, a right mother in law. Wherein shee was the more to bee feared, for that shee did governe the King *D. Alphonso* her husband at her pleasure, and did worke in him what impressions she would, so as many times the Infant was in great danger, which hee did afterwards reuenge. Besides these intestine iarrs, the King of Arragon was much troubled which the continual rebellions of the Sardinians, and their Lords, who were for the most part Geneuois, but hee wrought so by his wisdom, and diligence, as without vsing any force, but in extremity, he reduced most of them to his deuotion. *Francis a Oria* sonne to *Leonard*, as well in his owne name, as of *Alion*, *Marian Fabian Dignamin*, and *Nicholas* of Oria, came and did homage to the King, and obtained pardon, and confirmation of all the Lands which they did hold in Sardinia; vpon condition that they should not giue any aide nor fauour to the rebels and banished men of the towne of Sassari, where notwithstanding the King granted a repeale for such as had bene condemned for light crimes, but those of the families of the *Cathons*, *Pali* and *d'Oria*, who had bene condemned of high treason, by *D. Berenger* of Carosso, were banished the Island for euer. This nation of the Sardes was so prompt to reuolt, as notwithstanding any prouision the King of Arragon could make, and all accords and treaties, hee was constrained to be watchful, with care, and exceeding great charge. *Ayton* of Oria hauing rigged out nine gallies, and some other Genouay ships of the Ghibeline faction, remaining at Sauonne, hovering about the Island of Sardinia, surprized neere vnto Cap de Terre, nine ships of Cattelogna, and sunke them, and so passing on he terrified all the Arragonis in the Island, and held the fort of Cailleri as it were beleegged for a time, which made all the Sardinians in a manner to rebel: wherevpon *D. Alphonso* King of Arragon sent *D. Raymond* of Cardona thither, a captaine of great experience, and made him Lieutenant general of that Island.

Sard'nien. turn  
vnto us.

Geneuiois of  
the Ghibeline  
faction against  
the Arragonis  
in Sardinia.

These things past in the yeere of our Lord 1330. about the time that the Moores did invade the realme of Murcia, of the which wee haue treated, at which time the Infant *D. Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias, the Kings brother married *Leanne* sister to *Gaston* Earle



Earle of Foix, the first of that name, and daughter to *Roger Bernard*.

The Cattelans enemies irreconcilable to the Geneuiois, and newly incensed by the losses which they had received by the army of *Aysen d'Oris*, who after that he had spoiled all that he found of the Arragonois faction vpon the banks of Sardinia, retired into Corsica, to the Port of *Boniface*; they drew out of their Ports and Hauens of Cattelogne about forty Gallies, and thirty Poists and Brigantins, and directing their course towards the riuer of Genoa, they burnt al the Geneuiois houses of pleasure, without respect of friend or foe: for the common weale of Genoa being then diuided, by reason of the faction of Guelphes and Ghibelins; the Ghibelins open enemies to the King of Arragon did for the most reside at Sauonne, and from thence made their sallies and enterprises; sometimes drawing some priuate men of the Guelphes faction, to runne vpon the Cattelans, by reason whereof this Cattelans army intreated them all after one manner.

During these wrackes, *Luke* of Fiesco one of the chiefe of the Guelphes faction, had begunne to treat with King *D. Alphonso*, by the meanes of *Francis* of Saint Eulalia, that if he would harken to a good accord with the Geneuiois, holding the city of Genoa for friend, and forget al wrongs done, they would furnish him with fiftene gallies, and follow his standard against the Geneuiois Ghibelins remayning at Sauonne, who had caused all the reuolts and troubles in Sardinia, wherewith the King was very well pleased: but the spoiles which the Cattelans army had made during the treaty in the riuer of Genoa intercepted all; so as these two factions of Genoa, being equally assisted by a forraigne enemy, were the more willing to giue credit to the perswasions of *Robert* King of Naples, who reconciled them, and then they ioyned against the King of Arragon, to dispossesse him of the Island of Sardinia. The heads of the two factions, were the families of *Oria* for the Guelphes, and *Spinola* for the Ghibelins. Becing thus incensed they runne along the coast of Cattelogne, with three score saile, where they tooke many ships and other spoiles, leauing lamentable spectacles in all places where they had landed. Thirtene of their gallies passing from thence into Sardinia, attempted the fort and Port of *Caillerij* in vaine, from whence they were repulst with losse. These warres at sea, betwixt the Cattelans and Geneuiois might bee held equall, for they were the mightiest nations at sea in that age. All was full of difficultie, and ialousie in the Island, notwithstanding that King *Don Alphonso*, by his bountie, aduancements, alliances and marriages contracted in his fauour, and at his instance betwixt the Noblemen Cattelans, and Sardinians, or Geneuiois (having charges or lands in the Island) had sought to draw them vnto him, and to make them friends, and affected to his party: yet he was in continuall warre, and was forced to keepe great garrisons in the Island, and many gallies at sea with so great charge, as all the reuenues of the Island of Sardinia did auail him little: beeing often constayned to importune the Pope, to discharge him of the tribute, which hee ought vnto the church of Rome, by reason of this chargeable conquest.

Thus King *Don Alphonso* past his raigne in these home-bred and forraigne troubles, beeing but short. A little before hee died *Don James* of Arragon, Lord of Xerica, who had married *Queene Marie*, which had beene left by *D. Sancho* King of Majorca, who liuing dissolutly & vnchastly, was by this king sent home to the king of Naples her father.

The peace betwixt Arragon and Granado was sworne by him and confirmed at the castle of Valence, with *Albuhacen*, *Abencomixe* and *Pascal Citera*, Ambassadors for King *Joseph Abenamet*, vpon the like conditions, as with Castille. A little before his death, *D. Leonor* seeing herselfe mother of two sonnes, *D. Fernand* and *D. John*, who was yet in his swathing clothes, to be much hated (and not without cause) of the Infant *D. Pedro*, who should succede to the crowne, shee sought to put into the hands of the King of Castille, her brother (whose fauour shee affected) the castles of *Verdegio* and *Sometio* frontier places; but *Don Pedro* hauing alwaies an eye to his mother in lawes actions, especially at that time, the King beeing very ill disposed, prevented her, and put lodged from Barcelona, and seized vpon Fraga, from whence shee sent garrisons

Cattelans  
burne and  
spoil the riuer  
of Genoa.

Geneuiois  
spoil the coast  
of Cattelogne.

Mary of Na-  
ples Queene of  
Majorca vn-  
chast.

to places belonging to her children: In the meane time the King died in the city of Barcelona in the yeare of our Lord 1336. hauing reigned eight yeeres, and about three monethes: Being ready to die, he made the marriage of *D. James* his second sonne with *Cecile* daughter to the Earle of Cominiges: his body lies in the town of Lerida.

Death of D.  
Alphonso the  
fourth King  
of Arragon.

*D. Pedro* the fourth of that name, and the thirteenth of Arragon.

*Don Pedro* his sonne, whom he had by *D. Theresa* of Entenza Countesse of Vrgel, before that he assembled the Estates, or performed any ceremony, tooke vpon him the royal title, against all custome, affecting nothing more then to bee first reuenged of the *Queene Donna Leonor* his mother in law, whose places he seized on; and sent *Ferry* of Apilla, Governour to the Infant *D. James* after her, to bring her to Sarraçossa: but hearing of the Kings death, she tooke the way to Castile, by great iournies, and past *Ebro* at *Fortose*, then going by *Turol* and *Albarasin*, she came into her brothers country, being accompanied by the Bishop of Burgos, & *D. Pedro* of Xerica, carrying great store of treasure and iewels with her, which bread a warre betwixt these two Realmes of Castille and Arragon: *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, in fauour of his sister, deliuered *Michel Perez Zapate*, and other Arragonois out of prison, whom shee employed against the King *D. Pedro*, with other noblemen, whom shee had wonne.

*D. Pedro* the fourth of that name, was surnamed the ceremonious, for that in all his actions he was very slow, and spent the time in superfluous ceremonies. He was crowned at Sarraçossa, not without emulation of the Cattelans; but custome hath giuen this right to the city of Sarraçossa, that the Kings are crowned there, and no where else. Thither came not any Noblemen of Cattelogne, except *D. Orthon* of Moncade, and *D. Raymond* of Peralte. The King hauing taken and received the oth after the accustomed manner, retired to Lerida, to the Estates of Cattelogne: where hee disannulled all the donations made by the King his father, and the alienation of the reuenues, and despoiled *D. Pedro* of Xerica (who had accompanied the *Queene Donna Leonor* into Castille) of all his goods.

In the beginning of his raigne, died *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, beeing very old and consumed with the gout, who had held the realme with great troubles and warre the space of one and forty yeers, and six monethes, leauing his sonne *D. Pedro* to succede him, who was the fourth King of the race of Arragon, which heid Sicile. The King his father leauing many children, sonnes and daughters, by *Queene Leonor* his wife, by his will excluded the daughters from the succession of Sicile, ordaining that if in his posterity the males should faile, the Realme should bee vnitd to that of Arragon. Wee haue sayd before that *D. Pedro* King of Arragon, had promised to marry *D. Jeanne* the eldest daughter of Nauarre, but this marriage tooke no effect: for hee did more affect *Mary* the second daughter of King *Philip*, procuring him and *Queene Jeanne* to yeld therevnto: wherefore he sent for his Ambassadors into France, *John Sanchez* of Marojal, Chamberlaine of the great church of Sarraçossa, and *Garcia Loris*, a knight, who in his name concluded a marriage at Anet, with the Infant *Mary*, who was not yet twelue yeeres old: and it was accorded by the matrimoniall contract, that for want of heires male of King *Philip*, and *Queene Jeanne* his wife, *Mary* the second daughter should inherit the realme of Nauarre, and not the elder. The King and *Queene* of Nauarre, did binde themselves to giue her in dowry three score thousand Sanchots; and for assurance of this marriage, there were giuen in deposito by King *Philip* the castles of *Arguedas*, *Saint Cara*, *Estacha*, *Murillo*, *Gallipenco*, and *Burgui*; and for the King of Arragon, *Sos*, *Jos Fayos*, *Borja*, *Saluatierra*, *Malon* and *Campdalijub*, which places were put into the hands of certaine gentlemen, to be deliuered to any of these Princes, to whose preiudice the accord had beene broken. The King of Arragon assigned *Tarracone*, *Iacca* and *Teruel*, for his wiues ioynter: and it was agreed that the Princeesse should bee deliuered

Disposi-  
tion of  
the King D.  
Frederics will.

Treaty of mar-  
riage betwixt  
D. Pedro  
King of Arra-  
gon, and D.  
Maria of Na-  
uarre.

vnto

Cattelans  
burne and  
spoil the river  
of Genoa.

Earle of Foix, the first of that name, and daughter to Roger Bernard.

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Geneuois  
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Mary of Naples  
Queen of  
Sicily and  
Aragon.

Thus King *Don Alphonso* past his raigne in these home-bred and forraigne troubles, being but short. A little before hee died *Don James* of Arragon, Lord of Xerica, who had married *Queene Marie*, which had bene left by *D. Sancho* King of Majorca, who liuing dissolutely & vnchastly, was by this king sent home to the king of Naples her father, using dissolutly & vnchastly, was by this king sent home to the king of Naples her father. The peace betwixt Arragon and Granado was tworne by him and confirmed at the castle of Valence, with *Aluacen*, *Abencomix* and *Pascal Cirera*, Ambassadors for King *Joseph Abenamet*, vpon the like conditions, as with Castille. A little before his death, *D. Leonor* seeing herselfe mother of two sonnes, *D. Fernand* and *D. John*, who was yet in his swathing clothes, to be much hated (and not without cause) of the Infant *D. Pedro*, who should succeed to the crowne, shee sought to put into the hands of the King of Castille, her brother (whose fauour shee affected) the castles of Verdegio and Somerio frontier places; but *Don Pedro* hauing alwaies an eye to his mother in lawes actions, especially at that time, the King being very ill disposed, preuented her, and put garrisons therein. The Queene without attending the King her husbands death, dislodged from Barcelona, and seized vpon Fraga, from whence shee sent garrisons

to places belonging to her children. In the meane time the King died in the city of Barcelona in the yeere of our Lord 1336. hauing raigned eight yeeres, and about three monethes: Being ready to die, he made the marriage of *D. James* his second sonne with *Cecile* daughter to the Earle of Commaings: his body lies in the town of Lerida.

Death of  
D. Alphonso the  
fourth King  
of Arragon.

### D. Pedro the fourth of that name, and the thirteenth of Arragon.

*Don Pedro* his sonne, whom he had by *D. Theresa* of Entenza Countesse of Vrgel, before that he assembled the Estates, or performed any ceremony, tooke vpon him the royal title, against all custome, affecting nothing more then to bee first reuenged of the Queene *Donna Leonor* his mother in law, whose places he seized on; and sent *Ferry* of Apilla, Godenot to the Infant *D. James* after her, to bring her to Sarragossa: but hearing of the Kings death, she tooke the way to Castile, by great iourneys, and past *Ebro* at Tortose, then going by Turol and Albarasin, she came into her brothers country, being accompanied by the Bishop of Burgos, & *D. Pedro* of Xerica, carrying great store of treasure and iewels with her, which bread a warre betwixt these two Realmes of Castille and Arragon. *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, in fauour of his sister, deliuered *Michel Perez Zapate*, and other Arragonois out of prison, whom she employed against the King *D. Pedro*, with other noblemen, whom she had wonne.

*D. Pedro* the fourth of that name; was surnamed the ceremonious, for that in all his actions he was very slow, and spent the time in superfluous ceremonies. He was crowned at Sarragossa, not without emulation of the Cattelans; but custome hath giuen this right to the city of Sarragossa, that the Kings are crowned there, and no where else. Thither came not any Noblemen of Cattelogne, except *D. Orthon* of Moncade, and *D. Raymond* of Peralte. The King hauing taken and receiued the oth after the accustomed manner, retired to Lerida, to the Estates of Cattelogne: where hee disannulled all the donations made by the King his father, and the alienation of the reuenues, and despoiled *D. Pedro* of Xerica (who had accompanied the Queene *Donna Leonor* into Castille) of all his goods.

Disposition  
of the King  
D. Frederic  
will.

In the beginning of his raigne, died *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, being very old and consumed with the goutte, who had held the realme with great troubles and warre the space of one and forty yeeres, and six monethes, leauing his sonne *D. Pedro* to succeed him, who was the fourth King of the race of Arragon, which he'd Sicile. The King his father leauing many children, sonnes and daughters, by Queene *Leonor* his wife, by his will excluded the daughters from the succession of Sicile, ordaining that if in his posterity the males should faile, the Realme should bee vnto that of Arragon. Wee haue sayd before that *D. Pedro* King of Arragon, had promised to marry *D. Jeanne* the eldest daughter of Nauarre, but this marriage tooke no effect: for hee did more affect *Mary* the second daughter of King *Philip*, procuring him and Queene *Jeanne* to yeeld therevnto: wherefore he sent for his Ambassadors into France, *John Sanches* of Marojal, Chamberlaine of the great church of Sarragossa, and *Garcia Loris*, a knight, who in his name concluded a marriage at Anet, with the Infant *Mary*, who was not yet twelue yeeres old: and it was accorded by the matrimonial contract, that for want of heires male of King *Philip*, and Queene *Jeanne* his wife, *Mary* the second daughter should inherit the realme of Nauarre, and not the elder. The King and Queene of Nauarre, did binde themselves to giue her in dowry three score thousand Sanchors; and for assurance of this marriage, there were giuen in deposito by King *Philip* the castles of Arguedas, Saint Cara, Estacha, Murillo, Gallipengo, and Burgui; and for the King of Arragon, *Sos*, *los Fayos*, *Borja*, *Saluatierra*, *Malon* and *Campdalijub*, which places were put into the hands of certaine gentlemen to be deliuered to any of these Princes, to whose preiudice the accord had bene broken. The King of Arragon assigned *Tarracone*, *Iacca* and *Teruel*, for his wiues ioynter: and it was agreed that the Princeesse should bee deliuered

Treaty of marriage  
betwixt  
D. Pedro  
King of Arragon  
and D.  
Maria of Nauarre.

vnto

vnto the Inhabitants of Tudele, within a certaine time, and there kept by them; to bee A deliuered vnto her spouse, being full twelue yeeres old: and moreover, as at the reception of King Philip, it had bene capitulated that the first sonne borne of Queene Jeanne his wife, being come to the age of twenty yeeres, they should deliuer him the realme to gouerne, and that the Estates should bee bound to pay him a hundred thousand Sanchots; in like manner, if Donna Maria, the future Queene of Arragon, should come to the succession of the Realme of Nauarre, the Estates should bee bound to pay him the like sum of money: These were the principal Articles of this marriage, which was soone after accomplished.

An. 1337.

In the yeere of our Lord 1337, the King D. Pedro being come to Valence, he sent B Bernard of Villaragut, Arnaud Morra, and Azbert Caliana Ambassadors to the Pope, to doe him homage for the Islands of Corsica, and Sardinia: In this last the Estate was then somewhat quiet: for Arcon and John, Marquisses of Malespine, sonnes to Opis, Damian Barnabas, and Brancalon d'Orta, Earles of Donoratico, the townes left vnto the Pisans, demanteled, and without any munition, Peter Iuge of Arborea, with Marian and John his brethren, all holding lands, and being subiects in the Island, contended themselves in the friendship of the new King of Arragon, and did willingly acknowledge him for their superior. The rest of the family of Orta, for a wrong newly receiued from Raymond of Cardona, had bene forcibly drawne vnto it: who, notwithstanding by the intercession of the Pope, and the Kings of France, and Sicile, had bene receiued into fauour, and restored to their goods. Such was the Estate of Arragon, at D. Pedro coming to the crowne.

Castille.

Cruelly makes Kings to be feared, but without they lose the love of their subjects.

A Tyrant offended is neuer truly reconciled.

18 D. Alphonso King of Castille hauing made a peace with the Nauarrois, found himselfe freed of a great care, being ready to fall into new broiles by the praides of his owne subiects. This Prince thinking to raigne more securely, had taken a course of extreme severity, shewing himselfe cruel and treacherous to his Nobility, whereby hee was feared, but withall he lost the love and respect of his subiects: so as he was no longer freed from one danger, but hee fell into another, worse then the first: wherefore this distrust lying smothered in the heart of D. John Manuel, D. John Nuges de Lara, D. Pero Fernandes de Castro, D. John Alphonso of Albuquerque, and others, reconciled heretofore vnto the King by necessity, rather then of their owne free will, they held a Maxime, That a tyrant being offended, will at some time reuenge himselfe; and therefore they must not trust him, vpon any reconciliation, who to pacifie the troubles which had growne by his owne error, had made no difficulty to sacrifice (vpon the peoples spleene) his owne Mignons: degrading, and in the end murdering, and condemning them as traitors, after their death, yea the Princes of his owne blood, rapturing their goods and Estates, and depriving the lawfull heires: seeking to raigne ouer free men, and of generous spirits, as ouer beasts, intreating them as base and effeminate slaues, who might not speake their opinions freely, in matters of state and gouernment; of the which they were held dead members, and without feeling: wherefore if they were men, hauing understanding and reason, they should neuer forget the nature of D. Alphonso, who was proud, a contemner of all law, and treacherous: yea they proceeded so farre, as Don John Manuel withdrew himselfe from the subiection of King D. Alphonso, by protestation and publike act.

VVarre in Castile made by the rebels.

The Noblemen being thus ill affected to their King, they made a league (during the warre of Nauarre) with D. Alphonso King of Portugall, and did incense him to take armes for their defence, but their attempts had no better successfe then the precedent, for D. Alphonso King of Castille, meaning to preuent these disorders, gaue commandement throughout all the Prouinces of his Realme, to suppress all those that should take armes without his priuie and warrant, seeking by all meanes to keepe the Rebels diuided one from another. Moreover hauing some fealing, that cruelty was to violent a remedie for men that were nobly borne, hee sought by all milde and courteous meanes to diuide them, and to draw some of them vnto his seruice; the which he effected with D. Pero Fernandes de Castro, and D. John Alphonso of Albuquerque, who abandoned their companions.

And

A And not able to doe the like with the rest, he went in person to beseege D. John Nuges de Lara, being in Lerma, and gaue order that in other parts of the Realme they should leize vpon the houses and persons of other rebels, beseegeing and forcing them if they made resistance: and about al he sent against D. John Manuel, the orders of holy knights. The seege being before Lerma, there were many skirmishes and furious encounters: wherevpon the King of Portugall tooke occasion to declare himselfe, sending word vnto the King of Castile, that he should leaue D. John Nuges de Lara in peace, who (he sayd) was his vassall, whereof the King of Castile made no great esteeme, but continued his seege more violent then before: some authors say that the King of Castile, had a desire to repudiat his lawful wife Donna Maria, who was daughter to D. Alphonso King of Portugall, and to marry D. Leonora de Guzman, his concubine, and that it was the true cause of their hatred. D. John Manuel going secretly out of the castle of Garci Nuges, he came to Pegnafiell to fauor them that were beseeged within Lerma. In the meane time the tower of Lobaron and Soro were taken by the Kings men, where some Knights being taken, they were condemned and put to death.

VVarre made by Portugall against Castile.

B The King of Portugall thinking hee had iust cause to enter in hostil manner into Castile, hee beseeged Badajos: which seege continued, vntill that D. Pero Alphonso de Sosa a Portugall, was defeated, with his troupes, by the garrisons and people of Andalusie and Extremadura, neere vnto Villanoua of Barca Rotta, where many Portugals of account being slaine, the King was forced to raise his seege. They of Lerma seeing themselves batted with great obstinacy, beganne to distrust their owne strength, and were out of hope of any succours, wherefore they sought meanes how to let D. John Nuges de Lara escape by night; least hee should fall into the King of Castiles hands, who was much incensed, but all passages were so stoppt as hee could not possibly get out, so as in the end hee was forced to compound, yeelding himselfe, with the forts of Biscay, vpon condition that hee should haue his life saued, the which was promised him and kept. The townes of Lerma, Busto and Villafraanca in the mountaines of Oca, were demanteled, and the forts of Biscay deliuered into the Kings hands, for an assurance of Don John Nuges faith, hauing promised and sworne neuer to leaue his seruice, who followed the court at Vailledolit, and was afterwards much honored by the King, who besides other dignities made him chiefe standard-bearer of the Realme, and in the end he recovered al that had bene taken from him.

D D. John Manuel seeing this, retired himselfe into Arragon, where there were great broiles betwixt the King D. Pedro, and D. Leonora his mother in law, and her partisans: for D. Pedro of Xerica, whose lands the King had taken away, was in armes, with Diego Lopes of Haro, John Martin of Leua, Lope Diaz Rogio and other Commanders, being sent by the King of Castile, who assisted them with men, money and counsell: and to confesse of these quarrels, hee and his sister Donna Leonora met at Ayllon, whereas shee made great complaints of the King D. Pedro, who had chafed her out of Arragon, and spoiled both her and her children.

Arragon.

E The King of Castile desiring to bee reuenged of the King of Portugall, hee marched towards Badajos, where vpon the way hee was aduertised that Donna Leonora de Guzman was deliuered of a sonne, the which hee caused to bee named Don Tello, this was in the yeere of our Lord 1337. Donna Beatrix his aunte, Queene of Portugall, came vnto him at Badajos, intreating him for to pardon the Portugalles, and not to enter in hostile manner into the countrie, promising to finde meanes to reconcile all quarrels betwixt her sonne and him, and that all reasonable satisfaction should bee made.

Castile and Portugall.

An. 1337.

F Her prayers were reiected, and hee marched with his army towards the towne of Yelbes, where hee cut vp the Vignes and Oliue trees, and spoiled all there abouts, then hee past by Ronches and Beros, and returned to Chelles and Oliuencia, desiring much to encounter the Portugall army, the which hee knew to bee in field, but it marched another way. Don Alphonso Ioffres Tenorio, Admirall of Castile, defeated the Portugall army at sea, being commanded by Manuel Pecagno a Geneuois, and carried away the Admirall prisoner, yet not without losse of some of his ships and men.

King of Castile inuades Portugall with an army.

Xx

This

This was the first attempt of Castile against Portugal, the which was staied by the Kings sicknesse, whereupon he caused himself to be carried to Seuille, and put his army into garrisons: but being soone recovered, he gathered his forces againe together, and entred into the country of Algarbe (notwithstanding that the great master of Rhodes, by commission from Pope *Benedict* the eleventh, had exhorted him to desist from this war; and in like manner the Archbishop of Rheims, who was then Ambassador in Castile for the French King) he past the river of Guadiana, and came to Ayamont, which finding abandoned, he repast at Castromarin, the which was well fortified, so as he would not stay, but marcht towards Tabira, where he burnt the trees, and razed the farme houses thereabouts, and then he returned into Castile by Alcautín. Whilest he wasted the country of Algarbe in Portugal, the King of Portugal did the like in Galicia, and besieged Salutar. *B* ra, who although he tooke it not, yet hee spoiled a great country, and left it desolate, by reason of the cowardize of Don *Pero Fernandes*, who was Gouvernor in these parts, who would neuer shew himselfe to make head against the King of Portugall, for that hee had bene bread up a Page in his court: wherefore the Portugall army hauing spoiled the countrie of Galicia at their pleasures, they returned without any counter.

The Moores were ioyfull spectators of these warres betwixt the father in law and son, so as they did strictly entertaine the truce which they had made with the King of Castile: and for the better confirmation thereof, there came a great Ambassage into Castile, from *Albohacen* the Miralumin of Maroc, the chiefe whereof were two *Alfaquins* or Doctors of *Mahumets* sect, of great reputation, who presented vnto King *D. Alphonso* Barbery horses, rich swords, cloath of gold and of precious silke, Ostriges, Falcons and other beasts, who hauing receiued an honourable reward, and obtained confirmation of the truce, with reparation of some excess which had bene committed amongst the garrisons of the frontiers, they returned well satisfied, but soone after the Moore changed aduice and counsell, hearing (to their great grieve) that there had bene a truce concluded betwixt the two Kings of Castile and Portugal. This truce was treated and made by the dilligence of the great Maister of Rhodes, and the Archbishop of Rheims Ambassador for France, it was concluded with the King of Castile in the towne of Merida, about the end of the yeere 1337. or in the beginning of the next.

Death of *Ximenes de Luna* Archbishop of Toledo.

College of Clement at Bologna.

During this war betwixt Castile and Portugal, *D. Ximenes de Luna* Archbishop of Toledo died, in whose place the Chapter did choosethrough the Kings fauour, who had written *D. Gil Aluares* of Cuenca, otherwise called *D. Gil Carrillo* of Albornoza counsellor of Estaté to King *D. Alphonso*, and Archdeacon of Calatraua, in the same church, a man of great vertue amongst the Spaniards, who for his wisdom and iudgement, did in time merit to be a Cardinal of Rome, with the title of Saint *Clement*, Bishop of Sabina, and Apostolike Legat in Italy, the Romaine Sea being then resident in *Auignon*. During which dignity he did many things for the good of the church: and amongst other monuments and testimonies which remaine of him at this day, there is the Colledge of Saint *Clement* in the city of Bologna, the which they commonly call the Colledge of Spaine, the which was built by the executors of this Prelat, who did so appoint it. It hath about three thousand ducats of rent, with the which there are thirty students entertained, whereof twenty be Lawiers, six Diuins and foure Phisitions, besides foure Chaplains, all Spaniards, except one who may be a Portugal. The Rector of this Colledge hath ciuill and criminal iurisdiction, and is not subiect to the Legat, nor to any other Magistrat of the city, the Colledge enioying as ample preuiledges as any knights or gentlemen there. About the end of the yeere 1337. was founded the towne of *Alegria* of Dulanci, two Leagues from Victoria, in the Prouince of Alaua, of many villages, thereabout, the which obtained from the King the preuiledges, and lawes of the Realme, whereby the Inhabitants should gouerne themselves, and market euery Monday, with liberty to chooseth their owne Iudges.

In the yeere of our Lord 1338. *D. Pedro* King of Arragon, married *D. Maria*, second daughter to King *Philip*, and to Queene *lean* of Nauar, in the towne of Alagon, the Bishop of Chalons doing the ceremony, hauing accompanied the Queen-mother to the

A Bride, who came alone to this marriage, without her husband *Philip*, being ingaged in those cruel and bloody warres betwixt the French and English, contending for the crowne of France. Pope *Benedict* the eleventh, then reigning, dispensed with the married couple, for the bond of consanguinity, which was betwixt them, at the request of *Philip* of Valois, the French King: from Alagon the new Queene was conducted to Sarraçossa, whereas the feast and pompe was ended, for the which they had prepared long before in that citie, being chosen for the celebration of this marriage: but the indisposition of *D. Jeanne* Queene of Nauarre, was the cause that they were married at Alagon.

Marriage betwixt *D. Pedro* King of Arragon and *D. Mary* the younger of Nauar.

19. The newes of a truce betwixt the Kings of Castile and Portugal, being vnder-

B stood at Granada, and from thence sent to Maroc, at such time as King *Albohacen* had surmounted all warres and difficulties in Affrike, these Moorish Kings had a desire to fill Spaine with fire and murder, being thrust on by two contrary passions, the one of feare, to be first set vpon by the King of Castile, who was now freed from his intestine wars: the other of hope, that their armes should be as successful against the Christians of Europe, as they had bene against the barbarous Affricans: for King *Albohacen* hauing not long before called troupes out of Spaine, which had followed *Abomelic* his sonne, lying then idle on this side the seas, whereas all was quiet: and being assisted by the forces of Granada, sent into Affrike by King *Ioseph*, hee had lately depriued *Boraxen*, who reigned in Tremessen, both of Kingdome and life, and had vnited vnto his crowne

C the Realme of Sojumenca: so as being growne as haughty in courage, as powerful in Siegneuries and subiects, he had no lesse conceptions, then to restore the ancient glorie of the Miraluminis his Predecessors in Spaine, and wholly to expell the Christians. Besides the respect of religion did much incourage him, holding it not onely honourable, but also conscientious, to aduance *Mahumets* sect by armes, according to his Doctrine: wherefore hauing by the aduice of his *Alfaquins* and *Alcaides* concluded this warre, hee beganne to giue order that his troupes should march towards the Straight, and passe by little and little to Algezire, and other places of Granada, making a Magazin for victuals, armes, engins and other munition for the warre, at Tanger; whereof the Christians Princes were presently aduertised by their Gouvernors of forts vpon that frontier,

Expedition of Moores into Spaine.

D and of King *Abomelic* passage and returne into Spaine, and of the preparations which both he and *Ioseph* King of Granada made: infallible arguments that they would soone make open warres, as it happened in the beginning of the yeere 1338. *D. Alphonso* King of Castile seeing this burthen ready to fall vpon him, fore cast all meanes how to beare it: hee made Orders and taxes vpon victuals, and cut off the Spaniards superfluities in apparels and other pompes: hee sent his sea-army into the Straights, to stop the Moores passage: hee obtained from Pope *Benedict* pardons and Indulgences for all those that should contribute to this warre: hee assigned places for the souldiers *Rendez vous*: hee leauied footmen, artisans and pioners: and in generall hee provided for

E all things which hee thought necessarie for the warres: but about all hee pacified the troubles growne betwixt *D. Pedro* King of Arragon, and Donna *Leonora* his Mother in law. In all which busineses, the Archbishop of Rheims, Ambassador for France in Castile, laboured with great affection, and to the end there should be nothing defectiue for the wel gouerning of the common weale, the Prelats and Masters of the Orders made diligent search among them that were their suffragans and dependants: so as *D. Ruiz Perez* Maister of the Order of Alcantara was depoled by *D. John Nugnes* maister of Calatraua, who had iurisdiction ouer him, and power to doe it. Yet amidst all these Cares, the King did not forget the loue of *D. Leonora* of Guzman, whose brother called Don *Alphonso Melendez* of Guzman, was by him made maister of the Order of the holy knights of Saint Iames. The yeere 1339. being come, hee went towards Seuille, where

An. 1339.

F was the *Rendez vous*, for all his troupes, both horse and foote, so as hauing in few daies gathered together a great and well ordred army, hee entred the territories of Antequera & Archidona, the which he spoiled, running vp to Ronda, from whence he was forced to retire to Seuille for want of victuals, where he spent the rest of the spring to distribute the forts & places vpon the frontiers vnto capitaines, making *D. Gonzales Nagne*, or as others say,

Moors raised  
from the siege  
of Silos.

Moors de-  
feated.

Abomelic a  
Moorish King  
slaine.

Castile.

Troubles by  
the report of a  
woman.

say, *Martinez* Maister of Alcantara (newly elect) Gouvernor and his Lieutenant gene-  
rall there, and hee himselfe came to Madrid. The Moores incensed at this entry which  
the Christian army had made into their country, went to field by two seuerall waies, the  
Infant *Abomelic* (who had great numbers of light horse) by Medina Sidonia, whose terri-  
tory he spoiled, and *Joseph* King of Granado entred by Silos, which place belonging  
vnto the knights of Saint Iames and well manned, hee beseegeed, and batted furiously, but  
it was not onely brauely defended by the garrison but their campe was assaulted by the  
Castilian army, and they forced to dislodge by *D. Alphonso Melendez de Guzman* who  
was the Leader, not without great dishonor and losse to the King of the Moores: who at  
the same time was stript of the victuals of his army, which he caused to bee conducted to  
Priegos, by the Gouvernor *D. Gonzalo Martinez*, who carried the prey to Alcaudene.  
The gallies of Castille being ioyned to them of Arragon, held King *Abomelic* as it were  
beseegeed in Algezire, lying in the straight; taking from him all hope of succours, either  
of men or victuals from Affrike: whereupon the Moores being aduertised that in Le-  
puxa was one of the store-houses for the Christian army, thought they might well sur-  
prise it: whereupon they sent about one thousand five hundred horse among the Olive  
trees of Xeres (where they tooke a great booty) but they found that *D. Fernand Puerto Car-  
tero*, gouernor of Tariffe, was entred a little before with a good number of souldiers;  
wherefore their desaigne being disappointed, they turned towards Arcos, where they  
spoiled, and carried away great store of cattaile, whereof the Inhabitants within Seulle  
being aduertised, they went with their city standard to field, and being ioyned to the  
Maister of Alcantara, to *D. Aluar Perez* of Guzman, to *D. Pero Ponce* of Leon (who  
went out of Arcos) and others, they came and incourted these forragers vnlooked for,  
whom they charged so furiously, as they put them to rout, and recouered all the prey.  
King *Abomelic* continuing the spoile about Xeres, marcht with three thousand and five  
hundred horse which he had reserved, and a great number of foot towards Alcala de los  
Ganzules, and beseegeed it, being ignorant of the defeat of his men. The victorious  
Christians, hauing ioyned with *Fernand Gonzales d' Aguilar*, who had some horse, and  
being also fortified by them of Eccia, marcht that way, and charged this army of Moores  
with such fury, as they put them to flight, and chasing and killing them they pursued  
them far, his campe remayning in great confusion and disorder. King *Abomelic* being  
hastely pursued, had no meanes to get to horse, but fell amongst the footmen, who fled  
and were hardly followed: so as in the end, not to be knowne, hee cast himselfe amongst  
those which lay vpon the ground slaine or wounded, where a Christian souldiar passing  
by and not knowing him thrust him through with his sword, whereof hee died soone af-  
ter. The Christians (as some write were not above 2000. horse, and two thousand five  
hundred foote; who without any great losse, slue ten thousand Moores in this surprize  
and pursute: they spoiled their campe, and tooke their baggage which was great, and so  
returned ioyfully to Xeres. The Kings body was afterwards found, neere vnto a brooke  
whether he had crept (as it was likely) to quench the burning thirst, which doth common-  
ly afflicke such as are wounded, hauing lost much blood. King *Albohacen* his father being  
aduertised of this pittifull accident, was inflamed with wrath, and desire of reueng, make-  
ing al possible speed to passe into Spaine.

Whilest that hee prepares himselfe, there fell out a great disorder in Andalusia, by  
the meanes of *D. Leonora* of Guzman. This woman who gouerned the King, made re-  
ports & accused *D. Gonzal Nugnes* Maister of Alcantara, of certaine matters, the which  
did much incense the King; wherefore being come to Madrid, hee sent to the Maister to  
come presently vnto him. *D. Gonzal* who was fully aduertised why hee was sent for, and  
knowing how dangerous the King was to them hee did not like, obeyed not: but thrust  
on by distrust, hee left his seruice, and debauching many of his knights, hee acquainted  
himselfe with the Moores, and beganne to make practises in Granado. The King bee-  
ing aduertised of his reuolt, returned sodainely, and had meanes (before hee could dis-  
lodge) to beseege him in a towne called Valence, belonging to the Order of Alcantara,  
whereas *D. Gonzale* defended himselfe vnto the end, and would neuer harken to any  
words or promises whatsoever.

In

A In the end, not able to hold it any longer, hee offered to yeeld vnto the Kings mercy,  
but it was too late: for the place was forced, and he taken and put to death and his body  
condemned and burnt as a Traitor by the Kings sentence. Such as had followed his  
party, and held other places yeelded. A man in truth worthy of a more honorable  
death, who besides many generous acts, and worthy seruices done vnto the crowne of  
Castille, had bene in the two aboue mentioned victories and adorned the Temples of  
the towne where he was forced, with the standards and ensignes hee had taken from the  
Moores. *D. Nugno Chamigo* was chosen in his place.

*Jeffrey Giralbert* Admiral of Arragon, who kept the Straight with the gallies of Arra-  
gon, being landed vpon the shoare nere to Algezire, had an encounter with the Moores,  
by whom he was vanquished, and slaine with an arrow, whereupon the army returned  
into Arragon, that of Castille remayning at the passage, the which consisted onely of  
three and thirtie gallies, and some few ships, to weake a force to stoppe the Moores pas-  
sage out of Affrike: so as about three thousand Genets past presently into Algezire,  
without any let, and beganne to ouerrunne the country about Arcos, Xeres and Me-  
dina Sidonia, gathering together a great prey: but thinking to put it into Algezire,  
they were forced to leaue it by the way, being charged by the horsemen which went out  
of Xeres, who slue many vpon the place, amongst which was *Bontai*, a famous captain  
of the Moores.

King *Albohacen* had caused a great number of vessels of all sorts to be made ready, both  
in the ports of Spaine and Affrike, meaning to carry into Spaine one of the greatest ar-  
mies that euer went out of Affrike, to stop whose passage, King *Alphonso* was ill provided:  
and as he was distrustfull, and of a strange humour, and many times vniust vnto his best  
seruants, hee complained of *Don Alphonso Ioffrey Tenorio* his Admiral, saying that  
hee slept, and suffered the Moores to passe and repasse at their pleasure, the which  
was not true: for the Admirall did his duty with those few Gallies hee had, and did  
often rake foists and other vessels which did houer about those coastes, and ships la-  
den with victuals which came out of Affrike into Spaine: namely from Centa to Al-  
gezire, the which notwithstanding did not satisfie the King, who would exact some great  
effect of necessity: wherefore hee thrust the Admirall into despair, the which was  
verie preiudiciall to that warre.

King *Albohacen* being come to Ceuta in the beginning of the yeere of our Lord  
1340. and hauing there gathered together to the number of three score and ten Gallies,  
and other vessels to passe his horsemen, victuals, armes, engines and other equipage of  
warre, neere to a hundred and foure score sailes, as wel of his owne, as of the Kings of  
Granado, hee went with this mighty army towards Spaine, where it was easie to land,  
finding no resistance, whereat King *D. Alphonso*, who was at Seulle was much incensed,  
blaming his Admiral incessantly of cowardise and treachery, the which hee tooke so  
greuously, as hee resolved rashly to goe and charge the Moores at what price soeuer,  
and hauing drawne those few Gallies and Ships hee had out of Saint Lucar, into the o-  
pen sea, hee presented himselfe before Algezire, prouoking the enemy to batraile, who  
going out of Algezire and Gibraltar, farre more in number then the Christian Gallies,  
there was a fierce and cruel batraile, the end whereof was the whole losse of the Castil-  
lan army, whereof there were but five gallies saued, the which recouered the neere  
port of Tariffe, and some few ships, which escaped by fauour of the winde and current,  
sailing towards Carthagea. The Admirall was slaine in this conflict, saying, that the  
King should know he was neither Coward nor Traitor: but it was a rash attempt in him,  
to hazard so small a flete against so great an armie, who should haue considered, that  
by the losse of a battaile hee gaue the whole commande of the sea vnto the enemy.  
Thus this Admirall thinking to preserve his honor, which hee might well haue warranted  
by the reasons of warre, which disallow all great hazards, but in extremity, hee did more  
blemish it. This losse which happened to *Don Alphonso* King of Castille, partly by  
his owne bitternesse, and vniust rigour to his faithfull seruant, did much afflicke him; so  
as hee was forced to seeke speedie meanes to repaire so great a ruine: for the Moores  
army insolent of this victory, and knowing that there were no fortres at sea able to

Moores:

Loyalty ill re-  
warded makes  
a good seruant  
despise.

Defeat of the  
Castilian army  
and death of  
the Admirall.

X x 3

make



make head against them, vaunted that they would beseege Seuille: wherefore the King A of Castile was forced to conuert the truce which hee had made with the King of Portugall to a peace, and to consent that D. *Constance Manuel* should marry with Don *Pedro* Infant of Portugall, whose wife D. *Blanche* beeing fallne into a Palsey, was put away by him. By meanes of this peace, and at the instance of the Queene Donna *Maria*, daughter to the King of Portugal, hee promised to lend all his shippes of warre to the King of Castile, the which stayied not long before they arriued at Seuille, when as the King gaue order to rigge out fifteene gallies of his owne, and twelue ships, of the which hee gaue the charge vnto Don *Alphonso Ortiz Calderon*, Prior of Saint Iohn.

Great preparation of war made by King Alboacen against Spaine.

In the meane time King *Alboacen* army past, the Moores Gallies and Ships neuer ceasing for a long time, to transport horse and foote, victualles and munition for B the warre, which they had prepared, the which was as great and fearefull as any had beene seene, for they write in their Histories that this Arabian King had gathered together all the forces hee could from the shoare of the Westerne Atlantike sea, vnto Egypt, hauing by the conquest of the Realmes of Tremessen and Sojumen, so extended the bounds of his Empire as there was not any King or Potentat in all the length of Affrike, which was not his subiect, or strictly allied vnto him: so as the Spanish authors say, that hee brought into Spaine aboute seuen thousand horse; and foure hundred thousand foote, the Arabians and Affricans comming from all part vpon the newes of this great expedition, by the preachings and perswasions of the Alfas, Doctors and Priests of their law, who were sent through out all the regions of Affrike, by King *Alboacen*, to the end that such, as spoile and gaine (the common end C of warre) could not moue, might bee perswaded to take armes for religious cause. This great multitude of Infidels, were neere fise monthes in passing, hauing at this passage, besides the Gallies of Maroc and Granado, shofe of the Kings of Tunes and Bugie, whereof hee of Tunes was father in law to *Alboacen*, and their common landings were Algezire and Gibraltar.

It behooued King D. *Alphonso* to studie how hee should resist so great a power, the which did wonderfully trouble him: yet beeing a Prince of a great courage, hee provided for many things speedely; which were of great importance for the warre. And doubting that the Moores first attempt would bee against Tariffe, hee manned it with a good garrison of old souldiars, and gaue the charge thereof to *John Alphonso* of Benauides, furnishing the place with all things necessarie to maintaine a seege: where- in hee was not deceiued, for it was presently inuested by the enemy, King *Alboacen* beeing in person in the armie. Experience hath often taught, that multitudes giue no victory; for besides that God will therein shew a testimony, that it is hee alone, without the force of mans arme, which rayseth and pulles downe Kingdomes and states; there are so many naturall and humaine reasons, which doe concurre with this point of religion, as there is no cause to call it in question. The confusion, disorder, disobedience, mutinies, hunger, diseases, the infinit carriages and lets of baggage, iealousies betwix commanders, and diuersity of nations, the negligence and rash confidence which Kings ground vpon their great numbers of men, are inseparable mischeefes to great armies, the which haue most commonly ruined them, but haue alwaies made them vnprofitable and a burthen, to them that haue lead them. So it happened to King *Alboacen* in this voiage: for as soone as hee had landed this infinite multitude of Arabians and other Nations, presuming that there was not any Christian in Spaine, that would dare to present himselfe before so great a power, and that hee should presently see himselfe Maister of all the townes of Andalusia: besides hee thought hee had no cause to feare any impeachment at sea, the two armies of Castile and Arragon hauing beene defeated: so as all small vessels of burthen might passe safely from Spaine to Affrike, and furnish his campe with victuals, if hee should haue any neede, wherevpon hee presently disarmed all his Gallies, and drew them into the Ports, hauing no other thought but to make warre by land, but it fell out otherwise: for there was not any pettie place vpon the frontiers of Andalusia but held good: so as being forced to attend his provisions for so great an army from Affrike, for that the countrie of Granado could

Armies vnprofitable by their too great multitudes.

A could not supply it, he found himselfe (being at the seege of Tariffe) in great want of victuals, being caue for the gallies of Castile and Portugal, to spoile all passengers which brought munition from the ports of Affricke into Spaine: wherefore he repented himself much of this enterprife, and would gladly haue found some meanes to haue retired honorably.

At that time Don *John Martinez de Leyua* arriued at Seuille, returning from Pope *Benedict* who kept at Auignon: from whom he brought pardons and full indulgences, to such as should crosse themselves for this warre against the Infidels, or otherwise employ them selves or their goods for the aduancement thereof, with an especiall charge and commission to Don *Gil Carillo* of Alborno, Arch-bishop of Toledo, to publish this Croisado,

B making him to that end Legate of the Apostolike sea. The army before Tariffe being oppressed with famine, King *Alboacen* gaue Don *John Alphonso* of Benauides, the Gouvernor, to vnderstand, that he had some matters to treat of with him for the good of the king his master, and therefore he should send some vnto him, to conferre with him. The Gouverneur hauing receiued hostages, sent two Gentlemen vnto him: but beeing aduertised at the same instant that the gallies of Castile and Portugal had beene all cait away by tempest vpon the coast, so as the sea beeing free, victuals began to come abundantly from Affricke vnto the campe: when as these Knights came vnto King *Alboacen*, hee sayd nothing of consequence vnto them, but was desirous againe to continue the warre, sending backe these messengers, and retiring his hostages. Then did they make a furious batterie, with all kinds of engines vsuall in those times, against the which the beseegeed rampared themselves, and made a gallant defence. King D. *Alphonso* hauing called to Seuille, the Noblemen of his Councell, and the chiefe men among his subiects, sitting in his royall throne with great maiestie, holding in his right hand the sword, wherewith hee had beene girt in Saint *James* Church of Galicia, when he was made Knight, and in his left hand the Crowne, wherewith he had beene crowned in the cittie of Bourgos: he spake grauely vnto them of the present estate of his affaires, and the danger wherein the Christian realms of Spaine then were, by the importune malice, and impiety of the Arabians, their ancient enemies, coniuied together at that time from the East vnto the West, to glut their implacable thirst with the blood of Spaniards: against whole forces, without all doubt, in

C time, Spaine should not be able to resist, many of their best men hauing beene consumed by the factions and diuisions which had raigned among them, whereby Spaine had wasted her selfe by her owne armes, and withall the ill successe of his armies at sea, brought twice to nothing: so as for so dangerous a mischiefe, there was need of an extraordinarie remedie, the honour of the name of Christians, the Crowne of Castile, and their liberties, liues, and goods, beeing then in question: wherein he had need of good and faithfull Councell, and for that cause had called them together, praying God to put into their hearts and vnderstandings, what was fit for the honor and increase of his Crowne, and the Common-weale. Wherevpon many different opinions hauing beene propounded, all in the end concluded, that they must rayse the seege from before Tariffe: for the effecting whereof they must find meanes to ioine the forces of Portugall, Arragon and Castile together, for the which they began presently to giue order. The Queene of Castile got a promise from Don *Alphonso* King of Portugall her father, to ayde the king her husband with all his forces, wherevpon there was an interview of the two kings, at Iruemegna, a towne in Portugall.

The king of Castile sent to encourage them of Tariffe, giuing them hope of speedie succours: forbidding them exprefly not to fall forth vpon the enemy, for that the losse of one man did more import them, then an hundred to King *Alboacen*: he obtained a new army at sea from the king of Arragon, (the which was commanded by the Prior of Saint *John*, who had escaped in the tempest) to ioine with those few gallies which he had yet left: and presently after the king of Portugall came in person to Seuille, beeing accompanied with all the flower of his Nobility, and the best souldiers of his country. They leaued men in all parts of Spaine both foot and horse, which enrolled themselves for this religious warre, but especially out of Biscay, Alaua, and Guipuscoa, which bee the best footmen of Spaine, the which were commanded by Don *Pero Nunez de Guzman*, their Lord

D. Alphonso speech to his Councell.

See in the  
passage of the  
river of Salado

Don *John Nuygues de Lara*, being employed in the conduct of the horse. To conclude, A their indeavours were such, as within few dayes there were mustred about Seuille 25000. foote, and 14000. horse, with which forces the two kings of Castile and Portugal, resolved to offer battell vnto the enemy which was before Tariffe, being farre more mighty then they, hauing besides the great number of horse and foote which he brought out of Affricke, ioyned vnto him the forces of Granado, the which consisted of 7000. horse, and a great multitude of foot. Assoone as the Christian army began to march, *Alboacen* king of Maroc, and *Joseph* king of Granado, sent *Albohamar* Infant of Maroc with 2000. horse to keepe the passage of the riuer of Salado, which runnes betwixt Pegna du Cerf, and Tariffe, the which were defeated by a thousand horse and 4000. foot, which the King of Castile had sent to put themselves into Tariffe, the which they effected happily, after this exploit, through fauour of the night, the Moorish kings hauing already raised their siege, burnt their engines of batterie, and retired their army into a place of aduantage, called Al-faneque. These troupes were the bands of *D. Henry* and *D. Tello*, children aduowed of Castile, the which were led by wife and expert Captaines.

The day after this defeat the two armies presented themselves vpon the bankes of the riuer of Salado, which the Christians meant to passe, and so they did, but with great resistance and difficultie: yet *Gonsalo Ruis de la Vega*, and his brother *Garcilaso*, who marched in the head of the army, assured the passage for the rest, repulsing the Moors, who defended it valiantly, when as the Christians were all past without breaking, they found the great squadrons of the Moores in Order, ready to fight, so as in an instant they ioyned, and were so mingled, as the kings themselves on either side, sparing not their owne persons, and performing the duties as well of souldiers, as of Generals of armies, were many times found in danger: and their obstinacie was so great in the fight, as the Arch-bishop of Toledo was faine (partly by intreaties, and partly by force) to draw the king of Castile out of the presse, where he had the fore-part of his saddle shot through with an arrow: a dangerous blow, if it had lighted a little higher, the which might haue made the kingdomes of Spaine a prey vnto the Moors, by the losse of a battell, which doth commonly follow the death of the Generall. But God disposed otherwise, according to his mercy to the Christians: for the Moores being rather hindered then helped by their multitudes, gaue way and fled, where as the slaughter was so great, as the number of the dead (as Authors write) is not credible, but howsoeuer, the Christians had an absolute victorie, who might haue slaine more, and it may be haue extinguished the name of Moores in Spaine, if they had pursued the disordered enemies, who fled one ouer another, and not busied themselves at the spoyle, especially the footmen. The camp remayning free to the Christians, as they gathered the spoyle together, there were found among the dead, one of the king of Marocs wiues, called *Fatima*, daughter to the king of Tunes, of the race of the Almohades, and three other Ladies. Among the prisoners *Albohamar* sonne to king *Alboacen*, and his nephewes *Aboham* and *Alboali*, it may be children to *Alboali*, who had beene king of Sojumenca, two of the kings daughters, and other Moores of noate. The Kings of Maroc and Granado escaped by flight, and retired to diuers places. *Alboacen* apprehending, that by this defeat his reputation and honour would bee much blemished, and thereby the fidelitie of his subiects shaken, fearing least a sonne of his called *Abderamen*, whom he had left at Maroc, should seaze vpon the kingdome, he past the same night to Ceuta.

This battell wonne by the Christians the eight and twentieth of October, in the yeare 1340. is rightly paralleled to that of Muradal or Tholoufa, by the which the Moores lost the command of Spaine, some 128. yeares before: for thereby the great desires of the king of Maroc were disappointed, hauing promised vnto himselfe the conquest of all Spaine, so as after that time the warre grew more easie and light. This victorie was honoured and renowned by many religious and ciuill acts among the Spaniards: for besides that during the conflict, the name of Saint *James*, (who was held Patron and Protektor of Spaine) did sound (as they say) in the ayre, and that Don *Alphonso Gonsales Perreyra*, Prior of S. *John*, or of Crato in Portugal, had carried with him a peece or fragment of the true Crosse, and many other such perswasions and inducements put

Superstitious  
acknowledgements of  
great a victory

A put in practise (according to the doctrine of those times) in the campe, and in all other places whether that newes came, thanks were giuen vnto God for so great a grace, and great demonstrations of ioy made throughout all the townes. D. *Alphonso* King of Castile, the day after the battell entred into Tariffe, and caused the breaches to bee repayed, commending and rewarding the Captaines and souldiers which had carried themselves valiantly in the siege. Hauing afterwards viewed the enemies spoiles, the king of Castile did distribute it, according to euery mans merits.

The king of Portugal would not haue any thing, but certaine furnitures and caparasons for horses, and swords richly wrought after the Moreisco fashion: but the King of Castile his sonne-in-law gaue him a prisoner, a Moore of the bloud royall, one of the B sonnes of *Alboali*, who had beene king of Sojumenca. Thus the two kings, father-in-law, and sonne-in-law, parted, very well satisfied one of another. To acknowledge the grace which God had done vnto the Christians, by so great a victorie, the king of Castile took this course, he sent *John Martines de Leyua*, to Pope *Benedict*, then residing at Auignon, with his royall Standard, which had beene carried in the battell, accompanied with foure and twenty of the chiefe Ensignes which he had taken from the Moores, the which were borne by so many Moores. Moreouer, he sent him an hundred horse richly appointed, euery one hauing a sword and a target hanging at his saddle pommel, and were led by so many Moores. With these horses he sent his owne, on the which hee was mounted the day of the battell, couered with the royall armes of Castile and Leon: and moreouer, many rich Jewels, and other singularities, which things were presented vnto the Pope with great ceremony and pompe, and receiued with no lesse honour and solemnity by the Pope and Cardinals. And the more to honour this act, the Pope the same day did sing a pontificall Masse, and did preach, much commending the king of Castile, and to reward him, he powred forth his spirituall treasures, granting him store of Indulgences, with the which *John Martines de Leyua* returned, being well recompenced.

Some Authors write, that the victuallers, carters, pioners, merchants, Lackies, and others of base quality in the Christians campe, falling vpon the baggage, whilst the souldiers were in fight, had taken great spoiles of gold, siluer, and other riches, and that the king being aduertised thereof, was perswaded not to suffer men, which had not beene in the battell, nor aduentured their liues, to enioy the booties which were due vnto souldiers: wherefore meaning to follow this aduice, he forced many to bring backe that which they had taken: but the greater number escaped, who fearing to be disposed of that which they had gotten, being all their fortunes, left Castile, and went into Nauarre, Arragon, France and other countries, with such store of double duckets, as the price of gold was fallen a sixt part, and all merchandize much risen.

20 In this warre were furnished twenty gallies of Cattelogne, by Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, and eight by him of Majorca. The King Don *Pedro* was not there in person, neither did he send any forces by land, by reason of his owne affaires and domestick desires, which he did plot to the preiudice of his subiect. A violent Prince, proud, disdainfull, and full of reuenge. Don *James* King of Majorca his cousin and brother-in-law, was forced in the city of Barcelona, the yeare before the defeat of the Moores at Salado, to do him homage for the Ilands and other Segneuries which he held vpon the Mayne, as to his Soueraigne, causing him to kneele before him, whereupon this Prince retired him selfe in a great rage to Perpignan: from whence soone after he was forced to returne to Court, and to accompany the king Don *Pedro* vnto Auignon, whither he went to visit the Pope, where it happened that these Kings walking through the towne together, a seruant of the King of Majorcas, doing some seruice vnto his master indifferently, hee did so moue the King Don *Pedro*, as he was ready to draw his sword, and to strike the king of Majorca himselfe, which was the beginning of their quarrels, the which continued long and violent.

The arriuall and entrie of the king Don *Pedro* into Auignon, was very honorable, for at the passage of the riuer of Durance, he was met and receiued by two and twenty Cardinals, and entred with the king of Majorca into the towne, betwixt Cardinall *Neapoleon* of Vrsins, and he of Cominges: but the next day (after he had shewed his spleene against his

Qualities of  
the King D.  
Pedro.

his brother in law, it may be moued with some sower answer which the Pope had giuen him he retired to Villa-noua discontented. The chiefe man which then serued him in his most important affaires, was *Nicholas of Ionuille*; a French man, who was Earle of Terra-noua in the Kingdome of Naples, and had married *Marguerite* daughter to the Admirall *Roger of Loria*. This man was advanced in the place of *D. Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, the Kings vnkle, who was giuen more to a contemplatiue life, then to worldly affaires: for the which notwithstanding he had had long and bitter iarres with *D. Pedro de Luna*, Archbishop of Sarraçossa, who was desirous to gouerne, and to mannage the affaires of the Realme: but their contention had bene ended by the aduancement of this third, and they were reconciled at the marriage of *D. Lope de Luna*, the sonne of *Artail*, and nephew to the Archbishop, and *D. Violant* the Kings aunt, and sister to the Earle of Ribagorça, who was widow to *Philip Despote* of Romania, and sonne to *Philip* Prince of Tarrenum, the which were celebrated at Lerida, and from whence they went to Auignon. The King *D. Pedro* being returned from this voyage, hee commenced a criminall Proceesse against the King of Maiorca, for that he caused money to be coyned in the Towne of Perpignan, and he caused him to bee cited to appeare before the Estates then assembled at Barcelona, not much troubling himselfe that the French king (carrying himselfe as Soueraigne of Montpellier, and other lands belonging to the King of Maiorca, on this side the Pyrennees, had seized vpon the forts and castles of all these places. The King of Maiorca not appearing, his totall ruine was resolved by the King, the which followed as we shall hereafter shew.

State of Sardinia.

At that time such was the Estate of Sardinia: Caillery, Aquafredda, Iosofaguarda, Quirro, Castelorgueilleux, Gallicelli, Castel Pedresio, Faba Ofolia, Sasserri, and la Ballide of Sorria, were held by Arragon garrisons: *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, had bene newly made Earle of Gothian by the king, *John* Marquis of Malepine, and the Earles of Donoratico were friends to the kings of Arragon: but in Italy the Pisans, the Genouois, and with them *Luguin* Vicount, (who then ruled at Milan) had made a league, and conspired to chase the Arragonois out of Sardinia: where they also had their partisans and intelligences: for besides other factions, the family of Doria was then divided into foure factions. These things did trouble the king *D. Pedro* amidst his enterprises, at such time as hee sought the ruine of *D. James* King of Maiorca, and when hee was solicited by *Hugh Corting*, *Petra Allerata*, and *Loupe Cimerca*, chiefe men of the Iland of Corsica, to vndertake the conquest thereof, whereof the Bishop of Aleria was the minister and ambassadour: and euen then when it was most needful to haue sent his gallies to the Streight, in fauor of the k. of Castile, and for the common interest of all the Christian Princes of Spaine.

Portugal.

Before the yeare 1340. past, the Infant *D. Pedro* of Portugall had a sonne by his new spouse *D. Constance Manuel*, whome he had married at Eboræ, with a dowrie of 300000. dublons, and many rich iewels, and this Infant was named *D. Fernand* or *Ferdinand*, who was king of Portugall after the Grandfather and father.

Castile.

21 In the yeare 1341. *D. Alphonso* king of Castile hauing called a Parliament of all his Realmes at Herrena in Extremadura, there were great summes of mony giuen him, his subiects seeing that he employed it profitably, for the defence and increase of the crowne: from thence he came to Madrid, where he gaue Order for all that was necessarie for the warre, and appointed the Rendez-vous for his troupes at Cordoua, from whence he sent them of Seuille and Cordoua to make incursions, attending the rest of his forces. he made a shew to go to Malaga, the which put the Moores into great feare: but hee marched to Alcala of Bencayde, vpon the arriual of those troupes which he expected, the which he found vnfurnished, for the king of Granada did confidently beleue, that he would haue led his armie to Malaga: This place after some weake resistance yielded, vpon condition that the Inhabitants should haue their liues saued: *Moslin* was taken by the diligence of *D. Alphonso Fernandez Cornet*. There was some ouerture of a truce made in the behalfe of the king of Granada, but without any conclusion, for that the king of Castile would not haue king *Abouac* comprehended: Priegos was also taken by composition: the like happened to Sarraçubey, being prest by *Martin Fernandez Puerto Carrero*. *D. Alphonso Melendez de Guzman*, master of *S. James*, did also win the cattell of Benamexir: other places, as Rute, and

A and the tower of Matrera were also forced: then winter approaching, the king left good garrisons in his townes, and the gard of the sea to *Giles Bocanegra*, a Genouois with fortie gallies, and other ships, and then he came to Vailledolir, where he assigned the Estates at Burgos, at the which the sege of Algezire being propounded, there was granted vnto him an Imposition, called Alcauala, which was the twentieth part of all merchandize, that should be sold within the Realme. This as the king desseigned the sege of Algezire, his Admirall *Giles Bocanegra* hauing surprized twelue gallies of Granada in the port of Buillon, he burnt foure, sunke two, and carried away the other fixe. The king of Portugall sent ten of his gallies to ioyne with them of Castile, which were in the port of Xatares, being commanded by *Charles Pegano* or *Pecagno*. In the meane time many of the Moores gallies assembled at Ceuta, the which they layd, exceeded the number of 80. which threatened to passe into Spaine with great forces to reuenge their former losses. The king of Castile aduertised herof, came to Seuille, where by the way he vnderstood that the Moores army was come out of Affricke into Spaine, and that they were entred into the mouth of the riuer of Guadamecil with great numbers of souldiers, victuals, and other prouisions, the which they had landed, but it was suddenly beseege by the gallies of Castile and Portugall, to whose succor came 13. gallies of Algezire, the which were fought with all by part of the Christian army, who sunke foure of them, two were taken, and the rest ran on ground. Being returned to their companions, who had shut vp the Moores army in the mouth of the riuer, there was a furious battell giuen, where as the Christians had the better, and the Moores lost 25. of their gallies. This done, the Portugall Admirall returned being sent for by the king his master: he came to kisse the king of Castiles hands at Xeres, who did him great honour, and gaue him letters in testimony of his vertue to the King of Portugall his master, intreating him to send him backe againe with his gallies. But the army at sea was nothing weakened hereby, for at the same time that the gallies of Portugall departed there arriued 20. from Arragon, of the which *D. Pedro* of Moncada was General, who in their way had incountred and vanquished 13. gallies of the Moores, whereof they carried away foure, two were broken against the shore, and the rest saued themselves at Velez in Affricke. The king came to Xatares, and being himselfe desirous to discouer the country of Algezire, and the situation of the towne, he went aboard a gally, and hooured along the coast, and by the gulph, finding the country very pleasant: wherefore hee grew more desirous to beseege that fort: and being returned to Seuille, and giuen order for all things necessarie for such an enterprise, he came and inuested it both by sea and land, in the month of August 1342. hauing not yet all his forces together, but onely 4000. foot: and 2600. horse, with his sea army of Castile and Arragon. In Algezire they made accompt, that there were at the least 800. horse, and 12000. foote Moores, all archers, and Crosse-bow men, who did much annoy the Christians, by their continuall sallies and skir-mishes, but as soone as the king of Castile had taken a fort, called Carthagena, lying betwixt Algezire and Gibraltar, they presented themselves more warily. A Moore taken in this castell, being brought vnto the king to discouer the state of the towne, was so transported with a desperate furie, as had not his Guard beene, and others that were nere vnto the Kings person, he had slaine him. Matters standing on these tearmes, the king of Arragon reuoked his army, for that he had need thereof again: st the king of Maiorca, the which did somewhat incommode the sege: and at the same time the king had another cause of grieve, for the death of *D. Alphonso Melendez de Guzman*, master of *S. James*: in whose place *D. Frederic* the kings base sonne was chosen in the campe. There arriued daily at the campe great numbers of men from diuers forrain countries, to serue against the Infidels: by reason whereof, and fore-seeing that this sege would bee difficult and long, King *D. Alphonso* intreated the Christian Princes of France and Portugall, and the Pope himselfe to lend him mony. The French king assisted him with 50000. Crownes, which were made ouer to Genoa, Whilst they lye before Algezire, *Ioseph* King of Granada hauing gathered together 6000. horse, which he had in his country, with 2000. Affricans, being in garrison at Ronda, hee ouer-ran the country as far as Eccia, where hauing spoyled all, he came to Palma, which he entred without any great difficulty, putting all the Christians hee found in it to the sword, then packing vppe his baggage, hee returned with all speed

Villories at sea of the Christians against the Moores.

An. 1342.

speed to Granado, fearing to be charged by the Garrisons and Commons thereabouts, A who began to make a head. There was a More with one eye taken in the camp, who came from Castellar, and was sent to kill the king of Castile, as hee himselfe confessed, for the which he was executed. This year about Nouember, there arriued ten gallies, sent by the king of Arragon, and commanded by *Mathew Mercier* of Valence: the like number came from Portugal, and ioyned with the army, but within three weekes they returned, and no man knew the reason, yet the seege was not stayed, nor the batterie discontinued before Algezire: *Inigo Lopes* of Ozorco, who had charge of the Engines, vsing great diligence.

An. 1343. This was one of the longest sieges we read of in Spaine, without any intermission of Winter or other season. The year 1343. beeing come, the king of Granado entred a B the gaine into Andalusia, hee recovered and razed the Castle of Benamexir, and spoiled the Towne of Estepa, but hee could not stay there: for that the Castle held good, and yet during all these incursions, this Moorish king did sollicite King *Don Alphonso* to come to some truce, offering the like conditions, whereunto he and his Predecessors had bene formerly bound, but for that he would not leaue the league and friendship of the King of Maroc, the King of Castile would not hearken to any treatie: although hee vnderstood, that king *Albosen* was at Ceuta, and that he made great preparation to come and raise the seege of Algezire, wherein he was stayed by the ielousie hee had of his sonne *Abderramen*, least hee should make himselfe King of Maroc in his absence, whose head hee was in the end forced to cut off, hauing to that end sent *Hafcar* his Alguazil, or Prouost to Maroc, who by promises and good words, lulled this sonne asleepe, beeing impatient C in his ambition, and so executed his charge. The Moores of Ronda and Malaga, beeing two thousand horse, and as many foot, came running towards Ecceia, not knowing that the king had sent a great troupe of horse into those marches, to hinder their courses: yet they foraged the countie, and tooke their way home-wards, but *Fernand Gonzales* of Aguilar cut off their passage in the night, at a riuer called *de las Yeguas*, and charged them so furiously at the breake of day, as notwithstanding any resistance, they abandoned their prey, and were put to route, leauing about fixe hundred of their men slaine and taken, and three hundred horse, which the Christians caried away. There were a good number of horse past already out of Affricke, so as the king of Granado ioyning them to the forces of his countie, hee might put an army to field, able to present battell to them that were at the seege before Algezire, their forces being then some-what diuided, for that king *Don Alphonso* had (as we haue sayd) sent a good part of his horse-men towards Ecceia, Carmona, Marchena, Vtrera, Aguilar, and other places: but beeing either scarcefull, by reason of former losses, or he expected greater succours from Affricke, hee deferred it very happily for the king of Castile, and beganne to practise a truce, whereunto King *Don Alphonso* made shew to incline, protracting the time, vntill the coming of his horse, whome hee had sent for with all speed vnto the campe, the which beeing come, there were so many difficulties propounded by him, as nothing was concluded.

The King of Maroc beeing vpon the Affricke shoare with a great army, hee sollicited him of Granado to giue battaile, offering to send him part of his troupes, if he were not of sufficient strength. The King of Granado excused himselfe, for that both their forces vnited together, were not able to resist the fury of the Christians before Tariffe: wherefore he aduised & intreated him to passe in person, and to bring with him all the forces he had, but there was no meanes to perswade the king of Maroc to passe the streight: so as the seege continued, where there daily arriued Princes and Knights from France, England & other places: there is speciall mention made of a Duke of Lancaster, and an Earle of Salisbury English men, of *Gaston* Earle of Foix, and his brother *Roger Regnaud*, whom some call *Bernard* Vicount of Castellbon, and especially of *Philip* King of Nauarre, whose history we haue need to returne vnto.

Nauarre

22 This Prince hauing his residence for the most part in France, employing himself F vertuously for the defence of that realm against the English, who contended for it against *Philip* of Valois then reigning: his country of Nauar being gouerned in the meane time by Lieutenants, or Viceroyes French-men, whereof wee haue named some. And in these times

A times mention is made of one *Regnaud Pons*, and of one *William Brahe*, Gouvernors, in whose times the lawes of Duel were much practised in Nauarre, as well among the Nobility, as others, who decided their controuersies and quarrels by combat. The wars betwixt the French and English beeing somewhat appeased about the year 1343, more for want of meanes to make warre, and for need of rest then otherwise: *Philip* king of Nauarre obtayned leaue to come and visit his countie, and if it were conuenient to see the seege of Algezire, whereof there was so great brute throughout all Christendome. This desire increased in him, beeing in Nauarre, and the rather for that hee vnderstood there should be a battaile, as it was likely, and that the king of Castile did resolutely attend it. Wherefore king *Philip* inuited many of his friends, and leauied men as well in Nauarre, E as in France, giuing order for the shipping of munition and victuals in the ports of Guipulcoa, and so marched on, hauing giuen aduice of all vnto king *D. Alphonso*, leading with him only an hundred horse, and three hundred foot, which were ready about him, giuing order for the rest to follow. There was great honor done him in all the townes of Castile, where he past, the king hauing so commanded, and he arriued at Seuille about the Spring, whither the king of Castile sent Ambassadors to welcome him, and conduct him to Xeres vpon the frontier, whether many Noblemen, and souldiers should come to accompanie him, as well to do him honour, as for the safetie of his person, for that the Moores Armie lay incamped vpon the Riuer of Guadiana.

C Thus the king of Nauarre was conducted vnto Xeres, and from thence to the campe, with all the shewes of friendship and amity that could bee desired: The king went forth to meete him, beeing attended on by many great and worthie personages Castillians and strangers, French, English, Germanes, and other Nations. The King of Castile did such honour to the King of Nauarre, as hee would not determine of any matter of consequence, without calling him to counsell, neither heare nor answer any Ambassadors but in his presence. The King of Nauarre likewise for his part shewed himselfe very desirous to please him.

There were many skirmishes at that time, in the which the Nauarrois and Gascons carried themselves very valiantly: notwithstanding mention is made by the Histories of Spayne, of a great opportunitie lost of giuing the Moores a notable route, by the default of *Gaston* Earle of Foix, who that day had the leading of the Nauarrois and Gascons, but they speake of it doubtfully, as a thing vncertaine, and it may be without any iust ground, adding withall, that the Earle for shame demanded his conge, pretending certaine reasons that hee could not stay, as well for that his souldiers were vn timer, as for the neede they might haue of him in France, neither could the king of Nauarre, or hee of Castile (who offered him all contentment) stay him by any intreaties or perswasions. Finally, (according to the Spanish Authors) hee departed with a good troupe of Knights and souldiers, leading his brother with him: but being at Seuille, hee died, which shewes that sicknesse was the cause of his retreat, or rather the wounds which hee had receiued in a furious skirmish, which he maintained against the Moores which sallied out of Algezire, in the which our French Histories affirme that he was slaine. He was father to *Gaston Phebus*, of whom mention shall be made hereafter. *Philip* king of Nauarre fell also sicke, with other Noblemen, which grew by the intemperature of the ayre of Andalusia, beeing too violent for the French, who changed nothing of their accustomed manner of luying, being in a different climate. The king of Nauarres sicknesse was such, as hee was aduised to cause himselfe to be transported into France, so as he was forced to take leaue of the king of Castile, who neglected no good office to comfort him: but beeing come to Xeres, his sicknesse so increased, as he was forced to stay, and dyed there in September 1343. He had reigned about 15. yeares and five months in Nauarre. His body was carried to Pamplona, and there interred in the Cathedrall church: wherefoeuer his body past through the F Realme of Castile, there were great ceremonies done, and shewes of mourning, by commandement from king *D. Alphonso*. The Spanish Authors (who flatter not the French) write, that this infirmity increased by griefe, for some errors which the French (which followed him) had committed in an ambush which had bin layd for the Moore, where by their too great hast they lost a goodly opportunity to defeat a great number.

Y y

The

Death of Don Philip king of Nauarre.

The English Noble-men being also called home by their king left the campe: and so as Authors report, king *D. Alphonso* remained alone with his owne subiects, and such of Portugal and Arragon, as hee had entertayned: the which may well seeme to bee written by Spaniards, that they alone might haue the honour of the taking and winning of Algezire.

Castile.

23 After the retreat of these strangers, the king was much troubled for many respects: for besides that he was left weake, his treasures were spent, by reason of his exceeding charge, and the rewards hee was forced to giue to such as came to serue him from forraigne countries: for besides his land army which he must furnish with all things necessarie, he was forced to entertaine the galleies of Genoa, Portugal and Arragon, that hee might be master of the sea: the which they could hardly do, for that the enemy was strong who soone after past out of Affricke, with sixty galleies Moores, and many other vessels, landing many horse and foot, with great store of victuals at Estepona, whom they might easily haue put into Algezire, where they began to want, if they had bene men of resolution: for besides that the king of Castiles army was not equal in strength, it was then dispersed in diuers parts. With this new supply the Moores might muster 12000. horse, an infinit number of foote. King *D. Alphonso* got succours and money from the French king, the Pope, and other Princes his friends, and from the Prelates, townes, and private men of his realme, who lent him willingly what they could spare: so as hee stayed the Genouois, who would haue bene gone, and contented both them and others, with great wisdom and good husbandry.

Portugal.

The king of Castile, notwithstanding his affaires of war, did not forget any thing that might serue to better the Estate of his Provinces, building and peopling new townes, as Monreal vpon Deua: a riuer in Guipulcoa, and Playfance, vpon the same riuer, the which he peopled with men out of the valley of Marquina, granting them the rights and priuiledges of Logroño, and assigning their bounds and limits.

These things past in the yeare 1343. in the which there hapned at Lisbon, the chiefe city of Portugall, great earth-quakes which ruined many goodly buildings, to the great terror of the inhabitants: and in this accident dyed the Admirall of Portugall.

Castile.

The aduerser armies in Andalusia, were continually in skirmish and light encounters, but *Ioseph* King of Granada would by no means yeeld to a battell, notwithstanding the great supplies he had from Ceuta, and that he had with him a son of king *Alboacens*, called *Hali*, with many other great personages Moores, but desired rather to trie if he could get king *Alphonso* to yeeld vnto a truce: wherefore he sent two Ambassadors vnto him, who had bene formerly employed, to whom the king of Castile seemed to giue a willing care: by whome there was added vnto the conditions of the former accords, that king *Alboacen* should pay him for the charge of this seege, 300000. doubloons of gold. These conditions being imparted vnto king *Ioseph*, with a suspension of armes, he presently past ouer to Ceuta, to conferre with *Alboacen*. But in his return, he was set vpon (notwithstanding the assurance giuen him by king *Alphonso*) by a gally of Genoa, thinking to take the 300000. doubloons with the king, but the kings gally being well armed, defended it selfe, and so escaped, whereof king *Ioseph* made great complaints vnto the king of Castile, who without doubt would haue sunke the Genouois gally with the Captaine, if he could haue taken it, but he had gotten to sea, fearing to be punished, and so retired to Genoa. The treaties of truce being troubled by reason of this infidelity of the Genouois, the Moores army which was at Gibraltar, aduanced vnto the riuer of Palmons, halfe a league from the Christians campe: where their fore-runners incountring the two armies which followed, had like to haue come to a generall battell, but the Moores retired first, hauing lost some men. Their whole desire was to victuall Algezire, where they vnderstood, that all things wanted, and that many small vessels, laden with victuals, had bene taken at sea, seeking by day or night to enter into it, through fauour of the wind or current: for the Christians galleies were exceeding watchfull. But they presented themselves so often by land, making shew that they would fight, and watched their opportunitie so by sea, as fine Vessels of Ceuta had meanes to enter, and to refresh the besieged with some victuals, and other necessarie prouisions, whereof the Captaine was a Moore, called *Musca*, who being discharged, returned

A returned to Ceuta without losse, reporting vnto King *Alboacen* the great necessitie of the besieged: King *Alphonso*, was much troubled hereat, but the estate of the besieged being hereby a little eased, was not much bettered: for these victuals lasted not long, considering their multitude of people, and their great extremitie, and the Princes of the Moores seeing, that in the end they must either hazard a battaile, which they did much feare, hauing so often (to their cost) tryed the Christians valour, or loose the place, which had bene long and obstinately besieged.

The king of Granada, with the aduice of *Alboacen*, did reuieue the treatie of truce, and the conditions of former accords: which were, that he should be vassal to the king of Castile, and should pay him tribute: and moreover, that obtrayning a truce for fiftene B yeares, (wherein king *Alboacen* should be comprehended) the towne of Algezire should be yeelded vnto him, and that the Moores which were within it, should haue liberty to depart with their goods whither they pleased: the which after long deliberation, was concluded. But they cut off fiftie yeares of the time of the truce, the which was made but for ten yeares. King *Alphonso* had a desire to see a young Prince a Moore, that was within it, he was sonne to *Abomelic*, but his Gouvernour would not suffer him, saying, as hee caried him away, that the King of Castile had no reason to see an Infant, whome hee depriued of his Inheritance.

Thus ended this seege, hauing continued nineteene moneths, during the which there were many sharpe and furious incounters, whereof some might be accompted batailles: they within the towne made fiftene great sallies the twelue first moneths, where as many valiant men of either side were slaine. About the end of this seege, there had bene sent out of Arragon *James Esgrima*, and *Mathew Mercer* Captaines, with twenty galleies, who wonne great honour there. The king entred into Algezire in great pompe, where hauing planted many of his Ensignes vpon the towers, the great Mesgide was purified and halowed with great ceremonies, the which was named *Saint Maries* of the Palme. The wals and rampiers being repayred, and the houses and land distributed to new dwellers, the king came to Seulle, from whence hee sent two daughters of King *Alboacen*, which had bene taken at the battaile of Tariffe, causing them to be honourably conducted into Affricke, and richly attired: wherewith the Moorish king was so pleased, as he could not sufficiently commend his bountie and courtesie, who hauing royally rewarded the Ambassadors, which did accompany these Princesses, hee sent vnto the King of Castile a rich present of pretious stones, silkes, armes, horses, lyons, and other beasts, infinite perfitures, and whatsoeuer hee thought rare, the which did much confirme the league of friendship betwixt them: but it happened that *Alboacen* within few dayes after, being seruypon and incountred by one of his sonnes called *Alboanen*, who had rebelled against him, and abandoning the duty of a sonne, depriued him of the kingdom of Fez, whereby the king of Castile entred into a new iealousie of warre, this vsurping sonne not respecting the truce made with his father.

*Alboacen king of Maroc d'fe, possist by his sonne.*

E This *Alboanen* did not onely take from his father the Realme of Fez, but also all that hee held in Spaine, as Ronde, Zachara, Gibraltar, Ximena, Marbella, Estepona, Castillar and others. But whilest the Moores molested one another, the King of Castile and his subiects had some rest, whereof they had great need, by reason of their continuall toyle, and great expences at the seege of Algezire.

In the meane time the king of Castile seeing that the quarrels betwixt Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, and his brethren *D. Fernand* and *D. Iohn*, borne of *D. Leonora* of Castile his sister, continued still, he sought to reconcile them, sending *Diego Garcia* of Toledo to that end, who laboured much, but in vaine. Being there, there was a marriage treated of, betwixt *D. Fernand Manuel*, sonne to *D. Iohn Manuel*, and *D. Ieanne* of Arragon, daughter to Don *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Prages, Vncle to the King Don *Pedro*. The allyance and amitie of Arragon had bene very auayleable to Don *Iohn Manuel*, the which hee could not forget, although the King of Castile were not much pleased therewith.

24 During the seege of Algezire, the king Don *Pedro* sought to ruine *D. James* king of Majorca, his cousin and brother-in-lawe, by force and all other vnworthie meanes, seeking



seeking to make him odious by false accusations, where as force could not preuaile. Ha-  
 A uing drawne him to Barcelona, vpon hope of a reconciliation, hee charged him in o-  
 pen assembly, that he had fraudulently sought to carrie him, with his brother Don James  
 Earle of Vrgel, and their Vncle Don Pedro Earle of Ribagorça, into Majorca, and there  
 to detayne them prisoners, vntill that he were released from the oath of fidelitie, and  
 acknowledgement of Soueraigntie, which hee and his Predecessors had made vnto the  
 Kings of Arragon: and in this discontent and feare, he sent him away, retayning nor-  
 withstanding his wife Donna Constance, who was his sister: and without any long delay,  
 the King Don Pedro sent *Arnould Erillo*, and *William Bellera* to ouer-runne the Countie  
 of Rossillon, and other lands belonging to the King of Majorca, lying neere vnto Cate-  
 logne, and to seaze vpon the places of strength, the Princes and Princeesses of his bloud B  
 and his allies employing themselves in vaine to pacifie them. But such was his hatred  
 and insatiable desire of greatnesse, as hee proclaimed open warre against this poore king  
 of Majorca, weake in meanes, and it may be, in courage, to make head against so mighty  
 a king, and so obstinate an enemy.

Minorca con-  
 quered by the  
 king of Arra-  
 gon.

And at that time Don Pedro of Moncado was recalled with his Gallies from the  
 Streights, as wee haue sayd, who hauing increased his army with many other vessels  
 rigged out vpon the coasts of Cattelogne and Valence, hee came to Palomera, a ha-  
 uen in the Iland of Majorca, with an hundred and sixe sayles, where hee landed many  
 horse and foote, the king beeing there in person, who before his departure, had coloured  
 this enterprise with a pretext of Fellonie and Rebellion, pronouncing a sentence against C  
 the King Don James, in an assembly of Noblemen and Princes at Barcelona, and confiscat-  
 ing his goods. In this army was Don Pedro of Arragon, Earle of Ampurias and Ribagorça,  
 the kings Vncle, holding the place of Seneschall and chiefe of Armes: Don Pedro  
 of Arragon Lord of Xerica newly reconciled, Don Blasco of Alagon, who carried the  
 Standard royall: Don John Ximenes of Vreç, Don Philip of Castro, D. *Alphonso Roger*  
 of Loria, brother to Don Pedro of Xerica, *Galuan* and *Raymond Anglegole*, *Acar* *Mario*,  
*Arnould Erillo*, *Gonçal Diaz* of Arenos, *John Fernandes* of Luna, *Artal* of Fosles, *Michel*  
*Perez Zapate*, *Jourdain Vries*, *Sancho Peres Pomar*, with other Noblemen and Cap-  
 taines. Against these forces the king of Majorca had leauied three hundred horse and  
 fiftene thousand foote, but he was betrayed and abandoned, and forced to flie, and quire D  
 the Iland: so as the king Don Pedro seazed thereon without fighting, and was receiued  
 into the city of Majorca, whereof Don *Arnould Erillo* was made Gouvernour, and *Gille-*  
*bert Centilla* Captaine of the souldiers that were there left in garrison. The Iland of Mi-  
 norca made no greater resistance, and that of Yuica lesse. Minorca was giuen in govern-  
 ment to *Gillebert Ceruera*, and Yuica to *Martin Arbes*. These Ilands subdued, the king re-  
 turned to Barcelona, from whence he presently marched into the Countie of Rossillon,  
 with his whole army, whither the Cardinall of Rhodex, the Popes Legat, came vnto him,  
 to aduise him to desist from armes: who could get no other answer, but that the king of  
 Majorca should come and yeeld himselfe to his will. During this warre, there was borne E  
 at Ceruera, in the territorie of Lerida in Cattelogne, a monstrous child, hauing two  
 heads and foure legges, whose father and mother seeking to conceale it, buried it aliue,  
 but beeing discouered in this attempt, they were punished, as murderers of their child.  
 There were great tumults and seditions at that time in Arragon, betwixt many Noble-  
 men, contending by armes for their possessions, so as the king commanded that D. A-  
 thon of Fosles should be apprehended and punished, to terrifie others, he also caused his  
 reuenues and lands to be seazed on, from the which he did appeale vnto the Magistrate of  
 the Iustice of Arragon, which was then in the hands of *Garci Fernandes* of Castro, wher-  
 upon there grew great contention: for the kings learned Council pretended that the au-  
 thority of the Iustice of Arragon did not extend out of the assembly of the Estates, and  
 that this Magistrate was there onely a Iudge of controuersies, which did rise against the  
 king, being not lawfull for him out of the Estates, to make himselfe Iudge of any contro-  
 uersie against his royall Maiesty, but in sutes of itate, and condition of persons, or in cau-  
 ses whereas the king is called for a warrant, or in complaints which the people may make  
 against the kings Officers.

Monster borne  
 in Cattelogne  
 slaine by the  
 parents, and  
 they punished.

The

A The king therefore commanded, (for that *Garci Fernandes* of Castro, Iustice of Arra-  
 gon, was allyed to *Athon* of Fosles) that *Michel Perez Zapate*, Lieutenant general of Arra-  
 gon in the kings absence, should put *Athon* in prison, but finding himselfe too weake,  
 for that *Athon* was supported by many seditious persons, and had the countenance of di-  
 uers great men his kinsmen and friends, he had recourse vnto the Iurates of Sarragossa,  
 according to the custome of his ancestors, enioyning them to fore-see, that the Estate re-  
 ceiyed no preiudice, and that Iustice should not be forced.

Submission of  
 the king of Ma-  
 jorca dispossest

The warre of Rossillon continued, neither would the king D. Pedro yeeld for any inter-  
 cession the Pope could make, persisting still, that the king Don James (who was dispossest  
 of Majorca) should come and submit himselfe vnto him, without any condition. The  
 B rowne of Elne yeelded vnto him. In the end *Arnould* Bishop of Aux, the Popes Nuncio,  
 did mediate, that the King of Majorca should come and yeeld himselfe into the hands of  
 the king D. Pedro, and deliuer him his forts, vpon assurance that they should not attempt  
 any thing against his person, nor put him in prison: the which beeing granted, D. James  
 king of Majorca, vpon the assurance of D. Pedro of Xerica, came to Elne, and casting  
 himselfe at the kings of Arragons feet, he submitted himselfe to his clemencie, beseeching  
 him to haue regard vnto his ranke and dignity, to suffer him to iustifie himselfe, and that  
 he would be pleased to sue ciuilly against him: and howsoeuer, at the least, prelerue vnto  
 his Nephewes, children to his brother D. *Fernand*, their right vnto the realme of Major-  
 ca, and other lands, and cause the towne of Perpignan to be deliuered vnto him. The king  
 C D. Pedro blinded with hatred and choller, reiected all these requests after a strange and in-  
 solent manner, and being entred into Perpignan, he caused a Decree to be published, by  
 the which he did confiscate the Iland of Majorca, and all the lands of the king Don James,  
 vnting them inseparably to the Crowne of Arragon: which decree he caused to be set vp  
 at euery corner. This poore Prince being thus intreated, he left the country of Rossillon,  
 and retired himselfe to Berga, a place assigned him for his aboad, vntill that his aduer-  
 sary should giue order for his entertainment. The king D. Pedro (after these seuer and vn-  
 iust proceedings) returned to Barcelona, where he entred armed, as triumphing for a vi-  
 ctory gotten of some great enemy. Beeing there in counsell, he assigned 10000. liuers of  
 D penion for the king D. James dispossest, vntill he had giuen him lands and reuenues out of  
 Spaine: remitting vnto him his rights of Montpellier, and other places on this side the  
 Pyrenees, already in his possession.

Decree against  
 the king D. M.  
 James.

A thousand  
 pound sterling.

These things beeing signified vnto him by Don Pedro of Moncado, *Philip Boillo*,  
 and *Garcia* of Loris, hee reiected them all, saying: That he had rather lye banished in a  
 strange Country, and suffer all the miseries in the world, then to yeeld to so great an iniu-  
 stice, or allow of so unworthie conditions, imposed vpon him by a King which was his kins-  
 man. Whereupon the King Don Pedro renewed the warre, that hee might either take  
 him, or chase him out of the Kingdome.

This miserable Prince destitute and quite stript of all meanes, and abandoned of his  
 friends, had the courage to desie Don Pedro of Xerica, accusing him of disloyaltie, for  
 E that hee had promised him many things (perswading him to come to Elne) which had  
 not bene kept: but Don Pedro was aboliued by the king, who declared that hee had not  
 sayled in any thing he had promised: so as Don James sometimes King of Majorca, fru-  
 strate of all hope, was forced to retire into the Countie of Cerdagne, hoping to hold  
 those Lands by the fauour and support of *Geoffrey Estandart* a French-man, Gouvernour  
 of Puicerdan, and other Segneuries on this side the mountaines: but beeing deceiued and  
 forsaken of all, hee was forced to flie, and to passe the mountaines in Nouember, the  
 Winter beeing exceeding sharpe: so as vpon mount Pimorent, which diuides the Con-  
 tie of Cerdagne from Galconie, hee was like to haue dyed with the extremitie of cold,  
 where hee fell into such a passion of griefe, as he was readie to haue slaine himselfe. This  
 F vltage did D. James the king of Majorca receiue of his brother-in-law, Don Pedro king of  
 Arragon, who was at that time againe sollicitated to attempt the conquest of Corsica, wher-  
 unto he yeelded, and sent some gallies to the port of Boniface, this year 1344. hauing in-  
 telligence, and a secret league with *William Roncaul*, *Rowland Ornan*, *Henry Cortingo*, and  
 others of the chiefe of the Iland.

Y y 3

In

Castile.

1345.

In the yeare 1345. D. *Alphonso* King of Castile, gaue order for the building of the new A towne of S. Ander, called Heybar, and a league from thence of the towne of Marquene, called also Helgoybar, which he peopled with the inhabitants of the villages of that countrie, giuing them lawes and priuiledges according to the iurisdiction of Logrogne.

An. 1346.

25 The yeare following 1346. a donation was made by Pope *Clement* the 6. resident in Auignon, to D. *Lewis de la Cerde*, sonne to the Infant D. *Alphonso*, of the fortunatellands or Canaries, vpon condition that he should conquer them, and cause the Gospell to be preached there: to this end he came into Arragon, and there began to prepare an army at sea, wherein he was much assisted and fauoured by the king D. *Pedro*: but we find not that he past into the Ilands, and to speake truly, it would haue bene distastfull vnto the king of Castile, in whose Streight these Ilands are situated: yet this D. *Lewis* held the title of Prince of the fortunatellands. D. *John Manuel* (who had neuer loued the king of Castile from his heart) was glad of these petty discontentments, by fauour whereof hee spread abroad false reports and aduertisements, to draw the two kings of Castile and Arragon into warre, but what he could not do by his practises, occasion wrought, at the treaty of marriage which the king of Castile would make betwixt D. *Fernand* of Arragon his nephew, sonne to his sister D. *Leonora*, and D. *Eluira* Infanta of Portugal, who is by some called also *Leonora*, by reason whereof king D. *Alphonso*, and D. *Leonora* his sister had an interview at Tordelaguna: which put the king D. *Pedro* into such a ielousie, being then a widower, (which was in the yeare 1347.) as hauing done what hee could to diuert 1347. he sent his ambassadors. The king of Castile beeing much moued, that hee of Arragon did thus seeke to crosse him, sent Don *John Alphonso* of Albuquerque into Portugal, to hinder the conclusion of this marriage, but hee arriued too late, for the ambassadour of Arragon had so negotiated, as all was concluded: whereat the king Don *Alphonso* was much offended.

Arragon.

26 This D. *Pedro* king of Arragon had in his time many wiues, the first was D. *Maria* Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king *Philip* of Eureux, by whom he had D. *Constance* Queene of Sicily, wife to D. *Frederic* the second. D. *Jeanne* married afterwards to D. *John* Earle of Ampurias, and one sonne, who died as soone as he was borne, and the mother D. *Constance* died sixe dayes after, in the yere 1347. To his 2. wife he had this Infant of Portugall: his third he tooke D. *Leonora*, some call her D. *Constance*, daughter to *Frederick* the 2. King of Sicily, by whom he had D. *John* his successor in the Realme: D. *Martin* Earle of Xerica and Luna, and Duke of Momblanc, and first Constable of Arragon, (who by the death of his elder brother, was also King of Arragon) and D. *Leonora*, which was wife to D. *John* Infanta of Castile, afterwards king, the first of that name of Castile and Leon. Besides these great Princesses, the King Don *Pedro*, being old and a widower, fell in loue with a subiect of his owne of a meane family called *Sibile*, a widow, borne at Forcia in the territorie of Ampurias, and married her, of whom he had D. *Isabella*, who was Countesse of Vrgel, and wife to Don *James*. These were the marriages of the king Don *Pedro*, who raigning E cruelly and couetously, incensed the Estates and Nobilitie of his Realmes of Arragon and Valence against him, whereas the subiects made Leagues against their Prince, which did in a manner ruine and confound that Estate, King Don *Alphonso* not forgetting to make vse of that occasion, to be reuenged of the wrong and iniurie which hee pretended had bene done him, in disappointing the mariage of his Nephew Don *Fernand* with the Infanta of Portugall.

The King Don *Pedro* hauing no sonnes at the consummation of this second marriage, sought to haue an oath taken to D. *Constance*, his eldest daughter, heire to the Realme of Arragon, and other lands depending and annexed after his decesse, the which was cause of great seditions: for Don *John*, Earle of Vrgel, the kings brother, gouerning the Realme then as Gouvernour, or Lieutenant generall, opposed himselfe violently: by reason whereof the King (who was violent and rough in all his actions) chafed him away, and tooke from him his publike charge: then hauing emancipated Donna *Constance* from his daughter, hee made and instituted her Gouvernesse, or Regent of the Realme, to make her way to the succession, there beeing present at this act, and his principall Coun-

A counsellors, D. *Huges* Bishop of Vic, D. *Pedro Thousio* maister of Montefa, D. *Pedro* of Xerica viceroy of Valence, *Pedro Fenouillet*, *Audemar Mouffet*, *Goncaluo Diaz* of Arenos, & *Gisierand Belpuccio*. D. *Pedro* the Kings vncl, Earle of Ampurias, tooke that oth to his Princess in the name of the Estates, vpon condition, that if it were found the hereditarie right did belong vnto D. *James*, the oth should be voided. D. *James* seeing himselfe disappointed, stirred vp troubles in the country of Valence: hee had recourse to the vnion of Arragon, to retaine his dignity of Gouvernor of the Realme: hee made a league with his brethren D. *Fernand* and D. *John* sonnes to D. *Leonora* of Castile, and with the King of Castile himselfe, and disquieted all Arragon.

The dispossest King of Majorca hearing of these tumults, would bee an actor, and B came neere vnto Majorca, with certaine gallies of France and Genoa, whereof *Charles* Grimaldi was General, but as misfortune did still accompany him hee effected nothing of worth in those Ilands nor vpon the coast of Cattelogne, whether hee afterwards came, and was repulst by the King himselfe. By the aduice of *Bernard* of Cabrera, who was then held a man of great wiidome and iudgement, he made his vncl D. *Pedro*, Earle of Ampurias, chiefe of his counsel, and seeking by all meanes to catch his rebels, or to diuide their league, hee wrought so as the Earle of Vrgel his brother came vnto him, whom hee restored to his dignity of Gouvernor of the realme, but it continued not many daies, for he died presently, not without suspition to haue bene poysoned. Beeing C at an assemble of the Estates at Saragossa, he granted them all they demanded, and renewed the contract made by King *Alphonso* the third, with the vnion of Arragon, by the which sixteene castles were put into the power of the vnion, with liberty to deliuer them to whom they would, if the King should infringe the accord.

This yeere of our Lord 1347. during these troubles the Kings marriage was conformed with the Infanta of Portugal, the which were very mournful, for that in a short space the Kings men receiued two notable routs by the rebels, the one neere vnto Xatua, where there died on the Kings part *Andrew William* the Secretarie, Lieutenant to the Viceroy of Valence, and his sonne: the other neere vnto Valence, in the which *Goncal Diaz* of Arnos, and *Pedro Mugnon* captaines of the Kings men lost their liues. So as the King, who in the meane time kept at Moruiedro, in a manner beseegeed, was much D perplexed, and not knowing what to resolue, he suffred himselfe to bee perswaded to enter into the city of Valence, where hee found himselfe entangled in the mutinies of the citizens, who respected and honoured him so little, as notwithstanding his presence, they spoiled and murdered one another, after a pitifull manner. The Noble men and captaines holding his party, were then fortified in Daroca, whereof the chiefe were D. *Pedro* of Xerica, D. *Lope* of Luna, D. *Blasco* of Alagon, D. *Pedro Fernandes* of Ixar, D. *Thomas Cornet*, D. *John Ximenes* of Vrrica, and D. *John Martines* of Luna.

The Rebels were fauored and assisted vnder hand, by D. *Alphonso* King of Castile, who suffred them to make great leauies of souldiars in his countries, for the loue hee bare vnto the sonnes of his sister D. *Leonora*, *Douager* of Arragon: and D. *Fernand* the eldest E had already lead many bands of Castillans to Valence, and D. *John* his brother prepared to passe into Arragon with other troupes, to be the generall of that warre, the which the Arragonois demanded: yet by reason of the complaints made by the King D. *Pedro*, who said that the league betwixt Castile and Arragon, was broken by King D. *Alphonso*, solliciting all his friends and priuat counsellors, especially Queene *Mary* his wife, and D. *Leonora* of Guzman, his best beloued, to dissuade the King from this enterprise, laying before him the consequence of this rebellion, there were sent by the King of Castile, and by his sister the Queene D. *Leonora*, into Arragon D. *Fernando Perez* *Puerto Carrero*, and to Valence *Lope Perez* of Fonseca, to treat of the meanes to pacifie these troubles.

F The King D. *Pedro* promised great matters to his brethren, and desired nothing more then to haue the Castilian troupes called home by their King: but notwithstanding any likelihood of an accord, they drew what succors they would from Castile: wherefore King D. *Alphonso* beeing importuned by the King D. *Pedro*, and discontented with these seditions, beeing also moued with a desire he had to see the Queene D. *Leonora* his

An. 1347.  
Marriage of  
the King D.  
Pedro with  
the Infanta of  
Portugal.

Defeat of the  
Kings men

Valencians  
seditions.

King of Ca-  
stile fauors the  
rebels against  
the King of  
Arragon.



27 Comming to the affairs which past at that time in Castile, after the pacification A of the troubles of Arragon, we finde that King D. *Alphonso* spent his time in peopling of his townes and country: amongst others he peopled the towne of Sumaya in Guipuscoa otherwise called Villa Grana of Sumaya, and gave it the preiudges of Saint Sebastian, whether there appellations goe, and from thence to the court. And his realm of Castile being in reasonable good quiet, seeing such as professed armes (whereof Castile and his other countries did abound) seeke all occasions to imploy their armes, meddling, more then hee desired, with the factions and mutinies of his Neighbors: being also duly aduertised of that which had past in Affrike, and of the little loue which the new King of Fez bare him, who held many places of importance in Spaine, he held it necessary to make an expedition against the Infidels: for it is a difficult thing to keepe B great Kingdomes full of people in peace, especially after long pacifice of warre, but they will disquiet both spirituall and temporall at home, if they bee not employed abroad: so as armes hath this unhappinesse, that after they are once taken, they cannot be laied downe without great and difficult labour, and that many times succedes ill.

Schisme be-  
twixt the  
Knights of Ca-  
latriana.

About this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1348. Don *Garcia Lope* Maister of the Calatraua, being accused of many disorders, retired into Arragon. Being cited to appeere personally before the King of Castile, and absent, hee was condemned and degraded for his contumacy, and so died; in whose place the Knights of Calatraua in Arragon, proceeded in Arragon, contrary to the lawes and rules of their Order. The Castilians of Calatraua, did also choose one; so as this Schisme was like to haue bread some great disorder, if by the mediation of the Pope, and the Kings of Castile C and Arragon, the parties had not referred it to Don *Pedro* King of Arragon who decreed; That the Maister chosen at Calatraua should stand, and that any one which held that dignity dying, the election of his successor should not bee made any where else, but in the couent of Calatraua.

This Maister confirmed, was called Don *John Nugnes* of Prado, who they sayd was Bastard vnto D. *Blanche*, the King of Portugals aunte, and Abbess of Huelgas nere Burgos. To Don *John Fernandes* his competitor, was left the Commanderie of Alcaniz, with the title of great Commander, yet subiect to the Maister of Calatraua. The approbation of these Maisters, being chosen, belongs to the Abbots of the Order of Cisteraux. Amidst these tumults King Don *Alphonso* resolved for to raise an armie D to beseege Gibraltar, thinking that during the seditions betwixt the Arabian Kings, father and sonne in Affrike, it could not bee releued: and therefore hauing so fit an occasion offered him, hee made no difficulty to bee the first in armes, pretending that hee did not breake the truce, seeing that this place and others in Spaine, were held by *Alboanen*, with whom hee had not any treaty: For the manning and conduct of this warre, which was of no small consequence, hee assembled the generall Estates of all his realmes in the towne of Alcalá de Henares, where (besides the Noblemen and Deputies accustomed to come in former assemblies) many Townes and Commonalties were newly called, and receiued to giue their voices, and to haue a place in such assemblies. For vntil that time, the people and townes, which are called by the Toledans, beiond the mountaines, as Castile the old, Galicia, Asturia and the neighbour countries, were those which did commonly assist, and did contribute and beare the charges, as being most retired from the discomodities of the warre: but now at this time, they of Toledo, Andalusia and such like, were also called by the King, for his intent was, to demand the subsidie called *Alcauala* throughout his whole Realme. This assembly and many others which were made in after times, did for the most part consist of good townes, who sent their Deputies: but since they found that multitude bred confusion, and therefore there were eightene principall places chosen, which should haue voices, and places in assemblies, that is, sixtene cities and two townes. Spaine, as we haue said in the description thereof, is in a manner diuided in the midst by the mountaine called in old time Idubeda the which at this present hath diuerse names. By reason whereof they distinguish the people at this day to those of this side and the other side the mountaines. On this side, wee will call the Toledans, and the neighbour Prouinces: on the other

Places in the  
realme of Ca-  
stile hauing  
voice: in the  
Estates.

A other side, shall bee those of Burgos. Therefore on this side the mountaines, they call at this day, to the Estates of Spaine, for the Prouince of Toledo, the city of Toledo, Cuenca, Guadalajara, and Madrid: and for the other Prouinces, Seuile, Granada, Murcia, Cordoua and Iuen. Beyond the mountaines for the Straight of Castile, Burgos, Soria, Segobia, Auila and Vailledolit: and for that of Leon, the city of Leon, Salamanca, Zamora, and Toro. These are the eightene places which send their Deputies to the Estates, among the which Burgos, Leon, Granada, Seuile, Cordoua, Murcia, Iuen and Toledo (townes which haue beene seates of Kingdomes) haue their places assigned, and hold rank: the rest take their places, as it happens, and their Deputies speake as they sit: as for the city of Toledo in this assembly at Alcalá de Henares, it contended for precedence with that of Burgos, alleading many reasons, not altogether friuolous. First the greatness of the city, and great numbers of people and Nobility inhabiting there, next the seat of the Archbishop and Primate, the stateliness of the Church, the Prelate whereof was high Chancellor of all the Realmes subiect to Castile: and moreover offering to their consideration, the antiquity of the foundation of that city, which had beene the head during the Gothes raigne, not onely of all that is contained within the two seas; and the Pyrenees, but also of Gotike Gaule, which at this day wee call Languedoc, so many counsels celebrated there, and that since the Arabians had become Maisters of Spaine, it had beene a royal seat, hauing had many Kings, which did exceed all the Potentates Moores of Spaine, in power and riches except him of Cordoua. God hauing C since of his grace suffred Christian Princes to conquer it, the alone amongst all the cities of Spaine, had beene honoured with an Imperiall title, by reason whereof; and many other preiudges there produced, they maintained the precedence to belong vnto her: Burgos on the other side maintained that she was the capitall city, & the ancient seat of the Princes of Castile, which was the title their Kings carried: that from Castile & Leon did grow the conquests of the rest of the Realmes of Spaine, and that shee was called the royal city; but their chiefe ground was, that time out of minde, shee had had the first place and voice in such assemblies. Vpon these differences, the Noblemen fell into factions, as their passions did transport them, or as they had their Siegneuries and houses lying in the territory and iurisdiction of the one or the other citie. King D. *Alphonso* D vnto therein wise aduise, hauing taken the knowledge of this cause vnto himselfe, he pronounced thus: *I speake (sayd he) for them of Toledo, and say, the city of Toledo will doe as it shall please the King. Let Burgos speake now.* This manner of decreeing contented both parties, for it seemed to them of Toledo, that the King hauing made himselfe, as it were, their Attorney, had spoken first in the behalfe of their city. And they of Burgos holding that the Kings words did nothing preiudice their pretensions, seeing they spake before the other Deputies, they surceased for the voice. Concerning their ranke and precedence, the King desyring to preferue the seate to Burgos, and Toledo refusing to sit vnder her, the King ordained, that from thenceforth the Deputie of Toledo should not sit vpon the same banke with the other Deputies, but opposite vnto them, yet not in the same ranke: which order is obserued at this day in the generall assemblies of the Estates of Castile. The first voice kept for the city of Burgos, was the cause the King obtained the subsidie of Alcauala, which hee required of all his subiects: for Burgos paid it already, and therefore did not contradict it: whereas if Toledo (which had not borne this imposition) had spoken first, shee had opposed herselfe; as shee did, and encouraged other townes to doe the like by her example. All in the end yielded vnto it, hauing heard the reasons which moued the King to demand it, and the neede hee had for the good of the Realme, and the maintenance of the warre against the Moores.

Order betwixt  
Toledo and  
Burgos for pre-  
cedence.

Alcauala an  
imposition.

The assembly at Alcalá de Henares being dissolved, and the King hauing gathered together great store of treasure, by the speedie obedience of his subiects, hee beganne to discharge some of his debts, and to retire many precious iewels which had beene pawned, hee ordered iustice, and in the end applied his minde wholly to this seege, which hee ment to lay to Gibraltar, and to provide for all things necessary both by sea and land, seeing that the time and the opportunity of the Moores seditions in Affrike, did inuite him:

him. The towne of Gibraltar had beene greatly fortified by the Moores, since the time A they had taken it from the Christians: so as the enterprise was no lesse difficulte then that of Algezire. But there was this aduantage, they did not so much feare any succors from Affrike, as if the affaires of the Arabian Moores had beene quiet: notwithstanding to provide for all euents, he sent *Velasco Martinez Alcaide* or Prouost of the court, to the King of Arragon in Ambassage, and with him *Alphonso Gonzales* of Gallego: to confirme the alliance and friendship betwixt them, and to reuiue the treaty of marriage betwixt his sonne D. *Henry*, and one of the Infants of Arragon: but his chiefe designe was, to demaund ten gallies to keepe the straight. The King D. *Pedro* answered the Ambassadors, that he would send an Ambassador expressly vnto the King of Castile their maister, the which he did.

Arragon.

King D. *Alphonso* was already before Gibraltar, when as the Ambassador came to him from Arragon. There was an end made of the differences of the Queene D. *Leonora*, and the Infants D. *Fernand* and D. *John* whom the King Don *Pedro* should suffer peaceably to enioy that which had beene assigned him by the deceased King, as well in dowry, as in portion: and if it should happen that after that time they should moue any troubles in Arragon, that King D. *Alphonso* should not giue them, nor suffer to bee giuen them any aide or succors. Nothing was concluded in regard of the marriage, for that the King Don *Pedro* required, that Don *Henry* should bee inuested in many Townes and Prouinces, which was not conuenient for the King of Castile to giue. For C the King D. *Pedro* sent foure of his gallies, to ioyne with them that were in the Straight, whereof *Raymond* of Villanoua was captaine, being manned with foure hundred crosbow men.

Castile.

The towne of Gibraltar was furiously battred, with all sorts of Engins, and defended very valiantly, the garrison being very strong, and consisting of the best souldiers that were amongst the Moores, who made many sallies vpon the Christians, in the which were slaine their best men of either side; and moreover King D. *Alphonso's* campe was much annoyed by the courses of the Neighbour garrisons, and by the King of Granada horse men, who had the gard of those places which the Moores held in Spaine. This D seige hauing continued some monthes, the plague fell into the Christians campe, yet the King being obstinate in his resolution, would not dislodge: for hee knew that the Moores, being destitute of succors could not long resist, but must bee either forced, or yeeld. Being in this resolution, it pleased God that hee himselfe was strooken with the plague whereof hee died in the campe, in the yeere of our Lord 1350. the nine and thirtieth yeere of his age, and the eight and thirtieth of his raigne. Some haue written that hee died not of the plague, but of poyson, the which was giuen him by the Moores practises. This accident was the cause of remouing the seige of Gibraltar.

Death of King D. *Alphonso*.

Nauarre.

Death of Ieanne Queene of Nauarre.

A little before D. *Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre, widow to King *Philip* of Eureux, died at Conflans in France, who had gouerned her Realme, whereof shee was proprietary, after the decease of her husband, with good discretion, and yet shee had some subiects E not very tractable, who fought nothing but quarrels. There were still riots committed by them vpon the frontiers of Nauarre, namely by the Inhabitants of Sanguesse and the Arragonois, notwithstanding all which, yet could shee wisely entertaine the alliance and peace with D. *Pedro* King of Arragon her sonne in law, yea after the death of Queene Donna *Maria*, her daughter: so as during her life, the King D. *Pedro* endured all the Insolencies of the Nauarrois, who some times made roades farre into his countrie, not seeming to take knowledge thereof, for the honour and respect hee bare vnto his mother in law, neither did hee make any complaints, nor was moued, as hee ought to haue beene, for that the Estates of Arragon, and others being rebelled against him for the causes aboue mentioned, many made their retreat into Nauarre, F from whence they drew assistance of armes, victuals and other things, to make warre against him.

It is credible that the King of Arragon shewed himselfe patient in these things, that he might not disapoint other desseignes of greater importance: for knowing that *Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre was much honoured in France, hee entertained her friendship, 10

A to the end that by her means he might haue King *Philip* of Valois more fauourable vnto him, who was incensed against him for D. *James* of Majorca. This Lady laboured so, as shee entertained peace betwixt them, and confirmed againe the alliance, past, by a treatie of marriage, which shee propounded, betwixt *Charles*, Grand-child to King *Philip*, and one of the daughters of the King Don *Pedro*; and of her daughter Donna *Maria*.

This Princeesse being come into France with *Charles* and *Philip* her sonnes, to dispose of her lands and estates which shee had there, hauing left *John* of Conflans, Lord of Dampierre, Marshal of Champagne, for Gouverneur in Nuarre, shee died at the end of the yeere 1349. five yeeres after the decease of her husband, hauing held the Realme of Nuarre about two and twenty yeeres, counting since the death of King *Charles* the Fairer: to whom succeeded her sonne *Charles*, who was surnamed the Bad.

*The end of the foureteenth Booke.*

Zz

THE





## THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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CASTILE and LEON.

NAUARRE

PORTVGAL.

14. D. Pedro. 1. — 35.

30. D. Charles. 2.

8. D. Pedro. 1.

9. D. Fernand. 1.



- D **D.** Pedro the first and sole of that name, surnamed the cruel, the foureteenth King of Castile, and five and thirtieth of Leon.

**T**He beginning of the raigne of D. Pedro, sonne to D. Alphonso of Castile, was in the yeere 1350. in the which Pope Clement the sixth ordained that the Iubile which they had beene accustomed to celebrate (yet without any ground) euery hundred yeere amongst Christians, should from that time be kept from fifty, to fifty yeeres, after the manner of the Iewes. D. Pedro was at Senile with the Queene his mother, when the King his father died, where his obsequies being made, they consulted for the ording the Estate of the new Kings house, and the affaires of the Kingdome. D. Leonora of Guzman, her children, kinsfolkes and friends being in great perplexity, at the death of King D. Alphonso, retired themselves into diuers parts of the realme.

This yong King being but fiftene yeeres old began his raigne. with cruelty, in which vicche continued his whole life, but to his cost. D. Leonora being sollicit by some Knights to come to Senile, she came, vpon their faith, but she was presently apprehended and put in prison, to satisfie the rage of ieaousie of Queene Mary the Kings mother, wherevpon D. Henry Earle of Trastamare, and some of his brethren, children to this Lady, thought to fortifie themselves in Algezire, but they were set vpon, and forced to flie, some into Portugal, some else where: against whom the King was more incenled then before, for the marriage which followed betwixt D. Henry Earle of Trastamare, and D. Ieanne Manuel, daughter to D. Iohn Manuel one of the mightiest Princes in Spaine, next vnto the King, to which marriage the King D. Pedro himselfe aspired.

Zz 2

This

i  
An. 1350.

D. Pedro King  
of Castile cru-  
el.  
Leonora  
Guzman the  
deceased King's  
mother in  
the year 1350  
was  
Queen.



Aquilar taken and the unworthy death of D. Alphonso Fernandez Cornel.

An. 1353.

place was taken, and *Alphonso* being retired into a tower, he yielded to *D. Diego Gomes* of *A Toledo*, whose great friend he had beene, hoping that by his meanes he should obtaine his life, or that his goods should be preferred for his children. As they led him prisoner, he met with *D. John Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*, who said vnto him, *that he wondered how he, who had shewed himselfe so brave a knight, had undertaken so foolish an enterprise.* To whom he answered, *That it was the custome of Castile, to make men and to vndoe them suddenly.* *D. Alphonso* had beene at the taking and death of *D. Gonzalo Martines* of *Onie*, and do, maister of *Alcantara*. During the raigne of King *D. Alphonso*: at the same day and month that he was slaine by the father, this man was put to death by the commandment of the son, and with him were also executed *D. Pedro Cornel*, his cousin, *John Alphonso* *Carrillo*, *Juanes* of *Biedma*, *John Gonzales* of *Ala*, and *Ponce Diaz* of *Quefada*. The wals of *Aquilar* were ruined, & the goods of *D. Alphonso* Cornel confisked, & given by the King to diuers: among other *D. Maria* of *Padilla*, the Kings mistres, being deliuered in the city of *Cordoua* of a daughter, whom they named *D. Beatrice*, the King gaue her the townes of *Montalban*, *Capilla*, *Burguillos*, *Mondejar* and *Ioncos*: of this confiscation *Pedro Suan* of *Toledo* had *Bolano*. To his brother *Diego Gomes* was giuen *Casarrubios* of the mountaine, and to *Inigo Lopes* of *Orosco*, *Torija*.

These things happened in the 1353. to the great discontentment of many, who did much esteeme the vertue of *D. Alphonso Fernandes Cornel*. The King came afterwards to *Torrijos* in the country of *Toledo*, where running at a Tourney, he was hurt in the right hand, by the which he lost such abundance of bloud as he was in danger of his life, for they could finde no meanes to stanch it. Being in this cure, he was aduertised of the arriue of *Blanch* of *Bourbon* his spowle at *Vailledolit*, being accompanied by the Vicont of *Narbonne*, and many other Noblemen and Knights of *France*, who had beene received with great shewes of ioy by *D. Maria* the Queene mother: but the King was wonderfully troubled, for he was so transported with the allurements of *D. Maria* of *Padilla*, as hee was amazed at these newes, as if hee had beene strooke with a flash of lightning, and would gladly that they had neuer spoake of marrying him; yet he must of force goe to *Vailledolit*, to celebrate the marriage, and to perswade him thereto, *D. John Alphonso* of *Albuquerque* returned happely out of *Portugal*, whether he had beene sent, and with him from *Portugal*, *D. John de la Cerde*, sonne to *D. Lewis*, who was sonne in law to *D. Alphonso Fernandes Cornel*, and came out of *Affrike*, whether he had retired himselfe, during the dissentions and ciuil warres of *Castile*, and had conducted some enterprises happening for King *Alboanen* against *Albohacen* his father. Bringing letters of fauour and re- commendation from the King of *Portugal*, this Prince was receiued into grace, by the King, but he gaue him not any part of his father in lawes goods. In *Spaine* they report a strange case of *D. Maria Cornel* his wife. That hauing some prouocations of desire in her husbands absence, she quencht her lust by death, thrusting vp burning fire brands into her body. Before the Kings going to *Vailledolit*, he made an accord with his bre- thren *D. Henry* and *D. Tello*, who were come in armes, and wel accompanied to *Cigales*, and then he went to celebrate his marriage much against his will, but perswaded there- vnto by *D. John Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*, who desired to see the King to haue a lawfull heire, and was in some ialousie of his owne authority, fearing least the kinsmen of *D. Maria* of *Padilla*, whom he himselfe had giuen vnto the King, should get before him in the government of the affaires, as it was likely.

The King D. Pedro quits his new spowle three dayes after his marriage.

The third day after the marriage, notwithstanding any perswasions or intreaties, which *D. Maria* the Queene mother, and *D. Leonora* Queene Dowager of *Arragon*, his aunt, he left his new bride, a young Princeesse of 18. yeeres of age, and went with all speed to *Montalban*, nere vnto *Toledo*, to visit *Donna Maria* of *Padilla*, by whom he was in- charmed. This vnworthy part of the Kings, did much trouble the whole court, especial- ly *D. John Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*, who finding by some signes that the King was not pleased with him by reason of this marriage, hee durst not to follow him, but retired to his houses. *Don Fernand* and *D. John* Infants of *Arragon*, with many other knights followed him. He tooke *D. Maria* of *Padilla* from *Montalban*, & brought her to *Toledo*. Those

A These that were about him preuayled so by their intreaties, as he returned to *Vailledolit* to his wife, but he stayed but two dayes, and went away againe leauing the Lady much perplexed at these strange courses.

The Queene *D. Blanche* retired with the Queene mother to *Tordessillas*, and the king returned to *D. Mary* of *Padilla*, who entertained the hatred and dislike which the king had of his wife, that shee alone might enjoy him. It is written by *Diego* of *Valera*, that among all the precious jewels which the Queene had brought out of *France*, there was a rich girdle, which she presented to the king her husband, the which *D. Mary* of *Padilla* hauing in her power, she found out a Jew, a Magitian, which did inchant it, so as when the king would put it on, beeing amazed, and demanding what Prodigie it might be, his mi- nions (who were allyed to his concubine) answered, that they were the goodly presents which this French Gentlewoman had brought him. Whereupon he was much incensed against this poore Lady. In the meane time *D. Tello*, the kings bafe brother, married *D. Jeanne*, the eldest daughter of *D. John Nugnes de Lara* deceased: whereupon by this marriage he became Lord of *Biscay*, and of the other places and lands aboue-mentioned, the which did much offend the king, causing him to grow into a greater furie and rage against him and the rest then before, whereof the sharpest effects were against them that reproo- ued his leud life, and the indignities he did vnto the Queene his wife: whom for spite, hee caused to be led to *Arcualo* with a guard, and vnder the custodie of *Don Pedro Gudiel*, Bishop of *Segobia*, and a Bourgesse of *Toledo*, in whome he trusted (his name was *Tello Palomochio*) as a prisoner, and began to displace all the Officers of her house, and al others which had beene aduanced by the fauor of *D. John Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*: hee tooke away the Office of Chamberlaine from *Gutierre Fernandes* of *Toledo*, and gaue it to *Diego Garcia* of *Padilla*, brother to his Mistres: that of Cup-bearer, which *John Rodrigues* of *Viedma* held, was giuen to *Aluar Garcia* of *Albornoz*: the allowance of diet was taken from *Gutierre Gomes* of *Toledo*, and giuen to *Pero Gonzales* of *Mendoza*, a great Lord in *Alaua*, from whence are descended the Dukes of *Infantazgo*. In Seule the king did also change many of the chiefe Officers of the Realme, which had beene aduanced by the fauour and counsell of *Don John Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*, giuing them to others that were recommended by *Diego Garcia* of *Padilla*, and *John Fernandes* of *Hincestroça*: name- ly, he tooke the government of the frontier from *Don Garcia Fernandes Manriquez*, and aduanced *Fernand Perez* of *Puerto Carrevo*.

Thus the king altered things within his Realme, & forced the greatest to humble them- selues, and to sue vnto the kinsfolkes and fauorites of *Donna Maria* of *Padilla*, hating all them deadly that did but tell him, that he ought to loue *Donna Blanche* the Queene his wife, and liue Christian-like and honestly with her: as *Don Gil Carrillo* of *Albornoz*, Arch- bishop of *Toledo*, had sought to do, who beeing of his counsell, and a Prelate of great dignitie in *Spaine*, had presumed to reprehend his disordered life in that behalfe: but hee rooke it in so ill part, as this reuerent man was forced to abandon all the liuing hee had in *Spaine*, and retire to *Auignon* to Pope *Clement*, by whose successor *Innocent* the sixth, who came to the Popedome that yeare 1353. he was made Cardinall, and in his life-time they proceeded to a new election in the Arch-bishoppricke of *Toledo*, and Primacie of *Spaine*, putting in his place one *Don Blaise*.

This King made himselfe to be feared, and so much hated of all the Noblemen of his Realme, as euery man made choice of a party, and fought how to assure himselfe from his fury and violence. *Don John Nugnes* of *Prado*, Master of *Calatraua*, a friend to *Don John Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*, retired into *Arragon*, to the Commanderie of *Alcaniz*: but the king who had a desire to haue him in his power, sought all meanes, lawfull and vn- lawfull to assure him, so as he made him come vpon his faith and promise, that he should haue no harme. This good Knight, who found himselfe guiltlesse of any crime, but that he had beene a friend to the Lord of *Albuquerque*, came into *Castile*, to the towne of *Al- magro*, but he was presently besegged by the kings commandement, by *Don John de la Cerde*, and by *Peter Nugnes* of *Godoy*, who notwithstanding did secretly aduice him to returne into *Arragon*, before that the king (who was gone out of Seule to come thither) were arriued: the which he would not do, saying, *That he found his conscience free from*

Cardinal inter- ted.

Arch-bishop of Toledo forced to leave Spaine

all

*Imprisonment  
and murder  
of D. Iohn Nu-  
gues of Prado,  
master of Cala-  
trava.*

all rebellion, and that he had no cause to feare to put himselfe into the kings mercy: but it succeeded ill for him. The king beeing come the master came vnto him, and cast himselfe at his feet, intreating him to receiue him in his iustifications: but this cruell Prince refusing to heare him him, depriued him instantly of the Master-ship of Calatrava, the which he gaue to *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, and commaunded that he should bee carried prisoner to the castell of Maqueda, whereas *Stephen Domingo* of Auila commaunded: and there within few dayes after he was murdered by *Diego Lopes* of Portas, seruant to *Diego Garcia* of Padilla; whereof the king would haue excused himselfe, saying, That it was done without his commandement: but it appeared sufficiently that he was not discontented there-with. Going from Almagro the king came before the towne of Medellin, belonging to the Lord of Albuquerque, whereas *Diego Gomes* of Silua, a Knight of Galicia, commaunded the towne yielded, fearing the kings furie, and soone after the castile, the which the king in disdain of the Lord of Albuquerque, caused to be instantly razed: after which he led his army before Albuquerque, the which was held in the name of their Lord, by *Martin Alphonso Botello*, a Gentleman of Portugall, and vnder him commaunded *Peter Escunaz Carpintero*, Commander maior of Calatrava. The King hauing summoned them to yield the place, vpon refusall, he proclaymed them Rebels, whereof the Portugall, (who was not his subiect) made no accompt. The Commander excused himselfe, saying, That the place was not in his power. Wherefore he past on towards Cobdefera, another place belonging to Don *Iohn Alphonso*, the which he could not take, so as after some skirmishes he left Don *Henry* Earle of Transmare, and Don *Frederic* Master of S. James, his brethren, who followed him against their wils, and he came to Caceres. Afterwards he resolved to send ambassadors into Portugall, whither the Lord of Albuquerque was retired, to demand him of the king of Portugall as his subiect and a rebell: but the king of red, to demand him of the king of Portugall as his subiect and a rebell: but the king of Portugall excused himselfe, and sought to bring *D. Iohn Alphonso* of Albuquerque again into fauour: but it tooke no effect: for *D. Iohn Alphonso* entred into league with the Earle of Transmare, who was one of these Ambassadors, and with Don *Frederic* Master of Saint James, and they proceeded so farre, as beeing thrust on with hatred and disdain of their king, they fought to perswade *D. Pedro*, Infant of Portugall, to ioyne with them, promising to make him king of Castile, shewing him that hee had a title; beeing Nephew or Grand-child to King *Sancho* the Braue, sonne to his daughter Donna *Beatrice*. But the king Don *Alphonso* his father crost this proiect, and would not suffer his sonne to engage himselfe in this enterprife.

1354.

*Second marriage of King D. Pedro his first wife yet living*

The more to haue modestie in contempt, and to ouerthrow all diuine and humane lawes, the king Don *Pedro*, in the yeare 1354. without any dispensation from the Pope, but onely assisted by two bishops his owne creatures, *Sancho* of Auila, and *Iohn* of Salamanca, caused himselfe by their sentence to bee separated from the Queen Donna *Blanche*, and in the towne of Cuellar, hee married a Ladie, widow to Don *Diego* of Haro, called Donna *Leanne* of Castro, daughter to Don *Pedro* of Castro, of whose exquisite beauty hee was much enamoured: hauing married her, hee had newes of this league made by his brethren with Don *Iohn Alphonso* of Albuquerque, wherefore hee went from Cuellar, and gaue this Lady her last adiew, who retired to Duegnas, where shee past her dayes, hauing brought the King a sonne, who was named *Iohn*, and causing herselfe to be styled Queene of Castile and Leon. To oppose himselfe against this new conspiracie, the king beeing come to Castro Xeris, he made the marriage of the Infant Don *Iohn* of Arragon his cousin, with Donna *Isabella*, the second daughter of the deceased Don *Iohn Nugnes* of Lara. And for that hee vnderstood that Don *Tello* his brother followed the partie of Don *Henry* and Don *Frederic* his other brethren, he would haue Don *Iohn* of Arragon take vpon him the title of Lord of Biscay. From thence hee past to Toro, leauing Donna *Maria* of Padilla at Castro Xeris, beeing readie to be deliuered of a daughter which was named Donna *Constance*, future wife to the Duke of Lancaster an Englishman. The Confederates were fortified by Don *Fernand* of Castro, brother to Donna *Leanne*, married, and suddenly abandoned by the King, in hatred of the contempt of his sister.

This king seeing that so many great personages rebelled against him, imputing all the cause

A cause of this mischiefe vnto his wife the Queene Donna *Blanche*, he caused her to be taken out of the castell of Arcualo, and conducted to Toledo, Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Hinestroza, Vncle to Donna *Maria* of Padilla, hauing taken the charge thereof. This pore Princeesse seeing her selfe in her enemies hands, and attending nothing but death from her cruell husband, as soone as she was entred into the cittie of Toledo, shee intreated them to lead her directly vnto the great Church, vnder color of deuotion, the which was granted her: but beeing once entred, she would not go forth, but challenged the priuiledge of the place, so as presently all the cittie of Toledo shewed themselves for her, euery one pitying her vnworthie vsage: wherefore Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Hinestroza, durst not attempt to force her, but returned vnto the king, beeing at Segure de la Sierre, whither he was come to make warre against Don *Frederic* Master of Saint James. At this newes the king came in a furie to Ocagne, and there in the place of Don *Frederic*, Master of S. James, hee created *D. Iohn Garcia* of Padilla, Lord of Villagera, brother to his mistis *D. Maria* of Padilla, the first of all the Masters of S. James that was married. In the mean time the Inhabitants of Toledo in generall, resolved to keepe the Queene within their towne, from all violence, and not to receiue the king, vntill he were reconciled, and did promise to lead an honest life with her. As the incensed King thought to be reuenged of all these things, he found himselfe abandoned by many Noblemen of his trayne, among the which were the Infants of Arragon his cousins, and Don *Lopes Sanches* of Abendagno, great commander of Castile, who beeing discontented with his excesses, as well in the course of his life, as in the gouernement of his Realme, and at his ill vsage of the Nobility, they ioyined with his brethren, and with the city of Toledo, and all those of Andalusia, and other Noblemen and Communalities, who altogether made petition vnto the King, beseeching him, that for his owne honour, and the publike good, he would leaue the company of Donna *Maria* of Padilla, and liue with the Queene Donna *Blanche* his wife, as God had commaunded him, and common honestie required: and that he should gouerne his realme by the good and faithfull counsell of good men.

*Master of S.  
James married*

Donna *Leonora* his aunt, Queene Dowager of Arragon, presented this petition vnto him, the reuerence of this Lady gaue the confederates hope to obtayne something, but she laboured in vaine: for the king was so much incensed against the confederates, and on the other side did so doate on *D. Maria* of Padilla, as he made no accompt of this admonition: so as the whole Realme was in combustion, and the Princes, with others of their faction, came to Medina del campo, whereon they seized. There Don *Iohn Alphonso* of Albuquerque was poisoned by an Italian Phisition called *Paul Romain*, beeing hired thereunto by the king. He was Grand-child to Don *Denis* King of Portugal: within few dayes after there were about seuen thousand horse at Medina del campo, holding the *Q. D. Blanches* party: and the confederates presented a new petition vnto the king, who had taken his way to Toro, and the chiefe of them spake vnto him about *Tejadillo*, neere vnto Toro, beeing fifty Knights in field of either side, but they preuayled nothing: for the king leauing all, went to Vruagna, where Donna *Maria* of Padilla was, to bee merry with her. E Queene *Mary* the kings mother receiued the Confederates into Toro, and wrought so, as she drew the king thither, where they began to make a kind of accord, and to dispose of the Offices of the kings house, and of Governments and places, displacing some, and aduancing others, as they thought good: and namely, they disappointed all them of Padilla, and their adherents: the which the king ratified, but against his will, as it appeared soone after: for he made a dispatch from Tordeillas, to Don *Pedro* Infant of Arragon, Earle of Ampurias, who gouerned the country of Arragon, the King his Nephew beeing then in Cattelogne, by the which he complained of that his subiects had forced him vnto: intreating him by the bond of their alliance to be his friend: and thereupon he came to Segobia, in the beginning of the yeare 1355. and from thence to Burgos, where hee called a generall assembly of the Estates, in the which hee complained greatly of the Queene his mother, and of the Princes and Noblemen confederates, saying, that they had detayned him prisoner in the city of Toro, and had forced him to do many things against his will and dignitie: demanding mony from his subiects, that hee might make war against them, and punish them according to their merits, the which he obtained. A fter the

*D. Iohn Alphonso of Albuquerque poisoned.*

1355.

Murders committed by Don Pedro king of Castile.

Cruel executions in the city of Toledo.

Pity of a son ill rewarded by D. Pedro.

Queen mother embassie.

the end of the Estates he came to Medina del campo, where he caused to be slaine in his owne lodging one day in the holy weeke, *Peter Ruis* of Villega, Gouvernor generall of the frontier of Castile, and *Sancho Ruis* of Rojas: and caused many to be put in prison. Returning to Toro, he had an incounter with *Don Henries* men, who went to ioyne with *Don Frederic* his brother at Talauera, from whence they after marched to Toledo, and had means to enter, although their comming was not pleasing to all the Citizens, beeing the meanes to draw a warre upon them, as it happened, for that the king followed them soone after, and entered as it were by force, constraining them to depart. This was a meanes for him to haue the Queene his wife in his power, who was poorly defended by the diuided Toledains, so as shee was sent to the castle of Siguença. The king caused about foure and twenty Burgeses to be executed in the citie by lustice, who had taken the Queenes part too openly: among the which a Gold-smith, about 80. yeares old, beeing condemned, and ready to be executed, his sonne, a young man of eighteen yeares of age, presented himselfe, who (moued with pietie and a filiall loue) besought the king to do him the grace, not to suffer his father to end the dayes of his old age after that manner, offering to suffer death for him. The king (who had no royall part in him) accepted the condition, and caused this young innocent man to be executed, who in regard of his pietie did merit to saue his fathers life, and to liue himselfe with honour and reward due to so great vertue: the name of this young man through the negligence of Writers, is suppressed. After these dishonorable exploites, the king went to Cuenca, which held for Queene *Blanche*, but he could not take it: whereupon he marched against Toro, and brought all the warre into the territories of Leon and Biscay, where his men were twise defeated, by *D. Tello*, and *John* of Abendagno, with the death and imprisonment of many. The King being before Toro, he had newes of the death of *Don John Garcia* of Padilla, brother to *Donna Maria*, his mistris, being chosen master of S. Iames, against his brother *Don Frederic*, whereat he was much grieved.

During this heauines, there came vnto the campe, *William* Bishop of Bolonia, Cardinall of Saint Marie in Cosmedin, Legate to Pope *Innocent* the sixth, beeing sent to pacifie the troubles of Castile, and to reconcile the King and Queene: but he lost his labor, and obtrayned nothing of him, but that hee procured the deliuerance of *Peter Barroja*, a Doctor of the Lawes, and bishop of Siguença, who was prisoner, for that he had held the Queenes party. The king wrought so, partly by force, and partly by paroles and promises, as hee was suffered to enter into Toro, vpon condition that hee should not kill any man: the which he promised, and kept according to his faith: for he was no sooner entered but he caused to be slaine within the castell, in the presence of the Queene his mother, *Peter Stephen Carpenter*, Master of Calatraua, *Ruis Gonzales* of Castagneda, *Martin Alphonso Tello*, and *Alphonso Telles*, the which Queene *Mary* did so abhorre, as shee (wounded, and was in danger of death: and soone after, not able to endure the sight of her sons cruelties, she demanded leaue to retire into Portugall to her father king *D. Alphonso*, who caused her to be slayne soone after, for that shee liued vnchast with *Don Martin Telles*. The King *Don Pedro* did also cause to be slaine in Toro, *Gomes Manriques* of Orihuela, *Diego Perez* of Godoy, *Alphonso Games*, great Commander of Calatraua, and many others.

The knights which defended the towne of Cuenca hearing of these bloudie executions left Castile, and retired into Arragon: others which held other places, distrusting their strength, abandoned them, and past into France: wherefore the king thinking himselfe now in a manner a conqueror, transported with a tyrannous hatred against the Nobility of his Realme, yea against his owne blood, he resolved to roote them out one after another, not trusting in any one of them. Having besieged Palençuela, he watched an opportunity to kill the two Infants of Arragon his cousins, *Don Frederic* his brother, who was partly reconciled, and *Don John de la Corde*: but by reason of the absence of *Don Tello*, his brother (whom he would catch in the same net) he deferred it: and the better to surprize him, he made shew to pardon him, and *Don John* of Abendagno also, and to remit all that was past. This *Don John* of Abendagno was one of the chiefe Knights of Biscay, and without whose aduise *Don Tello*, Lord of Biscay, did not any thing. Notwithstanding

as the fauours of great men are vncertaine and wauering, *Don Tello* enuying him, for that he was rich, and welbeloued in the countrie, caused him to be slaine awhile after in the towne of Bilboa. Palençuela being taken by composition, the king *Don Pedro* made a tourney at Tordeillas, where he had resolved to murder *Don Frederic* his brother, and others: notwithstanding hauing by the same treason, caused two other Knights to be slaine, the one of Toledo, the other of Vailledolit, he thought it sufficient for this time, and deferred this execution vntill another oportunitie.

*Don Henry* who was in the Asturia's, seeing that all were brought vnder, and reconciled vnto the king, he demanded leaue as farre off, and obtained it (for hee would not trust the king but vpon good termes) and went to serue the French king. Passing by the mountaines of Asturia, he escaped many ambushes which the king had layd for him, notwithstanding his assurance giuen, but he was ordayned to better fortune: wherefore beeing come into Biscay, and hauing there conferred with *Don Tello* his brother, hee embarked and landed at Rochel, from whence he went to Paris to King *John* then raigning, who receiued him, and honoured him much. The king of Arragon was aduertised of all these troubles and alterations, beeing then resident at Perpignan, for the which he was not forie. At that time there raigned three bad kings in Spaine, this *Don Pedro* king of Castile, *Don Pedro* of Arragon, and *Don Charles* of Nauarre, violent Princes, who whilest they liued, did continually afflict both themselves and their subiects, by tyrannies: so as they purchased the surnames of Bad and Cruell.

### Charles the second of that name, and the thirtieth king of Nauarre.

Leauing the Estate of Castile at this time somewhat quiet, we will returne to the affaires of Nauarre, the which we left at the death of *Donna Ieanne*, wife to King *Philip* of Eureux: to whome of three sonnes, *Charles*, *Philip*, and *Lewis*: *Charles* the eldest succeeded to the Crowne of Nauarre, who was surnamed the bad, by reason of the troubles he caused, as well on this side, as beyond the Pyreneé mountaines, and of his strange disposition. Beeing called by the three Estates of the Realme, hee came in the yeare 1350. and was crowned in the citie of Pampelona, in an assembly made to that end after the manner of his Predecessors, swearing to obserue the lawes and liberties of the country. His coronation was accompanied with some bountie to the Cathedrall church of Pampelona, to the which among other things, he gaue a great crosse of siluer, enameled with Flower de Luces azure.

During his coronation, some of his people mutined, pretending a breach of their priuiledges, whome the king did punish so seuerely, causing many to be hanged, and to be executed by other cruell punishments, as the cure farre exceeded the disease. With the like violence he afflicted the Nobility of Nauarre, so as they decayed greatly: and he shewed himselfe in all his actions inconstant, wauering, and light of beleefe: If hee had any good in him, it was a certaine respect he bare to Clergie men, and to schollers. At his coming the king of Arragon sent a Secretarie of his vnto him, called *Peter* of Tarrega, to confirme the League which was betwixt these two Realmes: and soone after hee sent him another ambassage, by *Don Lope* Earle of Luna, and *Don John Fernandes* of Heredia, Castellan of Amposta, for a more ample confirmation of the league and alliance betwixt them two: propounding vnto the king of Nauarre an alliance by marriage, to the end he might hold the kingdomes of Nauarre and Arragon well vnited, for the king of Arragon feared much, lest *Don Pedro* king of Castile, (who was a violent, dangerous, and faithlesse Prince) should breake the peace that was betwixt the two Realmes, imbracing the quarrels of the Queene dewager of Arragon and of her children, and should ioyne with Nauarre, by some alliance which might be preiudiciall vnto him: Hereupon the Ambassadors propounded a marriage betwixt *Don Charles* king of Nauarre, and one of the daughters of the king of Sicily, who was of the house of Arragon. And for that it was

*D. Tello* Lord of Biscay caused *D. John* of Abendagno to be murdered.

4.

Nauarre

Manners of *K. Charles* the 2.

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The king of Navarre being come into France, he beganne to make claime to many things, for besides the Earledomes of Champagne and Brie, which he pretended to belong vnto him, hee made a title to the Duchie of Bourgongne, by reason of his mother Queene *Jeane*, issued from that house of Bourgongne by her mother, with many other claimes, wherein king *John* had no intent to do him right, finding it so by his Council.

He had for his chief aduersarie another *Charles* or *John*, according to the French Histories, who was Constable of France, of the house of Castile, Earle of Angoulesme, sonne to Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*, of whom wee haue often made mention, whereby there were great insolencies, murders, and rebellions committed throughout the Realme of France, as we will touch briefly in passing, for that these quarrels belong rather to the Historie of France then Spaine.

The king of Navarre being in these poursuites, by the course of Iustice, before the Estates of France, and the Courts of Parliament, King *John* thinking to pacifie him, and to make him more tractable, gaue him one of his daughters in marriage, and in recompence of his demands, gaue him Mante and Meulan: but this did not abate his pride, but wrought a contrarie effect. This Princeesse called *Jeane*, was the onely wife of King *Charles* of Navarre, who had a great and a noble issue by her. *Charles* was the first borne of this marriage, who was king after his father *Philip*, who dyed young, *Peter* who was Earle of Mortaign in Normandie. Moreouer, they had these daughters following, *Mary* who was Countesse of Denia, married to Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, *Blanche* who died at the age of thirteene yeares, and *Jeane* future Duchesse of Brittain, and after that Queene of England.

Of the Earle of Mortaign, some Histories say, is issued one sonne named *Peter* of *Pe-ralta*, who was Constable of Navarre, the stemme of the Marquis of *Falces*, yet by the feminine line, who are also Earles of Saint Esteuan. Before the marriage of King *Charles* hee had a bastard sonne, called Don *Leon* of Navarre, or *Lyonel*, from whom are descended the Marquises of Cortes, Marshals of Navarre, begotten of a Gentlewoman of the house of Euge. Of him was borne Don *Philip*, the first of that line, Marshall of Navarre, of Don *Philip* was borne Don *Pedro*, of him Don *Philip* and Don *Pedro* brethren: of Don *Pedro* another Don *Pedro*, all successiue Marshals of Navarre. In this last Don *Pedro* sayled the Masculine line of D. *Lyonel*: for hee left onely one daughter, called Donna *Hieronyma* of Navarre, who was first wife to Don *John* of Benauides, a Castillian Knight, who was also Marshall of Navarre in regard of her: and to her second

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King *John* had aduertised Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, of all those proceedings, that he might see he had done nothing lightly, being a reasonable thing, that Kings, how soeueraigne soeuer, should iustifie their actions, and to make them apparent, else they were to be reputed Tyrants, and to be hated of all the world, as violent and vniust. *Gaston Phebur* then Earle of Foix, who had married *Agnes*, sister to the king of Nauarre, was more discontented then any other at his imprisonment, who passing into Spaine, sought to incense Don *Pedro* King of Arragon his brother-in-law, and to procure him to declare himselfe enemy to King *John*, if he did not release the King of Nauarre, but the king *D. Pedro* would not yeeld vnto it: for he held the friendship of France to be a firm support for his Estates: besides he stil feared a war betwixt him and *D. Pedro*, yet he promised to be an intercessor for him to *K. John*, and to intreat him to shew his clemency, & to intreat his prisoner without passion, but by the course of Iustice, & moreover not to exact all his right of him,



The generall History of Spain.

the place of Seneschall; which was that which we call Constable: and hee had in like manner the generall command over the gallies and shippes. The king left his Vncle Don Pedro Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias, Regent for Gouvernour in his absence, and parting from Roses with twenty great shippes, five Gallies, and many other vessells, hee arrived in a port called Comite, three miles from Alger in Sardynia, but with great difficultie by reason of the torment: There passed in his companie *John Graille*, Captall of Buch, with many other Noblemen strangers, and of his owne subjects, Don Lope of Luna, whome hee had made Earle of Luna, for his merits and good seruices: *Philip* of Castro, *John Ximenes* of Vireza, *John Martines* of Luna, *Fernand Ruis* of Thausit, *Blasco Fernandes* of Hemenes of Vireza, *John Martines* of Luna, *Fernand Ruis* of Thausit, *Blasco Fernandes* of Hemenes of Vireza, *Don Stephano* of Arragon, sonne to the Duke of Athens, *Don Pedro* of Xerica, *Gilbert Scintilla*, *Olpho Prochita*, *Alphonso Roger* of Loria, *Pedro Maza*; *Raymond Ruifeco*, *Gisbert* of Castelle, *Mathew Mercier*, Gouernor of Castelluis, *Pedro Lopes* of Bracis: moreover, *Don Hugues* Vicount of Cardona, *Bernardin* of Cabrera, sonne to *Bernard*, *Andrew* Vicount of Canner, *Othon* of Moncade, *Roger Bernard* Vicount of Canard, *Andrew* Vicount of Heredia, *Don Arnaud Roger*, and *Raymond* of Palliars, *Artal* of Istelbon, *Don Fernand* of Heredia, *Don Arnaud Roger*, and *Raymond* of Palliars, *Artal* of Istelbon, *William Bellera*, *Bernard Cruillia* the elder, and *Bernard Cruillia* the younger, the first famous for the warres of Italy, the other newly come from being a page, *Ponce* Ferrouillet, *Francis Ceruia*, *Galcerand* of Pinos, *Galuan Anglesole*, with other Noblemen, Arragonais, Cattelans, and Valencians, whereof some had charge of men, the rest followed the kings Cornet.

*Marian* (who caused himselfe to be called King of Sardinia)) hearing of this great preparedness, and fearing due punishment, sent vnto the king, as he was ready to imbarke, to offer him all obedience, and to deliuer him the places which hee had taken, with a good summe of money: but the king past on. At his arriuall he found the enemies had taken the towne of Eglish, a strong place, and of importance, but the castell had beene defended by the Safferi, and the castell, with those of Oria and Osoli, were the forts which held forth the Aragonois in the Iland. The seerge was layd to Alguer, and that place was furiously battered and assaulted: to diuert which seerge, there were ten gallies of Genoa, which shewed themselves at sea, and *Marian* with *Matheu D'Oria* vpon the land, hauing in his company two thousand horse, and fiftene thousand foote, who striued in vaine: for Alguer yielded, notwithstanding that the king fell sicke, and his armie was grievously afflicted with the plague, and *Marian* had no other fruites of his paines, but the taking of the castell of Quira. *Marian* was allyed to Don Pedro of Xerica, the which disappointed many good exploits, many conditions of peace beeing often propounded, whereunto the king was often drawne and inclined. During this seerge there came thirty Venetian Gallies, to ioyn with the army of Arragon: and thither did *Abraham* King of Tunes and Buliens, send an ambassage to the king *D. Pedro* to conclude a peace with him, in consideration of a tribute of 2000. doubloons, which he promised to pay him yearly. After the yielding of Alguer, the king of Arragon past to Caillieri, where hauing called the Estates of Sardinia, at the least from those places which held his party, hee condemned *Gerard* Earle of Donoratico, as the motiue and fauourer of *Marians* rebellion: so as the famous family of Donoratico was extinct in Sardinia. Those of Malespine were in like manner forced to retire to Nice, and other lands which they had in Prouence, and to leaue the Iland. *Marian* kept the field for a time, and had many light encounters with the kings menbur in the end by the intreatie of his friends, he obtayned a peace, excusing his rebellion vpon the kings severity, and the vnjust proceedings of his ministers: and for that during these wars of Sardinia, the Pope had reconciled the two common-weales of Venice and Genoa, who had made him vmper of their controuerfies, the king shewed himselfe more playable to treatise of peace with the Genouois, for the which he was wonderfull importuned by the Princes. Matters standing vpon these termes, *D. Pedro* returned into Spaine, and from thence past to Auignon, where as the Pope propounded, that he should leaue the Iland of Corfica in the Genouois hand, to enioy it quietly, vpon condition they should hold it of the kings of Arragon, and do them homage for it, and paying him rent, the which theking yielded vnto: but he demanded an excessive tribute, that is, 50000. florins of gold euery yeare.

A The Geneuois reflecting this burthen, as too grieuous, did shew, that they had right to that Iland, about two hundred yeares before, by donations made vnto them by the Popes. The Duke of Milan dealt also in these treaties, and pretended the lands of Galluri in Sardinia, by hereditarie right, as descending from the daughter of *Nino* Iudge of Galluri, of the familie of Viscontez.

All these controuersies were left vndecided, neither could the Pope, nor other Mediators bring the parties to any conclusion: and vpon these occasions the Iland of Sardinia was againe troubled with seditions and reuolts, whereof *Matthew D'Oria* was the chiefe author, who did also ingage *Marian Iudge* of Arborea. Whilest the king was in Arragon, he made Denia an Earldome, to the which he did aduance *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, son to *D. Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, and likewise *Vich*, the which he gaue to *Don Bernardin* of Cabrera, son to *Don Bernard*. After his returne into Spaine, the treatie of peace betwixt him and the Common-weale of Genoua was againe debated before the Pope, by the Ambassadors of both parties: but all came to nothing: wherefore the tumults increasing in Sardinia, and *Matthew D'Oria* hauing forced the castell of Oria, the king sent *D. Gilbert Chintilla* thither with what forces he could, and entred into a cruell war against Castile in the yeare 1356. the cause whereof was as followeth.

7 Don *Pedro* king of Castile being at some peace with his subiects, and sojourning in the citie of Seuille, he went one day to Saint *Lucar* of Barameda, to see the fishing of Thuns, which is very plentifull in those parts: where it happened, that as the army of Arragon (consisting of ten gallies and some other vessells) commanded by *Francis Perillos*, pait along that Coast, to go into France, in fauour of King *Iohn*, against the English, they met with two shippes of Genoa laden with oyles, which the gallies had pourfued, and taken in the port of Saint *Lucar*: whereuppon the king of Castile ( who was vpon the place) gaue the Admirall of Arragon to vnderstand, that that prize was an iniurie done vnto him, and therefore he shold restore the ships, with their ladings and furniture : whereof the Admirall *Perillos* made no accompt, saying, that they were shippes belonging to the enemies of his king: and the Arragon Authors say, that *Perillos* entred euén into the mouth of Guadalquibir, and their made prey of all he found: whereat the king of Castile being moued, he caused all the Cartelan shippes and Merchants to bee arrested within his Realme, and seized vpon all their goods and merchandise. And as he was cholericke and furious, not respecting peace, truce, league nor allyance whatsoever, hee sent to denounce warre against the Arragonois, and began to put it in execution. Notwithstanding that he offered to recompence vnto the Merchants, whome his Admirall had spoyled, and to make all other honest satisfactions accustomed betwixt Prince and Prince.

All this prevaileth not: for about the end of the yeare 1356. hee sent troupes of horſe and foote to ſpoyle the territories of Valence, towards *Mufcia*, and alſo of *Molina*, thruſt on by ſome about him, who were deſirous of ſtirres, thinking to aſſure and increaſe their Eſtates by the meanes of forraine warres: ſo as the king of Arragon found himſelfe ſuddenly engaged in a dangerous warre againſt a mighty enemy: to prevent the which, hee drew vnto him *Lewis* brother to the King of Nauarre, Governour of that Countrey, and had from thence ſuch ſuccours, as the Eſtate of their affaires could well beare: wherein *Lewis* ſhewed himſelfe ſo diſcreet and wiſe, as the King of Caſtile held him a neuter betwixt both parties. Moreover, he called vnto him out of France, *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamarra, baſe brother to the king of Caſtile, and much hated by him, who made himſelfe Vaſſall to the Crown of Arragon, and had from the King the lands of *Villegaffe*, *Montblanc*, and others in *Cattelogue*, Arragon, and Valence, doing feaſtie and homage: yea in a manner all that had bene held by *Donna Leonora* the Queene Dowager, and her children *Don Fernand*, and *Don Iohn* of Arragon, and was made Commander of the men of warre for the defence of the frontiers againſt Caſtile: which made the king of Caſtile to come into Arragon in perſon, with greater forces, and to make warre with all violence and extremity, where hee tooke *Bordalua* and *Embite*, and ſo preſt *Taraſſone* with the force of armes, as hee forced the Inhabitants to ſurrender and yeeld the place without oppoſition, yppon condition that they might retire to *Tudele* a towne of *Nauarre*.

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Don John de la  
Corte, slain by  
the king's  
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Besides this he tooke Alcala of Fitiela, Verrejon, and the castell of los Fajos, hauing in A his armie nine thousand horse, and a great number of foote, against the which forces the Arragonois durst not present themselves: wherefore he marched as farre as hee pleased, and then returned to Tarassone. There by the meanes and industrie of Cardinall William, and the Popes Legate, there was a truce concluded for a yeare: whereuppon he took his way towards Seuille. Beeing yet at Tarassone, he had newes that Don John de la Cerde, and D. Aluar Perez of Guzman were reuolted from him, and had taken the party of Arragon, and that at that instant they had bene charged, and defeated by his men in Andalusia: and Don John de la Cerde taken, whome he commanded to bee slaine before his arrival: then being come to Seuille, he spent the rest of the yeare to prepare an armie at sea for the future warre: for his intent was not to conclude a peace, neither would he yeeld the citie of Tarassone into the Legats hands, according to the capitulations: nor performe any part of that which had bene treated, notwithstanding that the king of Arragon had performed all on his part: whereuppon the Legate beeing at Tudele, in Saint Maries church he propounded a sentence of Excommunication against Don Pedro King of Castile, and he interdixt his Realme, in the presence of the Bishops of Cominges and Tarassone, did interdixt his Realme, in the presence of the Bishops of Cominges and Tarassone, and the Ambassadors of Castile and Arragon, the which put the king of Castile into a greater furie. The Legate beeing at Huesca, published the Decree and Censure against the King of Castile and his Realme, by the which, besides that which hath bene spoken, he was condemned in an hundred Markes of siluer to the Sea of Rome: and defence made C to Lewis brother to the king of Nauarre, to the kings of England and Portugall, to all Christian Princes, yea and to those that did in any sort belong by confanguinitie to this excommunicated king, not to conuerse with him, nor to giue him ayde nor succours. Then was the Infant Don Fernand of Arragon perswaded by some Noblemen of Arragon, to meete with Don Pedro king of Arragon his brother, in a valley, couered with trees, where they had a long and friendly discourse: so as the Infant returned, full of promises and hopes.

The Captaine of Tarassone for the king of Castile, called Goncal Gonçales Luso, was also drawne by the perswasions of Suero Garcia of Toledo, who was fled into Arragon, sonne to Garcia Suero, to yeeld vp that place to the King of Arragon, vpon promise of D fortie thousand Florins, the which he did soone after execute. And for that the effects of the King of Castiles bad inclination appeared daily, there was a League made betwixt the King of Maroc and hee of Arragon to the preiudice of Castile, and Don Tello of Castile, and the Earle of Luna, entred with an armie towards Soria, where they spoiled the Countrie.

Thus these two Kings Don Pedro King of Castile, and Don Pedro king of Arragon, wilfull, cholericke, and madde, fell againe into a cruell and pernicious warre, to the estimable prejudice of their subiects, and shame and dishonor to the name of Christians.

An. 1358.  
D. Frederic the  
king's brother  
and other No-  
blemen put to  
death.

Whilest the King lay idle in Andalusia, beeing too much giuen to women, he courted Donna Aldonça Cornet, daughter to the deceased Don Alphonso Fernandes Cornet, E whom he had cauled to be slaine, and wife to D. Aluar Perez of Guzman, his rebell: but yet he did not forget D. Maria of Padilla. Besides this vice, hee continued his cruelty against the Nobility: for that yeare 1358, he caused his brother D. Frederic Master of S. Iames, to be slaine in the town of Carmona, being newly come out of Murcia, where hee had in his name recovered Iumilla, from the Arragonois who had taken it. There was also slaine by his commandement Sancho Ruiz of Rojas: at Cordoua he also put to death Peter Cabera, Fernand Alphonso of Gates: and at Salamanca Alphonso Geoffrey Tenorio: at Toro Alphonso Perez Fermosino: and in the castell of Moja, Garcia Mendez of Toledo: and moreo- uer he caused Lope Sanchez of Abendagno, great Commander of Castile, to bee put to death, and others in diuers places according to his humour and discontentment: yet seeking to couer these executions with a cloake of Iustice, publishing declarations, containing the crimes of such as he had put to death, although it were apparent that they were but reuenges, for that all, or the most part of them had not approued his excesse, or had in some sort opposed themselves.

In which murders he employed two, who were much fauored by him, who afterwards fell

A fell into the same misfortune, for a recompence of their good seruices, as it happened to his cousin D. Iohn of Arragon, sonne to the Queene D. Leonora, who being an actor in the death of D. Frederic master of Saint Iames, did willingly follow the King in a voiage he made into Biscay, to dispossesse D. Tello, his other brother of that Lordship, and to kill him. The King being suddenly arrived at Aguilar del Campo, he had surprized D. Tello being a hunting, and not dreaming of his coming, had he not bene aduertised by a Squire of his, called Gattiere Garra; but through this aduertisement he escaped and retired to Vermeo, the chiefe towne of Biscay, where getting into a sifter boate, he saued himselfe at Saint Iohn de Luz, and from thence retired to Bayone. He was not farre at sea before the King came to Vermeo, who hearing that he was dislodged, he beganne to pursue him by sea, and went as farre as Legueytio, but descouering nothing, and the sea withall beginning to grow high, hee returned, and carried away prisoner D. Ieanne of Lara, wife to D. Tello, Rhetrix of Biscay. The King being at Vermeo, D. Iohn of Arragon, who had married D. Isabella of Lara the other sister, besought him to grant him that Lordship, seeing that D. Tello had shewed himselfe contumacious, his wife being also prisoner, & that he had married the other sister: to whom the King answered cunningly, that hee would haue the Biscains assemble in the towne of Guernica, according to their ancient priuiledges, and there choose their Lord, and that for his part he would labour to haue him chosen; the which did satisfie D. Iohn for the present.

In the meane time the King did let the chiefe of the assembly vnderstand, that when they were together, and the King should propound vnto them for to choose D. Iohn of Arragon, they should all cry out; that they would haue no other Lord, then the King himselfe, and his successors Kings, the which they did, as they had bene enioyned: so as D. Iohn of Arragon found himselfe frustrate of his hopes. This generall assembly of Biscay, is called in the countrie language, Batcaar, which is as much to say, as an assembly of ancients. The King being come from Guernica to Bilbao, hee sent for D. Iohn of Arragon to his lodging, and there commanded he should be slaine in his presence, and his body to be cast out at the window which looked into the court (the which was full of people) and crying with a loude voice: Behold your Lord of Biscay who demanded you: then he caused him to be carried to Burgos, and there to be cast into the riuer, and would not suffer him to be buried: and for that his mother D. Leonora Dowager of Arragon, and his wife D. Isabella, were greeued for this cruel act he caused them to be shut vp prisoners in the castle of Castro Xeris: This was the reward of Iohn of Arragon, who had, to please a tyrant, consented to the death of many great personages, yea his neere kinsmen.

The King being come to Vailledolit, he had resolved to sacrifice some in that towne: but hearing that D. Henry of castile, Earle of Transimara, and D. Fernand of Arragon, brother to D. Iohn, did ouerrunne the countries of Soria, and Almajan, and that of Murcia, he did forbear, and hauing put great garrisons into the places about Soria, he came to Seuille, being resolved to doe all acts of hostility both by land and sea against the King of Arragon. He had made ready eightene gallies with the which and great forces by land, he came and besieged Guardamar, and tooke it: and for that it did belong to the Infant D. Fernand, he burnt the towne, but he could not take the castle. But suddenly a violent winde tooke his gallies vpon that coast, so as sixteene of them ranne on ground: yet he returned againe into Murcia, and was nothing amazed thereat (for he was of a proude and haughty spirit) but caused many other gallies to be built at Seuille, and commanded that all the ships in Galicia, Biscay and Guipuscoa, should come thither in the beginning of the yeere 1359. to inuade the Realmes of Valence, Cattelogne and Arragon.

During these exploits of warre, D. Pedro King of Arragon charged him of Castile with disloyaltie: and treason before the Pope, and challenged him by Bernard Galleran of Pinos, to whom the King of Arragon would haue giuen the title of King of Majorca, that he might be equal in quality to the King of Castile, but this was a mockery. This yeere was married D. Isabel daughter to the vnfortunate Don Iames King of Majorca, to Iohn Marquis of Montferrat, to whom the King of Arragon gaue fifty thousand florins.

D. Iohn of Ar-  
ragon slaine  
in the Kings  
lodging and in  
his presence.

An. 1359.

Marriage of  
Isabel of Ma-  
jorca to the  
Marquis of  
Montferrat.



florins in dowry, vpon condition that she should renounce all her fathers rights, and so she did. The King of Arragon being then at Saragossa, he renewed and confirmed to the Nobility of that city, whom they call Ermunios, the preiudged they haue got to goe to the warres, but when the King is in person ready to giue bataille, or to assaile some place, and declared that if any one of these preiudged persons had followed him beyond these limitations, that it should be no preiudice to their rights. There he gaue the charge of the warre, for the preservation of the country, to the Archbishop of Saragossa. Whilest that the confederate Noblemen of Castile, together with the Arragonois, did ruine and burne the country of Alaua; the King of Castile led a great power by land against Arragon, by the way of Almasan, where he tooke Negasta and Torrijo. During this warre, D. Henry Earle of Transmarara had a sonne by his wife in the towne of Epila (the which at this daie belongs to the Earle of Arande) who was called *Iohn*, and raigned in Castile. Cardinal *William* being no longer fit to make a peace betwixt these two Princes, the Pope sent Cardinal *Guy* of Bologna, Bishop of Portuense, this yeere of our Lord 1359. who preuailed as little as the other, but by his diligence and importunate pursute he incited the King of Castile more against the house of Arragon, and his rage proceeded so farre, as he condemned all the Knights of Castile that were in Arragon by proclamation: he caused the Queene *D. Leonora* his aunt to be cruelly murdered, being widow to *D. Alphonso* King of Arragon: and hauing caused *D. Leonne* of Lara, the Lady of Biscay, to be transported to the castle of Almodouar del Rio, and from thence to Seuille, he there also caused her to be murdered: such was the diuillish fury of this monster, who being once moued vpon any subiect, discharged his rage vpon al that came into his fantasie: He did the like vnto *D. Isabella* of Lara, widow to *D. Iohn* of Aragon, to whom by the death of her elder sister, leauing no children, the Siegneurie of Biscay did belong, but shee died not by the sword, but by poison, which this tyrant caused to be giuen her. In these Ladies was extinct the succession of the ancient Lords of Biscay.

Cruelty more then doubtfull of D. Pedro King of Castile.

The season being fit for navigation, the King of Castile went out of Seuille, or Saint Lucar, with foure score ships, and one and forty gallies, and sailed towards the coast of Valence and Cartelogne; he ruined the towne of Guardamar, and the castle againe, and presented himselfe in view of Barcelona: but the army of Arragon, which was but of forty foists and gallies hindered him from staying at any place vpon the coast, and skirmishing often with him, they forced him to bend towards Luiza, and to way anchor in hast from thence, and to saile towards Alicant and Carthagea, and in the end to retire himselfe, hauing with this great preparation done nothing of import. The King of Arragon was in the meane time in the Island of Majorca, being aduised not to be in his army at sea. The gallies of Castile retired to Seuille, and the ships of Guipuscoa, Biscay and Galicia, returned into their countries: as for the King of Castile, he went to Tordillas to visit Donna *Maria* of Padilla.

The coast of Cartelogne and Valence was this yeere ill prouided of ships of warre: For that the King of Arragon was forced to entertaine many gallies continually in the Island of Sardynia, being still subiect to reuolts, and moreover he had sent a good number into Sicile, to aide the King *D. Frederic* his son in law, against whom *Leanne* Queene of Naples made warre.

### D. Pedro alone of that name, the eight King of Portugal.

Portugal.

**D** On *Pedro* surnamed the Iusticer raigned in Portugal, who had succeeded his father *D. Alphonso* the fourth, deceased in the yeere of our Lord 1357. Hee was about seuen and thirtie yeeres old when hee beganne to raigne, and therefore being ripe in yeeres, and of a good Iudgement he gouerned his realme with great equity, so as he purchased the name of Iusticer, and was much vnlike in manners to the other two Kings of

A his time, and of the same name. This King (his father being yet lyuing) was married to *Blanch*, daughter to *D. Pedro* King of Castile, sonne to *D. Sancho*, who falling into a palsey, was left by him, and then he married *D. Constance Manuel*, daughter to *D. Iohn Manuel*, by whom he had these children following. *D. Lewis*, who liued little, *D. Fernand*, who raigned, Donna *Maria*, married in the life of *D. Alphonso* her Grandfather, to *D. Fernand* Infant of Arragon, sonne to the King *D. Alphonso*, by his second wife *D. Leonora* of Castile. *D. Constance* dying in the yeere of our Lord 1345, he married Donna *Agnes* of Castile, a gentlewoman which had followed her, and with whom they sayd he had familiar acquaintance during her life, for she was exceeding faire & amiable. The Infant *D. Pedro* (although she were somewhat allied vnto him, and had christened his son *D. Lewis*) married her secretly, for feare of his father, in 1354. hauing enioyed her many yeeres, and the witness of this matrimoniall promise, were *D. Gil* Bishop of Guardia, and *Stephen Louat* Maister of his Wardrop, whom he commanded to keepe it secret. By her *D. Pedro* had three sonnes: *D. Alphonso*, who died in France, *D. Iohn* and *D. Denis*, who were afterwards expelled by their brother *D. Fernand* then rainging, and died in Castile. Of this Lady Donna *Agnes*, was also borne one daughter, called Donna *Beatrice*, who was married to *D. Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, base sonne to *D. Alphonso* the thirteenth King of Castile. This clandestine marriage being vnkowne to the King *D. Alphonso*, father to *D. Pedro*, and yet his loues knowne and blamed by all men, it was treated of to marry him with some Princesse, but hee would not heare of it: wherefore the King tooke a cruell resolution to kill *D. Agnes de Castro*, thinking he should not otherwise withdraw his sonnes loue. Being come to this effect to Coimbra where this faire Lady remained, whilest that the Infaut *D. Pedro* was a hunting, he caused her to be slaine by three of his gard, which were *Diego Lopes Pacheco*, *Peter Cuello*, and *Aluar Gonçales*, who did this execution in the old pallace of Saint Clare. This death being in the yeere of our Lord 1355. made the Infaut rebel against his father, who with the aide of many of his friends, entered the country betwixt Ducro and Minio, where he committed great spoile, and had done more, if many great personages had not labored happely to reconcile them. After that he loued an other Lady, called *D. Theresa Gallega*, by whom hee had one sonne, called *Iohn*, in the yeere 1357. He was first Maister of the Knights of Auiz, and afterwards King after *D. Fernand* his brother, and the same yeere 1357. died king *D. Alphonso* the braue.

Genealogy of Portugal.

9  
D. Pedros priuie marriage with Donna Agnes of Castile.

Cruel massaker of D. Agnes of Castro wife to the Infaut D. Pedro.

to  
Disposition of D. Pedro King of Portugal.

*D. Pedro* being come to the crowne, he shewed himselfe a iust Prince, observing aboue all things the lawes and ordinances made by his father, for the ording of his house and traine, the Officers whereof were expressly forbidden not to molest his subiects, especially puruoiers, nor to take any prouision for his house, before they had paid the price which the seller demanded, vpon great penalties, yea death in some cases. Hearing that aduocates did multiply sutes, and that of one they often made many, he discharged them all throughout his realme, and imposed great punishments vpon Iudges that should suffer themselves to be corrupted with money or otherwise, yea losse of life, and confiscation of their goods: he made in any lawes for the shortning of sutes, appointing fit men for Iudges: causing his ordonances to be executed with all rigor. Hee appointed great punishments for light offences, and if any one told him that he was to seuer, he answered, that it was the meanes to reforme vice, and that it was pleasing vnto God, for if the wicked were not kept in awe with the feare of death, they would neuer bee restrained with lesser punishments; Finally to haue the good liue in peace, it was necessary to punish the bad seuerely. As soone as the pleaders had made their demands, and pertinent answers giuen, they were presently dispatched if it might be: If by any trickes and deuises matters were delaied, the offenders were punished, that is, the poore by the whip, and the rich by great fines: by reason whereof his realme flourished in peace and abundance of all things, and he was honoured and beloued of his subiects as much as any Prince lyuing. Hee had often in his mouth the saying of the Emperour *Titus*. That he held that day lost, wherein hee had not done good to some one. Hee did not greue to be himselfe in person at the deciding of causes, and did often assist at the examination and torturing of criminal persons; he did so hate malefactors, as hee did often times

times rise from the table to haue them punished, yea he tooke such pleasure to doe iustice, as he caused to be borne before him, or did carry himselfe, a whip or rod wherewith offenders should be punished, to the end he might cause himselfe to be feared, and iustice more respected, so as to many this severity seemed to approach neere vnto cruelty: Moreouer he was carefull to dispatch all sorts of businesse, with great breuity, especially if a stranger came into his court, he commanded he should be presently dispatched, to the end hee should not consume himselfe in charges. With his royal vertues, hee loued hunting, dauncing and Ladies, and all other sports, but not with such excess as the other Kings of Spaine of his time, neither was he free from desire of reuenge, mixt with some infidelity: for his father being once dead, he affected nothing more then to reuenge the death of his best beloued *D. Agnes* of Castro, wherefore knowing that *Diego Lopes Pacheco*, *Peter Cuello* and *Aluar Gonçales*, who had slaine her, were in Castile, hee made an accord with his Nephew *D. Pedro* King of Castile, to deliuer vnto him in exchange, some Castilian Knights, who to flie the fury of this tyrant, were retired into Portugal, vnder his protection, so as they made this dishonorable exchange, when as these three men were brought to Saint Iren, whereas the King was, hee would instantly haue them put to sundry torments, but the Noblemen which were about him dissuaded him: yet could he not forbear to vse outrageous speeches, yea he strooke *Peter Cuello* on the face, and notwithstanding that they excused themselves vpon the commaundment of the King his father, yet hee condemned them to cruel deaths. *Peter Cuello* and *Aluar Gonçales*, were executed first before the court gate, causing the one to be opened by the breist, and the other by the backe, to pul out their hearts. *Diego Lopes Pacheco* appointed to the same death had the hap to escape, flying in a pilgrimes weed into Castile, where he lay concealed vntil that *Don Henry* came vnto the crowne, whom hee serued, and was much beloued of him. They say he was the stem of the house of Pacheco in Castile, which gaue beginning to the Marquis of Villena, and Dukes of Escalona.

This cruel example shalbe followed by one more commendable; this King *D. Pedro* beeing in Lisbon, where they had made him a stately entry, and ordained a Tournay whereas many Knights both Portugals and strangers did runne: hauing beene aduertised that a Knights wife of the city, called *Alphonso Andre* abandoned her selfe to another, he watched that day (which he held fit to execute such vnlawful loues) these adulterers in such sort, as he surprized them together, the gentlewoman husband being in armes at the lists with the rest in the new street, who without making bruit, or suffering any to aduertise the husband of the wrong his wife had done him, hee caused her to be burnt, and her adulterer to be slaine. If hee descouered any baude, namely of such as vnder collour of deuotion enter into houses, to carry messages, or which vse charmes, or giue loue drinckes, and such like, hee did punish them severely. He was like to haue slaine his Admiral in that towne, for that hee had imploied a woman of that trade, but hee fled and so escaped his fury, but hee caused the woman to be burnt. In the country of *Veraguas* he caused a married man to be hanged, hauing children by his wife, for that hee had forced her beeing a maide, before hee had married her. If he punished secular men severely, hee did no more spare priests and monkes, yea and prelates if they offended. Wherevpon being giuen to vnderstand, that hee should send them to their superior Iudges, he answered, that so hee did: for hauing once caused them to be hanged, they went directly before God, who was the head Iudge of all, and did the last Iustice. Knowing that the bishop of Porto, where hee then was, liued loosely with a married woman of that towne he sent for him, seeming that he would confer with him of some businesse. The bishop being come, he caused euery one to depart the chamber, & hauing shut the doore, he began to pursue the bishop, & handled him in such sort, as if some which staid in the chamber, had not taken him out of his hands, he had slaine him. He was more seuer to his household seruants then to any other: he caused a Secretary to be slaine, hauing taken money without the priuity of his Tresorer. This we read of the maners and customes of this king, who spared himselfe sometimes: as for the stately buildings which he left, they hold that the bridge and towne of Lima are of his foundation: he caused Santa *Adaria* of Charneça to be built, he indowed the Monastery of *Alcouaga* with fixe Chaplains, and

His diligence and equity.

His delights.

Desire of reuenge moues the King of Portugal to betray them that were returned vnto his protection.

Family of Pacheco in Castile.

Adulterers punished.

A appointed ordinary masses: to which monastery his sonne *Fernand* did afterwards giue the towne of *Parades*, in the country of *Leyra*. Hee was bountifull and courteous to them that did him seruice, to whom hee gaue many gifts, and was accustomed euery yeere to put a hundred markes of silver into plate, to giue for new yeeres gifts: he augmented the wages and pensions of the gentlemen of his house, and other seruants; hee honoured the Nobility that liued well, and loued vertue, whereof he gaue good testimony when as hee made his good seruant *D. Iohn Alphonso Tello* Earle of *Barcellos*, with such pompe, as the like hath not beene seene in Portugal in any age, for hee had that night from the Monastery of *Saint Dominike*, which was in the place del *Rufio*, vnto the place called *Limbhero* whereas the Kings palace stood, five thousand men hokling five thousand torches, by the light whereof they might see many tables couered with bread, meat and wine, whereas euery man might eate and drinke that list. And the King himselfe laying aside his royal ranke and grauity, led daunces through the city, and by his example the people, both of the city, and strangers, which came thither by water, shewed all signes of ioy, to honour this new Earle. They say that this King taking delight to heare a siluer trumpet found, would then haue a desire to daunce, and oftentimes when he could not slepe, he would goe out of his palace in the night, and haue daunces in the towne; whether his subiects came willingly, and did practise it much for the loue of him. This King hauing held the Realme some space, hee would make a publike declaration, in a great assembly of Noblemen, what *Donna Agnes* of Castro had beene vnto him, and produced *D. Gil* Bishop of *Guarda*, and *Stephen Louat* Maister of his Wardrop, for witness of their promises of marriage, who being publicly examined, did sweare that *D. Agnes* had beene lawful wife to *D. Pedro* then Infant of Portugal, and dispensations were shewed, which *D. Pedro* had obtained, for affinity, or other lets which might hinder this marriage, whereof a Register was kept in the publike acts: and it was ordained that the children borne of this Lady should be called Infants of Portugal: her body, or bones were transported from *Coimbra*, where they had beene buried, to the Monastery of *Alcouaga*, with royal pompe, & laied in a rich tomble of white marbe, whercon her Image was set, carrying a crowne like a Queene.

11 Such was the Estate of Portugal, about the time of the warres betwixt the Kings of Castile and Arragon, and whilest that *D. Charles* King of *Nauarre* was held prisoner in France, by the Dauphin his brother in law, in safe keeping, yet hee found meanes to escape, by the helpe of his brother *Philip*, and of *Iohn Pinguignac*, Gouvernor of *Artois*, with other Frenchmen, beeing accompanied by *D. Roderike* of *Vrrix*, *D. Corbaran* of *Leer*, *D. Charles* of *Artieda*, *D. Fernando* of *Ayana*, and by the Baron of *Garro*, who drew him out of the castle of *Aleux* in *Palueil*, where hee had beene prisoner eightene monethes, which place they scaled by night, and slue the captaine and gard. This act was much commended, especially in *Nauarre*: and in memory of this good seruice done vnto the King, the names of those Knights were registred in the chamber of accounts for the Realme of *Nauarre*. What past afterwards betwixt the Dauphin, and the King of *Nauarre* in France, I leaue it to the French History, to the which it doth properly belong. After the returne of *Iohn* the French King from prison in England, *Charles* King of *Nauarre* beeing reconciled to him and to the Dauphin his sonne, hee went into his Realme of *Nauarre*, hauing had by his wife Queene *Jeane*, one sonne, in the towne of *Mante*, who was also called *Charles*, and succeeded him in the Realme.

12 In the meane time the warre continued betwixt Castile and Arragon, and moreouer the King of Castile, as if he would scorne all the world, and shew himselfe an enemy to all he encountered, had broken with the Venetians, and taken one of their ships, when as he was before *Barcelona* with his sea army: and not content herewith hee had appointed twenty gallies to gard the Straight, and to take twelue other Venerian ships, in their returne, which had past into *Flanders*, but hee was deceived: for the ships coming in comfort with a good gale, and helpt by the flood, they past almost vndescouered. Soone after the King had newes that his men had beene defeated neere vnto *Moncayo*, in the fields of *Arauiana*, by the Arragonois (where as in old time the seuen sonnes of *Lara* had beene slaine) being led by *D. Henry* and *D. Tello* of Castile brethren,

His liberty.

Pompe at the funeral of the Earle of Barcellos.

Declaration of the secret marriage betwixt the King D. Pedro and D. Agnes of Castile.

Nauarre.

Arragon and Castile.

The King of Castile spoues the Venetians at sea.

D. Pedro

Castilians de-  
seated.

D. Pedro of Luna, D. John Martines of Luna, and D. John Fernandes of Heredia, who being accompanied with eight hundred horse Arragonois, defeated one thousand and two hundred Castilians.

In this encounter died D. John Fernandes of Hinestroza, gouernor of that frontier for the King of Castile, vncle to Donna Maria of Padilla, D. Fernand Garces Duxie, D. Pedro Luis Orosio, Gomes Suarez of Figueroa, great Commander of Saint Iames: and there were taken prisoners, D. Inigo Lopes Orosco, D. Fernand Luis of Villaloba, D. John Gomes of Bahabou, D. Hurtado Diaz of Mendoza, and D. Diego Sancho Porras, all renowned Knights of Castile, whereat the King was much moued, but his griefe was moderated by a new sonne, which Donna Maria of Padilla brought him, in the yeere of our Lord 1360. who was named D. Alphonso, by reason whereof he came presently to Tordesillas. Being afterwards returned to Seuille, he caused D. Garci Aluarez of Toledo to be created maister of Saint Iames, a Knight which had done him great seruices, both in the warre against Arragon, and in the seditions of Castile, to whom, besides this dignity, hee gaue the office of Majordomo, or high Steward to his sonne D. Alphonso. This yeere continuing his cruelties, he caused two other of his brethren to be slaine, sonnes to D. Leonora of Guzman, D. John, and D. Pedro, hauing kept them long prisoners in the towne of Cal Guzman, and they say, that hee dispatched them, for that hee doubted they would become more faithfull nor obedient vnto him, then their other three brethren. D. John was scarce thirteene yeeres old, and D. Pedro but foureteene. The victorie which the Arragonois had gotten vnder the conduct of D. Henry Earle of Translamara, made the King of Castile more tractable in the negotiation of a peace, wherein Cardinal Guy of Bologne the Popes Legat laboured, who in the end drew the Deputies of these two Kings to meet in the city of Tudelo, in the realme of Nauarre, wherewith King Charles was very well satisfied.

Thether came for the King of Castile, Gutierrez Fernandes of Toledo, and for the King of Arragon, D. Bernard of Cabrera, chiefe counsellor of State, and Admiral of Arragon; who together with the Legat, did conferre, and dispute long of the meanes to make a peace, but they could not conclude any thing. And there being also assembled by the Legats care, in the towne of Sanguessa, D. John Alphonso of Majorca, Chancellor of the priuy seale for the King of Castile, and the same Admiral of Arragon for the King of Castile, they effected as little as at Tudelo. Wherevpon the King of Castile being aduertised that his brother D. Henry would enter into Castile, seeing they could not conclude a peace, he came to Leon, where hee would haue slaine D. Pedro Nugnes of Guzman, and some other Knights, which had left him, but they escaped: yet hee tooke Pero Aluarez Orosio in Villaniebla, as hee was at the table with Diego Garcia of Padilla, maister of Calatraua. Comming afterwards to Burgos, he caused Diego Arias Maldonado the Archdeacon to be slaine, for that hee had receiued letters from his brother D. Henry of Translamara.

D. Henry with the army of Arragon, entred by Rioja, and tooke great spoiles from the Iewes inhabiting there, but especially at Nagera: he also tooke the towne of Haro, and came as farre as Pancoruo, where he vnderstood that the King of Castile came to encounter him, and was at Birbiesca, so as D. Henry retired to Nagera. The King of Castile passing by Grisalena, Pancoruo, Ameiugo, and Maranda of Ebro, he came to Saint Dominike de la Calçada, and then to Acofra. Here a religious man of the towne of Saint Dominike presented himselfe vnto him, and told him, that Saint Dominike had reuealed vnto him, and enioyned him to tell him, that if hee did not take good heed of D. Henry his brother, hee should die by his hand. The King caused this religious man to be apprehended, and carefully examined, to finde out whether that which hee had said had bene suggested vnto him by some one, or that it were a reuelation. The Monke maintained that Saint Dominike had reuealed it vnto him, and persisted in this answer, being often examined: But the King did not regard it, and for a reward of his prediſtion (the which he found in the end to be true) he caused him to be burned. There were many skirmishes about Nagera, betwixt the Arragonois and Castilians, whereas the Castilians had the better, being still the more in number: but the King of Castile being not

Murthers  
committed by  
the King of  
Castile without  
respect of  
dower quality.

Prediction of  
a Monke to  
the King of  
Castile, who  
caused him to  
be burned for  
his reward.

come

A come with sufficient prouision to beseege townes, leauing Nagera, and Cont Henry, hee returned to Saint Dominike, and from thence past by Logroño. But the Legat, who alwaies treated a peace, procured a cessation of armes in those quarters, so as D. Henry returned into Arragon by Nauarre: The King also tooke the way to Seuille, where beeing arriued he found that they had taken at sea the General of the gallies which the King of Arragon had sent into Barbary, to aide the King of Tremessen: his name was Mathew Meriter, whose head hee caused to be cut off: there were foure gallies also taken with him. He also put to death there Men Rodrigues Tenorio, Fortun Sanches Calderon, Fernand Gudiel of Toledo: they were those Knights, which being retired into Portugal had bene deliuered to the King of Castile, in exchange, by the king of Portugal, as hath bin mentioned. He also put to death D. Pero Nugnes of Guzman, who could not auoide his owne misfortune, and soone after in the towne of Alfaro, he cut off the head of D. Gutierrez Fernandes of Toledo, for that hee spake his minde too freely in matters which did concerne the good of State, and for the zeale he had to his honour and seruice: he caused as much to be done to Gomes Carillo of Alborno, beeing in a galley. Thus this ill aduised King tooke a delight to shed the blood of his Nobility, neither did hee forbeare prelates, for if hee slue them not, he chased them out of his Realme with ignominy, and losse of their goods: but in the end his excesse procured the iust indignation of his subjects against him, which made him loose both Realme and life. Hauing as wee haue said, put to death D. Gutierrez Fernandes of Toledo, hee bent his fury against his brother D. Blasco Archbishop of Toledo, but hee durst not dip his hands in his blood, for that hee was of the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction: wherefore hee sent Mathew Fernandes Chancellor of his priuy seale to Toledo, to commaund him in his name to depart his country, and to retire into Portugal: the which this prelat was forced to doe in such hast, as hee had no leasure to take any of his stuffe, but went as hee was appareled, without companie, or any commoditie for his voiage. And the same daie that hee departed, the King came to Toledo, the which did much afflicke all those that had the gouernment of the towne.

Knights of Ca-  
stile executed.

The Archbishop came to Coimbra in Portugal, where soone after hee ended his daies in the Monastery of Saint Dominike, with an example of notable patience, from whence his body, by the Kings permission, was carried to Toledo, and there interred. Don Gomes Manrique was chosen Archbishop of Toledo in his place, and Primate of Spaine, being numbred for the three score and one Prelat, or according vnto some three score and two of that Church.

Samuel Luis a Iew, high Treasorer, was committed to prison in Toledo, by the Kings commandement, with all his kindred, who were carried to Seuille, where he caused them to be put to death, after they had bene cruelly tortured, to make them confesse where their goods were; of whose confiscation the King got about foure hundred and three score thousand doubions of gold, and foure thousand markes of siluer, besides many rich iewels and filkes. Beeing in that city in the yeere of our Lord 1361. the King had an intent for to make warre against the Moores, but hee deferred it for a time, beeing prest by that of Arragon: for about that time the treatie was effected, which had bene long before practised with Gonçal Gonzales Lusio, Gouernor of Tarassone, which place hee deliuered to the King of Arragon, and had the florins about mentioned in recompence: And moreover hee married with Violant daughter to Don Ximenes of Vreca, and to Donna Eluira Cornel, with the Lands of Biore, Face and Alsinios in dowrie. Don Pedro Ximenes of Sampero was put in garrison into Tarassone. The warre betwixt these Potentates after some small exploit, was in the end concluded by a peace, which the Cardinall above named did mediate at Deſa. By the which the Castilians which were retired into Arragon, had their Conge, and restitution of places was promised of either part, for the performance whereof hostages were deliuered to the King of Nauarre, or to his brother Lewis then viceroy in Nauarre.

A large spoile  
of a Iew com-  
demned.

An. 1361.

Tarassone  
yielded by  
practise.

This peace lasted not long; for the King of Castile beeing incensed that the Cardinall, by the Apostolike authoritie, had disannulled the sentences which hee had giuen

Bbb

against

against his brother D. Henry, and other Noblemen and Knights of Castile, hee brake it A  
soone after.

An. 1361.

Murder of  
Queene  
Blanche by the  
commande-  
ment of the  
King of Castile  
her husband.

And this yeere 1361. to the end he might not forget any thing that might proue himself  
inhumane about all men, he caused his wife D. Blanche of Bourbon to be slaine, being  
kept in prison at Medina Sidonia, but it was by poison, whose body was afterwards car-  
ried away by the French, who vpon this occasion entred into Castile, in fauour of the  
Earle D. Henry, and she was buried at Tudela in Nauarre. Soone after the death of this  
miserable Princeesse, Donna Maria of Padilla died at Seuille, by whom the King had one  
sonne, called D. Alphonso, and three daughters, D. Beatrice, D. Constance, and D. Isabel.  
The King did her royall honours, and afterwards declared that hee had married her, pro-  
ducing witnesses of great authority. They say that she by her wisdom and discreet per-  
suasions, did many times diuert the King from great effusions of blood. This King D.  
Pedro had by another Lady, called D. Isabel, two other sonnes, D. Sancho and D. Diego.  
And who are interred in the Monastery of Saint Dominike the Royall at Toledo. And  
mo:ouer being fallne in loue with a gentlewoman which did serue Queene Mary his  
mother, called Donna Theresa of Ayala, being exceeding faire, and not able to winne  
her but by a promise of marriage, hee plighted his faith vnto her, and had by her one  
daughter, called Donna Maria: notwithstanding this Donna Theresa became a Nunne,  
in the Monastery of Saint Dominike: thus did the King D. Pedro in all sorts abuse the  
lawes. The King of Castile (before he would assaile him of Arragon) had a great desire  
to fall vpon the Moores of Granado, who were then in great combustion amongst  
themselves, and who had fauored the Arragon partie, during the last warres.

Moores.

13. To shew their Estate, wee say that after the death of King D. Alphonso before Gi-  
braltar, they had peace with Castile, for that the King D. Pedro following his priuat pas-  
sions, and thirsting after the blood of his Nobility, yea and his owne, hee was continual-  
ly busie, killing and murdering men and women of all sorts and degrees throughout  
his Realme, not regarding the warre against the Moores, but made a truce with Ioseph  
King of Granado. This King had some time after receiued D. Iohn de la Cerde, sonne  
to D. Lewis, into Granado, being sonne in law to D. Alphonso Fernandes Cornel, and had  
giuen him meanes to passe into Affrike, where hee was an actor in the vnnaturall and  
bloody quarrels betwixt Albohacen King of Maroc, and his sonne Alboacen, raking the  
sonnes part against the father: where hee made prooue of his vertue and valour, gi-  
uing a notable defeat vnto King Albohacen, and hee had beene happie if hee had not  
gone from thence into Spaine, where hee ended his daies miserably. King Ioseph  
thinking to bee at peace within his Realme, found himselfe plunged in sedition and con-  
spiracies made against him by his owne subiects, whereof an vncke of his called Ma-  
homad, or Mahumet was the chiefe, who being desirous to raigne, caused him to be  
slaine, in the yeere of our Lord 1354. the one and twentieth of his reigne, and of the  
Arabians seuen hundred thirty and seuen.

### Mahomad Lagus the eight King of Granado.

This Mahomad or Mahumet, surnamed Lagus, which is as much to say, as the old, suc-  
ceeded, by this murder, in the Kingdom of Granado: he was brother to King Ismael,  
of whom wee haue made mention, and sonne to Ferrachen Gouvernor of Malaga, and  
held his Estate with great trouble and difficulty: for besides that the Arabians are by  
nature inconstant, and enemies to rest, it was then the custome in Granado, and hath  
alwaies beene, that the Kings haue beene instituted, maintained, or reiected at the will  
of the knights Granadins, and of some gouernors of chiefe places, as of Malaga, Almeria,  
Baza and Guadix, some times raising one, some times an other, and reiecting and killing  
them according to their passions and priuate interests.

This

A This King Mahomad already old, being in possession of the Realme of Granado,  
hee entertained the friendship of Don Pedro King of Castile, whom hee furnished  
with foure gallies well appointed, to ioyne vnto his army, when as he went in person be-  
fore Barcelona, as we haue said. But it happened, that in the yeere 1360. some Knights  
and captaines Moores, finding themselves ill intreated and little fauored by King Ma-  
homad the old, they had intelligence with an other Mahumet, called Vermeil, or Aben Al-  
hamar, who descended (as hee said) from the first Kings of Granado, and wrought so  
with the aide of the children of Ozmin, and especially with him who was called Ezdriz  
Aben Balua, as being seized vpon the fort and castle of Alhambra, they chased away Ma-  
humet the Old, and raised Vermeil in his place, so called for that his face was very red: and  
they did not onely dispossesse Lagus of the city of Granado, but of most of the strong  
places of the country, to the which they were the more imbouldned, seeing D. Pedro  
King of Castile very busie in the warres Arragon.

The King thus dispossessed retired to Ronda, then held by the King of Maroc, or Fez,  
and there kept himselfe for a time: so as at that time in the country of Granado, there  
reigned three Kings Moores: that is this King dispossessed, who held yet some places,  
King Mahumet Aben Alhamar, and Alboacen King of Fez, who also enioyed some townes  
in Andalusia. King Vermeil fearing that his aduersary Mahumet the Old, would finde  
aide in Castile, to be restored, and finding himselfe vnable to resist the King D. Pedro,  
he ioynd with Arragon, and sought friendship and support there, the which hee ob-  
tained: so as when the Arragonois prest their enemies in Castile, the king of the Moores  
ran into Andalusia, and the country of Murcia. Notwithstanding Mahumet the Vermeil  
sought afterwards to assure himselfe of the King of Castile, by some accord, from whom  
he obtained a truce, and they were friends in shew: but the King D. Pedro concealed his  
spience vntill a fit opportunity, as one that did neuer forget an injury. The Moore (being  
wel informed of his disposition) did not greatly trust him, and therefore hee sought to  
draw Alboacen King of Maroc into a league, whereof the Affrican King excused himself,  
for that hee was in league with the King of Castile, and much bound vnto him, neither  
could the King of Granados persuasions preuaile, that ioyning with him, and the King of  
Arragon, they might soone ruine the King of Castile: but nothing could alter the King  
of Maroc, but he continued firme in the friendship of Castile, from whence he had been  
aided with some gallies and soldiers in his conquests, and warre against his father: and  
withall he aduertised the King D. Pedro of all these practises, who for these considerati-  
ons was the more easily perswaded to make a peace with Arragon, to the end hee might  
punish him of Granado, against whom he beganne to raise an army in the yeere 1361.  
to which end he came to Seuille. King Mahumet Aben Alhamar seeing these preparati-  
ons, did also prouide for his part, but he was preuented by the King of Castile, who ha-  
ving sent for the dispossessed King, and drawne him to Seuille, made an accord with  
him, that whatsoeuer either of them should take in the Realme of Granado should re-  
maine to the taker: These two Princes, D. Pedro of Castile, and Mahumet the Old of Gra-  
nado came and besieged Antequera, but they could not take it: wherefore they began  
to ouerrunne the champion country of Granado, thinking that many of the horsemen  
Moores would come and ioyne with them, and take part with King Mahumet the Old,  
but it succeeded otherwise: for the army of Granado stood firme at the bridge of Vi-  
llosos, and came courageously to incounter the Castilians, yet with disadvantage  
and losse.

The Christians pursuing the victory came to the bridge of Pinos, with the same hope  
that the Granadins would reuolt, but they made no shew of it: wherefore the King D.  
Pedro returned with his army to Alcalá of Benasid. At this retreat the Moores of  
King Mahumet the Vermeil tooke courage, so as there parted from their campe about  
fix hundred horse and two thousand foot, who did ouerrunne the gouernment of Caçorla,  
sackt Peal of Hefero, tooke many prisoners, and brought away a great number of cattell  
but as they returned with this prey they were incountered about Linuega by Diego Gar-  
cia of Padilla, Maister of Calatrava, Don Henry Henriquez Gouvernor of the frontier, and  
Men Roderiques of Biedma, captaine of the Bishoprike or territory of Iaca, who put  
them

Bbb 2

The Moores  
defeated.

An. 1362.

Christians de-  
feated by the  
Moors.Rigour of the  
King D. Pedro.

them to rout, killing and taking many of them, the rest saved themselves in the rocks. A  
The yeere following 1362. the Christians, encouraged which this victory, entered the  
Moors country, and presented themselves before Guadix, where there were six hundred  
horse Moors, and about foure thousand foot, which King Vermeil had lodged there, be-  
ing aduertised of the Christians desaigne. These Moors kept themselves close, making  
no shew, nor offering to fall forth, so as the Christians, thinking the garrison to be weake,  
diuided their forces, leading a part of them towards the valley of Alhama: which the  
Moors discovering, they sallied forth vpon the remainder, and defeated them easily,  
where (among others) D. *Diego Garcia* of Padilla maister of Calatraua, was taken prisoner, B  
who being led to Granado, was not onely wel entertained by King *Mahumet Aben Alha-*  
*mar*, but also set at liberty without ransom, and presented with many rich gifts: the King  
desiring to make him his friend, and by his meanes to purchase some fauor with the King  
of Castile, and the Noblemen of his court; among the which D. *Diego Garcia* (as brother  
to Donna *Maria* of Padilla, and vncle to the children which the King D. *Pedro* had had)  
was in great credit and authority. Being returned into Castile, the King was glad of his li-  
berty, but he did not much esteeme the bounty of the Moorish King: for D. *Pedro* was  
cruell and implacable by nature, and reproched the maister, that by his indi-  
cretion he had bene the cause of the route of his men, and of his owne imprisonment.  
The King entered afterwards in person into the country of Granado, and tooke *Alnair*, C  
*Cisnair*, *Ambra*, *Benamexir* and *Zagra*, and then returned vnto Seuille: but King *Mahu-*  
*met* the Vermeil brought his army presently to *Zagra*, and assaulted it in such sort, as  
*Fernand* of Gadillo, captaine of the garrison, was forced to leave it: whereat the King  
D. *Pedro* was so moued, as (notwithstanding that he had defended it as much as he could  
and ought, according to the reasons of warre) he caused his head to be cut off: and to  
restrain the Moors, he returned instantly into their country, where he tooke *Hardeles*,  
*Turon*, *Cueuas* and other castles: King *Mahumet* the old being also in field. As this warre  
was long, and hard for the Granadins to maintaine, against so great a power as that of  
Castile: so it began to be troublesome to most of the knights Moors: so as in Granado,  
and in the court, there was nothing to be heard but murmuring, & words of discontent;  
wherevpon King Vermeil grew very doubtful of his subiects, who objected continually, D  
that for the quarrel of two men, the townes and forts of the realme were made a prey vn-  
to the Christians. King Vermeil being in this perplexity, and fearing lest they should re-  
cal his competitor *Mahumet* the old, and that he should be ignominiously chased away,  
or slaine, was aduised by his chiefe and most confident friends (especially by *Ezdriz Alen*  
*Balsa* who had greatly fauored him in getting the crowne) to quit Granado, and to retire  
himselfe to his enemy the king of Castile, thinking, that hauing shewed himself liberal &  
courteous vnto *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, he should also finde some fauor in the court, and  
(at all euents) that the King of Castile would be glad to be Iudge and arbitrator betwixt  
him and *Mahumet* the old; and that this assurance and confidence which he shewed, com-  
ming to yeeld himselfe vnto him, would auail him something. This was a foolish and E  
rash resolution of his, knowing what a monster in nature the King D. *Pedro* was, how  
greedy he was of reuenge, and how glad to shed blood. This ill-advised king came to pre-  
sent himselfe with foure hundred horse, and about twenty hundred foot, before Baena,  
where as D. *Gutierre Gomes* of Toledo Prior of Saint Iohn commanded, who wondering  
much at this vnexpected chance did accompany him vnto the court at Seuille, where as  
the king D. *Pedro* receiued him very graciously at his arriual, and heard the oration that  
was made vnto him in this kings behalfe quietly, tending that hee would be pleased to  
take knowledge of the affection which had moued him to come and yeeld himselfe vn-  
to him, grounded vpon the remembrance that his ancestors had bene vassals to the  
king of Castile, the which he would neuer haue contradicted, had not the fauor which F  
he had scene done vnto his aduersary *Mahumet Lagus*, or the old, driven him into di-  
strust: notwithstanding hauing in the end considered that hee should finde equity and  
iustice in the king D. *Pedro*, not willing to persuit (for his part) in any rebellion, he had re-  
solved to come and yeeld himselfe vnto him, and to referre vnto his good iudgement,  
the controuersies which were betwixt him and his aduersary, to the end that hee might  
determine

A determine them according vnto reason: That as for himselfe, being of the blond  
of the first Kings of Granado, whose royall seat the race of *Farrachem* had vsurped,  
he thought he had done nothing against the duty of a man of honour, to haue fought  
to recouer his Grand-fathers Kingdome, beseeching him to haue regard thereof: and if  
he should finde it good to depriue him of his crown (the which he could not beleue) hee  
besought him to giue him, and his, meanes to passe into Affrike, into the Moors coun-  
try. The King D. *Pedro* made shew to heare these reasons without any passion, and as-  
sured him that he would reconcile him with his competitor, causing his lodging to be  
made in the Iewes place of the city of Seuille; but being displeased with the practises  
which he had made to his prejudice, with the Kings of Arragon and Maroc, hee burnt B  
with a desire to be reuenged. Being afterwards aduertised that this King Vermeil had  
brought many iewels, and great store of gold from Granado, he was so farre transported  
with a desire to spoile him of this treasure, as without any further deliberation, he com-  
manded *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, his chamberlaine, to goe and take him prisoner,  
with all those that were with him, and to put them into the *Atarazana*, or Argenal: then  
seeking an occasion to dispatch him, he caused his processe to be made, for that he had  
bene an actor in the death of King *Ismael*, brother to King *Mahumet* the old, and con-  
demned him to die, with seuen and thirty other Knights, which were taken with him; ac-  
cording to which sentence he caused him to be drawne out of the *Atarazana*, and the C  
seuen and thirty knights with him, who were led to the field of *Tablada*, and there execu-  
red, in a great assembly and concourse of people from all parts. This miserable King  
*Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, being brought vpon an asse, clad in a roabe of scarlet, was the  
last which suffred: but hee had this consolation, that D. *Pedro* himselfe, was his executi-  
oner, who reproching him with the alliance he had had with the King of Arragon, thrust  
him through with a launce, at which blow *Mahumet* cried out in his owne language. *Ha*  
*Pedro, thou hast done a poore exploit, and purchased a shameful triumph this day*: afterwards  
he made an end of him, and cut off his head: This was the second yeere of the reigne of  
this Moore, and the 745. of the Arabians. King *Mahumet Lagus*, or the old, being assu-  
red by this death, returned to Granado, ioyful to be thus freed of his enemy, whose head D  
the King D. *Pedro* sent vnto him: The Granadins receiued him without contradiction, in  
the yeere 1362. And he to recompence the King of Castile for the goodly present hee  
had made him of his Competitors head, deliuered all the Knights and Castilians which  
had bene taken at the incounter of Guadix, without any ranfome. *Ezdriz Aben Balsa*  
chiefe counsellor to King *Mahumet Vermeil*, remained prisoner with the King of Ca-  
stile, with many others, whereof some were redeemed for money; others were exchanged  
for other prisoners in after times, and some died miserably in prison. The truce be-  
twixt Castile and Granado was renewed, and new homage sworne by *Mahumet* the Old to  
the King D. *Pedro*, paying the tribute which had bin paid to the kings his predecessors.  
These things thus ended, the king of Castile staid not long to begin war against Arrago.  
E 14 For the effecting whereof, with greater aduantage, he sought to ingage the king of  
Nauar in this war, being newly come out of France, into his owne realme, in 1361. much  
desired, and well receiued, as one that had bene long absent. He rewarded the Noble-  
men and knights, which had serued and succored him in his affaires of France, bountiful-  
ly, among the which the most remarkable were, D. *Roderigo* of Vrris who had for his good  
seruices, the government of the iurisdiccions of *Sanguessa*, *Olite* and *Tudelo*: The Baron  
of Garro was recompenced in another sort, being a wandering knight, and sought im-  
ployment in the warres, so as being loath to stay in Nauarre, hee returned into France.  
As all things had bene reisonable quiet in Nauarre vntill that time, there was an occa-  
sion offered to trouble all, by the comming of *Inigo Lopes* of Orozco, and *Arrias Gon-*  
*zales* of Valez, Ambassadors for D. *Pedro* king of Castile, who came in their maisters  
name, to congratulate king *Charles* his comming, to seeke his friendship, and a new  
league, and to procure an interview of these two kings. King *Charles* was glad  
of this Ambassage, and as hee had alwaies an intent to haue warre with the French  
King, vntill that hee had restored him the lands which hee pretended to bee his, hee did  
much esteeme the friendship of Castile, to make vse thereof at such a neede. Hee  
B b b 3 therefore

Crueltie, con-  
sciousness a  
irresistible of  
Pedro King of  
Castile.

Nauarre.

Charles King  
of Nauarre  
practised by  
him of Castile.



therefore promised the Ambassadors to come to Soria in Castile, and having first concluded with the Ambassadors a kind of peace, he went thither in the yeere 1362. having in his company his brother *Lewis*, Captal of Buche (a great Nobleman of Guienne) the Abbot of Fescain, and others, as well Nauarrois as French. The King of Castile came to the place assigned, and receiued him with great demonstrations of loue, where for the first act they confirmed the Articles of peace, conteyning an offensive and defensue league against all men. After some daies spent in feasts, sports and exercises of armes, the King of Castile hauing inuited the King of Nauarre to a great banquet, he told him, that he had some thing to say vnto him: wherevpon being retired into a gallery, the King of Castile vsed these words, in the presence of *D. Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, maister of Saint James, *Inigo Lopes* of Oroasco, *Martinianes* of Seuille, high treasurer, *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, great Chamberlaine, *Mathew Fernandes* Chancellor of the priuy seale, all of his priuy counsel, and of the chiefe Noblemen and Knights which had accompanied King *Charles*; Brother (sayd he) seeing we haue made an oth to aide one another against our enemies, I will let you vnderstand, that the peace I haue with the King of Arragon, was made against my will, and to the preiudice of mine honour: for *Aben Alhamar* King of Granado, being confederate with him, spoiled my country of Andalusie, which made me yeeld vnto a peace that I might punish this Moore: and now that I haue had my revenge, I am not bound to obserue this peace, vlesse the places which I yeelded vp bee restored me againe, and the charges of the warre, caused by the King of Arragon, paid: wherefore according to the promise which you haue made me, and sworne, I summon you to aide me with your forces, and person, in this warre. The King of Nauarre was much amazed at this speech, being thus surprized, and knew not what to answer: for he presumed the King of Castile had not had any enemies, when he sware this peace and league. In the end he seemed desirous to doe what the King of Castile would haue him, but he demaunded time to conferre priuately with his counsellors which attended him, Al were of opinion he should obay the King *D. Pedro*, else it would be dangerous, that being in his power he would doe him some affront, being rash, cruel, and without respect: besides, the country of Nauarre being then vnfurnished, and the forces of Castile round about them, it was to be feared, that if he seemed vnwilling to doe that which he required, with his detention, he would cause his men to ouerrunne his country, to the great preiudice both of himselfe, and the Nauarrois his subiects. He beleued them, and made answer to the King of Castile, that both himselfe and his meanes were at his commandment; provided, that he yeelded the like vnto him, if he received any discomfort by making himselfe an enemy to the King of Arragon, his brother in law. The alliance of Castile which he so much sought, to make vse thereof against the French, brought him into this error, that he made no difficulty to put himselfe into the hands of the most disloyall Prince liuing.

Castille.

In the peace made betwixt Castile and Arragon, there had beene propounded, that *D. Pedro* King of Castile, should marry *D. Jeanne* second daughter to the King of Arragon: for *D. Constance* the eldest had beene married to *D. Frederic* of Sicile; but the Ambassador of Castile by his maisters commandment, made a motion for the marriage betwixt *D. Alphonso* son to *D. Maria* of Padilla, and *D. Leonora* the yongest daughter of Arragon, the which was concluded vpon condition, that the king of Castile should cause his son *D. Alphonso* to be declared lawful heire of the Realmes of Castile, Leon &c. and that he should giue him presently the Siegneury of Molina, with the towns of Almazan and Medina Celi, whereof *D. Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, maister of St. James, and his high Steward, should be put in possession, and that the pretended marriage betwixt the king, and *D. Maria* of Padilla, should be proued by him to haue bin done after the decease of Queen *Blanche*; the King of Arragon promising for himselfe and his successors, that if after the decease of Don *Pedro* King of Castile, there should be any question made vnto *D. Alphonso* his sonne in law, touching the succession, he should aide and assist him with all the forces of Arragon. Don *Pedro* King of Castile, to haue this declaration made, and his sonne *Alphonso* acknowledged for lawful heire, had called the Estates to Seuille, and there the fact being propounded by him, it was receiued, & allowed, & future obedience sworn vnto

vnto the Infant, by the Estates, as heire after his father: consenting that Donna *Maria* of Padilla deceased, should be called Queene, and her daughters *D. Beatrix*, *D. Constance*, and Donna *Isabella*, Infants of Castile: but neither of the marriage, nor of any thing thereon depending, was there any accompt made, after the interview of the kings of Nauarre and Castile at Soria: but without all respect of accords, promises or oathes, as soon as these two kings were parted, he of Castile came with a great power into Arragon, and tooke *Arica*, *Ateca*, *Terrer*, *Moros*, *Cerina* and *Alhama*, and layed seege to *Calatajub*, the which he tooke, and put to route many knights which came to succour it: by reason whereof, Aranda with other townes and castles yeelded. Then hauing left Don *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, Maister of the knights of Saint James, vpon the frontier, he returned to Seuille.

Peace broken by the Castilian with Arragon

On the other part, the King of Nauarre, because hee would not faile of his promise made at Soria, sent to denounce warre against the king of Arragon, his brother-in-law, for that during his affaires and imprisonment in France, he would not succor him: whereunto the king of Arragon offering to satisfie him with good reasons, he would not heare any. Hauing therefore assembled his forces, he came to beseege the towne of *Sos*, and tooke it; then *Saluaterra*, running by the vallies of the Pyrenees, vnto the town of *Iacca*, where as the king of Arragon had placed *Peter* of Pomar for Gouvernor. The king Don *Charles* being returned into his countrie, he had soone after a supply of two thousand men at armes sent him out of Castile, which he disposed with his Nauarrois vpon the frontiers of Arragon, whereas they did spoyle, burne, and murder. In the meane time the Infant *D. Alphonso* of Castile, who should haue beene sonne-in-law to the king of Arragon, dyed. In the yeare 1363. the king of Castile doubting that the French would be reuenged for the death of Queene *Blanche* of Bourbon, whom he had caused to be poysoned, after that he had intreated her vnworthily many yeares, seeing also a peace made betwixt them and the English, he sent Ambassadors to *Edward* king of England, and to the Prince of Wales his sonne, to demand their alliance and friendship, the which they willingly granted.

Peter declared by the King of Nauarre against Arragon.

An. 1363.

The king of Arragon vnderstanding well that the warre which the king of Nauarre made against him, was forced, he fought by subtil meanes to diuide him from his alliance with Castile. And knowing that king *Charles* had alwaies beene in quarrell with the French king, for the Dutchie of Bourgogne and other lands, he sent Don *John Fernandes* of Heredia, in ambassage to King *John*, who being come into Auignon, and hauing had many conferences with the Lords of the French kings Councell, he preuailed so much as they were content to referre all controuersies to the arbitrement of the king of Arragon his Master, and to sixe Cardinals: for which cause the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, began from that time to haue secret intelligence one with another, to the preiudice of Castile. Notwithstanding the army of Castile returning into Arragon, the king of Nauarre sent his brother *Lewis*, with many Nauarrois and Gascons, among others Don *Martin Henriques* of Lacarra, Standard-bearer of the Realme, and Captal of Buch vnto them. Siege was layed to *Tarracone*, and the place taken, in the which was *Albert* a Knight of *S. John*. *Boria* was also taken, and *John Ximenes* of *S. Piren*, with other Knights which were within it: the castle of *Vaguena* was burnt, with the Captaine which defended it, called *Michel Barnabas*, whose sonne, carrying the same name, was for this cause made noble by the king of Arragon, with all his posteritie, by a decree made by the Body of the State. *Castellana* was also taken, where as Don *Pedro* King of Castile vsed horrible cruelties vpon the inhabitants; for those that he left aliue, were afflicted with torments more grieuous then death: of some he cut off the hands, of others the feete, and of some the noses and eares. *Magallon* and the Vicount of *Uille* which defended it, *Teruel*, castle *Habib*, *Ademus*, *Ville*, and the towne of *Segorue* were also made subiect to the king of Castile. Don *Pedro* *Maca* was taken in the castle of *Segorue*, and *Ximen Doriz* at *Xerica*. After which the King of Castile tooke *Mormedro*, *Almenara*, *Bugnot*, *Maca*, *Benaguazil*, *Alpuche*, with many other places and forts, euē to the gates of *Valence*; where as Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Earle of *Denia* commanded. There the king of Castile and Don *Lewis* camped, and had many skirmishes: but hearing that the king of Arragon, and Don *Henry* and Don

Tello

*Tello* brethren to the king of Castile, (being banished) came with three thousand horse, A to fight with them, they dislodged, and retired to *Moruedro*, refusing a battell, for that the army of Castile was much lessened, hauing left garrisons in as many places, as they had taken. *Don Gil Fernandes* of Caruallo, Master of Saint James of Portugal, was in that army.

15. The perillie of Don Pedro of Arragon against the earle of Trastamara

After this retreat the Abbot of *Fescan*, Legate for the Pope, laboured to make a peace betwixt these Princes, and obtained of the king of Castile, that *D. Lewis* of Nauarre should be employed, who went to conferre with the king of Arragon at *Burriana*, and brought *Don Alphonso* of Arragon, Earle of *Denia*, to the king of Castile, being at *Moruedro*: he was afterwards made Constable of Castile, and Marquis of *Vilena*: with him came *Don Bernard* of *Cabrera* with others, but all their indeauours were vaine. For the King of Castile would not heare speake of a peace, vnlesse the king of Arragon would promise to kill *Don Henry* Earle of *Transtamara*, and *Don Tello* his brethren, with *Don Fernand* of Arragon, the which he refused to do in the beginning, seeming to haue horror of so wicked an act, as to betray them which had fledde to him for protection, and had serued him: yet afterwards hee made no conscience thereof, seeing himselfe pressed, and his countrie so spoiled by the King of Castile, but agreed with the king of Nauarre to kill *Don Henry*, the which God would not permit; for he had appointed him for the Realme of Castile and Leon, and to be an exemplarie scourge for the tyrant *Don Pedro*, who promised to giue the towne of *Logroño* to *Charles* king of Nauarre, if he would assist him in this murder.

For the effecting hereof, the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon concluded an interview at *Sos*: King *Charles* pretending that he would quit the alliance of Castile. For assurance and guard of the towne, where these two kings should meete, there was chosen for Gouvernour, *Don John Ramires* of *Arcellan*, a knight of Nauarre, Chamberlaine to king *Charles*, who tooke for his Lieutenant his brother *Ramir* of *Arcellan*, with thirtie men at armes, thirtie Lances, twenty Crosse-bowes, and other souldiers. The kings entered into *Sos*, either of them with two men: whither *Don Henry* and *Don Tello* had bene sent for to come: *Don Henry* came accompanied with eight hundred horse; the which hauing left without the towne, he entred with two more as the kings had done. There entered also the Abbot of *Fescan*, but ignorant of what was intended against *Don Henry*. The kings hauing treated long of their affaires in shew, thinking it a fit time to dispatch *Don Henry*, they talked secretly with *Don John Ramires*, perswading him with great promises to execute this murder: but this knight who was noble and vertuous, would neuer yeeld vnto it, saying, that he had rather die an hundred times, then to blemish his good name with so execrable a crime.

The kings seeing that their hopes were vaine to make him the minister of their treason, they knew not what to do, but to dissemble their enterprise, and retire into their countreies, imposing silence to *D. John Ramires*; who merited immortall commendation for this generous act: besides, that God did greatly honour him afterwards, hauing directed him into Castile, at such time as *D. Henry* reigned, of whom he was beloued and cherished, and obtained from him the Segneurie of *los Cameros*. From him are descended the Earles of *Aguilar* of the family of *Arcellan*. This businesse ill attempted, and not able to be executed, was for that time dissembled. There had past many former treaties and accords betwixt this *D. Pedro* king of Arragon, and his brother *D. Fernand* Marquis of *Torosa*, to the preiudice of *D. Henry*, for that they found him desirous to raigne in Castile, of which Realme *D. Fernand* was the lawfull heire, if *D. Pedro* the cruell died without children begotten in lawfull matrimony: but the king of Arragon had neuer any intent to do good vnto his brother *D. Fernand*, nor to procure him any honour and advancement: but as he was a man full of disdainfull enuie, and without loue or respect of any that did him seruice: so he spared no man, and dissembled with all men for his present commodity.

*Don Henry* who knew him well, could also dissemble for his part, and stand vpon his guard: he could handle him so cunningly, as by the meanes and forces of Arragon, hee made himselfe a way to attaine vnto his desires.

A 16 Soone after there was a new and strict League made with him, whereupon *Don John Fernandes* of *Heredia*, and *Francis* of *Perillos*, Captaines to the king of Arragon, were sent with money into France to leuie men.

During these treaties and practises, there was no cessation of armes, at what time it fell out, that the king tooke foure gallies of Castile, their king being at *Moruedro*, from whence he parted to come into Castile, at which time there was a sonne borne him at *Almagar*, of a Lady called *Donna Izabella*, which sonne he named *Don Sancho*: soone after returning to the warre, more enraged then euer against the king of Arragon, he marched into the countrie of *Valence*, hauing alwaies in his company *Mahomad* the Moore, king of *Granado*; he tooke *Alicant*, *Xixona*, *Gandie*, *Oliue*, and other places, but hee was in danger to haue bene suddenly surprized, and defeated in his retreat by *Don Henry* Earle of *Transtamara*, had he not bene aduertised by one of *Castro* of *Ordiales*. Hauing escaped this danger, this religious king went in pilgrimage in his shirt, with a halter about his necke to a place called our *Ladie of Puch*.

The king of Castile entred many times into Arragon and *Valence*: neither could the king of Arragon hinder him from forcing of many places, the which he left manned with good garrisons of Castilians; and at sea he had not alwaies the worst, although the Arragonois were the more expert mariners: from whome the Castilians tooke in the yeare 1364. siue gallies, which were carried to *Carthage*, and the captaines, mariners, and souldiers (for the most part) put to death by the kings commandement.

C 17 The king of Arragon being desirous to be freed from this war, sought all meanes by the king of Nauarre, to draw the king of Castile to some good accord, but it was labour lost: wherefore the kings of Nauar and Arragon resolved to make a league betwixt them; for confirmation whereof, they concluded a marriage betwixt the Infant *Donna Jeanne* sister to king *Charles*, and *Don John* Duke of *Girone*, the heire of Arragon, being then foureteene yeares old. And moreouer, the king of Arragon bound himselfe to giue lands and reuenues to *Don Lewis* brother to king *Charles*, and to provide him a wife, and to giue fifty thousand florens to vngage certaine townes, which king *Charles* had pawned to *Gaston Phebus* Earle of *Foix* his brother-in law, and to intertaine him a certaine number of men against any enemy whatsoever: namely, sixe hundred horse-men of the country of *Nauarre*, if it were against Castile; but if it were against France, then to entertaine him a thousand, and to ayde him at need with all his forces both by sea and land: and moreover he quit vnto him for euer, and to remaine to the Crowne of *Nauarre*, *Saluatierra*, and the place called the *Terme of Real*. For assurance of these things which were very honorable for the king of *Nauarre*, he of Arragon promised to lay in *deposito* the towne of *Iacca*, *Vncastilla*, *Sos*, *Exea*, and *Thermael*, which should be committed to the fidelitie of *Rymond Allemand* of *Ceruillon*, a knight of Arragon, who for this effect should be discharged of his oath of homage and vassallage, which he ought vnto the king of Arragon; and should sweare fealty to him of *Nauarre*, to deliuer him the places put into his hands, if the aboue-mentioned accord should be broken by the king of Arragon. The king of *Nauarre* promised for his part to quit the alliance of the king of Castile, and to make warre against him and his children: and for his part he layed in pawne the towne and castle of *Sanguessa*, *Gallipienço*, *Vxué*, *Aybar*, *Cafeda*, *Pitellas* and *Penna*, and moreouer the person of *Arnand* Lord of *Lufe*, his Chamberlaine, who was much fauoured by him: which articles were sworne at *Vncastillo*, in the presence of the Earles of *Transtamara*, *Ribagorça*, and others, whome the Kings commanded to keepe this league secret. It was not sufficient for these two Kings to fortifie themselves against the attempts of the king of Castile, for their safeties and defence, but they would also diuide the Beares skin before they had taken him, sharing the Realme of Castile in such sort, as the king of *Nauarre* should haue the cittie of *Burgos*, with all old Castile, all the country of the mountaines of *Oca* vnto the limits of *Nauarre*, and the Ocean sea: comprehending therein the Prouinces of *Guipuscoa*, *Alan*, and *Biscay*, and moreover the townes of *Soria* and *Agreda*: And for the king of Arragon were assigned the Realms of *Toledo* and *Murcia*. They did also conspire the death of *Don Pedro* king of Castile: the king of Arragon offering to him of *Nauarre* 200000. florens, and the proprietie of the townes and castles of *Sos*, *Vncastel*, *Exea* and

Division of the Realme of Castile before they had conquered it.

and Tiermas, if he slue him, or deliuered him prisoner vnto him, and without it hee offered him presently the citie of Iacca, with the territorie and vallies. The better to dissemble these practises, they ordained that Don *Lewis* the king of Nauarres brother, should make a roade into Arragon, but he should suffer himselfe to bee taken prisoner by Don *Alphonso* Earle of Ribagorça; the which was done: but *Lewis* of Nauarre was soone deliuered, and the king of Nauarre did so dissemble his intentions, as the king of Castile could not discouer any thing.

This last desseigne was thus plotted betwixt the two kings without the priuie of any man, in regard of Don *Henry* Earle of Translamara, with whom the king of Arragon had other practises. For Don *Henry* affecting openly the Realme of Castile, vpon hope of the fauours which he attended from France, promised vnto the king of Arragon, that if he assisted him, he would giue him to hold in Soueraignie, the sixth part of the lands hee should conquer by his ayde in Castile, whereunto the king of Arragon gaue earc, being alwaies vniust vnto his brother Don *Fernand*, Marquis of Tortosa, to whom the Realme of Castile did belong by right, if Don *Pedro* the cruell died without lawfull heires. These bargaines were not so secret, but the Infant Don *Fernand* had some notice thereof, for the which he was so transported, and made such a stirre, as the king of Arragon, and the Earle of Translamara resolved to dispatch him, of which councill was Don *Bernard* of Cabrera, the which was soone after executed: for the Infant Don *Fernand* seeing that himselfe was no more secured in Arragon then in Castile, and therefore desiring to retire himselfe into France, the King of Arragon his brother found meanes to stay him, and to kill him in the castle of Buriane, in the territorie of Valence.

Death of Don  
Fernand of Ar  
ragon.

An. 1363.

In the yere 1363. *John* the French king died, being returned into England, for to deliuer the hostages which he had giuen, not being able to enduce the States of the kingdom to accomplish the capitulations with the English. *Charles* King of Nauarre hearing these newes, hee made preparation to passe into France; to which Realme *Charles* the fit his brother in-law had succeeded, but this warre of Arragon had so intangled him, as hee could not: so as his affaires prospered not well on this side the Pyreneé mountaines.

An. 1364.  
King of Nauar  
open enemy to  
the king of Cas  
tile.

In the yere 1364. the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, renewed their league, but with some alteration, the King of Nauarre hauing already discovered himselfe an enemy to the king of Castile. To this end they met at Sos, where they agreed to continue this warre against Castile, and that it should not be lawfull for the one to make any peace or truce without the consent of the other. That the king of Nauarre should make no accord with the French king, but he of Arragon should be comprehended. They gaue hostages one vnto another for assurance of their conuentions. The king of Arragon gaue his sonne D. *Martin*, and he of Nauarre a son of D. *Lewis* his brother, and the children of Don *John* *Ramires* of Arcellan, of Don *Martin* *Henriques*, of the Lord of Grammont, of Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, *Fernand* *Gil* of Asian, *Martin* *Mayrines* of Oriz, and of *Michel* *Sanchez* of Vrlua. These articles were sworne by the chiefe knights and townes of either part: and for that the summes of mony promised to the king of Nauarre, at the capitulation of Vncastello, were much augmented, it was sayd, that the K. of Arragon should deliuer him 50000. florens presently in Sos, and for the rest he should haue deliuered him in pawne the citie of Iacca, Sos, Vncastello, Tiermas, and Exea. Another priuat accord was made betwixt the king Don *Charles*, and Don *Henry* of Translamara, in whose hands the hostages should remaine. The king of Nauarre promised to enter in person into Castile, and there to make warre, and to be assured of Don *Henry*, hee would haue in hostage for his part, his daughter Donna *Leonora*, who was afterwards Queene of Nauarre, and a base sonne of his called Don *Alphonso* *Henriques*. The Earle promised, that if at any time he should get the realme of Castile, he would suffer the King of Nauarre to enjoy the lands of the ancient patrimonie of Nauarre, vsurped by the Kings of Castile, with diuers others.

Arragon.

These treaties betwixt the king of Nauarre, and Don *Henry* Earle of Translamara, were secret and vnkowne to the king of Arragon, who gouerned himselfe for the most part, by the aduice of Don *Bernard* of Cabrera, a wise Knight, and of great experience, by whom he was often perswaded from that which the other would haue him yeld vnto: for the

A the which he was hated by the king of Nauarre, and Don *Henry*: besides, being a priuie Councillor, and of greatest authoritie, he was enuied by the other Noblemen of Arragon, who were lesse fauoured: wherefore these Princes being againe assembled at Almu-dear, the king of Nauarre, and the Earles of Translamara and Ribagorça, conspired to deprive the King of Arragon of this Councillor, and wrought so, as they brought him into disgrace with the king. Don *Bernard*, being aduertised that they meant to apprehend him, sought to retire himselfe, and flying came into Nauarre to Carcastillo, the inhabitants whereof, seeing that he was pursued by *Garcii* *Lopes* of Sese, shut their rowne gates: but being summoned by *Garcii* *Lopes* in the name of the two kings, to deliuer Don *Bernard*, they stayed him, attending the kings commandement, who willed them to deliuer him vnto *Garcii* *Lopes*, who conuayed him to Murillo, where he remayned some time in hope to be deliuered: by which he was so hated by the king of Nauarre, and Earle of Translamara, as they neuer ceased by importune accusations, vntill they had put him to death.

Don Bernard of  
Cabrera in dis-  
grace with his  
King.

This *Bernard* of Cabrera had before the yere 1346. being forced to come to Court, and to employ himselfe in great affaires of State, wherein he was very iudicious, when as (wearie of the world) he had resolved to become a Monke. The king had cherished and advanced him, and received many good counsels, and profitable seruices from him, as well in the ciuill wars within his owne Realme, as in that of Sardinia and Castile. But as Courtiers, the more they seeke the greatnesse and honour of their Prince, and are by them the more honoured and beloued, are the more subiect to enuie; so fared it with him; for hauing bene faithfull to the king his master, he purchased the hatred of all the Princes and Noble-men of the Realme: so as when he was taken by the practises of the king of Nauarre and Earle of Translamara, there was not any one that did fauour him: but as it were by a common conspiracie, his processe was made, and the Infant Don *John* Prince of Girone, whome he had bred vp, made his Iudge, where sitting in Iustice, and hauing for assistant *Dominicke* of Cerdagne, chiefe Iustice of Arragon, (who by his charge and office should defend the oppressed) pronounced sentence of death against this poore decrepite old man.

D They write, that his sentence being read by Don *Berenger* *Apilia*, and *James* *Monelia* Vice-chancellor, he complained greatly, that he should be condemned without hearing, or in a manner any forme of processe: but *Apilia* answered him, that he ought not to hold it strange, seeing that by his owne Councill, that custome had bene brought into Arragon: and that he should remember the processe which was too summarily made against *John* *Ximenes* of Vrtrea, and *Raymond* *Marquet*, accused to haue slaine *Raymond* of S. Vincent; who, by the kings commandement, and in a manner without any forme of processe, had bene put to death. He was led vnto the market place of Saragossa, and there beheaded, and his head was carried vnto the king, being at Barcelona. Such rewards many times haue the most faithfull Councillors, of their ill aduised Princes. Thus miserably dyed one of the greatest personages in nobility, iudgement, and vertue, which had bene of long time in Arragon, who without the king his master had executed great matters, and the king without him did neuer any thing of worth. All his goods were confiscate to the king, whereby he purchased great dishonor, and rightly, both for his death, and for that of his brother Don *Fernand*. *Bernardin* of Cabrera, son to *Bernard*, had married *Marguerite* of Foix, daughter to the Vicount of Castelbon, by *Constance* of Luna, sister to D. *Lope*, a Lady of the bloud royall of Arragon: for she was daughter to *Artal* of Luna, and to D. *Constance* *Perez*, who was daughter to Don *James* *Perez*, base sonne to the king Don *Pedro* the third. At that time the Prince Don *John* did not much exceed fourteen years, yet he was employed in great affaires within the Realme, as well for warre as iustice, with a dispensation for his age, being assisted by Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, (who hauing renounced the world in his old age, had taken vpon him the habit of Saint Francis) and moreover, by Don *Pedro* of Vrgel, sonne to the Infant D. *James* the Kings brother, and by the Vicount of Cardona for the warre: and for iustice and other affaires of the Realme, he had for his Councillors *Berenger* *Apilia*, *Bernard* *Sous*, *William* *Guymerand*, and *Thomas* *Marzan* of Cattelogne.

Bernard be-  
headed.

During

Reuenues of  
Churches &c.  
without the  
Popes leaue.

During this last warre betwixt Castile and Arragon, D. Pedro king of Arragon, prest by A necessity, took the reuenues of many benefices, without demanding leaue from the Pope, and the more inconsiderately, say they, for that Urban then reigning, had neuer refused him any thing: wherefore he was in great danger to be excommunicated, and deiection from the rights of his Realmes, especially from that of Sardinia, which hee held in fee of the Church: the foueraignty whereof many of the Cardinals were aduise to giue to the Iudge of Arborea. The king for this cause sent his vnkle D. Pedro, sometimes Earle of Ribagorça, and then a Friar, and Gaspar Tregure, Doctor of the lawes, vnto the Pope: who declared in open Consistorie, *That in like necessities and miseries, as the Realm of Arragon was then in, it had bin lawfull for kings, not only to use the temporall reuenues, but also to lay hands upon the reliicks, and holy vessel of the Churches: adding, that the Ecclesiasticall Estate was no lesse bound to the preservation of the common-weale, then other Estates: and that kings might freely use their meanes in such extremities, so as he promised to make them restitution in a conuenient time.* Whereupon the Pope considering of the cause, did not pronounce any sentence. The Iudge of Arborea, hauing either practised the fauour of the Consistorie, or else moued with a desire to raigne, attempted thereupon to make sharpe warre against the Arragonois in Sardinia, a turbulent Iland, which continually bred new matter of charge and losse to the kings of Arragon, who had a little before ended all quarels with the Genouois, and by the meanes of John Marquis of Montferrat his allye: but to leaue a marke of punishment for the Rebels of Sardinia, he had suppress the name of *Cal-luri*, the which was wont to be one of the members thereof, with the title of a Iudge, ord- C dayning that from thence-foorth that country should bee confused, betwixt the Cap of Caillieri and of Lugudori.

Nauarre.

Princes in con-  
tinuall distrust

To returne vnto the promises and capitulations made betwixt the two kings of Nauar and Arragon, there was no due execution thereof, neither were the hostages, which had beene promised, deliuered: for it is no ordinarie thing in such treaties, to haue deedes fol- low words, these Princes being in continuall iealousie and distrust one of another: where- fore the King of Nauar, receiuing no mony from the king of Arragon, he did not furnish him with men to oppose against the army of Castile, which was entred into the terri- tories of Valence, beginning withall to thinke of many desseins, nothing fauourable for the king of Arragon. If the king of Nauar, hauing deceiued the king of Castile, sought to do the like vnto him of Arragon; the king of Arragon for his part did no lesse vnto the king of Nauarre: for he had sent his ambassadours into France, who treated a league at Tho- lousa, with the Deputies of Charles the fifth the French king, and with Lewis D. of Anjou his brother, by the which the French promised to ayde the king of Arragon to conquer the realme of Nauar, and to spoile K. Charles, and hauing conquered it, they bound them- selves to furnish him alwaies with 500. lances, against any one that should seek to dispos- sesse him. The K. of Arragon promised also for his part to ayde the French to conquer Guienna, and to expell the English. These accords were made in the yeare 1364, Charles the fifth the French king, and Charles 2. king of Nauar being enemies. But as they were Frenchmen, and brothers-in-law, they were reconciled afterwards, & concluded a peace: so as the king of Arragon lost his paines, and the allyance which he had sought in France, serued him to no vse, yet the war continued that yeare betwixt the French, and the parti- ans of the K. of Nauar in France: but in the yeare 1365, Queen Jeanne wife to the king of Nauar, made hast to come to the French Court, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings; wherof the one was her husband, and the other her brother: for the K. of Arragon did im- portune the French king, to effect the league concluded the yeare before at Tholousa, es- pecially for the conquest of Nauar; for which reason he had sent new ambassadours vnto him that yeare. The K. of Nauar being aduertised of all these things, prest the Queene his wife to go this iourney, notwithstanding that she was with child. Her voyage for that time did produce nothing but a good truce, but afterward there was a peace made by the great care of the two Queens, Jeanne wife to the K. of Nauar, and Blanche his sister, & by the dex- teritie, iudgement, and wisdom of Captal of Buch, then prisoner to the French, for the factions of Nauar. The Q. of Nauar being at Eureux in the yeare 1366, she was deliuered of a son called Peter, he had the title of Earle of Mortaing: after her vp-rising she returned into

An. 1366.

A into Nauarre, carrying her eldest son Charles who was but foure yeares old with her, and that which was newly borne.

These kings of Nauar and Arragon, being thus busied, and irresolute in their desseines, durst not invade one another, and in the meane time he of Castile pursued the war, with all violence in the country of Valence, and took Orihuela, where there was slaine D. Alphonso Perez of Guzman Lord of S. Lucar, son to D. John Alphonso of Guzman, and grand-child to D. Alphonso Perez of Guzman the good. To him succeeded his brother D. John Alphonso of Guzman. The Arragonois also for their part tooke Moruedro, for want of vi- ctuals, D. Gomes of Porras Prior of S. John the Gouvernor, yeelded it, vpon condition, that he and his should be safely sent into Castile: yet the Earle D. Henry who was at this sege, prevailed so by his honest perswasions and promises, as the Prior was content to stay with him, who by that means retained about 600. men, laying before them the fury of D. Pedro K. of Castile, who excused nothing, and punished as well those which had behaued them- selves valiantly in the yeelding of such places, as those which had shewed themselves base and cowards. These were the last exploits of war betwixt Arragon and Castile.

At that time there was brought into Spain the body of the Cardinal of S. Clement some- times Archb. of Toledo, & Legat à latere in Italy, who died at Viterbo, hauing gouerned the affairs of the Romane sea, to the great content of Pope Urban the 5. who did wonder- fully grieve for him, and made all the shewes of mourning which Popes are accustomed to do at the death of their faithfull friends. This Prelate during his legation, prepared the C Popes access into the city of Rome, and was the means to bring the papall seate thither againe: for hee suppress many tyrants in Italy, and brought them to the obedience of the Roman sea, so as Gregory the 11. successor to Urban, came to Rome in the yeare 1366. This Cardinal had ordained by his testament, that his body should be buried in the city of To- ledo, if it might be suffered by the K. D. Pedro then reigning, or his successor, the which was executed, and his bones which lay in the towne of Assisi, in the monastery of S. Francis, were carried by land to Toledo, many offering to carry the Beere wheron this dead carcas lay, in hope to get pardon of their sins, for that the Pope had granted vnto them, that shold employ themselves in this seruice, the like indulgences as are giuen vnto them that do visit the churches of S. Peter and S. Paul, at Rome in the yeare of Iubile.

The time approched when as the King Don Pedro should be punished for his excesse and serue as a witnes to the world, that the feare of subiects, gotten by the cruelty of Prin- ces, is a bad gard for their maiesty, and a weak assurance of their Crowns. The death of Q. Blanche of Bourbon, whom the king D. Pedro had poisoned, after that he had intreated her along time most barbarously, mimistred the occasion of his ruine: for being for this cause odious to all the French, D. Henry, Earle of Transamara, (who was vigilant to embrace all things that might serue him to reuenge the death of his mother and brethren, & of so many iniuries which hee had receiued of this wretched king) found fauour and helpe in France. And it fell out very fitly, that the wars being ended in France, as well against the English, and King of Nauarre, as betwixt the Earles of Montfort and Blois, contending E for the succession of Britannie: this Realme was then wonderfully ouer-charged with idle souldiers, which kept the fields, and committed many spoyles and insolencies, being gathered together in such great numbers, French, English, Brittons, Flemmings, and of other nations intermingled, as they were fearefull to Princes, yea and to the Pope himselfe residing in Auignon: so as they demanded but an occasion of some long voy- age, to conquer and subdue Countries, or to be there defeated, being impossible with- out great danger and disorder, to be otherwise ridde of them.

Vpon these continuall complaints of the impieties and cruelties which Don Pedro King of Castile committed daily, being already pronounced by the Popes Legate, and confirmed by him, an vtter enemy to God and men: and at the instance and pour- suite of the king of Arragon, and of Henry Earle of Transamara, Bastard of Castile, who (as some write) were come to this effect in person, to Auignon; the French King, Pope Urban, and other Princes, thought good to haue these people dealt withall, (whome they commonly called Malandrins) to go and make warre in Spaine against Don Pedro furnished the Cruell: and Bertrand of Guesclin, a valiant and hardy Knight of C cc Britannie,

Malandrins.

18.

Returne of the  
Popes Court to  
Rome.

19.

Expedition of  
D. Henry of  
Castile against  
his brother D.  
Pedro, and his  
victorie.

Brittany, (who was then a prisoner of war; for the factions of *Montfort* and *Blois*) was chosen to lead them, who for this cause was put to ranfome, and deliuered. *Bertrand* wrought so, as these companions were willing to follow him: whereupon some of their Captaines came to Barcelona, did capitulate, receiued mony, and promised to serue *Don Henry*, wherof *Bernard Bastard* of Bearn, sonne to *Gaston Phebus* Earle of Foix, was one of the chiefe: which *D. Pedro* King of Castile vnderstanding, he retired his troups, and came to Burgos, where he called a generall assembly; whither came the Lord of *Albret*, a knight of *Gasconie* well accompanied, who assured him for a certaine number of ducats, to draw away a good part of those soldiers which *D. Henry* and the king of Arragon had entertayned, and wrought so, as they should abandon them, and come to serue him: but it grieved the king to spend his treasure, which notwithstanding was very great: wherfore reiecting the Lord of *Albrets* good counsell, he sought other prouisions, which serued him to smale purpose. These men past into Spaine, being esteemed to be 10000. horse, and an infinite number of foot, besides those souldiers which the Earle and the king of Arragon had: to whom were ioyned many great personages, both French and others, among the which the French Historie names *John* of Bourbon Earle of March, cousin to the deceased queen *Blanche* of Castile, *Anthony* Lord of Beauieu, *Arnold* of Andreghen Marshall of France, *Regne* of Villenes, *Eustace* of Aubercourt, *Hugh Caurelee*, *Gualter Huet*, *Mathew* of Gournay, and *Pedro* of *Albret*, who with many other famous men, made this voyage: *Bertrand* of Guesclin being chiefe leader of them all, by reason of his valour and great experience. The King of Arragon with these succors did presently recover all that the king of Castile had taken from him, the Castilians hauing abandoned their garrisons. The bodie of the army which *D. Henry* should lead, was made at *Sarragossa*, from whence they marched directly to *Calaorra*, and entred without resistance, in the month of March, this yere 1366; *D. Henry* being receiued by *D. Fernand* bishop of that place, and by *D. Fernand Sanchez* of *Tobar*, vpon condition they should be intreated as friends: for the towne was not strong. There he was solicited by *D. Alphonso* of Arragon Earle of Denia and Ribagorça, and by the Arragonois, to take vpon him the title of King of Castile and Leon, which at the first he did refuse: but being prest and importuned, in the end he yielded, so as from that time he had more need of a bridle to restraine him, then a spur. Being thus proclaimed king, and hauing aduanced his royall Standard, the Knights which were there present, began to demand gifts & recompences in the countrie which they had not yet conquered, but were in good hope, to whome hee gaue contentment with many promises. Passing on, they tried *Logroño*, which place they found strong, and well manned: wherfore not to lose time, they marched on, and hauing seized vpon *Nauarret* and *Birbiesca*, they came to Burgos, whereas the king *D. Pedro* was, who made all the hast hee could to dislodge. The inhabitants seeing him parting, besought him not to abandon them, offering him all the mony that was in the towne, and their persons with great fidelity; but this king being terrified, there was no meanes to stay him: and in truth we seldome see valour and crueltie lodge together: wherfore the inhabitants of Burgos protested to prouide for the safety & preservation of the city the best they could: so as he was forced to quit them of the oath and homage they ought him, and presently tooke his way to Toledo, where hauing left a good garrison, he went to Seuille. The inhabitants of Burgos seeing themselves abandoned by their Prince, opened the gates to *Don Henry*, whom, in the capitulation they made, they called Earle, promising to title him king, when he should be entred into the city.

*Don Henry* parting from *Birbiesca*, some eight leagues distant from Burgos, hee made his entrie into the city, to the great contentment of many, who hated the violent disposition of the king *D. Pedro*: where he caused himselfe to be crowned king of Castile and Leon, in the royall Monasterie of *Huelgas*, this yere 1366; and within five and twentie dayes after his coronation, almost all the townes of Castile and Leon put themselves vnder his obedience and protection: saying, that according to the example and ancient custome of the Gods, they might retire themselves from a tyrant king, and chuse another: without hauing any regard vnto the succession, nor his family whom they should leaue. Then began *D. Henry* to distribute townes, castles, offices and dignities, vnto the Noblemen

Ma' and in  
passe into  
Spaine.

D. Henry took  
the title of K.  
of Castile.

*A* blemen and Knights which had followed him. He gaue to *D. Alphonso* Earle of Denia and Ribagorça, the Marquisate of Villena, the patrimonie of *D. Ieanne Manuel* his wife: to *Bertrand* of Guesclin the Lordship of Molina; *D. Tello* brother to the new king, was maintained in the Segneurie of *Bilcay*, the inheritance of his deceased wife *D. Ieanne* of Lara, and moreover he gaue him *Aquilar del Campo*, and to his other brother *D. Sancho*, the townes of *Haro*, *Briones*, *Villorado*, *Cerezo* in *Rioja*, and the towne of *Ledesma*. To other knights hee gaue gifts, and confirmed and augmented the auncient priuiledges of townes which yielded willingly vnto him. Thinking himselfe now to be in sure possession, he caused his wife *D. Ieanne*, his son *D. John*, and *D. Leonora* his daughter, to come out of Arragon into Castile: and hauing disposed of the affaires of Burgos, of Castile the old, and of Leon, he went to Toledo, where he found some opposition, yet in the end he was receiued and saluted as king: and after the example of this stately citie, many other townes of that Realme yielded vnto him. The King *D. Pedro* seeing himselfe abandoned, put a great quantitie of money, and other treasure into a gally, and retired into Portugal: but fearing his cousin *D. Fernand*, Infant of that Realme, who loued him not, he past in great doubt vnto *S. James* in *Gallicia*, where he caused *D. Suero* of Toledo Archb. of that place, and *D. Pedro Alvarez* of Toledo, Deane of the same church, to be slaine, and adding sacrilege to this murder, he spoiled their houses, and caried away their goods, which was the chiefe cause why he flue them. Being doubtfull what to do, he resolved in the end to go by sea to Bayonne in France: wherfore parting from the Groine with 22. ships and one gally, carrying with him his three daughters, *Beatrice*, *Constance*, and *Isabel*, hee came to *S. Sebastians* in *Guipuscoa*, where he had some thousands of double ducats, and other riches, the which he took with him, and set saile towards Bayonne. A gally which followed him, in which was *Martin Ianes* his Treasurer, with much mony, & other precious things was stayed by the Inhabitants of Seuille, which citie being greatly affected vnto *D. Henry*, put themselves vnder his obedience, soone after the kings departure; and the citie of *Cordoua* did the like. So hatefull was the king *D. Pedro*, and so pleasing was the mild disposition of *Don Henry*, as in a short time hee found himselfe King of a great and mightie Kingdome, almost without striking stroke, the people struiuing who should bee first receiued.

*Don Henry* being at Seuille, he confirmed the peace with the Kings of Portugall and Granada: but he was deceiued in this prosperitie, being too confident of his new subjects, so as although he knew well that his enemy was retired to the English, with great store of treasure, and that he might well coniecture, that he would draw succors from thence, to trouble him in the possession of this Realme newly conquered, yet he dismissed his strangers well satisfied which were all his force, and retayned onely *Bertrand* of Guesclin, and *Bernard* bastard of Foix with some 1500. horse French and English. The countie of *Gallicia* opposed it selfe most against *D. Henry*: that being pacified and subdued, he assembled the Estates at Burgos, the which (besides that they did sweare fidelitie vnto his son *D. John* as heire vnto the Crowne) did grant vnto him the tenth peny of all the merchandize they should sell within the Realme, and so much the more willingly, when as they vnderstood that the king *D. Pedro* prepared to returne into Spaine with a great power of English. *D. Henry* to gratifie the citie of Burgos, gaue vnto it in that assembly, the towne of *Miranda* of *Ebro*, the which did belong to the Church of Burgos, it did also serue to recompence the towne of *Birbiesca*, belonging to the citie, which he had giuen to *D. Pedro Fernandes* of *Velasco* his great Chamberlaine. To the Church of Burgos in recompence of *Miranda*, he gaue a pension of fixtie thousand maraudis, vpon the tenths due from the sea, to bee employed in the ordinary distributions for the seruice which is done there day and night.

*Don Dominicke* was then Bishop of Burgos, the eight and twentieth Pastor in number, who obtayned this Bishoppricke after a manner worthie to be related: for the Chapter being diuided and at controuersie about the election of a new Bishoppe, after the death of *Don Fernand* the third, who had newly left and abandoned that seate, and not able to agree and determine vpon two chiefe persons propounded in that assembly,

Beautie of D.  
H. myt be new  
King.

Flight of the  
king D. Pedro  
out of Spaine.



they concluded to referre the nomination to *Dominick*, then Chanoine of that Church, beeing held a man of a good and holy life. This good Chanoine hauing accepted the nomination, bethought himselfe of a meanes to displease neither party: saying merily vnto them, that if it were their pleasures hee should name a Bishop, hee was of opinion, that himselfe should be the man, the which he deliuered with so good a grace, as the Chapter could not take it ill: wherefore *Dominick* the Chanoine became presently Bishop, hauing neuer before once dreamed to aspire to that dignitie: and his election was soon after confirmed by the Pope. This Bishop was a good seruant to *D. Henry*. At that time *D. Tello* brother to *Don Henry* married a Gentle-woman which was called *Donna Ieanne* of *Lara*, as his first wife, who was Lady of *Biscay*: by reason whereof many did beleue it was the same that was daughter to *Don John Inignes* of *Lara*, who (they say) had beene slain by the King *Don Pedro*: and this perswasion continued among the people of *Biscay* some time, being nourished by *Don Tello*. *Donna Ieanne Manuel*, wife to *Don Henry*, was sent him into *Castile* by *Don Pedro* king of *Arragon*, who would that *Donna Leonora*, Infanta of *Arragon*, future wife to *Don John* the eldest sonne of *D. Henry*, should accompanie her. But before he dismissed them, he caused *Donna Ieanne Manuel* (who intitled her selfe Queene of *Castile* and *Leon*) to sweare, to do her best to cause *Don Henry* her husband, to giue him the citties of *Soria* and *Cuenca*, the townes of *Molina*, and *Medina Celi* and the Realme of *Murcia*, as they had agreed, and hee had promised before this Conquest. And moreover, he demanded rembursement of certaine summes of mony which hee had lent him: whereunto *Don Henry* (who had newes of the armie which was preparing by the English, in fauour of *Don Pedro* his competitor) made an honest answer: for it was reasonable, sayd he, to attend the end of this great preparation, which was made against him.

Bishop of Burgo  
chosen by  
himselfe.

Nauarre.

The King of *Nauarre* in this first warre had not shewed himselfe a fauourer to either of these contending Princes: but knowing that the King *Don Pedro* was retired to *Bayone*, dispossessed of his Realme, he came to see him, and was there present at the accord and promises which past betwixt *Edward* Prince of *Wales* and him. The Princes supping together, held this order: the King *Don Pedro* was on the right hand, and next to him the Prince of *Wales*, and on the other side was the king of *Nauar* alone: who being returned into *Nauar*, he was much sollicitud by *Don Henry*, to be of his partie, but he was already engaged by promise to *Don Pedro* king of *Castile*, and to the Prince of *Wales*, to giue them free passage through his countie. The king of *Arragon* aduertised of all these things, prest the French king by his ambassadors, to make warre against the English, and also against the king of *Nauarre*, promising to ioine for his part, to diuert the storme which was comming vpon *Don Henry* the new king of *Castile*, whom he ought to haue receiued into this league: and in the meane time there was continuall war vpon the frontiers of *Arragon* and *Nauarre*. Notwithstanding these things aboue-mentioned, *D. Henry* did so labour the king of *Nauar*, as he made him forget the promises he had made at *Bayone*, to *D. Pedro* king of *Castile*, and to the English, comming to meet with *D. Henry* at *Santa Cruz* of *Campeço*, where hee promised and sware to be of his side, and to do his best to stop the passage of the English army through *Nauarre*, which would haue auayled him much to breake the desseines of the dispossessed king: for in the passage of the *Pyreneé* hilles, hee had nothing to fauour him, but the Townes of *Saint Sebastian* and *Guetaria* in *Guipuscoa*.

At these promises solemnly made by the king of *Nauarre*, vnto *Don Henry*, there assisted *Don Gomes Manrique* Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, *D. Lopes Fernandes* of *Luna*, Arch-bishop of *Sarragossa*, *Don Alphonso* of *Arragon*, Earle of *Denia*, and *Marquis* of *Villena*, *Bertrand* of *Guesclin*, and many other great personages of *Castile*, *France*, and *Arragon*. And a league was concluded betwixt the kings of *Arragon*, *Nauarre*, and *Don Henry*, for their common defence against all men. And the king promised to be readie with the forces of his countie, and to be in person at the Battaille which they thought would be giuen, for assurance whereof there was deliuered into the Arch-bishops hands of *Sarragossa* the castle of *Garde*, and that of *S. Vincent* to *Bertrand* of *Guesclin*, and that of *Buradon* was giuen in gard to *D. John Ramires* of *Arcellan*.

In

A In recompence of the good offices which *D. Henry* expected from King *Charles*, he promised to giue him the towne of *Logroño*, to him and his for euer. It was likely that *D. Henries* affaires should succeed better then those of *Don Pedro*, and therefore *K. Charles* made choice to hold with the stronger, as he thought. The dispossessed king of *Castile*, and the Prince of *Wales* vnderstanding of this league, found it very strange: and the English being more familiar with the king of *Nauarre*, he complained much vnto him, and sought to reduce him to his first promises, the which he did: making him againe, with the note of great inconstancie, to quit the party of *Don Henry*, and of the king of *Arragon*, in regard that they had promised to giue him, besides *Logroño*, the citie of *Victoria*, which did yet hold for the king *Don Pedro*: for the which he bound himselfe by oath, to giue them passage, and to be in person with his troupes, in the battell, in their fauor: excusing his lightnesse, for that the Realme of *Castile* did by right belong vnto the King *D. Pedro*: and withall he had a desseine to make vse of the friendship and forces of the English in the quarrels and pretensions he had with the French King, who did much trouble his affaires.

The conditions which *D. Pedro* king of *Castile* made with the Prince of *Wales*, were these: He gaue him from that time the Segneurie of *Biscay*, & *Castro* of *Ordiales*, & promised to pay the soldiery which he led into *Spaine*, leauing his three daughters in hostage with the English: he promised the citie of *Soria* to *John Chandos*, Constable in *Guienne* for the English, and to many other Noblemen and knights other places and townes in *Castile*. Vpon these accords, being full of good hope, seeing they had the king of *Nauar* their friend, they marched with a great and mighty armie in the Spring-time 1367. to repossesse the king *D. Pedro* in his Realme. King *Charles* whether troubled in conscience for the oaths which he had so often broken, or for some other consideration, would not be in person at this incounter betwixt the king *D. Pedro* and *D. Henry*, as hee had promised, but vnder colour of going a hunting, he caused himselfe to be taken prisoner, by a plot and accord made with *Olyner* of *Manny* or *Maulny* a Britton Knight, who held the castle of *Borja* for *Bertrand* of *Guesclin*, who had it by gift from the king of *Arragon*, in the which he was shut vp: and for that he would not shew himselfe altogether disloyall, hee left *Don Martin Henriques* of *Lacarra*, the master of his horse, and his Standard-bearer, at *Pampelona* with three hundred Lances, commanding him to ioine with the English armie, and to fight in it.

The English armie arriued at *Cuenca*, or *Combe* of *Pampelona*, about the beginning of March this yeare 1367. from whence it past into *Alaua*: besides, the Prince of *Wales*, and *Don Pedro* king of *Castile*, there were in it *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, brother to the Prince; *D. James* of *Maiorca*, son to the king *Don James*, who had come for refuge to this English Prince being at *Bordeaux*. *John Chandos* Constable of *Guien*, *Robert Felton* great Seneschall, *Richard* of *Angle*, and *Stephen* of *Consentone* Marshalls of *Guien*: moreover, the Earle of *Armaignac* and *Albret*, who offered and brought to this warre a thousand complet lances of his subiects and friends: but they were reduced (to his great griefe) to two hundred by the Prince, beeing so aduised by some other, or of his own proper motion, and for enuy: which vice some write did often blemish the great vertues that were in him. For euen some affirme, that this voyage which he vndertooke into *Spaine*, was not for charity, nor any loue he bare to the dispossessed king *D. Pedro*, but for that the honor and reputation which *Bertrand* of *Guesclin* had gotten, to haue made *D. Henry* K. of *Castile*, would not let him sleepe. Besides, the aboue named, there did accompanie the Prince of *Wales* in this expedition, the Earls of *Perigott* and *Cominges*, the Vicont of *Carmain*, *Bernard* and *Perducas* of *Albret*, Captal of *Buch*, the Lord of *Cliffon*, the Seneshals of *Xaintong*, *Rochel*, *Querci*, *Limosin*, *Aginois*, and *Bigorre*, with many other Noblemen, and renowned knights of *England*, *Poitou*, *Brittaine*, *Gascogne* and other countries, and among them some which had a litle before serued *D. Henry*, vnder the command of *Bertrand* of *Guesclin*: which *Guesclin* did not fayle at need, but came to *D. Henries* army with a good number of Knights and souldiers, to ayd him to maintaine his conquest. Vpon the newes of this mighty army, *D. Henry* had gathered together all his good subiects: so as according to the French Authors (it may be exceeding in their computations)

20.  
Conditions be-  
twixt *D. Pedro*  
and the Prince  
of *Wales*

An. 1367.

Castile.

he made accompt to haue 7000. men at arms, 20000. light horse, and 40000. foot, whereof many were armed with slings, much feared in those dayes: with these forces hee came to encounter his enemy, and lodged betwixt *S. Dominike* of Calçada and Bagnares, the enemy being camped about Saluatierra, who approaching towards Logroño, he came to Calderan. The Captaines were of opinion, that *D. Henry* should not fight, but only coast the enemy, and keepe him in continuall feare, cutting off their victuals and other commodities, whereby they should be soone forced to breake of themselves: & so had the French king aduised him to do: but hee (who was a Prince of a great spirit, and more resolute in such actions, then was fit for the head of an Estate, and incouraged by some small aduantage gotten of the fore-runners of the English, by *D. Tello* and *D. Sancho* his breedren, who had taken *Thomas Felton*, a knight, and some others) gouerned himselfe after his own humor; who raising his army, came to Nagera, seeing the English approach to Nauarret. From hence the Prince of Wales did write vnto *D. Henry*, terming him Earle of Transmara, which letter was full of courtesie and good words, perswading him to quit the title of King, and to yeeld vnto his brother *D. Pedro*, the lawfull K. of Castile, assuring him hee would be a meane that he should haue a good composition: and about all, that he should auoid to come to a battell, the euent whereof must needs be his ruine, seeing they did much exceede them in number, their souldiers in valour, and their Captaines in leading. To the which *D. Henry* made answer, that he could not hearken to any accord with him, who had against the law of Nature taken delight to murder so many of the blood royal, and other great personages of Castile: who had no respectiue regard of the lawes of the country, and much lesse of God, falsifying his oath and promises, hauing no other rule in his actions, but his tyrannous passions: and with his excuses, hee gaue many good words in regard of the Prince of Wales, protesting that he came with griefe to fight, and that he would willingly haue auoyded the effusion of Christian blood, which he prepared to see.

The Princes being thus disposed, the armies presented themselves one before another betwixt Nagera and Nauarret; where they encountered with such fury about Aleçon, neere to the Bourg of Afofra, as after great effusion of blood, *D. Henry's* men were put to flight, the disorder beginning on *D. Tello's* side, and many were taken prisoners by the English, French, and Nauarrois: against some of which the K. *D. Pedro* being incensed, did execute his rage, causing them to be murdered in his presence: among others, the first master of the Knights of *S. Bernard*, & the last also, being taken in this defeat, had his head cut off by the kings commandement. It was a military order sprung vp in Biscay, to which knights should be assigned the lands called Beeries, which lay neere: but it was suddenly extinct by reason of these wars, and by this excessse of the King *D. Pedro*. Many were reconciled by the mediation of the Prince of Wales, of which number was *D. Sancho*, brother to the Erie *D. Henry*: others were straightly imprisoned, among which were *Bertrand* of Guesclin, *Arnold* of Andreghen, and *Begue* of Villaines. *D. Henry* escaped from the battell, and posting towards Nagera, his horse being tyred and out of breath, hee met with a Squire of the Prouince of Alaua, called *Ruy Fernandes* of Goana, who knowing him, mounted him vpon a good Genet, with the which he came into the K. of Arragons countrie, to whom he would not go, remembreing the miseries which follow afflicted Princes fallen from their fortunes, and the small faith that is in friends in such extremities, euerie one drawing backe, and seeking to excuse himselfe vnto the Victor, to please whom, many times the vnfortunat is deliuered vp to sacrifice. Wherefore hee past the mountaines, and retired into France, leauing the townes and Noblemen of Castile, which had followed his party in great perplexity, with him there retired that *D. Pedro* of Luna a Cattelán, who of a knight as he was then, carrying armes, became a Clergie man, was a Cardinall, and in the end Pope, during the great Schisme, which did so much trouble the Church of Rome.

After this great victorie which hapned the third day of April 1367. the king *D. Pedro* entred in great pompe into Burgos, from whence *D. Jeanne Manuel*, called Queen of Castile, wife to *D. Henry*, her children, and daughter-in-law, were a little before retired, and fled in all hast into Arragon, where they were receiued, but not so chearefully as before: for the king of Arragon studied how he might recover the fauour of Don *Pedro* King of Castile,

Prince of  
Wales writes  
to D. Henry.

D. Henry's  
sister.

D. Henry de-  
fected in  
battell.

D. Pedro of  
Luna, a knight  
of Arragon,  
future Pope.

A Castile, being therein assisted by the Prince of Wales, and aduised to abandon *D. Henry*, who was vanquished: *D. Romero* Bishop of Lerida, *D. Pedro* Earle of Vrgel, the Vicont of Cardona, *D. Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, and others, were of this opinion, who were sent Ambassadors to *D. Pedro* King of Castile, and *Raymond Peguera*, and *James Elfaro* went to the Prince of Wales.

Some say that the Prince of Wales beginning to descourt the ingratitude of *D. Pedro* King of Castile, there was in this Negotiation a plot laid betwixt him and the king of Arragon to diuide the king of Castile betwixt them; and to giue some part of the booty to the kings of Nauarre and Portugal, and so wholly to reiect the tyrant *D. Pedro*.

The King of Nauarre hearing of the victory which the King of Castile had obtained, thought it now time to creepe out of his denne, pressing *Oliuer* of Maulny to set him at liberty: but the difficulty was, this knight would be paid for his good seruice, hauing taken the king prisoner. King *Charles* gaue him *D. Pedro* his second sonne in hostage, assuring him that if he would come to Tudelo, he would giue him all that hee had promised, and more. This good knight tooke the Infant *D. Pedro*, and put him into the castle of Borja, deliuered the king, and soone after, through his great simplicity, followed him to Tudelo: but he was no sooner arrived, but they layed hold of him, and put him in prison, vntil that he had yeelded the hostage. A brother of his should haue bene taken with him by the kings commandement, but seeking to flee away ouer a house, hee was slaine by them that pursued him. King *Charles* did write presently to the king of Arragon, complayning of the wrong which the Britons (holding the castle of Borja and Magallon) had done him, and that they detained and withheld his sonne, whom hee had bene forced for to giue them in Ostage, heating that they ment to carry him into France, the which hee intreated him to prevent, sending good guards vpon the passages of his country. He sayd moreover, that he threatened to inuade his country of Nauarre, relying vpon the support they had of Arragon: wherefore hee intreated him not to giue them forces, nor any aide in such enterprises, and to take it ill if hee led an army before Borja, to deliuer his sonne from prison. *Garsi Sanchez* Prior of Ronceual, was sent of this Ambassage into Arragon, who not onely executed his charge, but also entred into a treaty of marriage betwixt *Charles* the eldest sonne of Nauarre, and *D. Leonora* daughter to the King of Arragon. The King of Arragon who had no need of any enemies, for that he feared the King of Castile, caused the trouble of Borja so easie, and commanded the Britons to deliuer the Infant *D. Pedro*, who being carried to Tudelo, *Oliuer* of Maulny was also deliuered. As for the marriage, although the King of Arragon did much desire it, yet the King of Nauarre, hauing retired his sonne, did not much care for it, meaning first to see what should become of the broiles of Castile.

The King *D. Pedro* the cruell, victorious, but insolent and treacherous as of custome, could not containe himselfe within the bounds of modesty and reason, neither to his subiects, nor to strangers, English, French and others, who had seated him in his Kingdom: There were great controuersies amongst them for prisoners and ransomes, and the souldiers pay, yet after much disputing there was some kinde of agreement. *D. Pedro* King of Castile sent *D. Pedro Fernandes Peres* of Ayala, with the Deputies of the Prince of Wales, to put them in possession of the Lordship of Biscay, and Castro of Ordiales, according vnto their accords: but the Biscains being aduertised that what the King did, was onely to content the Prince of Wales, and to shew that hee had a will to performe his promise, but not that he had any meaning to maintaine it: besides that of their owne dispositions they did abhor the command of strangers, they would neuer receiue these Deputies, nor consent that they should be put in possession of their country, which was the cause of great troubles. The King seeming to bee much discontented at these difficulties, made a sollemne both in the chiefe Church of Burgos, that hee would put the Prince of Wales in possession of the Siegenurites of Biscay. *D. Pedro* seeing himselfe restored to his Realme, he desired to know what the destinies did promise him, and therefore he demanded aduice of a doctour to the King of Gramado, called *Men-Hatin*, a great and learned Astrologian and Phylosopher, who sent him a letter full of learning, saying, that hee must looke vnto his owne carriage, and how hee gouerned his subiects,

Nauarre.

Oliuer of  
Maulny deli-  
uers the King  
of Nauarre,  
and remains  
prisoner him-  
selfe.

Castile.

D. Pedro King  
of Castile dis-  
contented the  
English and o-  
ther strangers.

*Holy aduertif-  
ment to a  
Physiophier  
Master to D.  
Pedro.*

for thereon depended the continuance of his raigne, either long or short, and the continuance of the scepter in his family: adding many precepts, the which if hee had duly observed, without doubt he had reigned securely in peace: but hee fell into his frenesies and cruelties, the which did so estrange the hearts of those, which abhorred his forepassed tyrannies, as his fall must needs bee miserable. Hee parted from Burgos, and went to seeke meanes to content the English, commanding that as soone as he should bee out of the city, they should put to death *Ruy Ponce Palomeque* and some others, whom hee had caused to be put into the castle of Burgos. Being come nere vnto Toledo, he would haue hostages of the Inhabitants for his assurance, and there hee put to death seuentene of the chiefe of the city; then hee went to Cordoua, from which place he sent to Seuille, that they should put to death *Gil Bocanegra*, *D. Iohn Pance* of Leon Lord of Marchene, and *Alphonso Aluarez* of Quadros, with an other called *Alphonso Fernandes*: Hee caused many to be dispatched at Cordoua before hee came to Seuille, where beeing arriued, hee caused *Donna Yrraca Osofo*, mother to *D. Iohn Alphonso* of Guzman, to bee slaine, and *Martin James* his high treasurer, taking great delight in his murthers, and reuenges vpon these miserable creatures, for that he had not found them ready to follow his fortune, or for some other discontentment; forgetting that for such inhumanities and tyrannies, he had beene once cast out of Spaine. He caused *D. Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, maister of Calatrava, to be apprehended, and would haue put him to death, but the King of Granada demanded him in giust, and did so much, as he saued his life. He had done more, if time and meanes had permitted, but God preuented him, for *D. Henry* stayed not long to depriue him both of realme and life.

*A Moore more  
kinde then D.  
Pedro a Christi-  
an King.*

After the losse of the battaile, *D. Henry* came into the county of Foix, where beeing well entertained by the Earle, and furnished with all things besitting such a knight, hee went to Auignon, whereas Pope *Yrbain* the fifth did raigne, who did loue, and esteeme him much, and therefore he receiued him courteously, and delt with *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, brother to the French King, and Gouvernor of Languedoc, to giue him meanes to raise a new army, to returne into Spaine, whether many friends recalled him, assuring him that the cruelties which the King *D. Pedro* continued, prepared him the way to recouer his good fortune, and that now there was not any difficulty to settle him firmly; neither need they feare that *D. Pedro* should finde fauour or succors with the English, whom he had defrauded of their pay and recompences promise, and sent home discontented. *D. Ieanne* wife to *D. Henry*, and his children, finding themselves not very safe in Arragon by reason of the friendship that was betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Prince of VVales, they had past into France, whereas they remained in the castle of Perapertuse, vnto the end of the warre, such was the diligence of *D. Henry*, and of his friends, as hee obtained from the King siue thousand pounds sterling in ready money, and liberty to leauy souldiars within his Realme. Hee had also succors both of money and men from the Duke of Aniou, from *Guy* Cardinal of Bologne, and other Noblemen of France, beeing incensed against the King *D. Pedro*, the murderer of Queene *Blanche* of Bourbon his wife: notwithstanding *D. Henry* found many great difficulties, an ordinary thing for those that are in aduertity: for the French King feared least the English should take it ill that he gaue succors vnto their enemy: and to make such a preparation for warre, as was necessary, hee had neede of a great masse of money, which was the greatest hindrance of his affaires. Some therevpon write that in one day hee caused all the money to be seized on, that was in Auignon, in marchants, and Banquers hands, the Pope giuing his consent, and hee promising vpon the faith of a Prince to restore it. In the end he had meanes to raise a good army, but before he began to march, he had certaine newes that the Prince of VVales was returned into Guienne much discontented with the King *D. Pedro*: and moreover that all the Province of Guipuscoa, excepte Sain Sebastian and Guetaria, the townes of Biscay, Segobia, Vailledolit, Palence, Auila, Guadalajara, Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Toro, Almedo, Arcualo, Colca, Madrigal, Carrion, Sepulueda, Aillon, Atienza, Illescas with many other forts held his party.

*D. Henry bas-  
tard of Castile  
aide againe  
by the French.*

Whilest that *D. Henry* prepares to passe into Spaine, some of the English and French souldiars,

*A* souldiars, returning from the seruice of *D. Pedro* King of Castile, by the pace betwixt Nauarre and Arragon, spoiling the valleies, they attempted to enter into Iacca. Against these men the Inhabitants of the country, both Nobles and Commons armed, so as after diuerse skirmishes, whereas many were slaine of both sides, these strangers beeing aboute fifteene thousand men, past the Pyrenes, and returned into their countries. The King of Arragon, before the Prince of VVales his retreat had sought by his meanes to recouer Sauueterre, and Real of Rueste, which the Nauarrois held since the warre of Castile, but he could not.

*B* As for the King of Nauarre, hee recouered the places which hee had left in deposito, when as he made a league with the King of Arragon, and *D. Henry*, wherein hee was assisted by *D. Pedro* King of Castile, and through fauour of the victory, which hee had obtained: but yet hee could neither get Logroño from him, nor the towne of victoria, which he had promised him; neither could hee retire out of the hands of *D. Iohn Ramirez* of Arcellan (a Knight of honour) the place of Buradon, whereof he had beene chosen Gardien, saying, *That hee did not follow the fortune, and passions of princes, but the equity of the faith, which was promised and sworne*. This good Knight had retired himselfe into Arragon after the battaile lost, when as *D. Henry* saued himselfe in France, to whose seruice he returned soone after.

Nauarre.

*Integrity of  
D. Iohn Ra-  
mirez of Arcel-  
lan.*

*C* The Prince of VVales before he went out of Spaine, had practised a firme league betwixt the Kings raigning then in Spaine, and himself, but with diuerse descignes, wherein he assured himselfe that the King of Nauarre would bee faithfull, and furnish him with a good number of souldiars. As for him of Arragon, he embraced the league as it seemed with great affection, thinking hee could not then doe better, then to ioine with the victorious King of Castile, and the English. To conclude this league, a day was appointed for the Deputies of all these Princes at Tarbes: in the meane time the treacheries of *D. Pedro* King of Castile, were so hatefull vnto the Prince of VVales, as he returned to Bourdeaux discontented. The Deputies of the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and of the Prince of VVales, came to Tarbes, at the day appointed, where there also arriued some from Castile. The dispositions of these Princes were such, as the King of Arragon would willingly haue ioined with *D. Henry*, if hee had durst, but hee followed fortune: he of Nauarre was more inclyned to the Prince of VVales, but whatsoeuer it were, euery one sought to make his profit of these troubles; and to draw some thing from Castile: the King of Arragon would haue Murcia, and some other townes: hee of Nauarre demanded the prouinces of Guipuscoa, and Alaua, namely Victoria, Sauueterre, Treuigno and many townes in Rioja: the Prince of VVales pretended Biscay, Castro of Ordiales, and many other places, all promising to bandy themselves against *D. Henry*, and to stop his passage into Spaine, if these things were performed by *D. Pedro*: if not they were as ready to enter into league with *D. Henry*, if hee made them the like promises. Thus the Realme of Castile was set to sale. On the other side King *Edward*, father to the Prince of VVales, and the King of Arragon, had their practises apart, to diuide the realme of Castile and Leon betwixt them, and to giue some part vnto the King of Nauarre. Thus these Princes laboured to diuide that betwixt them, which God had appointed for an other, and their propositions and disputes at Tarbes, were such and of so many things, as not able to conclude any thing, they referred their assembly to Oleron, where they did lesse.

*Leagues full of  
insidiality of  
the Princes  
of those times.*

*22* During these Negotiations, *D. Henry* entred with his French army into Arragon, which made euery one to thinke of his affaires, with *D. Henry* was *Bernard* bastard to the Earle of Foix, who had beene taken in the battaile of Nagera, and redeemed from the English: and although that the King of Arragon sought to diuert this passage, yet *D. Henry* went his course, and by Nauarre also, finding not any opposition. Hauing past the riuer of Ebro with his whole army, marching in the country of Castile, hee fell on his knees, and making a crosse vpon the sand, hee sware, that no roile nor misfortune should euer make him goe out of Castile. Hee entred into Calaoorra without contradiction, the eight and twentieth of September, this yeere of our Lord 1367. whether many Knights, Squiers and other men, came vnto him, flying the furie of the King *D. Pedro*. Being

Nauarre.

*Second En-  
trise of D. Henry  
bastard of Cas-  
tile, into  
Spaine.*

Being assured of Calaoorra, hee came to Logroño, where hee found great resistance, A wherefore hee past on by Rioja and Bureba, and came to Burgos, where the Inhabitants receiued him with great affection, and although the castle and the Iewes place made some resistance, yet he brought them to obedience and tooke within the castle D. James of Majorca, who defended it. Hee was sonne to the last King of Majorca, and had escaped from a hard prison, where hee had bene long detained in the new castle at Barcelona, since the yeere of our Lord 1362. then being come to Naples, hee had the happe to marrie Queene Ieanne of Naples, whom they called Duke of Calabria, and not King of Naples.

Many townes yielded vnto Don Henry in fewes daies, and about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1368. he got the city of Leon: wherefore hauing much blemished the name and authority of his aduersary in old Castile, hee marched with his army towards Toledo, which city hee besieged making a bridge of wood ouer the riuer of Tayo, to passe and repasse his army, as occasion should serue. The Inhabitants were desirous to receiue D. Henry, but for that Don Pedro held many of their men in hostage, fearing least hee should kill them, they durst not declare themselves. At this sege, the French Kings Ambassadors preuailed so with Don Henry, as hee sware to compromise the controuersies which hee had with the King of Arragon, hauing that charge from their maister, who desired to reconcile these two Princes: at this promise there were present Don Pedro of Arragon, the Kings vncler, the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pedro Fernandes of Velasco, Fernand Peres of Ayala, Diego Gomes of Toledo, Gonçal Mesia of Pont, and others. Don Pedro King of Castile hauing fortified and walled the towne of Carmona, parted thence, to come to Eccia, hauing in his company Mahumet King of Granada, called the old, with all the forces of his Realme, consisting of seuen thousand horse, and foure score thousand foot, whereof twelue thousand were Crosse-bowes, or as some write thirtie thousand, to whom the King Don Pedro did ioine fifteene hundred horse, and fixe thousand foote, of his subiects and partisans Spaniards; and with this army he came and laied sege to Cordoua which had revolted: but not able to take it, after some sallies and encounters, the Moores returned to Granada, and the King Don Pedro to Seuille. Yet the King of Granada staid not long before hee returned to Iaen, the which hee tooke and burned, and came againe and camped before Cordoua, but hee dislodged soone, and went towards Vbeda, where hee did as hee had done at Iaen, and making his profit of these reuolts, hee tooke many other places, did great spoile in Andalusia, and carried away an infinite number of Christians prisoners. Whilest that Don Henry prest Toledo, the townes of Victoria, Salnatierra, Alaua, and Logroño, which held for the King Don Pedro, being tired with the continuall warre which the Guipulcoans, and others of their Neighbours (which held Don Henries partie) made against them, they yielded to Charles King of Nauarre.

In this reddition the King of Nauarre was much assisted by Don Tello, who held Biscay, and was then in bad termes with his brother Don Henry. They say that the Inhabitants of these townes hauing acquainted the King Don Pedro with their necessities, intreating him that hee would not take it ill, if they put themselves into the hands of the King of Nauarre, who was his friend and allie, hee willed them to hold out as long as they could, and when as they should bee no more able to defend themselves they should rather yeeld to Don Henry his brother, without diuiding themselves from the crowne of Castile, then vnto the King of Nauarre, who would dismember them from that body: moreouer that hee had no reason to gratifie him, for hee had not receiued any assured succors from him. But it fell out otherwise, and the King of Nauarre was seized thereon, who to make money at that time, sold many preiudges to the townes of Nauarre, and among others to the towne of Viana hee sold the duty called Fousadera, and sold them moreouer the place called Agoncillo, and the Borroughs of Villicilla, and Lacagurria, with their appurtenances, for a certaine sum of money, by letters granted at Olite, the seuenth of August, this yeere 1368.

In the meane time D. Henry continued his sege to Toledo, the losse whereof D. Pedro fearing

Army of the  
King D. Pedro.

Townes in  
Castile yield  
to the King  
of Nauarre.

A fearing, hee resolved to come and succour it and to raise the sege. Hauing therefore left D. Sancho and D. Diego, his base sonnes in Carmona, with great store of money and precious stones, and a good garrison, hee marched against the besiegers. Being vpon his march, hee receiued letters from Aben-Hatin the Moore, who foretold him of his approaching death: yet for all this he staid not, leading in his army three thousand horse, whereof fifteene hundred were Moores, which the King of Granada had sent him. Being come to Montiel, and there making some stay, hee was abandoned by many of his men; whereof D. Henry being aduertised, hee thought it time to come to his last tryall, which of them two should raighe in Castile: wherefore he left at the sege of Toledo D. Gomes Stauriques, Archbishop of that city, with most of his forces, and he with three thousand horse went to encounter the King D. Pedro, being resolved to giue him battaile. He was ouertaken vpon the way in the towne of Orgaz, by Bertrand of Guefclin, who being newly redeemed from the English, for tenne thousand pounds sterling, which the French King had paid, came to serue him in this conquest with fixe hundred launces. Being fortified with this troupe, D. Henry marched with all speed, and came to Montiel, whereof the King D. Pedro (who had no good spies) did not dreame, where as his men making a shew of fighting, being in tumult and confusion, (as men surprized) they were by the counsell of Bertrand of Guefclin, suddenly charged with such fury, as they were all put to flight, abandoning their King, who seeing himselfe reduced to that extremity, shut himselfe into the castle of Montiel, which stands vpon the side of a hill, C about the towne.

Martin Lopes of Cordoua, captaine of the men which were within Carmona, was vpon the way to come and succor the King D. Pedro; but hearing of the defeat of those that were with him, and that he was shut vp into the castle of Montiel, he returned. The Earle D. Henry did presently cast a ditch about the towne and castle of Montiel, that his prey might not escape; but D. Pedro being besieged, and in want of all things fought to corrupt Bertrand of Guefclin, by the meanes of Men Rodrigues of Sanabria, promising him the townes of Soria, Almacan, Atienza, Montagui, Bega and Seron, and moreouer two hundred thousand doubloons of gold, if hee would undertake to set him in a place of safety: wherevnto Bertrand seeming to consent, he aduertised D. Henry; then hauing giuen an houre and place to Men Rodrigues (who was borne at Trasmamara) to bring forth the King, he came out of the castle in the night, hauing in his company D. Fernand of Castro, and D. Diego Gonçales of Ouiedo, and went all armed towards the lodging of Bertrand of Guefclin, who came to meet him, and said vnto him, that it was time to spur; but as he was ready to goe to horse, hee was staid by some that followed Bertrand, and forced to come into his tent, where hee found D. Henry his brother, armed, who at the first sight did not know him; and being aduertised by them that were about him, that it was the King D. Pedro, his enemy, yet was hee in doubt, for hee had not scene him in many yeeres. The King D. Pedro seeing himselfe betraied, transported with fury, began to cry out aloud, I am, I am in deed D. Pedro. Then D. Henry drawing out his dagger stabbed him in the face, the King grasped with him, and they both fell to the ground, but D. Henry vnderneath; who being helpt by Bertrand of Guefclin, and others, freed himselfe, and got the King D. Pedro vnder him, whom hee slue with his dagger. Thus D. Pedro King of Castile ended his daies miserably, for his excesses and tyrannies; fulfilling the prediction of the Monke of St. Dominike of Calçada, whom hee caused to be burned, and of the Philosopher Aben-Hatin. His death was in the yeere 1368. the two and thirtieth of March, for the which many blame Bertrand of Guefclin, as hauing falsified his faith and promise to set him in a place of safety: others discharge him, saying, that the King D. Pedro despayring, came and put himselfe rashly into his enemies hands. His body was interred in the Monastery of Saint Dominike the Roial at Madrid. Hee had F reigned nineteene yeers, and died beginning the siue and thirtieth of his age.

The King D.  
Pedro fore-  
told his death.

Defeat of the  
King D. Pedro  
men.

Bertrand of  
Guefclin be-  
traies the  
King D. Pedro.

D. Henry ba-  
ttled of Castile  
kils the King  
D. Pedro.

D. Fernand

## D. Fernand alone of that name, ninth King of Portugal.

Portugal 23 **D**Vring the warres of the two Princes of Castile, brethren, we doe not read that D. Pedro king of Portugal tooke part with either of them. He died in the yeere 1367. the seuen and forty of his age, hauing reigned almost eleuen yeere. To which Realme succeeded D. Fernand his sonne, being at his coronation fixe and twentie yeere old, and some monthes, in whom the direct and lawfull line of D. Henry of Befançon, or of Lorraine, failed, as shal appeere. He was present in the towne of Estremos, when as his father died, and was there acknowledged, and proclaimed King, taking an oth from such of his subiects as were then present.

Arragon. D. Pedro King of Arragon, hearing the successe of D. Henries victory, began to feare him, sending Francis of Perillos and James Elfaro Ambassadors into France, who procured an offensive and defensive league, the French King promising to aide him of Arragon, in his warres of Sardynia, yea and against D. Henry, if hee did not referre vnto him the question for the realme of Murcia, and other lands promised, as hee had informed him. And for that the warres betwixt the French and English were reuiued, Francis of Perillos being held the best captaine at sea in his time, was granted vnto the French king, who entertained him, notwithstanding that the King of Arragon his maister, had great need of him, for the warres of Sardynia, the which was continually entertained, by Marian a Iudge of Arborea, who this yeere had taken many places from the Arragonois, and defeated in a fallie which he made, being besieged in the castle of Oristagno, the army of Arragon, commanded by D. Pedro of Luna and his sonne, the which did so disquiet the King, as he resolved to go thither in person: but new affaires hindred him, for he was inuaded from the county of Rossillon by some Frenchmen, who notwithstanding were but vagabond troupes, running vp and downe the country without warrant: and he was also kept backe by the controuersies which he had with the new King of Castile: wherefore he sent D. Berenger of Carrozo, Earle of Quirra, thither with an army, yet giuing it still out that he should goe thither himselfe, keeping the Standard royal displayed on the top of the castle of Barcelona; after the accustomed manner, in signe that the King would goe to the warre: the which kept these seditious people somewhat in awe. Hee caused an Ediēt to bee published, by the which hee granted respight to all that were indebted, and repeale for banished men that were of Sardynia. Being come to Valence, he made his sonne D. Martin Seneschall of Cattelogne, who commanded ouer all armes, vniting vnto that dignity that of the Constable of the realme, as well on this side, as beyond the seas: and then it was decreed, that from that time the children of the Kings or Princes of Arragon should be called to that degree.

*The end of the fifteenth Booke.*

THE



## THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE of the Generall History of Spaine.

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D d



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In this sixteenth Booke mention is made  
of the Kings.

15 D. Henry of Castile, 36 of Leon, second of that name.  
16 D. Iohn his sonne, 37 of Leon, first of that name.



D. Henry, called de la Merced the fifteenth King  
of Castile, and sixe and thirty of Leon.

I  
Castile.

D. Henry sur-  
named ib:  
Gracious.



After the death of the King D. Pedro, the Realmes of Castile and Leon, remained to D. Henry, without any great difficulty. He got by his vertue and mildnesse, what his brother had lost by his pride and cruelty. Hee was a friend to the vertuous, nobly minded, bountifull, valiant, and strong of his person, although he were but of a small stature: He was turnamed the liberall, or gracious, by reason of the bounty he shewed to them that had serued him. The greatnesse and good fortune of this King was suspected vnto the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, who made a league this yeere, restoring one vnto another certaine townes and castles, that is, Arragon deliuered to Nauarre, Herrera of Moncayo: and Nauarre to Arragon Saluaterra and Real, they pacted the controuersies which were betwixt them of Sanguesa and Real, by a definitive sentence of Merins and Gouernors of Tudelo and Saragossa: Queene Jeanne gouerning the realme of Nauarre, and dealing in all these affaires, in the absence of King Charles her husband, who was gone into France, vpon the reuiving of the warre betwixt the French and English, that same yeere. Nauarre and Arragon, began then to make many practises with the Kings of Portugal and England to dispossesse the King D. Henry of his new conquest, in the which Carmona in Andalusia, Zamore and Ciudad Roderigo in Castile, with a good part of Galicia, refused to obey him, al the rest acknowledging him for King. For Toledo, as soone as D. Pedros death was knowne yecilded: Seuile opened her gates, the castle of Montiel was deliuered him, where and in other places, hee found great store of treasure, iewels, silks, raptures & other rich mouables of the deceased king. The townes of Logroño, Victoria, Saluatierra of Alaua, and St. Cruz of Campeço, were yecilded to the king of Nauar: & he of Arragon had seized on Molina, Cagnet & Requeña, hauing corrupted Garcia of Vera, and Aluar Russ of Espejo, captains of these places. D. Henry sought to make some accord with the of Carmona, demanding fridship and

A and offering a truce to the King of Granado; the which the King of Castile had neuer done, but he could not effect it. Mahumet the Old, King of Granado, answered, that hee would be a friend to the King D. Pedro dead, as hee had bene in his lifetime: wherefore the King leauing good order vpon that frontier, and appointing D. Gonçalo Mexia, Maister of the Knights of Saint Iames, Gouernor thereof, with other Noblemen and Captaines, he parted from Seuile, to cometo Toledo. Then he caused a certaine coine to bee made, called croysez, of the value of a marauedis, and an other kinde called rials, of the value of foure marauidis. Euery marauidis in those times being worth ten of the lesser at this daie.

Truce offered  
by the King  
D. Henry, and  
refused by  
him.

Merry current  
in Castile.

The first that began to quarrel with him for the succession of the realme, was D. Fernando King of Portugal, who pretended to be lawful heire, as Grandchild to D. Beatrix of Castile, daughter to D. Sancho the Braue: he was animated, in this ambition, by the Inhabitants of Zamore and Ciudad Roderigo, frontier townes of Portugal, who would not acknowledge D. Henry, but called in D. Fernando to raigne ouer them, as it seemed all the country of Galicia had the like intent, the towne of Corunna (commonly called the Groine) hauing voluntarily subiected it selfe to the king of Portugal. To preuent which inconueniences, the king D. Henry marched with a great army towards Zamore, to beseege it, but finding it strong and wel manned, he past on into Galicia; D. Fernando finding himselfe inferior, both in number of men, in valour, and in experience of warre, vnto D. Henry, would not attend him, but imbarked, and returned into his country by sea, leauing a good garrison in the Groine. The King D. Henry, accompanied by Bertrand of Guesclin, entred into Portugal, betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, where he tooke Braga and Bragança, and ouerrun al that country, in view of the enemies, who durst not present themselves in battaile, and had done worse, if he had not bene called backe, by the newes which he receiued of the Moores attempts, and of the taking of Algezire, by the King of Granado, who hauing intelligence with the King of Portugal, had beseeged, taken and razed this place, euen vnto the ground, in hattred of the great losses, which the Moores his predecessors and their confederats had receiued by reason thereof. At that time there reigned at Fez, in Affrike, and in Algarue, or the plaines of Affrike, a prince of the race of the Merins, called Abasser Abdelaziz, to whom the Kings of Arragon and Granado (hauing conspired against D. Henry) sent their Ambassadors, in the yeere 1370. to treat a peace, and league with him, the which they did for fure yeeres: and in the mean time the King of Granado ceased not to annoy the country of Andalusia, and to doe all the spoile he could, giuing it out that it was in fauor and aide of D. Pedros children, who were in Carmona well manned and fortified.

Portugal.

Zamore and  
Ciudad Rode-  
rigo contrary  
to the King D.  
Henry.

Portugal  
by D. Henry  
the first  
of Portugal.

Moores take  
Algezire.

An. 1370.

The King D. Henry went to field against this Moore, who in passing attempted Ciudad Roderigo, but he could not take it. Being come to Medina del Campo, where the Estates were assembled, he was assisted with great summes of money, wherewith hee contented strangers which had serued him: and withal hee receiued for the ranfome of D. James of Majorca, who had bene taken in the castle of Burgos, 70000. ducats, paid by Queene Jeanne of Naples his wife. They hold, that Bertrand of Guesclin and others receiued there about fixe score thousand doubloons, besides the townes and places which hee gaue them; as to Guesclin the townies of Soria, Almazan, Atienza, Montague and Seron, and moreouer the Siegneury of Molina, which the King of Arragon held, that hee might breed a iarre betwixt them. There Bertrand of Guesclin tooke his leaue, and returned into France, where he was made Constable, and managed the warre against the English. The King D. Henry being come into Andalusia, hee was to arme himselfe against the Moores, against them of Carmona, & against the gallies of Portugal, who did trouble that coast, stoping the mouth of the riuier of Guadalquivir, so as the towne of Seuile was much anoyed. The King was nothing well provided of gallies & ships of warre, yet he gaue such order, as in a short time he had a good army made ready in Biscay and Guipuscoa, whereby the sea was assured; the Generall of this armie, was called Pero Gonçales of Agüero. During these actions, D. Tello the Kings brother, being reconciled, and left by him in Galicia, to make head against the Portugals, died, and was buried at Saint Francis of Palencia, the Siegneuries of Biscay

Castille.



these places by force: so as Saluaterra of Alaua and Saint Croix were reduced vnder A his obedience: but Victoria and Logroño remained in the custody of D. John Ramires of Arellan. King Charles complained to Pope Gregory the eleventh, at Auignon, of this excess done by the King D. Henry, then he came with all speed into his Realme of Nauarre, to defend it against the army of the King D. Henry, who threatened to enter into his country, if hee did not restore him the townes of Logroño and Victoria. King Charles gaue him to vnderstand, that seeing it had bene agreed to put their controuersies to compromise to the Pope, who had sent a Legat into Spaine, which was Cardinal Guy of Bologno, Bishop of Portuense, that (for his part) hee was well content the Legat being come to Saint Dominike, and hauing bene made acquainted with the rights and pretensions of both Kings, hee made a peace betwixt them, vpon these conditions: That the townes of Logroño and Victoria, should be restored to the King of Castile: That the Infant D. Charles, eldest sonne to the King of Nauarre, should take to wife Donna Leonora Infanta of Castile, daughter to D. Henry, with a dowry of a hundred thousand doubloons at the celebration of the marriage: and moreouer besides the said summe, King Henry should pay at the same time, twenty thousand doubloons to the King of Nauarre, for his charges during the time he had held the said places: That for assurance of the accomplishment of this marriage, the Infant D. Pedro, the younger sonne of Nauarre, should remaine in hostage in Castile, in the hands of the Queene D. Jeanne, vntill that the Infant D. Charles should bee of sufficient age. These things thus determined, the two Kings met at Briona, where they did confirme what had bene formerly concluded; being come into Nauarre, hee presently sent his sonne D. Charles to bee made sure to the Infanta D. Leonora, who came to Briona, well accompanied by the chiefest Noblemen of Nauarre, where this ceremony was done with great pompe: the townes of Victoria and Logroño, were restored, and after the returne of the Infant D. Charles, D. Pedro his brother was sent vnto the Queene of Castile, to remaine there in hostage, according to the accord.

The King of Nauarre hauing giuen order for this businesse, hee examined their actions, which had gouerned his Realme during his absence; and hauing found that some faults had bene committed by the Bishop of Pampelone, and the Deane of Tudelo, whome he had left for counsellors to the Queene his wife, they fearing to bee punished, absented themselves. The Bishop tooke his way to Rome, where hee arrived safely, and there ended the remainder of his daies; but as for the Deane, who sought to saue himself in Castile, he was pursued, and taken nere vnto Logroño, and there slaine by the Kings commandment. Soone after Queen Jean returned into France, where she liued not long.

4 About the end of this yeere 1373 the King D. Charles and his eldest sonne, came to Madrid to see the King D. Henry, whom the King of Nauarre let vnderstand, that to auoide a great trouble in his affaires, which might grow by the meanes of Edward King of England, and Edward Prince of Wales his sonne, he should imbrace their friendship, the which he had charge to offer him, vpon condition he should breake the league he had with the French king, their enemy, in regard whereof they promised to giue no aide vnto the daughters of the deceased King D. Pedro, who were in England, making great sure vnto King Edward, and to the Prince of Wales, to restore them to their fathers Inheritance: and moreouer that John Duke of Lancaster had married D. Constance the one of them, by reason whereof he pretended the Realme of Castile to belong vnto him, as holding the place of the eldest, being declared lawfull, and received in that quality by the Estates of the realme, her sister, D. Beatrix being dead. At which pretensions should be relinquished by the English, if he left the alliance of France, & paid a certaine sum of money vnto the Prince of Wales, the which the D. Pedro his brother did owe him. The King of Nauarre propounded these things, as hauing charge from the English Princes, who were enemies to France, whose party he had alwaies held, for the wrongs which hee pretended had bene done him by the French King his brother in law: giuing many reasons, to induce the King D. Henry to incline to this party; but hee (who held not the crowne of Castile of any other after God, but of the French) would not shew himselfe vnthanke.

A carder  
toward Castile  
and Nauarre.

The King of  
Nauarre seeks  
to draw the  
King of Castile  
from the  
friendship of  
France to  
ioint with the  
English.

A vnthankfull, but answered resolutely, that he would neuer quit the friendship of France: but if the question were to disburse money to content the English, that he was well content to do it: the which the King of Nauarre sayd was not sufficient, and that he must of necessitie breake the League he had with France; but if he held it not fit to do, hee intreated him not to take in ill part what he had sayd vnto him, seeing he had it in charge from the King of England, to whom he was bound to do all good offices. The king Don Henry thanked him for the paines he had taken, to come so farre into Castile, saying, that he could not take that ill which he had spoken, but (for his part) he would persist in his first resolution: so as the King of Nauarre returned into his Realme, and the king Don Henry into Andalusia.

B The king of Nauarre aduertised the English Princes of the answer he had receiued, the which did much discontent them: for the king of Castile did much ballance their affaires, by the succours he gaue by sea vnto the French, hauing sent a good number of ships of warre, vnder the command of Ambrose Bocanegra a Genouois, his Admirall, who stopped the passage in such fort betwixt France and England, as besides many small prizes which he had taken, he defeated a fleet of English, about that time, and tooke fixe and thirty of their vessels neere vnto Rochel; by which victorie Rochel came vnder the obedience of the French king, and the greatest part of the prey and prisoners were carried into Spaine; among the which was the Earle of Pembroke Generall of the army. Besides which success, the king Don Henry being come from Burgos to Saint Ander, he sent Don Ruy Diaz of Rojas into the Prouince of Guipuscoa, to make ready a new army of 40. ships, the which he sent soone after vnder the command of the same Ruy Diaz to the French K. who came to Rochel, and hauing ioyned with a French Captaine called John Calais, who had about twenty Barks, all together came and set vpon another fleet of English, whom they likewise put to rout, and then Don Ruy Diaz returned a victor into Spaine: so as the English had reason to seeke to diuide the king of Castile, from him of France, and to draw him vnto their partie. Pope Gregorie the eleventh presumed to interpose his authoritie in these Princes quarrels, the which did not please them. Hauing made an accord betwixt the Kings of Castile and Nauarre, he would also reconcile the controuersies that were betwixt Castile and Arragon, and to this end hee sent the Cardinall of Cominges into Spaine, who prest the two Kings to send their Deputies to debate their cause before him. Don Henry named for his part the bishop of Burgos, and Don Aluar Garcia of Albornoz Lord Steward of his house: the king of Arragon deputed the bishop of Lerida, and Don Raymond Alam in Cernillon, who agreed that the Colledge of Cardinals should determine this controuersie. But these Princes being better aduised, that it was not fit their quarrels should be decided by the Court of Rome, they tooke a better course to agree betwixt themselves. The towne of Tuy which had for many months refused to obey D. Henry, now submitted about this peace of Arragon.

F But the warre was renewed betwixt Castile and Portugal, by reason of many prizes taken in the port of Lisbon, and at sea, of ships and merchants of Biscay, Guipuscoa and Asturia: and also for that the King Don Fernand gaue a retreat vnto the banished men of Castile, concerning matters of State; and also that hee had contemned the marriage concluded betwixt him and Donna Leonora of Castile, to marrie Donna Leonora Telles of Meneses, Neece to the Earle of Barcelos, a Lady of great beautie, but much inferior in qualitie to the Infanta Donna Leonora of Castile, and Donna Leonora of Arragon, whom he might haue had with great profit to his Realme, and to himselfe honour. Hee contemned these marriages, which had bene very beneficiall to himselfe, and to his Realme of Portugal, to marrie this Ladie, offending God and all good lawes: for he tooke her violently from her husband Laurence Pasques of Acugna, forcing him to flee into Castile, where he past the remainder of his dayes in exile, carrying commonly hornes of siluer on his hat, to witnesse the lust and infamy of his Prince; yet some, to excuse this fact, write, that the king caused this marriage to be dissolved by the Popes authoritie, as vnlawfull, by reason of the nearnesse of consanguinitie: of the which (notwithstanding) there was issued one sonne, called Aluaro of Acugna. The king was made sure vnto her in the presence of the Earle of Barcelos, and a sister of hers, called Don Mary, who had mannaged this

Don Henry K.  
of Castile  
sits in the am-  
bly of France.

Rochel yielded  
to the French.

Portugal.

5.  
Marriage un-  
lawful of the  
king of Portu-  
gal, taking a-  
way his sub-  
jects wife.

Tumult at Lisbon for the kings marriage.

this marriage, and to whom the king had imparted his lous. When this marriage was published in Lisbon, the inhabitants incensed (that the king had left so profitable and honorable a marriage, as that of Castile) began to mutine, and having taken *Fernand Vasques* of Acugna for their Captaine, they sent 300. armed men about the kings pallace, and gaue the king to vnderstand in the behalfe of the city, that hee should leaue this woman, else they would take her, and do vnto her as their Predecessors had done to the king *D. Sancho Capello* in the like case. The king fearing the furie of this multitude, answered them mildly, that in what they did, they were good subiects, being ialous of his honour, and thanked them for their good will: but he let them vnderstand, that *D. Leonora Telles* was not his married wife, and intreated them to retire vntill the next day, when he would talke to them more amply of that businesse, in the Monasterie of *S. Dominicke*. This blast being blowne ouer, the king parted by night out of Lisbon, and carried *D. Leonora Telles* with him into the countrie betwixt Duero and Minio: and retiring towards Porto, he lodged neere vnto it in the Monasterie of *Leza*, where he married this Lady publicly, not caring how his subiects tooke it. He commanded that all men should acknowledge her, and call her Queene, and gaue her the townes of *Almadra*, *Sintra*, *Torresuedras*, *Atognia*, *Ouidos*, *Alanguer*, *Abrantes*, *Villa viciosa*, and many other places. All in the end yeelded to it without murmuring, seeing it was the kings pleasure, and *D. Leonora* had the title of Queene giuen her by all men, but by *D. Denis* the kings brother, who would neuer kisse her hand, saying, That it was her duty to kisse his: whereat the King *D. Fernand* was so incensed, as if *Don Denis* had not retired presently by the meanes of those that were then present, he had stab'd him with his dagger: for this cause the Infant retired himselfe for euer after into Castile. When as *D. Leonora Telles* saw her selfe installed Queene, shee made a diligent search who had bin the chiefe motiues of the mutiny at Lisbon, and vnderstanding that they were of the family of *Vasques* of Acugna, she ceased not to pursue them with a deadly harred, vntill she had forced many of them to flie into Castile.

Genealogie of Portugal.

Of this marriage betwixt the king *D. Fernand* and *D. Leonora Telles* issued *D. Beatrix*, who was married to *D. Iohn* the first King of Castile, borne at Coimbra, and afterwards a son and a daughter who died yong: some Authors hold, that they were borne in adulterie, committed by the Queene with *D. Iohn Fernandes* of Andeiro, a knight of Galicia, borne at Corunna. Moreouer the king before this marriage, had a daughter called *D. Izabel*. The king *D. Henry* having these causes of discontent against the king of Portugal, he gaue him to vnderstand by his ambassadors, that he could not take it in good part, that he had retired his rebellious subiects, of which he demanded some: and moreouer, that he should deliuer the ships and merchants of *Asturia*, *Biscay*, & *Guipuscoa* with their goods, which he had taken and stayed: whereof the King *D. Fernand* made no accompt, wherefore the king of Castile prepared to armes. *Diego Lope Pacheco* a knight of Portugal, was then in Castile, who was retired thither, by reason of the death of *D. Agnes* of Castro, flying the fury of the king *D. Pedro*: and had bin so fauored by the king *D. Henry*, as he had got great reuenues & honors. This Knight had left many friends in Portugal, by whose means he was aduertised of all that was done in *D. Fernands* Court: and as he was a most affectionat seruant to the king of Castile, so he sought to draw vnto him all those that were valiant in Portugal: and if any one were persecuted, he perswaded him to come into Castile, declaring vnto them the bountie of the king *D. Henry*. He had had intelligence of all that had past touching the marriage of *D. Leonora Telles*, and of the discontent betwixt the King and his brother *D. Denis*, and them of the house of Acugna, and the city of Lisbon: wherefore imbracing these occasions fit for the war, which was like to grow betwixt these two kings, *Diego Lope Pacheco* wrought so, as he drew *D. Denis* to come and put himselfe vnder the protection of the king *D. Henry*, & enterrayned by all means such Gentlemen as were ill affected to their King, to be reuenged of the wrongs he had done them. Matters being thus prepared, and the ambassador being returned, who had bin sent to summon the king *D. Fernand* to deliuer the banished men which he had in his Realm, & to make restitution of the prizes which had bin taken by him, the king *D. Henry* entred into Portugal with an army, and having sent *D. Alphonso* his son to Coimbra (a castle in Galicia where the banished men had fortified themselves) the place was taken.

War betwixt Castile and Portugal.

The

A The king on his side seized of *Almorda*, *Panel*, *Cillonico* and *Linares*, and there *Don Denis* ioyned with him, with other Noblemen of Portugal, who were liberally intreated, and much honoured. Pope *Gregorie* the eleuenth residing in Auignon, hearing of the troubles betwixt these two kings, was carefull (like a good pastor) to send a Legat, which was Cardinall *Guy* of Bologna, with full authoritie to reconcile them. But before that hee could draw the parties to any friendly composition, the king *Don Henry* made a new entrie, tooke *Viseo*, and ranne vp the countrie as farre as *S. Iren*, finding no resistance: for *Don Fernand* was not so able to maintain a quarrell, as he was ready to breed one: wherefore keeping himselfe within *Saint Iren*, the king *Don Henry* had the passage free and open to go vnto Lisbon, where he spoyled and burnt the lower part of the towne, as the new street, and some other places, for that he neither found walles, nor any resistance: the quarter called *Sus*, held good, being walled in, and well manned; for all the inhabitants were retired thither: during the which, the sea-armie of Castile entred into the mouth of the riuier, which is large and spacious, where they did not onely recouer the ships of *Biscay*, and others which had beene taken; but many vesselles of all sorts, which were fit for seruice, were carried away by the Castillans, and the rest burnt. In the meane time the Legat laboured what he could to end these miseries, wherein he preuailed so much, as hee reduced the two kings to a peace, the which was concluded to the great aduantage of the king of Castile; after which the kings met neere vnto *Saint Iren*, either of them in a barke vpon the riuier of *Tayo*, where they finished their accord and capitulations: among the which there was a marriage concluded betwixt *Donna Beatrix*, sister to the king *D. Fernand*, and *Don Sancho* Earle of *Albuquerque*, brother to the king of Castile, and of *Donna Izabella* base daughter to the king *Don Fernand*, and *Don Alphonso* Earle of *Gijon*, base sonne to the king *Don Henry*. The marriage betwixt *Don Sancho* and *Donna Beatrix* was celebrated; the places taken were restored, the peace was proclaimed, and the king of Castile returned into his countrie, leading his daughter-in-law *Donna Izabella* with him, being but eight yeares old, who was afterwards married to the Earle of *Gijon*, to his great griefe.

Lisbon spoiled and burnt by the King of Castile.

Peace betwixt Castile and Portugal.

The quarrels betwixt Castile and Arragon, being not well ended, they were forced to come to a new compromise, wherein the Duke of Anjou brother to the French king was a dealer, but with so bad successe, as he became enemy to the King of Arragon. At that time were celebrated the marriages of *D. Iohn* D. of *Girone*, the heire of Arragon, and *Martina* daughter to the Earle of *Armaignac*, who had fiftene thousand pounds sterling in dowrie: and of *Don Martin* of Arragon, the kings youngest sonne, with *Donna Mary*, daughter to *Don Lopes* Earle of *Luna*, and Lord of *Segorbe*. The same yeare 1372. *Don Pedro* king of Arragon finding too late, how easie he had beene to beleue false reports, and repenting himselfe of the vnworthie death of *Bernard* of *Cabrera*, hee restored his Grand-child *Bernardin*, sonne to *Bernardin* of *Cabrera*, to all his goods, except the Earldome of *Vic*, which he kept to himselfe. The father of this young Nobleman dyed in Castile, in the seruice of the king *Don Henry*, notwithstanding, that hee had sought his fathers death. There were this yeare scene in Arragon horrible Earthquakes, with the ruins of mountaines about *Ribagorça*, where as many villages were ouerthrowne, and great multitudes of people perished.

Arragon.

In Castile the king *Don Henry* was prest by *Donna Maria* of *Lara*, Countesse of *Alençon*, to do her right for the Lordships of *Biscay* and *Lara*: she had many sons which were all aduanced in France: the first was Earle of *Alençon*, the second of *Estampes*, the third of *Perch*, and two of the Church. The king *Don Henry* made answer, that he should send him two of her sonnes to remaine in Spaine, and that he would giue the Lordship of *Biscay* to the one, and that of *Lara* to the other. He presumed that she could not do it: all her children being so well aduanced in France, and for some other reasons.

Castile.

Biscay belongs to the house of Alençon.

F *Edward* king of England, and his sonne *Iohn* Duke of Lancaster, (who intitled himselfe King of Castile and Leon, in the right of his wife *Donna Constance*, daughter to the king *Don Pedro* the Cruel) sent Ambassadors to the king of Arragon, in the yeare 1373. to treat a League with him: being refused to send a great army into Castile, to conquer that Realme, whereof the Duke of Lancaster should be Generall, as belonging to his wife: offering

1373. Pretensions of Iohn Duke of Lancaster to Castile.

offering great conditions to the king of Arragon, if he would adhere to their partie. The A king of Arragon demanded the Realme of Murcia, the townes of Requena, Otiel, Moya, Cagnete, the city of Cuenca, and the Segneurie of Molina, with other places vpon the frontier of Castile, whereof he held some: but hoping he should haue a better composition with the king D. Henry, he kept himselfe betwixt both, being doubtfull what to do, so as nothing was concluded for that time with the ambassadors of England.

During these reuolutions in Spaine in temporall affaires, religion was managed by diuers sects of Monkes, especially by the begging Friars of Saint *Dominick* and Saint *Francis*, who this year incensed the people against a new Order which had risen in Spaine in the time of the king Don *Pedro*, through the deuout ignorance of certaine Italians of B Sienna, religious Hermits, who had heard one of their companions, called Friar *Thomas*, say dying, by a Prophetical spirit, sayd they, that within few dayes the holy Ghost should come into Spaine, and that he had this by reuelation: wherefore all these religious men thinking that the holy Ghost did not frequent much in Italy in those times, and that it was something which they must seeke farre off in a strange countrie: they left Italy, and came into the countrie of Toledo, hoping to get the grace of the holy Ghost, and thereby saue their soules.

The fame of these men being spread ouer Spaine, a bishop of Iden called D. *Alphonso Pecha*, and Don *Pero Fernand Pecha* his brother, Chamberlaine to the king Don *Pedro*, *Hernando Ianes* Chanoine of Toledo, and chiefe Chaplaine of the chappell of the auncient Kings, with many other Christians, commending the resolution of these Friars, and their ignorance, being desirous to liue in that contemplation, ioyned with them, leauing Bishopricks, Chanonries, Benefices and Estates, and chusing their aboads in caves and woods farre from the societie of men, where they began to liue a wonderfull austere life, saying, that it was according to the rule of Saint *Paul*, that they must suffer many discomforts, to liue like Christians, and that it was the meanes to gaine Paradise. This sect beeing in great esteeme, the begging Friars began to blame the people for following of these men, who had no settled Order nor discipline among them, and (which did more import) had no approbation from the Pope. For these reasons the inconstant multitude began to retire themselves, and to abate much of their deuotion, which these good Hermits finding, to their great griefe, they tooke counsell among themselves to send vnto the Pope, to get authoritie from him for a name, rule, profession, order, and aboad. The messengers were Friar *Peter Fernandez* of Guadajara, and Friar *Peter Romaine* of their company: who beeing come before the Pope, exposed their deuotion vnto him, their manner of life, exercises in religion, their means and merits, beseeching him that he would bee pleased to approoue their Order and profession, giuing them for Patron the great Doctor Saint *Ierome*, to whome all were most addicted.

The Pope made no difficultie to allow of them, hauing had some former information of that which they had sayd, appointing them to liue vnder the rule of S. *Augustine*, hee prescribed what manner of garment they should weare, and sent backe these Deputies into Spaine, with Bulls, in October, 1373. By this approbation from the Pope, these Monkes crept into credit, and did build their first conuent in a place called Lupiana, in the Archbishopricke of Toledo, two leagues from Guadajara, dedicating it to Saint *Basilhelmew*, the which was since the chiefe of the Order: the Prior of which Monasterie is General of the Order for three yeares, and is bound to reside in that Monasterie during his charge. Since by the bountie of the Princes of Spaine, these Hermits haue built many Conuents, and haue greatly enlarged their possessions. Their exercise is more in singing then studying, the which they do neglect expressely, to the end they might not be diuerted from their simple contemplation, notwithstanding there haue beene some great Preachers found among them, and men of vnderstanding in great affaires of State.

Returning to politicke worldly affaires, the king D. *Henry* beeing aduertised of the practises betwixt the English and the king of Arragon, he sought to entertaine the hope of compromise propounded by the Cardinall *Guy* of Bologne, who by the Popes commandement, was a mediator to make this peace. In the meane time hee had intelligence with *Lewis Duke* of Aniou, Governor of Languedoc; and concluded, that hee should presse

7.  
Order of Saint  
Ierome in Spaine

Approbation  
of the Order  
of S. Ierome  
by the Pope.

A presse the English towards Bayone, and the duke of Aniou vpon the limits of his government, and then hauing ioyned their forces together, they should annoy them all they could in Guienne: for he had intelligence that *John Duke* of Lancaster had imparted his enterprises, and ioyned his forces with those of *John* of Montfort Duke of Brittain, making preparation to enter into Castile: the which he thought fit to preuent, and to assaile him in Guienne, whilest that *Philip* the Hardy, Duke of Bourgogne, and brother to the French king, made warre against the English in Artois and Vermandois: and to this effect the king D. *Henry* gaue order to rayse an armie in Rioja. Whilest that the troupes were leuying, the Court being at Burgos, there fell a quarrell betwixt the seruants of D. *Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, the kings brother, and them of D. *Pedro Gonzales* of Mendoza for their lodgings, whether the Earle running to pacifie this broyle, (whereof neither hee, nor D. *Pedro* were guilty) he was thrust through with a lance and slaine, by one that knew him not. The king parting from Burgos, came to Rioja, where hauing mustred his army, he found 6200. horse, whereof 1200. were Genets, with the which he past to Bayone, being assured by the Duke of Aniou, that he would come and ioine with him. And to keepe the king of Arragon in awe, Don *James* Infant of Majorca, husband to *Jeane* Queene of Naples, was come to Narbone with good troupes, threatening to enter into Cattellogne.

The K. D. *Henry* passing by Alaua and Guipuscoa, entered into the territorie of Bayone, where he found no great resistance, for the armie of English, which had beene hotly pursued by the Duke of Bourgogne, beeing come to Bourdeaux, was much diminished. There he stayed some dayes for the Duke of Aniou, hauing sent *Pero Fernandes* of Velasco, his Lord Chamberlaine, and Don *John Ramires* of Arellan, to hasten him: but they found him busied in taking of townes and castels from the English, some by force, some by composition, so as the king Don *Henry* returned with his army into Spaine, hauing done no great exploit.

Passing through Guipuscoa, Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, Lord of Ognate, who had done him great seruice, made sute vnto him to giue him the towne of Mondragon, whereof the Inhabitants beeing aduertised, they sent their Deputies to informe the king D. what wrong he should do himselfe, if hee should alienate such a place from the Crown, the which (besides the great commerce, by reason of the forges of Iron and Steele, which were continually set a worke thereabouts) was a fort of great consequence, vpon the which there might be many desseines made: for the Castell (which was then entire) was impregnable: beseeching him to be an eye witnesse, and to passe by the place, remembering that the Inhabitants of Mondragon had beene alwaies faithfull vnto him, and that during the warres betwixt him, and the King Don *Pedro*, they had alwaies followed his partie. The king promised to passe by their towne, wherefore the Inhabitants thereof, and of the countrie thereabouts beganne to make the lower way, which goes from that towne to Ognate, whereas before they were forced to passe the mountaine called Baque, to the end the King should not be tyred with passing ouer it. This passage is at this day called Euripide, a corrupted word, in sted of Erreguevide, the which in that countrie language signifies a way for the king.

The King Don *Henry* hauing viewed the situation of the towne and fort, with the commodities thereof, and considered of the Inhabitants reasons, he would not yeeld vnto the petition of Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, but he gaue him in recompence the valley of Leniz, with all iurisdiction, both ciuill and criminall. This valley was wont to depend vpon Mondragon, but then it was taken from it, and the sayd *Bertrand*, and his successors haue enioyed it for the space of an hundred, fourescore, and two yeares, or thereabouts, vnto the year 1556. when it was vnitied vnto the Crowne, by a decree of the Kings Councill of Castile. The king parting from Mondragon, returned to Burgos, from whence he past to Leon, and then to Seuille.

Whilest that the king of Arragon was attentive to the warre against the English, the Infant Don *James* of Majorca, husband to the Queene of Naples, entered into Cattellogne with fiftene hundred lances, beeing assisted by the Kings of France and Castile, and by the Duke of Aniou, where he did much harme. On the other side *Bernard* bastard of Foix,

8.  
Preparation  
John Duke  
of Lancaster  
to gainst D. Henry  
of Castile.

D. Henry of  
Castile, who  
Guienne was  
an army against  
the English.

Arragon.



Foix, first Duke of Medina Celi, and *Geoffrey Reichen*, a Knight of Brittainie, Lord of A. A  
guilar del campo, allied, and friends to the Infant of Majorca, spoiled the countrie of  
Arragon, by Medina Celi, the which did wonderfully trouble the King of Arragon, and  
made him studie how hee might speedily end the controversies which he had with the  
king Don Henry.

The Infant Don *James* of Majorca having spoyled Cattelogne, palt into Arragon, to do the like; but he was forced to retire for want of victuals, leading his armie into Cadix, where he fell sicke and dyed in Alman, in the beginning of the year 1375. His troupes returned into Gasconie, with *John* of Malefit, their chiefe leader. In this armie was *Icanne* of Majorca, Marquesse of Montferrat, sifter to the deceased Don *James*, who palt also into Gasconie.

Some were of opinion, that this attempt of the Infant of Majorca, was not without the intelligence of some great men of Arragon, who had drawne him into the countrie, whereof the king made diligent informations. At that time there was so great a dearth in Arragon, as they were forced to begge a passage for come out of Affricke and Mauritania, the which did warrant the country from this inuasion, more then any resistance that the king D. Pedro could make.

An. 1374.  
Castille.

This yeare 1374. the King of Castile redeemed from *Bertrand* of Guesclin, Constable of France, the towne of Soria, and the rights of Molina, which he had giuen him, paying him 240000. doubions, and moreouer he gaue him the Earle of Pembroke, an English man, who was a prisoner, and set at 10000. pounds sterling for his ranfome, and the Lord of Piene for 3400. pounds, with many other knights and Captains English, or their partisans, as well for this redemption, as for the remainder which was due to him & his troups. And holding alwaies good correspondence with the French K. during the war against the English, he sent him a good armie by sea, whereof *D. Fernand Sanches* of Tour was Admiral, the which beeing ioyned vnto the French, did much annoy the English coasts.

The practises of a peace between Castile and Arragon being continued, the ambassadors of both kings met at Almazan, whether came the *Queen* of Castile, and her sonne *D. John*. There were for Castile, the Bishops of Plaisance and Palence, and *D. Pedro Gonzales* of Mendoga, Lord Steward to the Infant of Castile, with his brother *D. John Hurtado* of Mendoga Standard-bearer also to the Infant, & *Pedro Fernandes* of Velasco, Chamberlain to the king. For the king of Arragon came the Archb. of Sarraffossa, and *D. Raymond Alaman Ceruillon*, who treated of the differences betwixt the two kings, with great eagerneffe, in the presence of the *Queen* of Castile. The king *D. Henry* demanded, that the Infanta *D. Leonora*, daughter to *D. Pedro* king of Arragon, should be delivered to the Infant *D. John* his Son, to whom she was made sure. The king of Arragon answered, that the king of Castile must performe that which he had promised and sworn, when he came first out of France into Castile, by Arragon, which was to giue him the lands of ten before mentioned: whereunto he of Castile replied, that he was no more bound, for that the king of Arragon had beene since in League with the Prince of Wales his enemy, and had had many treaties with other Princes to his preiudice: Moreover, that returning the second time out of France he had not giuen him free passage through Arragon. Besides these inaine articles, there were others of lesse consequence, all which were reconciled by these Deputies.

9.  
Accord be-  
twixt D. Henry  
King of Castile  
and D. Pedro  
king of Arra-  
gon.

The accord was made the twelfth of April 1374. in the Monasterie of Saint Francis of Almazan, as followeth: That the Infanta Donna *Leonora* of Arragon should be given to the Infant Don *John* of Castile, as his lawfull wife, with a dowrie of two hundred thousand Florens of the coyne of Arragon, which summe the king Don *Henry* should hold for receiued, for the charges which the king of Arragon might haue beene at in the first passage which hee made through Arragon into Castile. The King of Arragon should restore Molina, Almazan, and other places which he had gotten during the troubles of Spaine: and to auoyde all future controuerfies betwixt the parties, Don *Henry* king of Castile should pay vnto him of Arragon an hundred and eighty thousand Florens, at dayes appointed.

For

A For assurance whereof the sorts of Requena, Otiel and Moya should be left in depositon in the hands of the Arch-bishop of Saragossa, and of Don *Raymond Alaman* of Ceruillon. These things thus concluded, the King *D. Henry* came to Soria, with the Queene his wife and children, whither the Infanta *D. Leonora* of Arragon was sent: thither also came Don *Charles* Infant of Nauarre, so as there were two marriages celebrated in that cittie, betwixt Don *John* of Castile, and *D. Leonora* of Arragon, and betwixt Don *Charles* of Nauarre, and *D. Leonora* of Castile, but there was a moneths respite betwixt the one and the other. Spaine being at peace within it selfe, by these accords and allyances made betwixt Castile, Arragon, Nauarre, Portugal, and Granado, it was fit to treat of the employments of the Princes and people of those countries, touching arts, sciences, lawes, and ciuill gouernement, but the records of such things are very defectiue. Wee reade briefly, that the King Don *Henry* appointed companies, which they call *Hermandades*, which are assemblies of Commonalties in the Prouince of Guipuscoa, where they treat of affaires and negotiations concerning their Princes seruice, and the preseruacion of the countrie.

As for the King of Nauarre, who was turbulent and an enemy to rest, hee forged and inuented a new quarrell against the King Don *Henry*, vppon the payment of an hundred and fiftie thousand Doublons which hee had promised for the marriage of his daughter Donna *Leonora*: for the King of Nauarre refused an hundred and fiftie thousand Reals of silver, which was part of this payment, saying, that the king of Castile was bound to pay him the summe in gold. These Reals remayned long in the towne of Logroño, and in the end were lost for the king of Nauarre, by reason of the quarrels and tumults which ensued.

The Infant Don *Pedro*, the second sonne of Nauar, who had beene in hostage, was deliuered. At that time the king of Nauarre was aduertised, that Don *Rodrigo* of Vrris, a knight which had done him great seruice in all his affaires both in France and Spaine, had secret intelligence with Don *Henry*, king of Castile, who had a desire to seaze on Tudela vppon Ebro, and vppon Caparoge, notwithstanding the accords and allyances contracted with him. Of which places Don *Rodrigo* was Guecnor, who being solicited to this end, had a promise from the king Don *Henry* of a great recompence in Castile, and to giue him his owne Neece to wife, being daughter to one of his breethren, with other great aduancements: an vsuall thing in Princes, when they seeke to draw any one vnto their seruice. King *Charles* informed hereof, was much grieved, for hee loued Don *Rodrigo*: who to diuert him from this trecherous practise, ill besitting a knight of honour, he let him vnderstand, that he had intelligence of the marriage which hee treated in Castile, aduising him not to giue ear to it in any fort, without the consent of his Councell: this message was deliuered vnto him by *Martin* of Vrris his brother, and *Iohn Renaud* Captaine of Tudela, and by Don *Sancho* of Vrris, one of the kings Councell.

Don *Rodrigo* thinking that the king was ignorant of his other practises, but had only some intelligence of his marriage, neglected what they had sayd vnto him, and went on his way, as it were, to be married: beeing come to Pampelona, hee was stayd by the kings commandements, where beeing examined vpon the treason, and not able to disproue what was auerred against him, hee was condemned to loofe his head, the which was executed, yet secretly, to preferue the honour and estimation of his family and kindred, to whome the bodie was deliuered, and interred by them in the Monasterie of Saint *Augustine* at Pampelona.

Many other knights of Nauarre were so terrified with this death, to whom the carriage and behaviour of king *Charles* was neither pleasing nor profitable, as they left their Countie, and retired themselves, some into Castile, some into other places, where they were well receiued and entertained. Such were the effects of the peace and concord between the Princes of Spaine then reigning. This happened in the year 1376. when as *D. Bernard Foucault* Bishop of Pamplona, dying in Italy there succeeded him *D. Martin* of Salua, a great Doctor in the ciuill and canon Lawes, equalled in that knowledge, yea preferred by the Spaniards to *Baldus*, who liued in his time. This bishop was a defender of the ecclesiasticall rights, & did much good to his church, retiring the lands belonging thereto,

IO  
Treason of D.  
Rodrigo of V  
vis discovered  
and punished  
by the king of  
Navarre.

out of the hands of many lay-men which had vsurped them: namely, those of Villa Toro, A  
Villa Major and Montreal, with other tythes. This yeare the townes of Pampelona, Pu-  
ente la Reyna, Garde, S. Vincent, Arcos, and Saint Iohn of Pic de port, allowed of the  
marriage betwixt the Infant Don Charles, and D. Leonora of Castile, with the oaths and  
ceremonies vsed in those times, acknowledging for their Prince, and heire to the Crown,  
the first borne son of that marriage, the which king Charles did procure, that he might the  
better confirme the future succession.

II.  
Arragon.

The affaires passing after this manner in Spaine, the king of Arragon, who thought  
himselfe freed from all troubles by the peace made with Castile, and the decess of the In-  
fant D. James of Majorca, found himselfe intangled in new crosses, and of greater conse-  
quence then any of the precedent: for D. Jeanne Marquesse of Montserrat, sister and heire  
to the Infant of Majorca, being past into France, after the decess of her brother, had  
made cession vnto Lewis Duke of Anjou, the French kings brother, of all the rights which  
she pretended to the Realme of Majorca, Countie of Rossillon and Cerdagne, Colibre  
and Valisper, which Segneuries the duke pretended to recouer by armes, seeing that the  
king Don Pedro would not come to any friendly composition: so as he stayed onely for  
the conclusion of a peace, which was treated with the English, before he entred in hostile  
manner into Cattelogne, with the forces which hee had vader his charge and iurisdic-  
tion, which were four thousand Lances: wherewith the King of Arragon being much  
troubled, he called a generall Assembly of the Estates of Arragon, Valence, Cattelogne, C  
Majorca, and his other Dominions and territories, at Monçon, to preuent this warre,  
which did threaten him.

Cession of the  
rights of Ros-  
sillon, Cerdag-  
ne, &c. to the  
house of Anjou.

Jewes and  
Moorees of  
Spaine bare  
the extraordi-  
nary charges  
of the warre.

The Estates made answer vnto the King, who demanded money, that the subiect could  
not contribute any more, being ruined by the great charges which they had borne some  
years before: and that the ancient custome was, that the Jewes and Moorees which were  
subiects to the Kings of Arragon, should beare the extraordinarie charges of the warre,  
if need required: wherfore he should adresse himselfe vnto those men. At the assembly  
the Vicount of Cardona tooke the title of Earle, by a decree of the Estates. The affaires of  
the Vicount did augment the king of Arragons cares, for all went from bad to worse, so as  
Sardinia did augment the king of Arragons cares, for all went from bad to worse, so as  
the Governour of Caillieri was driuen to that despaire, as hee was readie to set fire of the  
towne, and to flie away by sea, being vnable to resist Hugh the sonne of Marian, the new  
Iudge of Arborea, his father being lately deceased: who shewed himselfe a more violent  
enemie against the Arragonois, then his father had beene: the which was the more to  
bee feared, for that the Geneuois hauing broken the peace, made and confirmed by Iohn  
Marquesse of Montserrat, with the king of Arragon, had entred into the Iland of Sardy-  
nia, and ioyning their forces with them of the Iudge, had attempted Pole neere to Cal-  
leri, and done many other acts of hostility.

An. 1377.

This yeare 1377. Philip the Hardy, Duke of Bougongne, went in pilgrimage to Saint  
James of Galicia, passing, he visited the king Don Henry at Segobia, who received him  
honorably, and gaue him many rich presents. About the same time D. Gomes Manrique E  
Arch-bishop of Toledo being dead, this great and rich liuing was affected by many, by  
reason whereof the Court of Castile was diuided into factions, euery one fauouring his  
kinsman or friend, that aspired to this dignitie, nor to be Ministers of the word of God,  
and to instruct the people in Christian Religion, but to be worldly great, rich and mighty,  
companions to Kings, and commanders ouer armies, according to the custome of that  
age. The King Don Henry did much fauour D. Iohn Garcia Manrique Bishop of Siguen-  
ça, whose sister D. Iohn Ramires of Arellan had married. Vpon this election, where there  
were so many pretendants, D. Iohn Ramires thinking he had need of the Popes fauor and  
authoritie, went to Auignon well accompanied with Noblemen, his friends and kintmen,  
but he did not obtaine that which he pretended: for Pope Gregorie the eleuenth then reig-  
ning, declared Don Pedro Tenorio Bishop of Coimbra, Arch-bishop of Toledo. Thus  
these Pretendants lost this rich bootie which they expected: much unlike vnto Don Mar-  
tin Martines of Calaoarra, Arch-deacon of Calatraua, in the church of Toledo, who  
being chosen some yeares before by the Chapter, and a generall consent, to bee Bi-  
shop of Calaoarra, hee excused himselfe, and would not accept of this dignitie, which  
is

A is one of the richest, and of greatest iurisdiction in Spaine, next to Toledo. Don Iohn  
Ramires of Arellan returning by Cattelogne, hee was desirous to kisse the king of Arra-  
gons hands, being at Barcelona, whither came the Vicount of Rueda, who in the kings  
presence accused Don Iohn Ramires of certaine crimes, offering him the combate if hee  
should deny it: Don Iohn Ramires regarding his honour, accepted of this challenge: for  
the performance whereof, the King of Arragon assigned ninetie dayes, at which time  
Don Iohn should present himselfe to the combate, or else they would proceede against  
him, according to the lawes and orders of combats.

Don Iohn Ramires returned in the meane time into Castile, and made relation vnto the  
King Don Henry how he had beene challenged, and that he must present himselfe in Ar-  
ragon at the day appointed, whereas his enemy was much fauoured by the king Don  
Pedro: the which the king of Castile hauing well considered, and fearing that Don Iohn  
Ramires (whome he loued dearely for his integritie and vertues) should receiue some in-  
dignitie, in a countrie where he was not beloved, he resolved to send a gentleman to the  
King of Arragon, to let him vnderstand, that no man liuing was better acquainted then  
himselfe, with the qualities and conditions of Don Iohn Ramires of Arellan, and how  
that he had carried himselfe like a Knight of honour in all his actions, euen when hee was  
Chamberlaine to the same king of Arragon, and employed by him in the warre against  
Don Pedro king of Castile: wherfore he intreated him to cause this appeale made by the  
Vicount to cease: whereof the King seeking to excuse himselfe, the Ambassador replied:

C Sir, seeing it is your pleasure that this combate shall be fought, vnderstand, that the King of  
Castile my Lord is resolved to send at the time you haue appointed three thousand Lances, to  
accompanie Don Iohn Ramires, to the end that hee may be no way inferior, neither for the  
safetie of his person, nor for support, vnto his aduersarie, seeing that the quarrell must be de-  
cided in a strange Countrie, where as the Prince shewes himselfe partiall. The King Don  
Pedro taking these words in ill part, fell into a great dispute with this Gentleman, who  
made him a discreet answer: wherfore fearing that this might kindle a new fire betwixt  
Castile and Arragon, after much consultation, hee commanded the Vicount to desist  
from his challenge, declaring that Don Iohn Ramires was a good Knight. Thus past the  
D affaires betwixt Castile and Arragon in the yeare 1376.

Ambassadors  
speake to the  
King of Arra-  
gon.

At which time Don Charles Infant of Nauarre, being desirous to visite the  
Court of France, did so importune the King his father, as hee got leaue, from the which  
hee was much dissuaded by the King of Castile his father-in-law, who assuredly knew  
what reasons the French King had to hate the King of Nauarre. For besides, that hee had  
perswaded him to leaue and abandon the league of France, and to adhere vnto the En-  
glish, as wee haue before shewed, hee had since ingaged and deliuered vnto them the  
Towne of Cherbourg in Normandy, and entertained many practises, to the preiudice  
and discommoditie of France, whereof the French King was particularly aduertised.

Nauarre.

12.  
Detention of  
the Prince of  
Nauarre.

Notwithstanding all this, the Infant Don Charles went on his intended and determi-  
ned iourney, presuming that hee had not offended any way the King his Vncle, and that  
he would not make any question vnto him, concerning the controuersies and opposi-  
tions which were betwixt him and his father: and that whatsoever should happen be-  
yond his expectation, hee would retire himselfe to those places which the king his fa-  
ther had in the confines of Normandie, and not approach neere the Court, without pro-  
mise of assurance.

With this resolution hee left Nauarre, very well attended on with a companie of gen-  
tlemen, and men of counsell, among the which were Baldwin Belleferant, Captaine of  
many places in Normandy belonging to the king of Nauarre, the which he held by ho-  
mage: Iames of Rue, a knight, and Chamberlaine to the king, the Seigneur of Orubia,  
F Captaine of the Infants Guard, a Basque by nation, within two leagues of Fontaraby:  
Peter of Estampes, a Doctor of Diuinity, and Councillour to the king, with diuers  
others. The French king being aduertised before-hand of this voyage, as soone as they  
were entred into France, he caused Iames of Rue to be taken, who was found seized of  
certaine papers and instructions, which did much augment the iealousie of the French:  
being put to the racke, he confessed that the king his master had plotted with the English,

Ecc 1

and

and that he had charge to say vnto the King of England, that if he wold promise the duchy A of Guienne to the king of Nauar, and entertaine him 2000. lances, he would make waite against the French, and employ all his forces of Nauarre, and of his lands in Normandie and other places: whereupon he was put into safe-keeping. The Infant beeing much discontented at the taking of this knight, not knowing what he had confessed, came to the king at Senlis, hauing a safe conduct, and besought him to deliuer this prisoner: to whom sheeking answered, that he wold not deliuer him, but would cause his proceesse to be made and his fathers also, meaning to confiscate all the lands he had within his kingdome: and moreover, he commanded him not to depart from Court without leaue. He also called Baldwin Belloferant before him, and inioyned him to deliuer into his hands, or of his cap- B taines, all the places and forts which he held for the king of Nauarre: the which Baldwin not able to auoid, promised to do, and tooke an oath: notwithstanding the king gaue him a guard, vntill he had performed what he had promised. *Fernand* of Ayanes, a knight of Nauarre, and Gouvernor for the king of Nauar of his lands in Normandie, was also apprehended, with many others, who were sent to Paris, with *James* of Rue, and *Peter* of Estampes. Thereupon the king did write vnto all Princes and Potentates strangers, touching these imprisonmentes, making great complaints of the king of Nauar his brother-in-law: and soone after he began sharpe war against the Nauarrois in Normandie: whereof Philip the Hardy, duke of Bourgongne, the kings brother, *Lewis* duke of Bourbon, and the Constable *Bertrand* of Guesclin were the chiefe Commanders, who in a short space tooke most of the townes and forts which the king of Nauarre held in that countrie, there remaining nothing in a manner but Cherbourg; the which beeing held by the English, maintained the seige 7. moneths, and yet the French could not take it. In the mean time the king caused *D. Pedro* the second son of Nauarre, and his daughter *Mary* to bee taken at Breteuil, whom notwithstanding he kept in a free prison, and very honorably. At the same time there was a Secretary of the king of Nauars, called *Peter* of Tertre, taken in the castle of Bernay, of whom by tortures they discovered many practises of the king his masters. He with *James* of Rue were condemned to die, and their bodies being quartered, were hanging in diuers places entring into the citie of Paris.

These newes heard in Nauarre, the king *D. Charles* was wonderfully troubled, as well D for the imprisonment of his children, as for the losse of his countrie, and the Infanta *D. Leonora* his daughter-in-law, was no lesse afflicted: and that which did most disquiet him, was, that the king to iustifie the imprisonment of his children, had informed all Christian Princes of his actions, and had incensed them against him, especially *D. Henry* king of Castile, against whom he had caried himselfe disdainfully in all his actions, notwithstanding the alliances and accords made newly betwixt them. And as he was of a harsh disposition, rash, and without gouernement, he beganne to contriue many bad desseines, to prevent such as he feared: and now he repented the death of *Don Rodrigo* of Virris, from whom hee had drawne so many good seruices, and the banishment of many other knights, of whom he had then great need: but he hoped the English would bee a good support for E him at all euents: and vpon this ground he resolved to surprize the towne of Logroño, which was the Rampier of Castile against Nauarre, presuming that he should amaze the king *Don Henry* by this exploite, if it succeeded, or hinder him greatly, and let others vnderstand that he was not altogether daunted: but seeing that the place was well man- ned, and carefully guarded by *Don Pedro Manriques*, Gouvernor of that frontier, hee sought to corrupt him with promises of great advancement in Nauarre, and twentie thousand doubloons in hand. *Don Pedro* who was a faithfull seruant to the king of Castile his master, and withall a Knight of honour, aduertised the king *Don Henry*, who was then at Seuille, of all this practise: which newes the king receiued at the instant when as the French kings ambassadours came to Seuille, to presse him to make warre against the king F of Nauarre: which made the king *Don Henry* more tractable to yeeld to that which they demanded: writing to *Don Pedro*, that he should entertaine this bargain with the king of Nauarre, and that hee should seeke to take him in Logroño, and there to keepe him prisoner.

*Don Pedro* hauing receiued this answer, made all possible demonstrations, that he de- sired

The Infant of  
Nauarre said.

Desperate dis-  
position of  
Charles king of  
Castile.

A fired to satisfie the king of Nauarre, and appointed him a conuenient time to deliuer him the towne, receiuing part of the double Ducats. In the meane time he drew secretly into Logroño a good supply of soldiers: and the better to assure the execution of this enter- prize, without hazard, the king *D. Henry* caused *Don Pedro Gonzales* of Mendoça, to enter into Nauarret with sixe hundred Lances, who gaue it out, that he had a quarrell with *Don Pedro Manriques*.

Matters being thus disposed, there remained nothing but for the King of Nauarre to shew his indiscretion, and to enter into Logroño: the which he was resolved to do, so blind he was in his desire, notwithstanding that all his Councell had dissuaded him, assu- ring him that *Don Pedro* was not a Knight that would commit such a trecherie against his B King and Lord: and that of necessity he must beleue he meant to deceiue him; yea they did wholly oppose themselves against this enterprize, shewing him the mischiefe which would ensue by his breach of peace with the king of Castile. Notwithstanding all this good aduice, King *Charles* failed not to come at the time appointed to the bridge of Lo- groño with foure hundred lances, *Martin Henriques* carrying the Standard royall. *Don Pedro Manriques* came forth to meet him, and drew the kings men into the Town, with- out any brute, where their lodgings were already made, and expecting to bring in the king, he inuited him very courteously: but suddenly bethinking himselfe of the mischiefe whereinto he runne, and repenting that he had drawne so many men into danger, he re- tired from the bridge towards Viane, telling *D. Pedro* that he wold not enter for that time C in person, but it should be the next day, and that there were ynough to execute that which they had concluded. This was a happy inspiration, for if hee had entred, he had neuer re- turned with libertie nor Crowne. *Don Pedro Manriques* seeing that the prey was escaped, caused all the Nauarrois that were entred, to be stript, whereof some were slaine, and o- thers prisoners; yet many escaped, leaping ouer the wals and rampiers by the riuier, and other passages which they found: yea *Martin Henriques*, who carried the Standard, seeing the alarme, and how they were circumvented, keeping his Standard fast, hee recovered the bridge, where he was entuironed round about by the enemy, but he defended himselfe very valiantly. In the end seeing he had no meanes to make his passage, he threw himselfe off the bridge into the riuier, with his Standard, and so escaped by swimming, as the Lord D of Oloagui had also done, who came vnto the king their Lord, and related the enterpry- ment they had found at Logroño: whereat he did not maruaile, as hauing fore-seene, though too late, what would succeed: notwithstanding he was much discontented, for he had lost many good men. By this attempt the peace betwixt Castile and Nauarre was plainly broken.

The king *Don Henry* being at Seuille, was aduertised of all that had past, and dispatched his sonne *Don Iohn*, a Prince in the flower of his age, desirous of honour and fame, who raysed an armie, to enter suddenly into Nauarre. King *Charles* beeing aduertised of these preparations, hauing consulted with his Estates, he passed to Bourdeaux, to craue ayde E of the English, who had then some suspension of armes with the French. *Richard* the 2. be- ing newly come to the Crowne, (the which fell out happily for him) who returned with 600. lances English and Gascons, vnder the command of *Thomas Trent* an Englishman, and the Seigneur of Berbecin a Gascon, to employ them in the war against Castile, the which was very violent that yeare 1378. The king of Nauar had placed garrisons in all the fronter townes, the English at Tudela, with their Captain: the Gascons at Estella: the Se- gneur of *Seres* a Nauarrois at *S. Vincent*: he put other good Captaines into Viane, Arcos, Lerin, Sanguessa, and other places: the charges of which war were so great, as hee wasted all his treasure, so as his sonne *Charles* coming to raigne, he found not one ducat in his fa- thers coffers. *Thomas Trent* the English Captaine, was slaine in the towne of Pucere la Reyna, by the inhabitants, by reason of some insolencies. *D. Iohn* Infant of Castile, hauing F drawne together about 4000. lances, and a number of foot out of Biscay and Guipuscoa, entred in arms into Nauar, being accompanied by *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, and earle of Denia, *D. Alphonso* of Vurgna, *D. Pedro* Earle of Transamara, Prin- ces of the bloud of Castile, *D. Ray Diaz* of Rojas, Gouvernor of Guipuscoa, with other No- blemen and Captaines of note.

The Nauarrois  
killed in Lo-  
groño.

For he mixt  
Castile and Na-  
uarre.

The King of  
Nauar hath  
recourse vnto  
the English.  
An. 1378.

Exploiter of  
D. John and  
the Castilians  
a myn Nauar

Records of Na-  
uarre burnt at  
Thiebes.

Peace betwixt  
Castile and  
Nauarre.

They made a shew to beseege Saint Vincent, but the place being strong both by nature A  
and art, and well manned, they returned to make a muster at Logroño, where as Don  
Pedro Henriquez joyned with them, and then all together entred into Nauar, where they  
found not any one in field to make resistance: for king Charles was retired on this side the  
mountaines, and attended the successe of the warre at Saint Iohn de Pie de port, standing  
onely vpon his defence: wherefore the Castilians burnt Larraga, Artaxona, with many  
other places, euen vnto the ports of Pampelona, before which cittie the Castilian armie  
stayed a whole moneth, D. Iohn being lodged in the village of Gorraiz: during which  
abode the castle of Thiebes was yeilded vnto Don Pedro Manriques, who burnt it: It was  
a castle built by king Thibaud the first, as in a place of strength and great safetie, they had  
kept the titles and records of the Realme, all which were now burnt, to the great prei-  
dice of the Common-wealth. Wherefore it is no wonder if many of the antiquities of  
this Realme be at this day vnkowne. Those which yeilded this fort, were a knight called  
Berrio, Ruy Diaz of Torres, and Solomon Pronoch, Captaines to King Charles. The Castil-  
lans finding that they had not forces sufficient to take Pampelona, they dislodged and be-  
seeged Viane, which place they tooke by composition, after many encounters, vpon con-  
dition the defendants should haue their liues and goods saued: Guardie was also  
taken.  
Thus the Castilians hauing done all the spoyle they could in the countrie, Don Iohn refo-  
lued to retire with his armie into Castile, before that winter (which approached) should in-  
commodate him. In a certaine encounter which they had with the Galcons, Ruy Diaz of  
Royas was slaine, which was the greatest losse the Castilians had in this expedition. Don  
Iohn went to the King Don Henry his father, being at Toledo, to whom hee gaue an ac-  
count of that which he had done, and then they came together to Burgos, where there  
was order giuen for a new army, to returne into Nauarre in the Spring. We find by some  
remembrances of those times, that the king of Nauar, complained much of many knights  
which had not shewed themselves faithfull in this war, yea hauing bin called home by him  
from banishment, graced and restored to their honours and charges: among the which  
is named Don Ramir Sanches of Asiayn, and Don Iohn Ramir of Arellan the younger: D  
these with some more retired themselves one after another to the king of Castile, where  
they found a kind and gracious reception, in stead of the harshnesse and rigour of King  
Charles: so as in those dayes the Nobility of Nauarre was much decayed, and in a maner  
extinct. King Charles being on this side the mountaines, his Realme was gouerned by  
Iohn of Fresnay, a knight of France, and his Chamberlaine, who aduertised him of this  
new preparation of warre which was made in Castile: whereon hauing duly considered,  
finding himselfe weake, and without money, and ill serued by his owne subiects, he refo-  
lued to pacifie the king Don Henry, lending an Ambassadour vnto him to Burgos, to  
mooue him to some accord, the which he did not refuse, but answered, that if he feared  
his Ambassadors and Deputies with sufficient authoritie to treat a peace, that he should  
not find him vntactable to yeeld to any thing that should be held reasonable. Where-  
fore the king of Nauarre did againe employ D. Ramir Sanches of Asiayn, and sent him to  
Burgos, with the Prior of Roncevaux, men of learning and authority. These Ambassa-  
dours were heard by the king Don Henry, and entertayned with great courtesie: where  
hauing discoursed, and somewhat debated vpon the articles of the peace, in the end it  
was concluded, That there should be a perpetuall amitie sworne betwixt the kings and  
Realmes of Castile and Nauarre, without binding him of Castile to alienate himselfe in  
any sort from the league which he had with the French King. That the strangers, Galcons,  
and English, should be sent out of Nauarre: That the townes taken by the King of Ca-  
stile from him of Nauarre, should be restored: That the king of Castile should present-  
ly lend twenty thousand ducats vnto the King of Nauarre, to pay the souldiers which  
were to be dismissed: for assurance whereof, the King Don Henry should keepe the  
towne of Guardie in pawne: That the king of Nauarre for assurance of the entertain-  
ment of these Articles of peace, and that he should not breake it in any sort, should leaue  
twenty euerrall places of his Realme of Nauarre in pawne, in the custodie and conser-  
uance of Don Iohn Ramires of the towne of Arellan, namely, the Castle of Estella, the

A the garrison whereof should be paid by the King of Nauarre, and that Tudelo should  
receiue a garrison of Castilians: that Larraga, Miranda and Saint Vincent should be of  
the number of those twenty places; the which should be thus held for tenne yeeres,  
and that expired, without any breach, all should be restored to the King of Nauarre, or  
his successor. These Articles being concluded, and sworne, the warre ceased, to the ge-  
neral good of both Kingdomes.

During the warre betwixt these two Princes, there grew troubles in the Church,  
to the scandale of all Christendome, Pope Gregory the eleuenth, had restored the papall  
seate to Rome, in the yeere 1376. seuentie two yeeres after it had bene distracted by  
Pope Clement the fifth, who had bene crowned at Lions. About two yeeres and foure  
E monthes after this returne, Gregory dying at Rome, hee left the consistory of Cardinals  
in great combustion, as well among themselves, as with the people of Rome, who would  
haue a Romaine, or at the least an Italian chosen Pope, whereof there followed a most  
dangerous Schisme, for all the Estates of Christendome for many yeeres, were transpor-  
ted with passion, and not with any zeale of religion: for euen then, and before, there  
was such corruption, as in the gouernment of Clergy matters, there was nothing but  
ambition, couetousnesse, and designs for temporall commodities: Princes cheuishing  
Popes, and Popes being hirelings to Princes, to draw fauour, authority and support one  
from another, in their affections. After much contention, Urbain the sixth came out  
of the Conclau, chosen by sixteene Cardinals, being before Archbishop of Bari, borne  
C at Naples, his name was Bartlemew Prignan: whose election hauing bene much con-  
tradicted by the French Cardinals, then allowed, and soone after reiected, in the end  
fifteene of them (not able to agree well with the Pope) being retired to Naples, through  
fauor of Queene Ieanne, they entred into the Conclau, and did choose an other Pope,  
whom they named Clement the seuenth, called before Robert Cardinal of Geneua, or as  
some write of Cambray, of the title of the twelue Apostles, who retired to Auignon,  
and there held his seat, as Urbain did at Rome.

As Princes in acknowledging of these Popes, were diuided and carried away with  
their priuat passions, Urbain the sixth seeing that his competitor was supported by the  
French King, sent Ambassadors to D. Henry King of Castile, to seeke his fauor, who  
D finding him at Cordoua, deliuered vnto him the reasons iustifying the election of Ur-  
bain, and condemning that of Clement, intreating him to beleue that Urbain was  
the true and lawfull Pastor, a friend to peace, and desirous of the good of all Chri-  
stendome. To these words, they added a present of three peeces of fine scar-  
let, one for the King, an other for the Queene, and the third for the Infant D. Iohn, gi-  
uing presents also, in the Popes name, vnto many noblemen of the court, promising the  
King not to conferre the benefices of Spaine to any other prelates, then to such as were  
borne in the country. In the end they intreat him to disclaime the Antipope Clement.  
The King D. Henry hauing conferred with his counsell, Doctors, Diuines, and other  
chiefe men of his Realme, vpon the pretensions of Urbain, hee made answer vnto the  
E Ambassadors, that he would let them vnderstand his minde at Toledo, whether he was  
then going, where being arriued, there came Ambassadors from the French King, who  
being heard before he had made answer to them of Pope Urbain, they crost all: for ha-  
uing giuen the King of Castile to vnderstand, that the election of Urbain was forced, by  
the importunity of the Romaines and the partiality of the Cardinals, and that Clement  
had bene chosen with the better title as they pretended. King Henry resolved not to  
acknowledge any of them for Pope, sending Doctors into France, to informe them-  
selves of the matter, and to report vnto him what they should finde, being wonderfully  
perplexed in minde, not knowing how he should gouerne himselfe, with a good con-  
science, in this Schisme: but he was somewhat pacified, vpon the determination which  
F should be made by a General council, and in the meane time he commanded that all  
the money due for Annates, or other profits, belonging, or accustomed to be receiued  
by the Apostolike see of Rome, in Spaine, should be laied in Deposito, vntill it were de-  
clared by the Catholike church, who was lawfull Pope, with this answer the Ambassa-  
dors of either part returned: The like resolution was taken in Arragon, touching this  
Schisme.

13  
Schisme in the  
Church.

Castile.

Castile ac-  
knowledgeth  
no Pope.

Profits of the  
court of Rome  
paid in  
Spaine.

Schisme. From Tolledo the King of Castile came to Burgos, where a peace with Na-  
 uarre was concluded, as we haue said: after which the King of Nauarre came to Alfar-  
 o, to visit the Infant D. *Iohn* of Castile, and there he accomplished some part of the cap-  
 tulation. The King of Castile being come from Burgos to Saint Dominike of Cal-  
 cada, he was also visited by *Charles* King of Nauarre, with great shewes of loue, of either  
 side, and there they finished that which remained of their accord, the which was very  
 prejudicial for the King of Nauarre, reaping the fruits of his turbulent spirit, as he had  
 done in France. The King D. *Henry* neuer parted from Saint Dominike, for he was  
 poisoned by the treachery of *Alahumet* the old, King of Granado. This Moore seeing  
 that the King of Castile was at peace with all other Kings his neighbours, and knowing  
 him to be warlike, and a great undertaker, hee was in feare least he should inuade his  
 country of Granado: wherefore he sent a captaine to his court, saying that he was ba-  
 nished. This Moore seeming to like his Princes wrath, came and presented his seruice  
 vnto the King D. *Henry*, and offered him in giust many pearles and precious stones, with  
 other goodly presents, amongst the which there was a paire of rich buskins, infected with  
 poison, the which were so pleasing vnto the King, as he would presently put them on:  
 but soone after he beganne to finde himselfe ill, and within few daies died. He com-  
 manded his sonne to entertaine the amity of France, whilest he liued, and to follow the  
 French in that which concerned the Schisme of the church. He was interred in the  
 same chappell which he himselfe had caused to be built, in the great church of Toledo,  
 of the which since hath been augmented with reuenues, by the Archbishop D. *Alphonso* of  
 Fonseca, in the time of our fathers, and they call it the chappell of the last Kings. It is wor-  
 thy obseruation, that this King having alienated from the crowne, many townes and o-  
 ther places, to recompence the seruices which he had receiued from Noblemen and  
 Knights of Castile, and others, in the conquest of the Realme, he put a clause in his will,  
 which did afterwards breed many complaints and controuersies in Castile: which was,  
 that such donations made by him should goe vnto the eldest, the which is called in  
 Spaine Majorazgos, the which they haue interpreted, as if no collateral heire might in-  
 herit them: in the Chancery, and the Kings councell, annexing such lands vnto the crowne. D.  
*Alphonso* bishop of Carthagenas, saith, that this King died of the goutte, making no men-  
 tion of any poison, whereof it may be that this author was ignorant. Being neere his end, he  
 desired to be attired in the habit of Saint *Dominike*, and to die in it. He reigned tenne  
 yeeres and two monethes, and was fix and forty yeeres old.

Granado. If this King of Granado practised his death, he did not long enjoy this content, for the same yeere 1379. the same *Mahomet* called the old, and old in effect, died the nine and twentieth yeere of his raigne, and 762. of the Arabians.

D. Iohn first of that name, the sixteenth King of Castile, and seuen and thirtieth of Leon.

AN. 1379.  
Castile.

THE happinesse which did accompany the King D. Henry the second, father to Don John, did not continue in his posterity: for God, to let men vnderstand that it is he which doth raise and put downe at his pleasure, hauing from nothing advanced D. Henry to the Scepter of Leon and Castile, and confounded the forces of that Realme, allied to the English and Moores; he did in a manner ouerthrow this greatnesse in his sonnes time, by the forces of the petty Estate of Portugal, to the which he advanced a bastard, without any humane support; notwithstanding that the armes of France were ioynd with the forces of Castile, as shall appeare by the discourse of the History. By such examples the mighty are admonished not to trust in their forces, and the weak not to despaire, especially if he be vniufully pursued.

15. *D. John* who succeeded his father *D. Henry*, descended by the mothers side, from the  
Genealogie of *Infant D. Fernand de la Cerde*, eldest sonne to *Don Alphonso* the Philosopher: for of  
Castile.

A<sup>o</sup> Don *Fernand* came D. *Alphonse* and D. *Fernand*: Of the younger D. *Fernand*, and of D. *leanne* of *Lara*, his wife, issued D. *Blanch*, who was married to D. *John Manuel* (who had had to his first wife a Countesse of *Sauoy*) sonne to D. *Manuel*, brother to D. *Alphonse* the Philosopher, of which marriage was borne D. *leanne Manuel*, Queene of *Castile*, wife to the King D. *Henry*, and mother to this King D. *John*, the first of that name, who was two and twenty yeres old or thereabouts, when he began to raigne: a Prince of a good disposition, and religious, according to the time, but vnfound of his body, and vnfortunate in warre. of his reigne now was thirty yeres.

He was crowned after the example of his Predecessors, in Burgos, in the Monastery of Santa Maria de las Huélgas, where to solemnize his coronation, did arme above a hundred Knights, which were of Noble families, and gave many gifts and preiudges to commonalties, and to priuat persons, to make his first entrance more remarkable and pleasing: He gaue vnto the city of Burgos the towne of Pancoruo in Bureua: he caused Villa-Real of Saint Nicholas of Oro in Guipuscoa to be called in, giuing it the preiudges of Saint Sebastian; with many others. When he was Infant, being in possession of the Siegneury of Biscay, had vntied it for euer vnto the crowne, at his coming to it.

He remembered his fathers charge, to entertaine a strict league of friendship with the house and crowne of France, the which hee sent to confirme by his Ambassadors : And having sent his gallies this yeere of our Lord, 1379. in favour of the French, commanded by *D. Fernand Sanches* of Tovar, they tooke from *John* of Monfort duke of Brittain, the castle of Roche Gaze at Cap de Late, for that hee held the English party, by a decree of the court of parliament at Paris, and his Dutchy with all his goods declared forfeited to the King, vntill that time the Lewes dwelling in Spaine, had the prouidence to take knowledge of crimes committed by them of their sect: but this yeere a Lew, called *Joseph Pich*, dwelling at Seuille, having beene slaine in the Lewes place at Burgos, being a man of great reputation, for his wealth, and the seruices which hee had done vnto the deceased King *D. Henry*, as treasurer generally, the new King tooke from them this prerogative, and forbad them to deale in any crime, where there was murther, cutting off any Limbe, or effusion of blood. In the beginning of his raigne, God gaue him a sonne, by his wife *D. Leonora* of Arragon, who succeeded him.

As soone as the Infant was borne, *D. Bernard King* of Portugal, who had in the yeere 1378. made his daughter *D. Beatrix*, fure vnto *D. Frederike* duke of Benauent, base sonne to the deceased King *Henry* of Castile, by *D. Leonora Ponce*, repented himselfe, and sent vnto the King *D. John*, intreating him to consent vnto a marriage betwixt his sonne newly borne, and his daughter *D. Beatrix*, with certaine conditions which did nothing displease King *John*, so as this other marriage was accorded betwixt them, which proued the fire-band of future warre betwixt Castile and Portugal: for among other conditions, these two princes made a mutuall donation of their Realmes vnto the survivor, in case they died without lawfull heires of their bodies, the which was concluded and sworn in the yeere of our Lord 1380. but it was not executed, for God had otherwise decreed. This Infanta *D. Beatrix*, was daughter to *D. Leonora Telles* of Meneses, of whose vnfortunate marriage, we haue before treated, and whose proceedings were as vnreasonable: for this woman being exceeding faire, and provided of armes fit to sway a disposition that was faint and weake, could make such vse of her allurements, as she kept the King her husband alwaies subiect, and a slaue to her affections: so as hee refused not any thing that was pleasing vnto her, forgetting often his ranke and royall dignity. All which had disliked of her marriage, or had in any sort displeased her, were by her practise pursued, chased away, or vtterly ruined: her friends and kinsmen were aduanced to the greatest honours and dignities of the Realme: and as she was cunning in all her actions, so she could finde meanes to reconcile vnto her, those who through their greatest wealth, or alliance within the Realme, seemed hard to ruine; binding them vnto her by her bounty and fauours, making them of enemies to become her friends. Shee gaue the government of the castle of Lisbon, to her vnckle *D. John Alphonso Tello*, Earle of Barcelos, Lord Steward of the Kings house. She also aduanced a brother of his called

### Disposition of King John.

16  
Portugal.

*An. 138c.*

17  
Art of D.  
Leonora Teller  
of Meneses.



Don *Iohn Alphonso Telles*, to be Admirall of the Realme: an other brother called *D. A. Gonçalo Telles*, was at her request made Earle of Neyua. To the Earle of Barçelos son, she procured the suruiuaunce of his fathers Estate, in the same country or gouernm the of *Barçelos*: a brother of hers was made Earle or Gouernor of Viane, and *D. Henry* her brother in law, Earle of Seaa. To *D. Lope Diaz de Sosa* her Nephew, sonne to Donna *Maria Telles* her sister, and to *Aluar Diaz de Sosa*, she caused to bee giuen the dignity of great maister of Christ.

Don *Henry* of Albuquerque, whose sisters were married to the brethren of this Queene *D. Leonora Telles*, was by her fauor maister of Saint Iames. She caused *D. Ieanne Telles* of Meneses her bastard sister, who was commanderesse of Santos, to be married to *D. Iohn Alphonso Pimentel*, and Bragança to be giuen vnto him: She married *D. Agnes Botello*, one of her gendewomen, and her kinswoman; being of a Noble family to *Pero Rodriguez* of Fonseca giuing him the castle of Oliuencia: She also concluded the marriages of *D. Mencia Valguoz Contina*, with *Martin Gonçales* of Tuy; and of *D. Theresa* of Meyra, with *Fernand Gonçales* of Sosa, giuing vnto the last the castle of Chaves, and to the other that of Portel: She made *D. Aluar Peyre* of Castro, Castellan, Earle or Gouernor of Aroyolos, and procured many fauours and graces for *D. Fernand* de Castro his elder brother.

They say, that by her meanes the King on a time sent a present to *Iohn Alphonso* of Muxica, being in the towne of Eborá, of thirty horse, thirty armors complete, thirty mulets, thirty pounds of gold, a hundred and thirty markes of siluer, and foure mulets laden with tapistry, and other rich furniture, adding thereto, as an hereditarie gift, the towne of Torresuedras. Such also was the fauour shee bare vnto Don *Fernand* of Andeiro a Knight of Galicia, who was come to serue the King her husband, in his last warres against Castile, as besides that hee was made an Earle, hee had the neerest place next to her selfe, in the Kings fauour: so as by his meanes many Gentlemen were gratified and aduanced in Portugal: and moreover hee liued in such familiarity, as hee lodged in the same lodging with the King and Queene, and did often remaine alone with her a long time, whereat many murmured, and grew ielous: saying that their conuersation was not honest, and the Portugos did beleue, that the children which shee bare, were not the King *D. Fernand*'s (a Prince which was vnfound, and of a weak complexion) but begotten by stealth by this Earle of Oren. Finally she wrought so, as all the dignities, honours and forts of Portugal, were in the hands of her kinsmen, friends and allies.

But to what fury doth the desire of commaund thrust a woman vnto? The Portugall authors write, that the Infant Don *Iohn*, the Kings brother, being in loue with Donna *Maria Telles* of Meneses, the Queenes sister, who had managed the loue betwixt the King and her, a widow woman, and mother to Don *Lope Diaz* of Sosa, but faire, and pleasing, hee serued her and sought her loue, the which shee could not refuse, Don *Iohn* being a Knight in the floure of his age, goodly also and full of grace: yet shee was thus farre discreet, that before shee would yeeld to that which hee desired, hee promised to marrie her secretly, the which being afterwards made knowne vnto the Queene, shee was much discontented: it may bee desiring that Don *Iohn* (who was much beloued of the Portugalls) should marrie Donna *Beatrice* her daughter: fearing that if the King her husband should die, hee should bee chosen King, and her daughter reiected, or that shee her selfe did beare him some good will, and seeing her husband ill disposed, had an intent to marry him, if her husband died, that shee might moue reigne still: wherefore being transported with these passions, she began to practise the death (by a notable cruelty and detestable stratagemme) of her who had raised her vp, conspiring with Don *Iohn Alphonso Telles* her brother, Admirall of Portugall, to perswade the Infant Don *Iohn*, that Donna *Maria Telles*, who said shee was his wife, abandoned her selfe to other men, to his great dishonour, in whom they wrought such an impression, as this simple and ill aduised Knight, transported with extreame ielousie, came in a morning to Coimbra, where this Lady did remaine, where entring furiously into the house after that hee had forced her chamber doore, finding not

Policy cruel  
and detestable  
of the Queene  
D. Leonora  
Telles.

A not any signes of that which had beene told him, he slue his miserable wife most barbarously, who called to God for aide, but in vaine, holding vp her hands to her iraged husband.

This was the reward which Donna *Maria Telles* of Meneses had, hauing beene the broker of that vnfortunate marriage, and as it were the Gardien of the Queene Donna *Leonora* loutes, who not content therewith came to complaine vnto the King of Don *Iohn*, for the death of her sister, and preuailed so, as he was forced to absent himselfe from court, and to keepe himselfe secret in places of hard acceffe, for his safety, yet finding not himselfe well secured, he retired into Castile: for *Gonçal Telles*, brother to the deceased, and her sonne *D. Lope Diaz de Sosa*, the Earle of Barçellos, and his brother the Earle of Viana, with other of her kinsfolkes, sought to kill him, to reuenge the death of Donna *Maria*. Besides these excesses, the Queene Donna *Leonora* attempted the death of *D. Iohn* maister of *Auiz*, the King her husbands base brother, a Knight of great valour, who had neuer offended her: but only in conceit, that he onely did crosse her desires. To effect her wicked intent, shee caused letters to bee counterfeted in the name of the maister, and of a gentleman called *Gonçalo Vasques* of Azebedo, his cousin and very familiar, being of the Kings counsell, whom shee would also draw into this danger. These letters were directed to the King of Castile and did treat of matters against the seruice of the King *D. Fernand*, whom she did aduertise that they had beene surprized vpon the frontiers.

Treachery of  
the Queene  
D. Leonora  
against the  
maister of  
Auiz.

C The King giuing credit to her malice, after that he had taken counsell of his wife, and of *D. Iohn Fernandes* of Andeyro, he commanded that the maister of *Auiz* and *Gonçal Vasques* should be apprehended, and put into the tower of the castle of Eborá, where they were kept rigorously in chaines, the maister being ignorant of the cause of this his misery. As for *D. Gonçal Vasques*, he remembered that hee had giuen care vnto his wife, telling him that on a time *D. Gonçal Telles* the Queenes brother, and *D. Iohn Fernand* of Andeyro her mignon, entring into her chamber all sweating, shee gaue them a kerchife she had vpon her, to wipe themselves withall; and that *D. Iohn Fernandes* approaching neere vnto her spake certaine lasciuious words, which being heard by the wife of Don *Gonçal Vasques*, and reported by her vnto her husband, hee was so indiscreet as to tell the Queene thereof, aduertising the Queene of the Earles final respect vnto her, and of his impudency, whereof she, who wished him well, did not seeme to care: wherefore *D. Gonçal* doubted that this was the cause of his imprisonment, and that the Queene would dispatch him before the King should be aduertised thereof.

Imprisonment  
of the maister  
of Auiz and of  
D. Gonçal  
Vasques.

Being thus imprisoned, the Queene did counterfet letters from the King, vnto *Vasco Martines* of Merlo, captaine of the castle of Eborá, by the which he was commanded to murder these two personages: but being a discreet man, and considering the quality of the prisoners, thinking that he must not proceed so lightly to the execution thereof, hee forbore, vntill he had spoken with the King, to whom he went the day after this charge, to know if it were his pleasure, that the maister of *Auiz* and *Gonçal Vasques* should be put to death. The King answered that he knew not of it, commanding him not to touch them, and so he sent him backe, enioyning him to kepe it secret, and soone after he went from Eborá, whereas the Queene remained; who seeing that her desires did not succeed, she tooke a milder course, and sought to bee reconciled to these two personages, who were freed from their irons, and within few daies after set at liberty. Some time after, the Queene being at masse, she caused them to come vnto her, shewing them the best countenance they could desire, and invited them to dinner, the which they did vnwillingly accept, fearing she would cause them to be poisoned: yet they did eate in the Queenes lodging, in the company of the Earle of Oren, to whom after dinner, discouraging of her rings and iewels, she gaue (in their presence) a Ring, set with a rich ruby, pressing him to take it, although he excused himselfe, to the end she might not forget any thing to be held very impudent.

Impudency of  
the Queene  
D. Leonora.

F Amidst these tumults, *D. Isabella* the Kings bastard daughter, who had beene made sure by the last treaty of peace, to *D. Alphonso* of Castile, Earle of Gijon, base sonne to King *Henry*, was married at Burgos, whereat the Earle was much grieved: an vnfortunate marriage,

marriage, of which there was one sonne borne, who was called *D. Henry*. But the marriage which was made betwixt *D. Beatrix* sister to the King *D. Fernand*, and *D. Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, was blessed of God: so as a daughter which they had, called *D. Leonora*, the sole heire of her fathers great Estates, was married to *D. Fernand* Infant of Castile Lord of Lara, and Duke of Pennafiel, sonne to the King *D. John* the first, then reigning, which *D. Fernand* came afterwards to be King of Arragon and Sicile. Shee was Queene of these realmes, and mother of siue children, renowned by the Histories of Castile and Arragon, of whom we shall heereafter make mention. This King *Fernand* of Portugal being in good peace with his neighbours, considering what had happened in the city of Lisbon, in the last warre of Castile, for want of good walles, he caused it to be fortified and walled about from Saint Catherins gate vnto Saint Vincents. And as hee was carefull of this publike worke so hee did gratesie the Franciscan Friars of Saint Iren, causing the quier of their church to be built, with other workes of deuotion. This is all we finde in Histories of the affaires of Portugall, vnto the yeere of our Lord 1380. that the aboue mentioned marriage betwixt Don *Henry* sonne to King *John* the first of Castile, and Donna *Beatrix* the daughter of Portugal, was concluded with the aboue named conditions, for the succession of the two Realmes, by the suruiuaunce of the two Kings.

Buildings  
made by D.  
Fernand King  
of Portugal.

An. 1380.

Castile.

About the end of this yeere, Donna *Leonora* Queene of Castile was brought in bed, at Medina del Campo, of her sonne *D. Fernand* aboue named, who came to be King of Arragon, as we will shew.

18.  
The King of  
Castile ac-  
knowledgeth  
the Pope at  
Auignon.

At that time Spaine was a Neuter, in regard of the obedience which the two Popes pretended, and did affect in the Christian common weale, continuing some time in this Neutrality, by reason of the disagreement of the Prelats, who were assembled for that cause onely, at the instance of the Ambassadors of the two Popes, *Clement* and *Vrbain*: but soone after it was declared by a sentence given by the King of Castile, and his counsell, that his countries should acknowledge *Clement* the seuenth, for Pope, and Christs Vicar, he being resident at Auignon, the King *D. John* inclining therein, as in other things to the French. The deuotion of men in Spaine, and other places, in those daies was contrarie to that of more ancient times: for whereas before they thought they could not giue sufficient to the Clergy, to augment their houses and reuenues, now euery one sought to spoile them, and to vsurpe their lands and reuenues: whereof the Abbots and Conuents of the Order of Saint Benet in Spaine, hauing complained, they had a notable sentence by Iudges deputed by the King for that businesse, against many Noblemen and Knights which detained their goods: yet they still inroched vpon them all they could.

An. 1381.

In the yeere of our Lord 1381, died *D. Ieanne* Queene of Castile, mother to the King *D. John*, who through great deuotion had in a manner all her life time carried the habit of Saint Claire, and died in it, and appointed she should be buried in it: A great argument of the religion of that time. She lies at Toledo, in the Chappell of the last Kings.

19  
Portugal.

The peace betwixt the Kings *D. John* of Castile, and *D. Fernand* of Portugal, was broken, by the bad counsell of a Knight, who had bene accustomed to bee often shut vp with the Queene of Portugall, and was her favorite, hee was Earle of Oren. To giue some collour, and beginning to this warre, the King *D. Fernand* sent to *John* Duke of Lancaster, perswading him, that as husband to *D. Constance*, daughter to the deceased King *D. Pedro* of Castile and Leon, hee should pursue his right which hee pretended to those Realmes. The English Prince relying vpon the fauour of Portugall, with the consent and aide of King *Richard* his Nephew, raised a thousand men at armes, or Launces, and a good number of foote, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother *Edmond* of Langley, Earle of Cambridge, who led them into Spaine, for that the Duke could not goe in person to this warre. The English army arrived vpon the coast of Portugall, whereas the warre was already violent; for the King of Castile being aduertised of this practise, had led his army into the country, and taken the towne of Almoeda: And at sea, euen vpon the arriual of the English army, *Fernand Sanches* of Touar Admirall of Castile had taken twenty gallies of Portugall, with their Admirall *D. Alphonso Telles*, Earle

Auignon of  
Queene Leo-  
nora puts Cas-  
tile and Por-  
tugal in war.

A Earle of Barcellos the Queenes brother, the which fell out vnhappy for the King *Don Fernand*, who being sodainly transported with hatred against Castile, received this Prince *Edmond*, with all shewes of loue and royall pompe: and the more to gratesie him, he made a promise of a future marriage, betwixt Donna *Beatrix* his daughter (who had bene twice before contracted) and *Edward* his son, a young child, which hee had had of Donna *Isabella* his wife, the third daughter of the deceased King *Don Pedro* of Castile, there present; yea he made them to marry and lie together, and to confirme this marriage, they performed at accustomed ceremonies, except the consummation, which could not bee, by reason of the tender age of both parties, the Bridegroom being not full sixe yeeres old. During their stay, the English (before they were led to the warre) spared not the Portugals, but made spoile of their goods, as if they had bene in the country of Castile: So as the Portugals in steed of one warre, found themselves ingaged betwixt two enemies, hauing the Castilians abroad, and the English within their houses.

King of Portu-  
gal makes and  
breakes his  
daughters  
marriage at  
his pleasure.

In the yeere of our Lord 1382, the King *D. Fernand* went to field, with the Earle of Cambridge, and came and lodged his army at Yelbes: On the other side the army of Castile camped at Badajos, whereas hauing continued some daies without any exploite of armes, a peace was concluded, and Donna *Beatrix* Infanta of Portugall was the fourth time promised to Don *Fernand* the younger sonne of Don *John* King of Castile, the King of Portugall being glad this marriage should take place, to the end his Realme should not bee vnited to the crowne of Castile.

An. 1382.

In the meane time Donna *Leonora* Queene of Castile died, in the towne of Cuellar, Castile, being brought in bed of a daughter, which died also. The Queenes bodie was carried to Toledo, and interred in the chappell of the last Kings. This Princeesse is honoured for her vpright and good conscience about all the Ladies of her time, whereof some authors bring this example: Certaine Iewes deputed from the Sinagogues faired vnto the court, being moued with good will vnto their Ladie, by reason of her vertues, and good behauiour, came vnto her Confessor being an Arragonois, a verie religious man, of a good life, and tould him, that they vnderstood the Queene had occasion for to vse a certaine summe of money, and knowing how much the Iewes, dwelling in her countrie, did honour her, they intreated him to let her vnderstand that shee should demaunde what money shee pleased of their Sinagogues, being assured it should bee verie willingly furnished; and that withall hee should certifie her, that the Iewes desired to doe her this seruice, for that since the time shee had bene their Ladie shee had neuer employed them. The Confessor thinking to bring pleasing newes vnto the Queene, made report of the Iewes speech, and perswaded her by all meanes for to make vse of their kinde offer, assuring her that shee might take with a good conscience that which they did willingly present vnto her. But the Queene answered him, that shee would neuer doe any such thing, and that God forbidde that shee should exact money, or any other thing of any person, for the which the King, she or their children might be cursed: And notwithstanding any reply the religious man could make shee would not yeeld vnto it, but willed him for to thanke the Iewes.

Integrity of  
the Queene  
D. Leonora.

Don *Fernand* King of Portugal, hearing of the death of Donna *Leonora* Queene of Castile, hee beganne to practise a fifth marriage for his daughter Donna *Beatrix*, with the King *Don John* himselfe; sending sodainly vnto him, being then at Pinto, three Leagues from Madrid, to know his minde therein. The King *Don John* made no delaie, but (with the aduice of his good seruants) entred presently into capitulation with the Ambassadors of Portugal, who were therein duelic instructed: Amongst other Articles it was agreed that the children issuing of this marriage, should bee Kings of Portugal.

And some daies after hee married Donna *Beatrix* Infanta of Portugall, hauing escaped many other parties of lesse preferment. The marriage was celebrated, at Badajos, or at Yelbes, according vnto some, in the yeere of the Incarnation 1383.

D. John King  
of Castile mar-  
ries the In-  
fanta of Por-  
tugal.

Fff

'Deat' o' D.  
Fernand King  
o' Portugal.

20.  
Castile.

Rebellion of  
D. Alphonso  
Earle of Gijon,  
Aera of Cesar  
what it was.

21  
Portugal.

Disposition of  
the Noblemen  
of Portugal.

King of Castile  
enters arme  
into Portugal,  
and is not well  
received.

the Queene Donna *Leonora Telles* de Meneses her mother being present, the King Don *A Fernand* remaying at Lisbon very sicke, where within few daies after hee died, hauing reigned but ill sixteene yeeres and nine monthes, the three and forth yeere of his age. His body was buried at Saint Iren, in the Franciscans church, where as *D. Constance Manuel* his mother is also interred.

After the marriage betwixt Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, and Donna *Isabell* of Portugal, against the liking of Don *Alphonso*, hee did neuer loue the King his brother, some times hee rebelled, and caused reuolts, and then was reconciled, but it lasted not long. At this second marriage of the King Don *Iohn*, hee was in the *Asturias*, where hee put all into combustion, against whom the King sent some companies of men at armes.

This yeere of our Lord 1383. was held a generall assembly of the Estates at Segobia. And for that vnto that time they had accounted the yeeres according vnto the *Aera* of *Cesar*, which differed eight and thirty yeeres from the accounts which was then in vse in other Christian Kingdomes, it was ordained that the Castilians should take the beginning of their yeeres from the natiuity of Christ: the which was more fit for Christians, then to retaine this memory of *Cesar Augustus*. This manner of accounting by the *Aera* had bene long before left in Nauarre and Arragon, but was retained for some time in Portugal. The cause of this name of *Aera* is diuersly related, but the most probable is, that the ancients hauing accustomed to write these wordes. *Annus erat Augusti centes.* or some other number, by abreniation thus, A. E. R. A. C. the which the vulgar people ioyning these letters together pronounced *Aera. C.* the which was afterwards vsed vnto that time. They say that the last letters which were dispatched in the court of Castile, where the *Aera* of *Cesar* was obserued, were two preuiledges granted by the King Don *Iohn*, the one to the towne of Santa Cruz of Cestone; the other to Villa Real of Vrechia, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1421. of the *Aera*, answering to that of our Lord 1383. from the birth of Christ.

The King Don *Iohn*, before his departure from Segobia, did celebrat the funerals of his father in law, in which Realme, by an Article made in the treaty of marriage of the Infanta Don *Beatrix*, Queene of Castile, and heire proprietarie thereof, the Queene Donna *Leonora Telles* her mother should remaine Regent. The chiefe of the Nobilitie of Portugal were of diuerse humours touching the succession of the Realme: for some (amongst which was the maister of the Knights of Auiz, base brother to the deceased King) would maintaine the right of Donna *Beatrix*, and called Don *Iohn* King of Castile her husband, to come and take possession of the Realme, which did be long vnto him: others did abhorre the Castilians commaund, and could not endure that Portugal should bee vnited to Castile. The King Don *Iohn* solicited by many letters and messages to come into Portugall tooke aduice of his counsell, whether hee should enter in hostile manner, or peaceably. The worst counsell was followed by him, which was, force: Wherefore he speedily gathered together al the forces hee could, and first of all hee staid Don *Iohn* of Portugall, one of the brethren of the deceased King Don *Fernand*, who hauing retired himselfe out of Portugal, by reason of the murder of Donna *Maria Telles* de Meneses, and the mallice of the Queene Donna *Leonora*, had serued the crowne of Castile faithfully. But fearing least hee should cause some troubles in Portugal, hee caused him to bee put prisoner in the castile of Toledo, from whence hee was afterwards remooued to Almonacid, three leagues from the citie. Hee also caused Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon to bee imprisoned, who stirred vpp fe- ditions in Castile: and then with those small forces which hee had, hee marched to La Garde, where hee was receiued by the Bishop of that place; but the captaine of the fort would not acknowledge him, knowing the diuerse dispositions of the Nobilitie, and vnderstanding all the troubles which had happened at Lisbon since the Kings death.

The Queene widowe did reside in this chiefe Cittie of the Realme, being assisted by Don *Henry Manuel*, Earle of Sintra, Vncle to the deceased King by the mothers side; by Don *Iohn* Maister of Auiz, and others which did fauour the Queene Donna *Beatrix*, and

A and had set vp the armes of Castile and Portugal quartered, as the Don *Iohn* had taken them: but the iealousie which was bred in the hearts of the Noblemen, and people, by the too great familiarity which was betwixt the widow Queene and Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Andeyro Earle of Oren, mooued the maister of Auiz (who remembered still his imprisonment) to enter into quarrell with him, the which proceeded so farre, as the Earle was slaine in the Queenes lodging, which was at a place called Limonero: and instantly (as if it had bene a thing premeditated) the people of the city fell in such a mutiny, as not any one durst burie the Earle. Don *Fernandes* body, in the day time, but they were forced to stae till night, to put him secretly in the ground at Saint Martins: Queene *Leonora* being so amazed, as shee sought all meanes to flic out of Lisbon: And the rage of this multitude was so violent, as they fell vpon Don *Martin* their Bishop, who blaming them for their insolencies and rebellion against the Queene, they chased him into a tower of his church, into the which this poore prelate had fled to saue himselfe from the rage of the people, where they besieged him, and entering into the tower, cast him downe head-long pouring forth a thousand iniurious words against the Queene Donna *Leonora*, the Earle and the Bishop: whose bodie being stript, they drag'd it by the heeles to the place of Rusio, where this miserable spectacle laie all that day, and the next night following, and then they buried it in the market; the furious multitude not suffering it to haue Christian buriall.

In the meane time the Queene Donna *Leonora* got away, and leauing this mutinous city, retired to Alauquer, and from thence to Saint Iren, where as shee vnderstoode that many other townes, especially Ebor had done the like, taking armes tumultuously against her and her faction. At Ebor the heads of the multitude were *Vincens* James a Taylor, and one called *Gonçall James*, who committed strange insolencies, as it is the custome of a mutinous multitude. Amongst others, knowing that the Abbesse of Saint Benet was allied to the Queene Donna *Leonora*, they entred into her Church and pulled her from the Altar, holding that which keeps the Hoste in her armes, imploring in vaine the aide thereof, and the mercie of the commons, and so drew her into the market-place, where they murdered her most cruelly.

The Portugall authors write, that in that cittie, a little small Infant beeing in the cradell, in the house of one *Stephen James*, did rise three times out of her swadling clothes, and stretching out the armes, cried, *Portugal, Portugal, for the King Don Iohn*; the which was then ambiguous, but afterwarde (by reason of the euent) was applied to the maister of Auiz, who was also called Don *Iohn*. The King of Castile beeing aduertised of all these disorders, went to Saint Iren, to his mother in law, about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1384. where to free her selfe from trouble and daunger, and to gratifie the King her sonne in law, shee yeilded vnto him all the right shee had to the Government of the Realme. Hether came many Noblemen and Gentlemen holding the partie of the King Don *Iohn*, to doe him homage: who by this good beginning conceiued great hope that all would succed well and wishfully, and that hee should restore his mother in law to her dignity. Don *Iohn* of Portugall maister of Auiz, a young Prince, but vertuous, hauing bene prouoked by the dishonest conuersation of the Queene Donna *Leonora*, with the Earle of Oren, to take armes, knowing the nature of this woman, by former experience, with the hazard of his life; hee would no more fall into her power, but aspired to the regencie of the Realme, and wholly to depriue both her and the King *D. Iohn* her sonne in law of all government.

In this desaigne hee found such fauour and support of the Nobility and townes, who had long detested the manners of the Queene, and the deceased King her husband, as hee had meanes to resist the attempts of the King of Castile, and to make himselfe a way to the crowne. And to make the name of Castile more odious to them who desired not the vnion of these two Realmes, he caused a standard to be made, in the which was painted *D. Iohn* of Portugall his brother, a prisoner, standing at a grate in the Castle of Toledo, causing it to bee displaied in the city of Lisbon, in view of all the people, who were already mutined, which made them to arme with great resolution against the forces of Castile, who soone after came and presented themselves before

Earle of Oren  
the Queene of  
Portugal's  
Mistress.

Mistress at  
Lisbon.

Bishop of Lis-  
bon slaine by  
the mutines.

Prodigie at  
Ebor.

An. 1384.

D. Iohn maister  
of Auiz applies  
to the govern-  
ment of Portu-  
gal.

Act of the  
maister of Auiz  
to make  
the Castilians  
odious.

Lisbon be-  
sieged by the  
Castilians.

Castilians de-  
feated by  
them of Ebo-  
ra.

King John  
and the  
Queene of  
Castile and  
Portugal re-  
pulsed from  
Coimbra.

22  
Nauarre.

the city, in which army there were one thousand launces complete, and great store of A  
foote led by D. Pedro Fernandes Cap de Vache maister of Saint James, Don Pero Fernan-  
des de Valasco, Chamberlaine to the King, and D. John Pero Ruiz Sarmiento Gouvernor  
of Galicia, and soone after the King came thither in person: where they laied siege,  
and planted their batteries, but without any great effect, for the besieged made no  
sallics.

In the meane time they of Eborá, who were of this rebellious faction, receiued into  
their towne Don Nugno Aluarez Pereira, a valiant captaine, being but foure and twen-  
ty yeeres old, vnder whose conduct they came and affronted D. John Alphonso of Guz-  
ty Earle of Niebla, D. Diego Gomes maister of Alcantara, and D. Fernand Sanches of  
Touar high Admirall of Castile, being sent by the King D. John with great troups a-  
gainst them, but they put them to rout, and slue the maister of Alcantara, and many  
men of marke. The King hearing of these newes, sent supplies with D. John Pero Ruiz  
Sarmiento, Gouvernor of Galicia, to whom they of Eborá, with their captaine D. Nugno  
Aluarez, presented battaile againe couragiously, but they retired themselves, fearing  
the like should happen vnto them as had done to their companions, and came vnto the  
King, who thinking that hee might seize vpon Coimbra without any contradiction,  
in the castle whereof was Goncal Telles, Earle of Neyua the Queenes brother, and  
Goncal Mendez of Valconcello, her vnle, hee marched thither, leading with him D.  
Beatriz his wife, and the Queene Donna Leonora: but the Castilians name was so hate-  
full vnto the Portugals, with the behauiour of the widow Queene, as they were not  
ly kept out of the towne, but also they of the castle shot at them, whereas the King and  
Queenes were in great daunger of their liues.

The King Don John being discontented with the Queene Donna Leonora, forthat  
her neereft kinsmen holding the fort of Coimbra, had so shamefully repulsed him, hee  
grew iealous that shee had some intelligence with them: wherefore hee caused  
her to bee taken, and sent into Castile to the castle of Tordeillas, from whence shee  
neuer returned more into Portugall, yet shee by commandement from him was fer-  
uently and honoured there as a Queene, and dying was buried at Valledolit, in the Mo-  
nastery of the religious of the Order of the Merced. The King being returned to  
the campe before Lisbon, hee prest it all hee could, both by water and land, but  
by reason of the infection which crept into his campe, and the coming of the seaar-  
mie of Portugal, which approched neere vnto the city, together with the resoluti-  
on of the beleaged, who then made many sallics vpon the Castilians, hee aduanced  
the little. There were some propositions of an accord made; but Don John maister of the  
Auiz being resolute to haue the sole government of the Realme of Portugal, and  
Algarbe, vntill that the King of Castile had children by Donna Beatriz his wife, there was  
nothing concluded.

The Infant Don Charles, heire of Nauarre, came to the King Don John at this siege,  
to aide and fortifie the King his brother in law: but the plague continuing with great  
losse of the Nobility, which died miserably at this siege, the King Don John was con-  
strained to rise and to returne into Castile, hauing put good garrisons into those places  
which had receiued him. The losse of his men in this voiage was very great, and there-  
fore hee had reason to giue some rest vnto the remainders, and prepare for the raising of  
a great army for the next yeere.

Before wee returne into Portugall, it is expedient to make mention of the affaires  
of Nauarre, and shew how the Infant Don Charles (who came newly to the campe  
before Lisbon) was deliuered, whom wee had left prisoner in France. During the  
life of Charles the fifth, the French King, there was no meanes of reconciliation be-  
twixt him, and his brother in law Charles King of Nauarre, wherefore his sonne  
Charles continued prisoner vnto the Kings death, which happened in the yeere of  
our Lord 1380. leauing his sonne Charles the sixth of that name, successor to the  
Realme, being young and vnder the government of John duke of Berry, and Philip  
duke of Bourgondie his vnles, who shewed themselves so opposite to the King of  
Nauarres pourfutes, for his reconciliation and the deliuey of his sonne, which made  
them

A them resolute to poison them both, wherefore hauing found an Englishman, fit for  
his intent, they sent him to the French court with poison, to kill these princes, promi-  
sing him many great rewardes, if hee did effect it giuing him also good store of gold in  
present.

This Englishman did what hee could, to execute his charge, but his often com-  
ming and going into the dukes kitchins, being also an Englishman, made him to bee  
suspected: so as being taken with his poulder, and hauing confessed that hee was sent  
to kill the dukes of Berry and Bourgonne, for that they opposed themselves against  
the deliuey of the Infant of Nauarre, hee was beheaded. This error did very much  
displease Charles King of Nauarre not knowing by what meanes to recover his sonne.

B During the Kings discontent, there fell out a quarrell betwixt Fillos of Gramont,  
Lord of Gramont, on this sides the mountaines, and Don Ramir Sanches of Asiayn,  
for matters concerning their Princes seruiue: Don Ramir was accused by the Lord of  
Gramont, to haue attempted against the Kings owne person: so as comming to the  
triall of armes, by the order of Iudges, deputed by the King, and these Knights appe-  
ring to fight at the day appointed, the importunity of the kinsmen and friends of ei-  
ther side was such, as the combate was staied, and they both remained at the Kings  
pleasure, who caused them to bee put in prison, the Lord of Gramont in the castle  
of Saint Iohn of Pie de Port, and the other in Tafalla. The Lord of Asiayn hauing  
C bene some space prisoner in this towne, being garded by certaine souldiars Picards,  
hee found meanes to corrupt them, so as hee seized vpon the captaine of the castle,  
and the place it selfe.

This accident being bruted through the towne, the Inhabitants went present-  
lic to armes and beleaged the castle, the which by the treason of one of those souldi-  
ars which had betrayed the captaine and the place, was recovered, with Don Ramir  
Sanches of Asiayn, and his confederates, whose head the King, as well for this, as  
for many other former offences, caused to bee cut off, and forfeited his goods, and the  
souldiars were euery one executed that had assisted him to seize vpon the fort, or castle  
of Tafalla. As for Fillos of Gramont hee continued three yeeres in prison, and then  
D was deliuered.

In the meane time the King Don Charles being in great care for the detention of  
his sonne in France, hee caused Don John King of Castile to bee solicited by Donna  
Leonora his daughter in law, who was retired into Castile to the King her brother,  
who was strictly allied and a friend to the French, to bee a meadiator for the deliuey  
of the Infant Don Charles. The King of Castile desirous to gratese his sister, employ-  
ed his best meanes to the young French King and his Gouvernors, and did so impor-  
tune them by messages, letters and Ambassages, as they set the Infant Don Charles of  
Nauarre at libertie. As for Don Pedro his younger brother, and Donna Maria his  
sister, they had bene released before. Don Charles soone after his deliuey hee  
E went into Nauarre, to the great content of all the Nauarrois. It was a great hatred  
and mallice in the King Don Charles the Father, for to attempt such a wickednesse a-  
gainst the princes of France, who shewed their generositie, in consenting to the de-  
liuey of the Infant, who was not guilty of his fathers offence, who in all his acti-  
ons was of so sower a disposition, as hee could not pursue his rights, nor treat of any  
affaires with other princes, but in choller, and disdain: and whereas hee could not ob-  
taine and bring to passe what hee pretended, hee had recourse to synister and vnlaw-  
full practises, desiring to reuenge himselfe of those that did him any iniury, by what  
meanes soeuer.

Hee had one sister called Donna Agnes, married vnto Gaston Earle of Foix, called  
F Phebus, who for the wrongs hee had done vnto her husband, was verie ill intreated by  
him, so as shee was forced to leaue his companie, and to retire into Nauarre, who  
was soone after followed by a sonne shee had by him, called Gaston, where both being  
receiued, and honoured by King Charles, conferring often with his sister of her  
husbands bad vsage, hee conceived such a hatred against the Earle Gaston, as hee  
Fff 3 drew

Desirable en-  
terprise of  
King Charles  
the bad.

Deliverie of  
Prince Charles  
in fauor of the  
King of Castile.

Deliverie of  
Prince Charles  
in fauor of the  
King of Castile.

Disposition of  
Don Charles  
King of Na-  
uarre.

drew young *Gaston* their sonne to poison his father and gaue him a venomous poulder A to that end, telling him that it was a remedy to make him change the hatred hee bare him and his mother, into loue. This young Nobleman being simple and ill aduised be- leeuing what the King his vncl had said vnto him, he returned into Foix, to his father, with an intent to feason him some meate with this poulder, but hee could not so play his part, but casting the poulder into the meate, it was perceiued by the cookes, or o- therwise discovered: wherefore the Earle commanded his sonne and onely heire to bee taken, causing him to die miserably in prison, so as after him hee left none but bastards, which did not succeed in the Earldome of Foix: one of them was *Bernard*, who serued *Henry* the second King of Castile, in the conquest of the realme against the King *D. Pedro*, and was rewarded by him, and endowed with lands and Estates in Castile, from whom descended the dukes of Medina Celi, or Zelim, who by the mothers side belong to the blood of Castile, according to the order which followeth.

Miserable  
death of young  
Gaston of  
Foix.

*D. Fernand de la Cerde*, eldest sonne to *D. Alphonso* the Wise, or the Philosopher, left two sons, *D. Alphonso* and *D. Fernand*: of *D. Alphonso*, married into France, came *D. Lewis* Earle of Clermont, and *D. Charles*, or *Iohn*, according vnto some, Constable of France, and Earle of Angoulesme. *D. Lewis* Earle of Clermont married in Andalusia, *Don Leonora* of Guzman, daughter to *D. Alphonso Peres* of Guzman, and was Lord of Hulua, and of Port Sancta Maria, and other lands in the right of his wife: of which marriage issued *Don Lewis*, *Don Iohn*, and *Donna Isabella de la Cerde*. This *Donna Isabella* was by the King *Don Henry* the second, being settled in the realme of Castile, married to *Bernard* bastard of Foix, and had in dowry Medina Celi, with the title of an Earle; of them came *D. Gaston*, surnamed *de la Cerde*, leauing the name of the house of Foix, and *Bernard*. Hee was the second Earle of Medina Celi, and married *Donna Mencia* of Mendoza, daughter to *Don Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoza, a great Nobleman in Alaua: by her hee had one sonne called *Don Lewis*, who was the third Earle of Medina Celi, and married with *Donna Iean Sarmiento*, daughter to *Diego Peres Sarmiento*, from whom came *Don Gaston de la Cerde* the second, and forth Earle of Medina Celi, who married *Donna Leonora* of Mendoza, daughter to *Don Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, Marquis of Sentillana, from whom descended *Don Lewis* which succeeded him in the Earldome, in whose time it was made a Dutchy, *D. Lewis* married *Donna Anna* of Nauarre and Arragon, base daughter to *D. Charles*, Infant of Nauarre and Arragon. This is the Genealogy of the house of the dukes of Medina Celi.

King Charles  
a Leaper.

Such, as wee haue sayd, were the actions of *Charles* King of Nauarre, whom in the end God strooke with a Leaprofie, which made him to leaue all care of the affaires of this world, and to giue himselfe to workes of piety, according to the manner of those times, which was to build chappels, to ordaine Masses and Anniuersaries for his deceased parents, and to adde rents and giue entertainment to Clergy men and Priests which did the seruice: but about all hee labored to liue in peace with Christian Princes.

The Infant *Charles* being come into Nauarre about the beginning of the warre betwixt Castile and Portugal, the King *Don Iohn* demanded some supplies of souldiars out of Nauarre, to lead with him, wherevnto the King of Nauarre consented willingly, remembreing the good Offices hee had done with the French for his sonnes liberty, whom hee sent well accompanied to this warre, being vnable to goe in person, by reason of his indisposition. The Infant made some stay with his wife *Donna Leonora*, who was in Castile, and then passing on, hee came to the King being incamped before Lisbon, where hee staid not long, the King *Don Iohn* being forced to raise the siege by reason of the plague which ruined his armie, and returne into Castile, as wee haue said, dismissing the Infant his brother in law, with all loue and content.

23.  
Portugal.  
Affaires of the  
King of Castile  
succeed well  
in Portugal.

The yeere 1385. being come, the King *D. Iohn* preparing to returne into Portugal, hauing already sent some ships and gallies against Lisbon, hee had newes that the souldiars which hee had left in Saint Iren, had defeated some troupes of Portugal, whose leaders were the maister of the Knights of Christus, and the Prior of Saint Iohn, by reason of which victorie, many places within the Realme had planted the Standard of Castile.

A Castile: wherefore he made all the hast he could to enter into Portugall, being loth to let slip this occasion. Before his departure, he propounded in councell to put his brother the Earle of Gijon to death: but he was perswaded by many graue reasons and examples to forbear.

Don Iohn Master of Auiz, a bastard, the first of that name, and tenth in number, chosen King of Portugal.

B IN Portugal his aduersaries lost no time, but provided for all that was necessarie for a future warre: for the better managing whereof, they were of aduise to choose one, who should haue soueraigne authoritie among the rest; for the effecting whereof, the Noblemen and Knights of the Realme, who reiected the gouernement of Castile (among the which the most eminent were, *Don Iohn* Master of Auiz, and *Don Nugno Alvarez Pereira*) assembled in the cittie of Coimbra, and there held a kind of Parliament, whither also came the Deputies of the townes of their partie: there it was debated whether they should choose a Regent or a King. Many were of opinion they should choose a king, and gaue their voices, some to *Don Iohn* Master of Auiz, base sonne to the king *Don Pedro*: others sayd, it was more reasonable to make *Don Iohn* lawfull sonne to the king *Don Pedro*, king, who was prisoner in Castile.

Assembly in  
Portugal for  
the election of  
a king.

Many considering the wrong they did therein to the Queene *D. Beatrix*, were of opinion, that it was better to seeke some good accord with *Don Iohn* king of Castile her husband: whereunto some did oppose, saying, that the Queene *D. Leonora Telles de Meneses* could not be lawfull wife to king *Fernand*, hauing taken her by force from her husband *Laurence Vazques* of Acugna: and therefore *D. Beatrix* was no more legitimate then the Master of Auiz, and that being both base, it were better to acknowledge him for king, D then her: that as for the Infant *D. Iohn* a lawfull son, to whom the crowne of Portugal did rightly belong, that his deliuerie was vncertaine, and therefore they must not stand vpon it, the Portugals hauing then need of a free king, to oppose himselfe against the attempts of Castile who sought to oppresse them. This opinion preuailed, and they all consented to choose *D. Iohn* Master of Auiz, for king of Portugal, and so he was proclaimed eighteene moneths after the interregne; in the Monasterie of Saint Francis of Coimbra, in Aprill, this yeare 1385. the people crying out, that it was that king which was prophesied by the Infant at Ebora, whereof mention was made.

D. Iohn Master  
of Auiz chosen  
king of Portu-  
gal.

This king is called by the Portugals (of happie memorie) for that he freed the country from the Castillans, whose gouernement was exceeding hatefull vnto them: he was also surnamed the Bastard, for that the king *D. Pedro* begat him out of marriage. He shewed a great courage and generositie in the reception of this great charge, to defend a Realme diuided, against the power of the king of Castile, being allyed to France and Nauarre: but a Royaltie, and the liberty of his country, did sufficiently requite the perill and danger which he did vndergo. The king *D. Iohn* being aduertised of that which the Portugals had done at the Estates at Coimbra, he sent *D. Pedro Tenorio* Archbishop of Toledo, a Portugall borne, with some troupes, to retaine in their fidelitie such as followed his party in Portugall. This Prelate entring the countrie by Viseo, made a miserable spoile where hee past, for which he smarted soone after, being incountred and defeated by the Portugals nere to Troncoço. On the other side, the inhabitants of Algarbe, following the new kings partie, had seized vpon the towne of Mertola, and as they battered the castle, they were suddenly charged by them of Seuille, and put to flight: the leader was *D. Aluar Perez* of Guzman, Gouernor of that city, a yong Nobleman of 18. years of age: and in a manner at the same instant the Castillans tooke a great quantitie of victuals and munition, which they of Yelbes and Estremos kept in Ronchez. The king of Castile resoluing to beseege Lisbon againe, had prepared many vessels both for war, and to carrie victuals, the which came

Castillans de-  
feated at Tron-  
coço.



exploits of the  
new king of  
Portugal.

came neere vnto Lisbon, and kept the mouth of the riuer, so as no man could go in, or A  
come out from Lisbon. All this did not daunt the new king of Portugal, but hauing  
speedily assembled his forces, he went to assaile Guimaraes, the which was valiantly de-  
fended by *Arias Gomes* of Silua a Portugal, who was affected to the king of Castile, yet  
it was yielded vpon a good composition: after which he tooke the cittie of Braga, pout  
de Luan, with other places and forts.

Whilest these things past in Portugal, the king of Castile, burning with desire to see  
himselfe king of this other Realme, made great preparations, and notwithstanding that  
his Councillors vpon his returne into Portugal were of diuers opinions, yet he yielded  
to those that perswaded him to enter: wherefore leauing *Donna Beatrix* his wife at Aui-  
la, he marched towards Portugall, and layed seerge to Cillorico de la vera, where during B  
his stay, considering the doubtfull euent of warre, especially against Rebels, the vrsuers  
of Realmes, who shew themselves alwaies violent, hee made his will, and sent it to the  
Arch-bishop of Toledo to keepe, by the which hee ordayned many things, the which  
shall be specified in the life of his sonne and successeur *Don Henry*, which bred much tro-  
ble within the Realme, for that hee gaue out, whilest he liued, and after the making of  
this will, that he meant to alter many things, and yet he made no other will, whereof the  
chiefe witnesses were *Don Pedro* of Arragon, sonne to *D. Alphonso* the first Constable of  
Castile, and *Marquis of Villena*, *D. John cap de Vaca* Bishop of Coimbra, *Peter Gonçales* of  
Mendoza, Lord Steward of the kings house, *Diego Gomes Manrique* great Gouernour of C  
Castile, *Pedro Lopes* of Ayala, Standard-bearer of the Order of the Band, with *Tello Gonça-*  
*les Palomeque*, and other men of marke. The Castle of Cillorico was taken, from whence  
the armie marched towards Coimbra, burning all the villages thereabouts, and so passing  
on by Leyra, they came and camped at Soria, whereas a messenger sent by *Don Nugno*  
*Aluarez Pereira* newly created Constable of Portugal, came vnto the king, intreating him  
in his masters name, to auoyd the battell, which should be soone presented vnto him, and  
that it might be there would be meanes to come to some good accord, if it were earnestly  
sought.

This was but the Constables pollicie, to stay the king of Castile, for that the king of  
Portugalls armie was not strong enough to encounter their enemies: whereunto the king D  
made a gracious answer. The new king of Portugal was in Arbantes very penfue, seeing  
himselfe much inferiour to his enemy, who besides the Castilians, which were in great  
numbers, had many Noblemen of Portugal in his armie, the which beeing within a  
league and a halfe of that of Portugal, there were many things propounded, to end their  
quarrels without a battell, but they were all without effect: for the king of Castile finding  
himselfe strong, had a desire to fight, promising vnto himselfe all aduantages, and yet his  
captaines were of another opinion; and among others, *Monfieur de Rie*, Chamberlaine to  
the French king, and his ambassador with the King of Castile, a Gentleman 70. yeres old,  
and a captaine of great experience, saying, that his men were wearie, and it was late, and  
that the Portugall army, in the which were 2200. men at armes, and 10000. foote, were E  
camped in a place of strength: from whence, if he would haue patience, hee should see  
them soone dislodg for want of victuals, beeing aduertised that they had not any meate,  
but for that night: that vpon their dislodging he should haue better oportunitie to fight  
with them: & if they went to affront them in the place where they were, it was likely they  
should reape more shame then honor, But notwithstanding all these reasons, hee would  
needes fight: wherefore the Castilians hauing put their armie in battell, they were recei-  
ued courageously by the Portugals, along the mountaines of Maos, in the fields nere vn-  
to the village of Aljubarot, where at the first charge, notwithstanding all the indeauour  
of the Portugall fore-ward, they gaue ground to the Castilians: but the new king of Por-  
tugal flying thither with his Squadron, not onely fortified his men, but also charging the  
enemy with great courage (who thought they had won all, and fought without order, &  
carelesly) he brake them, and put them to a shamefull flight with great slaughter, the king  
of Castile himselfe being in danger, who fled 11. leagues that night vnto S. Iren, where he  
arrived at the breake of day in great perplexity, and then recouering the sea-shore, hee  
caused himselfe to be carried to Seuille.

*Polydore*

Battel of Alju-  
barot and the  
Castilians de-  
feated.

A *Polydore Virgil* in his Historie of England, failes in the discourse of this battell, saying,  
that *Edmond* Earle of Cambridge was there with good troupes of English for the new  
king of Portugal against him of Castile, and giues the honour of the battell to the En-  
ghish: but it appears by all the Spanish Writers, (more credible in matters of Spaine  
then strangers) that the comming of the Earle of Cambridge into Portugall was not at  
that time, but in the life of king *Fernand*. Neither were there any French troupes for the  
king of Castile, as some Authors make mention. Vpon the place of battell there was an  
Hermitage built to *S. George*, who is held to be the patron and protector of Portugal, as  
also of Arragon, as *S. James* is of Castile: and this victorie is more celebrated by the Por-  
tugals, then any they euer had: for that by reason thereof they were freed from the sub-  
jection of Castile: it is called the battell of Aljubarote, or of *S. George*. In this battell there  
dyed many Noblemen of Castile; and among others *Don Pedro* of Arragon, sonne to the  
Constable of Castile, *D. John* of Castile, Lord of Aguilar del campo, son to *D. Tello*, L.  
of Biscay, *D. Fernand* of Castile, a yong Prince, son to *D. Sancho*, Earle of Albuquerque,  
*Peter Dias Damas* Prior of S. John, *D. Diego Manrique*, Gouernor generall of the frontier  
of Castile, *D. Pedro* of Mendoza, a Lord Steward of the king of Castiles house, *Don John*  
*Fernandes* of Touar high Admiral, *D. Diego Gomes Sarmiento* Gouernor of Galicia, *Pedro*  
*Carillo* Marshall of Castile, *D. Aluar Gonçales* of Sandoual, and his brother *Fernand Gon-*  
*çales*, *D. John Ramir* of Arcillan, *John Ortiz* of Cueva, *Gonçalo* of Cerbantes, *Ruy Braue*,  
and *Fernand Carillo*: and of the Portugals following the partie of Castile, *D. John Alphonso*  
C *Sello*, Admirall of Portugall, brother to the Queene *D. Leonora*, *D. Pero Aluarez Pereira*,  
Master of the Order of Calatraua, and his brother *D. Diego Aluarez Pereira*, brothers to  
*D. Nugno Aluarez* Constable of Portugal, *Gonçal Vasques* of Azeuedo, with *Aluar Gonça-*  
*les* his sonne, and others. There dyed also in this defeate *Monfieur de Rie* Ambassador for  
the French king, and his Chamberlaine. Great was the spoile of the Castilians campe, &  
many prisoners carryed away by the Portugals, who hung vp their ensignes & other spoils  
for trophees in the Monasterie of Alcouaça, and in the chiefe church at Braga, and at the  
Carnes at Lisbon, the which were afterwards founded by the Constable *D. Nugno Alua-*  
*rez Pereira*, and among others the royal Standard of Castile was taken. As for those which  
escaped the battell, some gathered themselves together in S. Iren, and some of them  
D recovered Castile, as well as they could. They of S. Iren hauing past the riuer of Tayo,  
with *D. Gonçal Nugnes* of Guzman, Master of Alcantara, (who was since made Master of  
the Calatraua) they ioyned with the forces of Nauarre and France, which the Infant *Don*  
*Charles* of Nauarre brought to the king of Castile his brother-in-law, but too late: wher-  
fore they returned all together into Castile, hauing made all the spoile they could in the  
Realme of Portugal: the which by this battell of Aljubarote remained assured for the king  
*Don John* the tenth in number, and the first of that name, hauing attained to that royall  
dignitie, to the which in the beginning he did not aspire, and that with the consent of the  
Nobilitie and States of the countrie.

Noblemen of  
Castile slain  
in the battell.

Portugals slain  
of the Casti-  
lans sides

*The end of the sixteenth Booke.*

THE



## THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK of the Generall History of Spaine.

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- 38 D. Pedro de Luna chosen Pope at Auignon, who by his obstinacie continued the Schisme.
- 39 The Queene of Nauarre sent to the king her husband.
- 40 Ieanne Countesse of Foix, wife to Mathew of Castellan, reiected by the Arragonois from the succession of the Realme of Arragon.

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| Portugal.                     | Nauarre.         | Arragon.      | Castile and Leon. |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 10 D. Iohn Master<br>of Auiz. | D. Charles 3. 14 | D. Iohn 1. 17 | D. Henry 3. 83.   |
| 1. 31                         |                  |               |                   |



**S**UCH as are to rule ouer Nations, and especially where there is great store of Nobility, must be carefull how to gouerne their affections, lest by their too great libertie they force their subiects, either in regard of their honours, or for their iust defence to haue recourse to armes. For it is often seene when a warre is kindled, and that they which are tearmed Rebels, haue gotten any aduantage, they do no longer containe themselves within the bounds which at the first they had propounded, but they proceed, and seeke a totall change of the Estate, thinking they cannot be otherwise assured:

assured: or that the superior whom they would make their equall (which is the true effect of armes) can cuer be a true and perfect friend. Such are chiefly possessed with this iea-  
lousie and distrust, as are to contend with men that are given to reuenge, and of base dis-  
positions, as women and effeminate persons, who seeke to maintaine their excess by the  
name and credit of a Soueraigne degree wherein they are placed, thinking that this great-  
nesse doth purchase them a priuiledge in any thing they do, and giue authoritie to their  
cruelties and impieties, wherein they please themselves, although they be many times de-  
ceived. It is most certaine, and verified by infinit examples, that neither force, nor great-  
nesse can auayle a Prince, whose bad life makes him hatefull to his subiects. And on the  
other side, there is no such guard, as the loue of subiects, the which is conceived by the  
opinion of vertue. Opinion followes the effects: and therefore a Prince should be alwaies  
carefull what opinion men should haue of him, and remember still the precept of the  
wife: That a man must be alwaies such as he would be esteemed. If he be giuen to inu-  
sice and voluptuousnesse, with the oppression and ruine of his subiects, let him assure  
himselfe, that good men wil hate and detest him and his actions, and estrange themselves  
from him: so as he shall remaine ingaged among flatterers, where many times he is smo-  
thered, but at the least he is for cuer infamous. The name of Rebelle is iustly detested, but  
the common people iudge by the cuents, and the wise and well-aduised according to the  
causes.

And there is nothing more certaine, whatsoeuer the flatterers of Court say, that  
neuer any Conspiracie against a soueraigne Magistrate was durable, or could take roote,  
if the hearts of the subiects were not formerly distracted by the Princes owne guilt and  
excesse. But if it please God to stirre vp some noble courage, who imbrace the pub-  
like cause, then shall a tyrant hardly auoid his due punishment, whereof Spaine affords  
vs assured proofes in Don Pedro King of Castile, and D. Leonora Telles of Meneses, widow  
to king Fernand, and Regent of Portugall, who by her vnchastnesse and tyrannie, as we  
haue formerly related, ruined her selfe, and did frustrate Donna Beatrice her daughter of  
that Crowne, setting it vpon the head of Don Iohn the Bastard, Master of the Order  
of the Knights of Auiz her enemy, who had no lawfull right, and (it may bee) neither  
thought nor hoped to attayne vnto it, but when hee saw himselfe armed and fol-  
lowed.

This King notwithstanding his victorie, was alwaies called the Master of Auiz, by the  
Castilians, who would not aduow him for king, to the prejudice of their Queene Donna  
Beatrice: and the king D. Iohn his aduersarie intitled himselfe king of Castile, Leon, Por-  
tugal, Toledo, Galicia, Seuille, Cordoua, Murcia, Iacn, Algarue, Algezire, and Lord  
of Lara, Biscay and Molina, some few daies after this great victorie wonne by the Portu-  
gals. S. Iren yielded, with all that countie, there remaining not any place on this side the  
mountaines, that held for the king of Castile. At Saint Iren D. Nugno Alvarez of Pereira  
Constable of Portugall, was made Earle of Oren, in recompence of his valour and faith-  
full seruice: and the new king D. Iohn vsed great bounty vnto all the Castilians that were  
prisoners, sending them home free without any ranfome. After that time, leaving the  
conduct of the warre to his Constable, he employed his time in workes of pietie, and gi-  
uing thanks to God for the victorie which he had giuen him, that is, he went in pilgri-  
mage on foote to Saint Mary of Oliuera of Guimaraes, which is foure daies iourney  
from S. Iren. In the meane time the Constable passing Guadiana, entred into Castile with  
two thousand lances, comprehending the light horse and genetis, and good troupes of  
foote, where he got another victorie against the Castilians: whereof the king his master  
was aduertised being at Porto; who to reward the Constable, and to encourage him to do  
better, he gaue him the title of Earle of Barcelos. This Constable, besides that hee had  
in him the chiefe parts and ornament which make Nobility, hee was issued from one of  
the noblest families in Portugal: for his father Don Aluar Gonzales had bene Prior of S.  
Iohn, or of Crato, as the Portugals say, being at the battaile of Salado or Tariffa, wonne  
against the Moores, in the yeare 1340. by the kings D. Alphonso the 12. of Castile, and D.  
Alphonso the fourth of Portugal, he founded our Ladies Church of Fleur de Rose, and  
the strong castle of Ameyra, with the pallace of Bonjardin.

This

A This Prior besides many other children (for some say he had 32.) had this Don Nugno  
Alvarez of Pereira, Constable of Portugal, a great and famous Captaine, the founder  
of the house and state of Bragance: whose mother was called Heira Gonzales of Caruahal,  
he being borne in the yeare 1360. At the age of seuteene yeares he married the widow  
of Vasco Gonzales Barosso, a chiefe Nobleman in Portugal: of which mariage besides two  
sonnes which dyed young, issued one daughter named D. Beatrice, who was heire to her  
fathers Estate, and was married to D. Alphonso of Portugal, base sonne to this king Don  
Iohn, who was borne whilest he was Master of Auiz, of a mistris of his called D. Agnes,  
the being afterwards made commandresse of Santos. This Constables Grandfather was  
D. Gonzalo Pereira, Arch-bishop of Braga, a Prelate of a royall magnificence in his man-  
ner of liuing, and exceeding bountifull. The Constable hauing charge to continue the  
war, whilest that the King D. Iohn was otherwise employed touching the gouernement  
of the realme, he past into the Prouinces beyond the mountaines, where hee reduced to  
the new kings obedience, Chaus, Bragance, Almeyda, and other places, which held yet  
for the Queene D. Beatrice, and her husband the king of Castile, so as there remayned few  
which were not made subiect, and brought vnder the iurisdiction of Don Iohn king of  
Portugal.

But for that such quarrels are not determined by one or two victories gotten by the  
weaker, against one more mighty, the new king duly considering all this, and with good  
counsell, thought it necessarie, that D. Iohn king of Castile should be quite ruined, that he  
might the better maintaine his new conquest, and to this end he called the English with  
the pretext of apparent right: for as we haue sayd, the Duke of Lancaster, Vncle to king  
Richard the second then reigning, hauing married D. Constance daughter to the deceased  
king D. Pedro of Castile, pretending that the Realmes of Castile and Leon did belong to  
him, and carried the title and armes. Wherefore Ambassadors weresent vnto him, to  
summon him to come into Spaine, with assurance and promise, that he should be assisted  
with all the forces and meanes of Portugal, protesting that if he let slip this goodly occa-  
sion, besides the losse, he should reape dishonor, and be scorned of all the world. On the  
other side, D. Iohn king of Castile, hauing bene visited by the Infant of Nauarre, who  
came expressly to Seuille, and receiued letters from Pope Clement at Auignon, full of con-  
solation, he came to Vailledolit, and there held a generall assembly of the Estates of his  
Realmes, from whence he sent Ambassadors to Charles the sixth the French king, intreat-  
ing him to send him succours to recouer his Realms of Portugal and Algarbe, his wiues  
patrimoine, which were detayned from him by a bastard rebell. Thus these two princes  
called in strangers to the prejudice of Spaine.

The Duke of Lancaster passed into Portugal with fiftene hundred Lances, and as ma-  
ny Archers on foot: and Lewis Duke of Bourbon the kings Vncle, was sent out of France  
with two thousand Lances in fauour of D. Iohn king of Castile. The English armie run-  
ning along the coast of Galicia, tooke sixe gallies of Castile, and came to the Groine on  
Saint Lames day, in the yeare 1386. In the meane time the king of Portugal had led his ar-  
mie into Castile, and beseeged the towne of Coria, but could not take it. It was then  
that he sayd, He had need of the good Knights of the round table, to which hee was an-  
swered by Men Rodrigues of Valconcellos, that they had also need of a king Arthur, who  
could distinguish and reward good Knights: the which the king D. Iohn turned to a ieast  
and would not seeme to be touched.

At this seer hee had newes, that the Duke of Lancasters armie was landed: wherefore  
hee presently dislodged, and came to receiue and entertaine them at pont du Maure,  
necre vnto the Towne of Porto: The Duke had brought with him his wife Donna Con-  
stance of Castile, and two daughters, the one by her, whose name was Katherine, the o-  
ther by his first wife, called Philippe. At this enterview, a marriage was treated betwixt  
the King Don Iohn and that Ladie Philippe, who was then deliuered into the hand of the  
King, her future husband, and soone after they were married, with such pompe as con-  
forted with their persons and dignities.

Hauing consulted concerning the warre, they beganne to spoyle the Countrie of Ga-  
licia, where they took some places: but the heat of the plague, which consumed both the  
country

Ggg

John King of  
Portugal calls  
the English in  
to Spaine.D. Iohn King  
of Castile calls  
in the French.

countrie people, and the English armie stayed the course of these conquests. The King of Castile had fortified and manned the citie of Leon, Benauent, and other places in Galicia with good Garrisons, vntill he went to field, vpon the comming of those succours which hee expected from France and Nauarre. In the meane time hee caused the Duke of Lancaster to bee dealt withall about an Accord, but hee continued constant in his demands to haue the Realmes of Castile and Leon: Whereuppon the King sent Ambassadors vnto him, to let him vnderstand publickly, that hee should content himselfe with that which hee had done, and not to vexe the Countrie any more: and that if hee pretended any wrong were done vnto him by him, hee defied him to the combate, man to man; and hee that vanquished should bee King of Castile: but vnder hand the Ambassadors had charge to propound other conditions vnto him, whereuppon they came to create of a marriage betwixt the Infant Don Henry of Castile, and Catherine the Dukes daughter, by Donna Constance, with many offers, which were not accepted, at the least it did not then appeare so: for the Portugals hauing ioyned with the English armie, they marched farther into the territories and iurisdiccions of Leon, in the year 1387. and besieged Benauent in vaine, they passed by Villalobos, Piasas, and Valderas, the which they took: from whence returning by Ciudad Roderigo, they retired into Portugal, wanting victuals, and being pressed with the plague: and moreouer they had newes that the French supplies had passed Nauarre, and were entring into Castile: the which advanced the conclusion of a peace betwixt the King of Castile, and the Duke of Lancaster, the which was made at Troncoso with these conditions:

Accord betwixt the king of Castile and the Duke of Lancaster.

That the Infant Don Henry the eldest sonne of Castile, should marrie Catherine, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, and of his wife Donna Constance of Castile, for whose dowrie the king D. John should assigne certaine places: That the citie of Guadalajara, with the townes of Medina del campo, and Olmedo should be giuen to the Dutchesse D. Constance, to enioy the reuenues thereof during her life: That the king should pay sixtie thousand pounds sterling to the Duke, and to D. Constance his wife at certaine dayes: and moreouer, foure thousand pounds pension during their liues, and the longer liuer of them. In consideration whereof, the Duke of Lancaster and Donna Constance should renounce all rights, actions and pretensions which they challenged to the Realmes of Castile, Leon, and their dependances, and that the places taken in Galicia should be restored. This accord being thus concluded, the Duke retired himselfe into the towne of Porto, where he made his accord also with the King of Portugal: to which treatie it seemes the Duke had bene forced by the plague, which had consumed two third parts of his men. The duke of Lancaster then hauing for the fruites of his voyage married his two daughters to two kings, he returned into Guienne in the year 1387. not very well satisfied with the King of Portugal, nor the king with him. Of the marriage of Don John king of Portugal, and of D. Philippe, there came this issue: first, they had a daughter called D. Blanche, which dyed young in Lisbon: then the Infant D. Alphonso borne in the year 1391. at S. Iren, who liued not about two yeares: their third child was Don Edward borne in the Towne of Visco, and succeeded in his fathers Realme. Moreouer, they had the Infant D. Pedro, borne at Lisbon in the year 1392. he was Duke of Coimbra, and Lord of Mont Major the old, and of Amero: then the Infant Don Henry, of whome the Queene was deliuered at Porto, he was Duke of Visco, and Master of the Knights of Christus, and it was he which first discovered the Ilands of Madera in the Ocean sea. Of this marriage also came Donna Izabella, borne at Ehora in the year 1397. who was Dutchesse of Bourgogne, and Countesse of Flanders, wife to Philip Duke of Bourgondie: by her was built the Monasterie of Prolonga neere vnto Sintra, of the Order of Saint Jerome. They had besides these the Infant Don John, who was Master of Saint Iames, borne at Saint Iren in the year 1400. hee was Countable of the Realme, and being married with Donna Izabella daughter to Don Alphonso Duke of Bragance his bastard-brother, he was grandfather by the mothers side to D. Izabella Queene proprietarie of Castile and Leon. And in the end the king Don John and Donna Philippe his wife had the Infant Don Fernand, borne in the year 1402. at Saint Iren, who was Master of Auiz, a zealous prince to the Christian Religion, and full of charity.

Before

A Before that the king Don John came vnto the Crowne, being but Master of Auiz, he had two base children by a Gentlewoman called Donna Agnes, that is, Don Alphonso Barcelles, and Duke of Bragance, called D. Beatrice: and one daughter named also Donna Beatrice, who was married to Thomas Earle of Arondel. This is the issue of the King D. John the first of Portugal, who had yet a quarrell for the Realme with the King of Castile, the poursuite whereof was deferred for a time: for the king of Castile being to performe his promise to the Duke of Lancaster, and to pay him great summes of money, he made choice at that time to send backe the French forces, and not to suffer them to stay in his countrie, giuing them part of their entertaynement, and good assurance for the rest. Then hauing held an assembly of the Estates at Birbiefca, by reason the plague was at Burgos, he propounded the neede he had of money to pay the English Duke: and therefore he attempted to impose a generall Tribute vpon the Clergie, Nobility, and third Estate without exception, wherein he was crost, being forced to seeke some other expedient. From Birbiefca he came to Soria, and then to Calaoorra, where he heard the French Ambassadors, and sent others to Bayone, to the Duke of Lancaster, to confirme their accord: and then it was concluded anew, that from thence forth the Infant Don Henry should be called Prince of the Asturia's, and his wife Princeesse, after the manner of England, whereby the kings eldest son is called Prince of Wales: and then began the custom to call the eldest of Castile Princes, whom before they called Infants, and it is an error to enuile them Princes of Castile or of Spaine: for they are not called Princes for any other occasion, but that they haue the Asturia's for their portion and intertaynement, the which was made a principality, first in this D. Henry, and his wife D. Catherine: to the patrimony of which principality, Iacn, Vbeda, Baega, and Andujar haue bene since annexed. It is an error also to thinke that this title of principallie is giuen to the Asturia's of Ouiedo, for that in that region was the beginning of the recouerie of Spaine: for it proceeds not from any thing else, but from this marriage betwixt Henry of Castile, and Donna Catharina of Lancaster. Before the king Don John of Castile parted from Calaoorra, Charles the third king of Nauarre, brother-in-law to king John, came to visit him, with the Queene Donna Leonora of Castile his wife.

French succore sent backe for Castile.

Title of Prince first giuen in Spaine to the Kings eldest sonne.

This prince had succeeded king Charles the Bad his father, in the year 1386. being dead at Pampelona of a Leprosie, as the Spaniards say, and the French Histories, of a disease he got by his incontinencie, whereof he languished long. It is he of whom they write that the Philistions hauing him in cure, applying Aqua-vite to restore him, they set fire of it, which tooke hold of the bed, so as he was burnt and could not be releued: Others say, that he was sowed vp in a sheet steeped in Aqua-vite, and that the Surgeon seeking to cut the threed, holding a waxe light, the sheet was suddenly set on fire and burnt the king: but howsoeuer, hee ended his daies in great sicknesse in the year 1386, the five and fortieth year of his raigne, hauing reigned 73. His body was interred in the Cathedral church of that citie, where the heart of the Queene his wife lyes, who dyed in France in the year 1378. his bowels were buried at Saint Maries of Roncevaux, and his heart at S. Maries of Vxue. The same year he dyed, his daughter Jeanne was first married to John of Montfort Duke of Britanny, by whom she had foure sonnes, and three daughters, and afterwards to Henry King of England. Before his death he pacified the seditions which they of Pampelona had raised among themselves, causing the authors to be punished: among which, one of the chiefe was called Andrew of Turilles, who was executed.

4 Charles the 3. of that name and 3. of Nauarre.

Ggg 2

Charles

### Charles the 3. of that name, the 31. King of Nauarre.

**T**his *Charles* succeeded to the Realme of Nauarre, beeing called the Noble, for his bountie, affabilitie, and other vertues, which made him to be esteemed by all Christian Princes his neighbours, and generally beloued of all men. Hee was 25. yeares old, when he came to the Crowne. At the deceale of his father, he was at Pehnasel in Castile, with the King *D. Iohn* his brother-in-law, of whom he tooke his leaue with infinit teares, vpon the receipt of these newes. And such was the loue and singular affection which the King of Castile bare him, as from the beginning of his raigne he granted him full restitution of the townes and castles of Tudele, *S. Vincent*, Viana, Guarda, Estella, Miranda, Laraga, and other places, which were in *deposito* since the last pacification made with Don *Henry* king of Castile, although the ten yeares capitulated were not yet expired: moreouer he forgave him 20000. doubloons of gold, which had bene lent to the deceased king his father, and did discharge him of the promise of two thousand pounds sterling, which he had made for the libertie of *Perlas* of Tortui an Englishman beeing prisoner in Castile. Such and greater was the bountie of *D. Iohn* king of Castile to *Charles* the third king of Nauarre his brother-in-law, and likewise to the Queene *D. Leonora* his sister, and to their daughters who were at that time in Castile: and moreover hee caused the king to be accompanied into his Realme by the chiefe of his Nobility, who beeing come to Pamplona, and there receiued with great pompe and ioy by the Estates of the Realme, the first as he did for the government thereof, was to resolve with his subiects and Councillors, to adhere to Pope *Clement* the 7. remaining at Auignon, and to reiect *Frbane* the six, as the kings of France and Castile had done, yet with this protestation, that hee would not separate himselfe from the holy Apostolike church, but obey that which shold be decreed by a generall Council concerning the Schisme. Then he sought the allyance of neighbor Princes, sending ambassadours vnto them, especially into Arragon, where hee made a league with the duke of Girone, the heire of Arragon, and treated the marriage of Donna *Jeanne* his elder daughter, with *D. Iames* eldest sonne to the Duke of Girone, hauing an intent to vnite the crowne of Nauarre to that of Arragon, for that hee had no sonnes, but this marriage tooke no effect.

King of Nauarre during the schisme adheres to the Pope of Auignon.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

In the beginning of the yeare 1387. Queene *Leonora* his wife fell into a long and languishing sickness, which bred much trouble betwixt them. He had by her these children following: *D. Jeanne* the eldest, who was wife to *Iohn* of Foix, sonne to *Archambault*: *D. Maria* who dyed a virgin at Pampelona, *D. Blanche*, who was Queene of Sicily and Nauarre, *D. Beatrix* Countesse of Marche, wife to *Iames* of Bourbon, and *D. Izabella*, who dyed also a mayd. After these fise daughters they had Don *Charles* their sonne, who dyed a child, and Don *Lewis* which liued but fixe moneths. These be the lawfull children of the king Don *Charles* the third. He had out of marriage one sonne called *Godfrey* of Nauar, who was Marshall of the Realme, and Earle of Cortes, and one daughter named Donna *Jeanne* of Nauarre, who was married to *Inigo Ortiz* of Estuniga, sonne to *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga.

Of these children mention is made in this kings testament, the which is in the Cathedral church of Pampelona, in the which his breethren are also named: *Peter* Earle of Morraing, and Leon a Bastard, and Donna *Maria* also a Bastard, married to the Earle of Denia.

In the the yeare 1387. the warre betwixt Castile and Portugal beeing hote, the French troups, led by *Lewis* Duke of Bourbon to the succour of King *Iohn*, past through Niuarre, where they were furnished with all necessaries by King *Charles*, who after their retreat and accord made by the king of Castile with the Duke of Lancaster, hee came to Calorria, as wee haue sayd, to reioyce with the King Don *Iohn*, for this pacification.

Retur-

**A** Returning to the treatie of this warre, we say, that the Princeesse *Catherine* hauing followed her father into Guienne, was after a new confirmation of the accord, sent by him to Fontaraby, and there deliuered to the Prelates and Noblemen deputed by the king of Castile, to receiue her, who conducted her to Palence, where the marriage betwixt her and the Prince *D. Henry* was solemnized, he being but ten yeares old, and thre nineteene. The Dutchesse of Lancaster, mother to the Princeesse, past afterwards into Spaine, and came to the king *D. Iohn* her cousin at Medina del campo, to whome among other presents she gaue a rich Crowne of gold, saying, that the duke her husband had caused it to be made, hoping to be crowned king of Castile: but seeing they were agreed otherwise then he expected, it was his due, and therefore she presented it vnto him. The king receiued it with great ioy, and requited the Dutchesse with other gifts of price, putting her in possession of the townes promised by the accord, whereunto he added Huere. The Dutchesse past afterwards to Guadalajara, hauing had a promise of an enterview betwixt the king and the Duke of Lancaster her husband, at Fontaraby or Bajone. The king stayd not long to come to Victoria for this meeting, and the Dutchesse went before to draw her husband to Fontaraby: but he excused himselfe by reason of his apparent indisposition, and vpon the sharpnesse of the winter, which made the passage of *S. Adrian* difficult. *D. Pero Lopes* of Ayala, Bishop of Oisma, and *Fernand* of Illesca were sent vnto him from the king to whome he propounded an allyance which he desired to make betwixt Castile and England, and to induce the King *D. Iohn* to quit that of France, whereof the ambassadours excused their master. The interview being hindred by this occasion the king *D. Iohn* came to Segobia, to giue order for the warre of Portugal, which had bene somewhat quenched since the duke of Lancaster retreat: for the pacifying whereof *Fernando* of Illesca, of the Order of the preaching Friars, and the Kings Confessor, had laboured much, but could not conclude any thing.

The King of Portugall falling sicke in his pallace of Cordal, gaue some hope that matters would turne fauourable for Castile: for his sickness was so violent, as all men despayred of his life: whereat the Queene Donna *Philippe* was much grieued, so as shee was deliuered of her first child before her time, which made them doubt shee would not haue any more: but midwives rules are not alwaies true, for she had afterwards those children whereof we haue made mention.

**F**riar *Fernand* and others, who treated a truce betwixt these two kings, being not able to effect that which they pretended, the King of Portugal being recouered, he entred into Galicia, and spoiled the countrie, and tooke Tuy by Intelligence, and Saluaterra: after which spoiles the Confessor *Fernand* returned into Portugal, and renewed the treatie, where he wrought so, as he yeilded to a truce for sixe yeares, in the yeare 1389. by the which Tuy, Saluaterra, and all the Portugals had taken from Castile, was yeilded. By this pacification which continued long, Don *Iohn* King of Portugal, had meanes to settle himselfe in his Royaltie, and wholly to exclude *D. Beatrix*.

**E** As for the affaires of Arragon, we find that before the war betwixt Castile and Portugal, the king *D. Pedro* being very old, married the fourth time with *D. Sibilla*, widow to *Artal* of Fosses, whom he caused to be crowned at Sarragossa, in the yeare 1381. whether the Estates were called to that effect. At the which the Noblemen which had subiects that were no Gentlemen, maintained that they had soueraigne power ouer them, their goods and liues, and that it had bene long practised in Arragon. This action was begun vpon the complaints made by the Inhabitants of Anzanego, against *D. Pedro Sanchez* of Larras their Lord: but it was prohibited, and a sentence was giuen by way of prouision, that the Noblemen should enioy the rights which they had accustomed, although they were not according to the common law or written law: and although they could not shew any priuiledges granted vnto them in that behalfe, yet should it not be lawfull for the king to draw them into question, for any violence or bad vsage done vnto their subiects, but the punishment of any excesse done by the superiors to their subiects, should be left to God, the which gaue way to infinit wickednes. These Estates ended with trouble & confusion, for that *D. Briande* of Luna, hauing left *D. Lopes Ximenes* of Vvrea her husband, and married *D. Lewis Cornet*, these two Noblemen went to armes, and kept the field.

Ggg 3

As

5  
Castile.

Portugal.

6.  
Exploits of the King of Portugal in Spaine.

1389.

7.  
Arragon.





Arragon. It is remarkable that at the same time both in Castile and Portugal, there were Kings reigning of the same name. The King Don *Pedro* his father was a lover of learning, he entertained the vniuersity of Lerida, and erected one in Huesca. Having giuen to his sonne *John* the towne of Girone with the title of a Duchy; then beganne the custome, that the eldest of Arragon are called Dukes of Girone, as the eldest sonne of France is called Dauphin of Vienne.

The new King Don *John* beganne his raigne with the persecution of his mother in law, who like vnto Donna *Leonora* of Castile, was retired from Barcelona, seeing the death of the King *D. Pedro* approach, and had put her selfe into Zaroca, where shee was soone besieged, and taken by Don *Martin* of Arragon the Kings brother. And for that the King Don *John* lay languishing in his bed, and could not be eased by the art of Physicke, this widow Queene was accused to haue caused him to bee poisoned, whereupon she was strictly examined, and all those of her household. All the goods the deceased King had bestowed on her, were made forsaite, and giuen to the Queen reigning Donna *Violant*. The Regency or Government of the realme was giuen to Don *Martin*, who also was made duke of Montblanc, by letters giuen at Grenouillez neere Barcelona. The preuiledges, lawes and statutes of that city were confirmed by him at his coming to the crowne, and hee did aduow Pope *Clement* at Auignon, by the counsell of the Cardinall Don *Pedro de Luna*, and the perswasion of the Queene *D. Iolant* or *Violant*, and he of Rome was declared vnlawfull, as made by force.

All grants made by the King *D. Pedro* since the yeere 1365. were reuoked. Such were the first acts of this King: a Prince weake both in body and minde, giuen to idlenesse, hunting, dauncing, musicke and poesie, with so violent an affection, as they say, hauing at his coming to the crowne, sent a solemne Ambassage to the French King, to treat of the affaires of their Estates, the chiefe Article was to require the French King, to giue him certaine Poets of Prouence and Languedoc which did flourish in those times in their vulgar tongue, not much differing from the Catalan, whom hee received as a singular fauour, honoured them, and assigned them great pensions, instituting for the loue of them schooles of their poesies. And to fill vp the measure of his imperfections, he had no care but to please his wife, vnto whom he was wholly vowed and addicted. The Generall Estates beeing assembled at Monçon, the Deputies had charge to require the severity of the ancient manners, and the restoring of martiall discipline, and that the honour of armes might bee reuiued, whereunto the King had no inclination. But about all, that the houses and courts of the King and Queene should bee reformed, and reduced to the fashion and manner of their ancestors, and that some base and vicious persons should be chased away. There were certaine Articles presented against *D. Carreros* of Villaragut, one of the Queens Ladies, in whom she wholly trusted, and gaue her so great credit with the King, as the honors & offices of the realme, were distributed according to her aduice and will, without reason, measure, or regard of merit. The chiefe which sought this reformation, were Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, *D. James* his brother bishop of Tortosa, *D. James* of Prages, *D. Bernardin* of Cabrera, Vicont of Lisle and Roa, *D. Pedro Queralt*, *D. John Bellera*, and *Raymond* of Bages; against whom their banded some of the Kings Mignons, so as all the realme was in combustion and armes: but the Kings weakenesse was at that time profitable; for it kept them from fighting; and hauing graunted a safe conduct to *D. Alphonso*, *D. Lopes Ximenes* of Virea, *John Ximenes* of Virea, and other their complices, they met with Don *Martin* the Kings brother, had conference vpon the reformation, and agreed vpon many Articles. Amongst others Don *Carreros* of Villaragut was chased from the Queenes court, with a prohibition neuer to conuerse with her, or any of the Princes or Princesses. During these contentions *Bernard* brother to the Earle of Armaignac entred into Cattelogne, with an infinit number of souldiars French and English, who foraged and spoiled all they incountred, *Bernard* their leader hauing no other reason, but that he sought meanes to entertaine the souldiars. This danger forced the King to arme, and to march against these vagabond troupes, whereof some beeing found scattered and out of order, were defeated, and the rest forced to repasse into Languedoc.

Pope Clement  
at Auignon  
acknowledged  
in Arragon.

Estates require  
reformation of  
the King and  
Queenes house.

V. gabond  
troupes spoiled  
Cattelogne.

The

A The affaires of Sardynia had beene compounded about the time of the death of the King *D. Pedro*, so as the lands held by *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, were restored to *Leonora* his daughter, and *Brancalon* of Oria her husband deliuered out of prison; and betwixt the King of Arragon, and the common weale of Genoua, there was such an order set downe, as the Siegneury of Genoua might not keepe nor arme any gallies, but in the ports of Genoua, Saouona, Albenga, and Porto Venera, in the riuer of Genoua, and in the Ligustike sea, and in other seas at Pera, Capha, Famogosta and Scio, Valencia, Majorca, Minorca, Iuiza, Caillerij and Alguer; so as a peace was entertained in the Island of Sardynia, about the yeere of our Lord 1389. when as the marriage was accomplished betwixt *D. Martin* sonne to the Infant *D. Martin* duke of Momblanc, and *Mary*, daughter to *Frederic* the third King of Sicile; a subiect of new warre, by reason of the factions and partialities which were in that Island, amongst the Noblemen, some allowing and others disliking this marriage of their Princesses, who according vnto some, had beene taken out of the castle of Carrane, where by the will of the deceased King her father, shee was entertained in the gard of *Artal* of Alagon, and conducted as it were by stealth into Cattelogne, by them of Clermont.

The new Kings being come into Sicile, with the duke of Momblanc, who serued as a Tutor, being accompanied by *D. Bernard* of Cabrera, Don *Artal* of Luna, allied to the King, and many other Noblemen of Cattelogne, Arragon and Valencia, and with a good army, they were receiued by them that held their party in the towne of Trapani, from whence they sought to reduce the factious, some by mildnesse, and others by rigour. The towne of Palermo was yeilded vnto him by the Earle of Modica, and there they were crowned; from whence they made a progresse, so as they were acknowledged throughout the whole Realme, yet there were often troubles renewed through the naturall lightnesse of that nation.

This yeere 1389. died Pope *Vrbain*, residing at Rome, in whose place the Cardinall of his faction did choose *Boniface* the ninth, called before *Peter Tomacel*, a priest, Cardinall of the title of *Saint Anastasius*. In the yeere of our Lord 1390. the citie of Lisbon was made an Archbishopske by him at the request of the King *D. John*, who followed *D. the Pope* at Rome, and not him, at Auignon. To it was giuen for *Suffragan* the bishop of Coimbra for that time: and in proceesse of time the church of Portalegre was made a Bishops seat by *Paul* the third.

The same yeere the King of Castile hauing assembled his Estates at Guadalajara, being thrust on with a continual desire to be King of Portugal, whereunto he was animated by the Queene Donna *Beatrice* his wife, hee propounded to his counsell, that hee had resolved in that assembly to giue ouer the Realmes of Castile and Leon to his sonne Don *Henry*, together with his other Lands and Siegneuries, except Seuille, Cordoua, Iacn, Murcia, and all the Moores frontiers: reseruing also for himselfe the third part of the reuenues of the church, granted vnto him by Pope *Clement*, saying, that he was aduertised, that vpon this renunciation the Portugals would receiue him for their King: for they had no other reason to oppose themselves, and to reiect him, but for that they could not endure to see the realme of Portugal vnit to that of Castile. But his counsell did aduise him not to doe a thing so dishonourable for himselfe, and not profitable for his countrie, in quitting his fathers realmes, to thinke to get a strange one, which was held by a resolute enemy: shewing him by reasons and examples that he did hazard the losse of both, and to bee a fable to the world for euer: Hee did willingly heare and belecue his counsellors, and suppressed this desire, enioyning them silence. In this assembly he granted a general pardon to all those that had offended him during the last warres, except the Inhabitants of Tuy, who had yeilded to *D. John* King of Portugal, and to his brother *D. Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, to whom he would shew no mercy. The Estates graunted him a greater subuention of money then euer any King before him had. Beeing required by the Deputies of the Prouinces he reformed the expences and superfluities of his court, and reduced his ordinary troupes of horse, for the gard of the realm, to foure thousand Launces, fiftene hundred Genets, and one thousand crosbowes one horsbackes: he ordained that euery launce should furnish two horses of seruice, and the Genets in like

10  
Marriage of  
D. Martin  
with Mary the  
beire of Sicile.

11  
Portugal.

Lisbone made  
an Archbishops-  
ke.

12.  
Castile.

Estates of Cas-  
tile.

like manner. To the Launciers and Genets he assigned fiftene hundred Maraudis by the yeere, and fixe hundred to the crosbow men, a coine which was then very current: granting them moreover many great preuiledges and immunities. There also it was decreed, that the King should send vnto Pope *Clement*, to intreat him that in the prouision of the benefices of Spaine he would not admit any that were not borne in the country, by reason of the great inconueniences which did grow thereby: vpon the complaints made by the Clergy especially of Guipuscoa, Biscay, Alaua and Galicia, by the Bishops of Calaoarra and Burgos, for that many lay men, vnder colour of right of Patronage, had seized vpon many lands, rents and other goods of the church, by reason whereof the diuine seruice was ill attended in many places of those Prouinces, the buildings were ruined, and there were not Ornamentes necessary for the places and persons dedicated to holy workes.

The King being not well instructed of those rights, left matters in the Estate they were, least he should cause some tumult before it were iustified. Besides this, the subjects complained that many Noblemen hauing iurisdiction presumed to carry themselves in a manner like Soueraignes, both in ciuill and criminall causes: it was therefore ordained, that it should be lawfull for any one of what estate or quality soeuer, finding himselfe grieved by the Chastellans, or other subalternall Iudges, to appeale to the Iudge royall. In the behalfe of the Nobility it was required, that it would please the King to take away the clause mentioned in the testament of the deceased King Don *Henry*, touching the succession in the collaterall line to lands of the crowne, given by him to Noblemen and Knights which had followed and serued him in the conquest of those Realmes: wherevnto answer was made, that euery one should enioy that which had bene given him by the deceased King his father, but hee would in no sort reuoke that clause.

In this assembly of Guadalajara the truce was confirmed with Granado, the Moores Ambassadors being come thither, who brought vnto King *Iohn* many rich presents. There also the King gaue vnto the Infanz Don *Fernand* his sonne, who was Lord of Lara the title of Duke of Pegasus, hauing a ducale crowne set vpon his head, with great solemnity, the which was made like a bande round and vnited, without any floures surpassing one another, which did belong onely to Kings, though now it bee otherwise vsed, euery one seeking to countenance his authority, by vsurping of title and marke beyond their due. Hee also gaue armes to the said Don *Fernand*, that is, a castle and a Lion with the royall Bands of Arragon, for that hee had him by the Queene Donna *Leonora* of Arragon his first wife. He was the second Duke in the Realme, for that hee of Benauent was the first. These and other things were decreed at Guadalajara, whether Ambassadors came from *Charles* the Noble, King of Nauarre, to sommon the Queene Donna *Leonora*, sister to King *Iohn*, to returne into Nauarre, to the King her husband, but they could not preuaile.

This Princeesse being two yeeres before fallne into a great sicknesse, and finding no helpe by physicke, shee was aduised to change the ayre and to goe into Castile, hoping shee should recouer her health sucking the breath of her natie soile. For this cause the King Don *Charles* her husband, who loued her much, conducted her himselfe vnto the King Don *Iohn* her brother, with whom shee had continued some daies in feasting and sportes in the towne of Nauarre, and then hee returned and left the Queene Donna *Leonora* to remaine there, vntill shee had recovered her health.

The Queene was not onely well entertained by the King of Castile her brother, but her whole household was defraied, and shee was honoured as much as might bee. Being thus at her ease, shee soone recovered her health againe: but as her bodie was in better disposition by this change of ayre, so her minde was much impaired; for were it for the commodities and delights shee received in this stately and magnificent court of Castile, or for some other occasion, shee resolved to remaine and keepe there still, and to returne no more into Nauarre, grounding this vnreasonable resolution vpon the badde vsage shee said shee had receiued from the King her husband, who did not loue her said shee, but was hard vnto her; that her reuenues

Usurpations  
vpon the Cler-  
gie.

Lands of the  
crowne giuen  
in recompence  
of seruice.

Duke of Benauent  
was the first  
duke in Castile.

13.  
Nauarre.

Don *Leonora*  
Queene of  
Nauarre light  
and vnkind.

A newes were not well paid her: that the Knights and other Castilians which did serue her, were not respected in Nauarre, with other such womanish excuses, with whom vanity in an other place was of more esteeme, then honesty in her owne house: the which the King Don *Iohn* did heare with a brotherly affection, but with great discontentment, knowing, or at the least doubting, that they were but collours without truth. King *Charles* hearing that shee was in good health, hee wrote diuerse times vnto her, to haue her returne, but shee excused herselfe, finding sometimes one let, sometimes another: so as in the end knowing her intention, hee employed the Cardinal Don *Pedro* de Luna a Cattelan, but without effect: for the Queene seeking to capitulate with the King her husband, she propounded such vnreasonable conditions, as they were forced to take an other course.

Shee had continued two yeeres in Castile, the King her husband vsing all friendly meanes to draw her home, forbearing to cause himselfe to be crowned King of Nauar, for the desire hee had to celebrate this ceremony in her company, and to haue her crowned with him: but seeing that hee lost time in writing and sending messengers, hee sent Don *Ramires* of Arellan and Don *Martin* of Ayuar, Ambassadors to the King of Castile, being at the Estates at Guadalajara, to intreat him to enterpose his authority with his sister Donna *Leonora*, that she might returne into Nauarre, and liue with the King her husband, as God and honesty did require. The King gaue a courteous audience to the Ambassadors, and offered to doe his dutie therein, the which he performed.

For going the day following to his sisters lodging, he let her vnderstand that it was iust & reasonable, seeing she was in health, and her husband required it, that she should goe vnto him; and the better to perswade her he promised that if she had not entertainment fit for her royall State in Nauarre, he would impart some of his vnto her, and giue her a good company of Knights and Ladies to conduct her into Nauarre, with that honour which did belong vnto her. Shee hauing no iust reason to contradict the King her brother, answered him in these termes, Sir I am much bound vnto you for many respects, besides the good counsell it pleaeth you now to giue me, wherein I know you seeke my honour and profit. The King my Lord and husband, must also be mindefull of your bounty and brotherly loue, vsed towards him in many matters of great consequence, for my sake: for if you had not employed your selfe, at my request to the French King, who held him prisoner, it may bee hee should haue found greater difficulties in his deliuey. Being come into Spaine he knowes what honours, and what gifts he hath receiued from you during the life of the King his father: And when he came to succeed in the Realme of Nauarre, all the world hath seene how liberally you haue restored him the places, which you might iustly haue retained in Nauarre, being left in deposito at the peace made betwixt your fathers: Moreover you haue discharged him of twenty thousand doubloons of gold, and of his promise for the English Nobleman, who was a prisoner taken in warre, being two thousand pounds sterling: presently after the death of the deceased King his father, you caused mee to goe out of your Realme, into his country, whether I carried whatsoever I had good and precious, to appeare the more honourable amongst the Nauarrois, with the Ladies and Gentlewomen of my traine, borne of great families, all things tending to the honour and profit of the King my Lord: But in steed of acknowledging all this (it grieues me to speake it, and I cannot speake it without blushing) hee hath not receiued me, nor intreated mee as hee ought. He appointed me certaine prouisions monthly, for the entertainment of my house, my state and attendants, whereof I haue bene alwaies so ill paid, as I haue bene often forced to ingage my iewels, to content my seruants, who complained often vnto me. Besides falling dangerously sicke in Nauarre, and almost dead, I was duly informed, that my languishing proceeded from certaine hurtfull herbes which were giuen mee by a physician a Iew, sent by the King my Lord to cure me. I doe not thinke that these herbes were giuen me by the commandement of the King my Lord, or with his priuiey, and God forbid it should once enter into my thought: but I finde it very strange that hauing complained, he did not vouchsafe to punish this bad physition, as hee deferred. Seeing my indisposition to continue I intreated him to giue mee leaue to come into

Castile,

Admonition  
of the King of  
Castile to his  
sister the  
Queene of  
Nauarre.

Excuses of  
the Queene  
of Nauarre.

Castile, to your court, whereas God be thanked and your good reception, I have recovered my health. But during my abode here, in this case, I have beene advertised, that many flatterers and bad seruants to the King my Lord and mee, haue charged me with many slanders, the which hath much incensed him against me, soas I know not how my Estate, or my life can be well assured in Nauarre, if I returne as you perswade me: wherefore I beseech you Sir in the name of God, and for the brotherly loue you beare me, that you would be pleased to consult with your good and faithfull counsellors, vpon my returne to the King my Lord and husband, whom I loue and honour, and to provide for the safety of my life and honor: for if I should fall into any danger, or receiue any indignity, you should haue interest therein.

These words accompanied with a mournfull countenance, did much moue the King D. John, who promising his sister that he would haue a care of her affaires, he conferred with his counsell, imparting vnto them the speech which the Queene of Nauarre had vsed, causing them all toswear that they should giue him good and faithfull counsell touching her returne to the King her husband. The counsell hauing duely consulted of this businesse they came vnto the King, and told him, that they had found it expedient, that hee should cause King Charles his brother in law, to sweare to vse the Queene Donna Leonora his wife well and honourably, and for assurance thereof he should leave some places of Nauarre in deposito, in the hands of some Knights that were not suspected: whereby they thought the Queene might bee well assured to returne into Nauarre, and to liue freely with her husband. The King of Castile allowed of this aduice, and hauing caused his sister Donna Leonora to be called, he acquainted her therewith, exhorting her to follow it, the which seemed nothing pleasing vnto her, yet shee yeelded, hauing no iust cause of contradiction: wherefore the King D. John hauing caused the Ambassadors of Nauarre to bee called, hee would haue returned them home with this answer; but they replied that the King their maister would take any oth, but to deliuer places into a third mans hand, hee would not doe it: giuing many pertinent reasons, why hee should not yeeld to it.

After many allegations and disputes herevpon, the Queene said, that if it pleased the King her husband to sweare and promise to Pope Clement, the French King, and to the King her brother to vse her well, she would returne. The Ambassadors answered, that the Cardinal D. Pedro of Luna had already propounded such an oth, and that the King their maister had answered, that it was not needfull the French King should meddle with any controuersies betwixt him and his wife, and that for the rest he would make no difficulty. These disputes increasing more and more, to the great griefe of the King of Castile, who knew well that the Queene his sister was staied for some other consideration, and that the obiections made against her husband were meere slanders, he was much perplexed: for he both loued Charles King of Nauarre, and the Queene also. The Ambassadors being out of hope to worke the Queenes returne, they demaund the Infanta D. Ieanne, the King of Nauarres eldest daughter, to whom the succession of the Realme did belong for want of heires males, to be deliuered vnto them, to carry her into Nauarre, to the King her father, seeing he might not hope for any more children by the Queene, persisting in her vnreasonable resolution, to liue from his company. The Queene excusing her selfe, said, that it was not her intent to liue seperated from King Charles: but she desired to bee assured of her life: And the King her brother (who alwaies perswaded her to bee well aduised, and to beleue what he said vnto her) was forced to send Aluar Nuygues of Villa Real, President of his Chancery, into Nauarre, to take information of these venimous herbes, which shee said had bene giuen her by the physician a Iew, and to bring the depositions of the witnesses, whom shee named: but this was an information made without any aduerse party, to the great scandale of Queene Leonoras marriage: so as by the aduice of the royall counsell of Castile it was suppressed. The Queene remayning obstinate, not to returne to her husband, the King of Castile preuailed so with her, as shee yeelded to send Don Ieanne her eldest daughter, for hee gaue her to vnderstand that it would somewhat pacifie the King of Nauarre.

Besides it was to bee feared that if shee staied her, hee might in despite institute his

his brother Peter Earle of Mortaign heire of his realme. It did much import the Nauarrois, to haue this daughter in the fathers power, fearing least the mother should marry her to some Castilian, against the fathers will, and to the preiudice of the liberty of the Realme: The daughter was deliuered to the Ambassadors, with one of her sisters, being royally accompanied from the towne of Roa, whether the King and his sister came to send her into Nauarre, where shee was receiued with great contentment to the King and the Nauarrois, yet he was much discontented at the rebellion and contempt of the Queene his wife.

This businesse being ended, the King of Castile came to Segobia, where he did institute the Order of the Knights of the holy Ghost, causing collars of gold to bee made like vnto the sunne beames, at which did hang a white dowe. This collar hee himselfe did weare, and gaue it to many Knights that were most familiar with him, shewing them a certaine booke of Orders, which they must obserue. Moreouer he would also institute an other deuice, which he called Reason, the which Esquires, which carried themselves valiantly in Iousts and Tournayes, and did any commendable act, should carry: yet hee beeing dead these things died likewise with him, which followed the same yeere 1390.

He was resolved to passe into Andalusia, to order the affaires of that Province, and administer Iustice: passing in the month of October by Alcalá of Henares, thether came vnto him fifty Christian Knights borne at Maroc in Affrike, who being sent for by him had past the seas with leaue from their King, and were come to doe him seruice: Hee receiued them graciously, and promised them pensions and lands in Castile. They were of the most ancient families of Maroc, hauing alwaies held the Christian religion, and were called the Farfanes. The King desirous to see them mannage their Genets (for they had the report to bee good horsemen) went to horse-backe, and going ouer at the port which is called of Burgos, he entred into a plowed field, and beginning to gallop his horse ouer the furrows, he stumbled in the midst of his course, and fell vpon the King, who was so brused as hee died, being but two and thirty yeeres old, whereof hee reigned eleuen and three monthes; his body was carried to Toledo, and buried in the Chappell of the last Kings, where his father and mother lie. A Prince endow- ed with good parts but vnfortunate, and too sharpe to his brother the Earle of Gijon, the which did somewhat blemish the luster of his vertues: he was a friend and rewarder of valiant men, and religious according to the time. Hee was founder of three of the chiefe Monasteries in Spaine, and gaue them great reuenues; that is, the Carthusians at Valdeleroya in the territorie of Segobia in Rascañe, the which is commonly called Paular: The royall Monasterie of Segobia in Rascañe, the which is commonly chiefe of the religion in the Realmes of Castile, Leon, Arragon and Nauarre, built whereas the old fort did stand. And moreouer hee founded the church and house of Santa Maria of Guadalupe, whereas he put religious men of Saint Ierosimes Order, and tooke away the Chaplains which were wont to bee there; at which place there is an Image, which they hold doth miracles.

This King was very pittifull to Princes and men of marke that were strangers and afflicted, as it appeered by the deliury which hee sought with great affection of Leon King of Armenia, who was prisoner with the Sultan of Egypt, to whom hee sent an honourable Ambassage to that effect. And afterwards this Prince being retired into Spaine, he gaue him conuenient reuenues and pensions vpon the towne of Madrid, and other places in Castile. It is he whose tombe is in the Celestins church at Paris, where he died mediating a peace betwixt the French and English.

The King of Nauarre hauing laboured in vaine for to haue the Queene his wife returned vnto him, desiring to haue her crowned with him, like vnto other Queenes, hee resolved not to delay his coronation any longer: wherefore he assembled the Estates of his realm in the city of Pampelone, whereas the solemnity of his coronation was made, as followeth: The Deputies of the Clergy, Nobility and third Estate, being assembled, with the Ambassadors of forraigne Princes, in the great chappell of the Cathedral church; the Bishops being in their Pontificall habitz, Don Alonso of Salua

Hhh

Bishop

24  
Castile

An. 1390.

Farfanes - Chris-  
tian Affri-  
kans.

15

16

Nauarre.

Ceremony at  
the King of  
Nauarres co-  
ronation.

Bishop of Pampelone, who was afterwards Cardinall, spake the words vnto the King: A  
O King our naturall Lord, it is fit before you receiue the Sacrament of the holy vnction,  
that you take the oth vnto your people of Nauarre, which hath bene accustomed to be  
taken in this Realme of Nauarre, by Kings your predecessors. Wherevnto the King  
answered, that he was ready to sweare: then a crosse being presented vnto him, and a  
booke; laying his hand thereon, he pronounced these words with a loud voice, We D.  
*Charles* by the grace of God King of Nauarre, Earle of Eureux &c. Doe sweare vnto  
our people of Nauarre, vpon this crosse and vpon the holy Euangelist touch by vs, and  
to you the prelates and rich men of the cities and good townes, and to all the people of  
Nauarre, for all your rights, lawes, customes, freedomes, liberties and preuiledges: that  
euery one of them, as they now are, shalbe maintained and kept, to you and your successors,  
in all or in part: and that the violence and force which hath bene done to your predecessors,  
whom God pardon, or to you, by Vs or our Officers, we shall hereafter command it to cease,  
and satisfaction to bee made, according vnto right, as they shalbe made manifest by good men and of credit.

Forms of  
the King oth  
to his people.

Form of the  
subjects oth  
vnto the King.

Vnction of the  
King of Nauarre.

King of Nauarre  
carried vpon  
a target.

After the Kings oth, the Deputies of the Estates, according to their degrees, standing  
vp, did also sweare after this manner. We N. N. Barons of Nauarre, as well in our owne  
names, as for all the Knights and Gentlemen of the realme, sweare vnto you, our King  
and Lord, vpon this crosse, and these foure holy Euangelists, handled and toucht by vs, to  
gard and faithfully to defend your person, and our country, and to aide you to keepe,  
maintaine and defend the lawes and customes with all our power. After this manner  
did the deputies for the cities and townes sweare, euery one according to the rights,  
lawes, customes, preuiledges, freedomes and liberties, which they did enioy. This  
oth beeing taken of either side, except by the Clergy, who sweare not, the King retired  
himselfe into Saint Stephens chappell, of the same church, where he put off his robes,  
and tooke one of white rassity, which was vsuall in such ceremonies, and then was  
brought backe by the Bishops of Tarraffone and of Dax, to the great chappell, where as  
all things necessary were prepared for his vnction. The King beeing there enuironed by  
the Bishops, he was annointed with oyle by the bishop of Pampelone, with the praier  
and suffrages vsuall in such actions: and the King hauing instantly put off that white  
roabe he was richly attired in other royall habits, and so approached neere vnto the high  
altar, where there was a sword, the royal crowne glistering with pretious stones, and the  
royall Scepter, hee put on the sword, and then drew it forth, holding it vp on high in  
signe of Iustice, and then sheathed it againe, then hee tooke the crowne, and set it on his  
head, and last of all hee tooke the scepter in his hand, and in the meane time the prelates  
continued their prayers. These things beeing done the King mounted vpon a target,  
on the which were painted the armes of Nauarre, the which was borne by the  
Deputies of the Nobility, and them of the city of Pampelone and the three quarters  
thereof, Bourg, Peuplement and Nauarre, as well in the name of the said city, as of  
other cities and townes of the realme, as it had bene appointed by the King: wherevpon  
publike protestation was made by the Deputies of Estella, Tudela, Sanguessa, O-  
lite and other townes, which could not set to their hands to support this target, on the  
which the King was, that it was without preiudice at that time, or hereafter, to their com-  
monalties. Thus the King was raised vp by the deputies, who cried out thrice, *Real, Real,*  
*at, Real.*

The King beeing thus carried after the manner of the ancient French, hee cast mo-  
ney vnto the people, which done, hee was taken from thence by the Cardinall Don  
*Pedro* of Luna, the Popes Legat (who assisted at this ceremonie) and by the Bishops of  
Pampelone and Tarraffone, and led to a royall throne in great state: the prelates and o-  
ther Clergy men continuing still in their praier and ending with a *Te Deum*.

These things thus performed, the Kings Attorney General, called *Garcia* of Leach,  
in the Kings name, the Bishop of Pampelone for himselfe and all the Clergy of the  
realme, with the Deputies of the Nobility, townes and commonalties, demanded an  
act of *Peter* of Godeille Apostolike Notary, of *Peter* of Iauariz Clarke and Apostolike  
Notary,

A Notary for the Diocese of Pampelone, and of *Iohn* of Ceilludo Notary, and Secretary  
to the King, the which was formally done. For the last act of this solemnity, masse  
was sung by the Bishop of Pampelone, whereas the King, according to the custome of  
his predecessors, offered scarlet, gold and siluer. This coronation was the fourth yeere of  
this Princes reigne, in February in the yeere 1390. and to make more particular rela-  
tion of men of quality, which were at this assembly, deputed for the Estates or otherwise,  
First of all there was *D. Pedro* of Luna Cardinal, of the title of Santa Maria in Cosme-  
din, Legat a Latere in Spaine, to Pope *Clement* residing in Auignon: Don *Martin Salua*  
Bishop of Pampelone, *D. Iohn* of Calaoarra and Calzado, *D. Pedro* of Tarraffone, Don  
*Fernand* of Vic of Ossona, *D. Pedro* of Ampurias, *D. Iohn* of Dax, *D. Garcia* of Eugni of  
Bayone, Confessor to the King, all Bishops. Moreouer the Abbot of Irache, the Deane  
of the Collegiall church of Tudelo; the Abbots of the Monasteries of Saint Saluator  
of Leyra, Oliuia, Yrançu, Hitero and Saint Saluator of Vrax: the Prior of the Order of  
Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, the dignities, Chanoinis and Clergy of the church of Pampe-  
lone, for the Estate of the Clergy. For the Nobilitie and military Order were Don  
*Lionell* of Nauarre, the Kings base brother, *D. Arnaud Raymond* Lord of Grammont, *D.*  
*Arnaud Sanches* Lord of Lule, *D. Pedro* Lord of Laxaga, *D. Martin Henrique* of Lacarra  
Marshal of the realme, *D. Ramir* of Arcillan, *D. Martin* Lord of Mearcan, and of Saint  
Iulian, *D. Iohn* of Vcara, *D. Fernand* of Ayanc, *D. Martin* of Ayuar, *D. Bertrand* of La-  
carra, *D. Aluar Diaz* of Medrano, *D. Ximen Garcia* Vicont of Baigner, *D. Pedro Sanches*  
of Corella, *D. Pedro Ynigues* of Vxue, *D. Martin* of Attieda, *D. Pedro Arnaud* of Garro,  
*D. Iohn Gaston* of Vtroz, *D. Garcia Ramires* of Asiayn, *D. Iohn* of Bern, the young Don  
*Pedro Sanches* of Licaraçu, *D. Iohn Rodriguez* of Ayuar, *D. Raymond* of Esperca and Don  
*Pedro* of Ayanc: these were accompanied with many other Noblemen and Gentle-  
men, as it was fit for the Maiesty of such an act. The were also the Deputies of the  
commonalties, and good townes of the realme of Pampelone, Bourg, Peuplement and  
Nauarriere which were three quarters, or countries of the city, euery one hauing a feue-  
rall ludge, the which kept them long in diuision, and bred lamentable mutinies and fed-  
ditions: but this King by wise counsell reduced them all into one body, and suppress the  
cause, to the good and quiet of the Inhabitants: Moreouer there were present the De-  
puties of Estella, Tudela, Sanguessa, Olite, Puente la Reyna, Arcos, which at this day be-  
long to Castile, Viana, Garde, which is also of Castile, of Saint Vincent, of Saint Iohn  
of Pic de Port, of Montreal, Roncevaux, Lumber, Villafranca of Aguilar of Bernedo, at  
this day vnited to the crowne of Castile, and of Lans. Besides these deputies, there  
were many Barons, Knights and others of quality of Castile, France and England, which  
did honour this coronation, with the Ambassadors of forraigne Christian princes. Name-  
ly *Iohn* Vicont of Fustensaguet, *Raymond* of Beruat, Lord of Castlenau, *D. Alphonso* of  
Luna, Archdeacon of Gironne, Doctor *Iohn Fernandes* of Arana, *D. Diego Lopes* of Estu-  
niga, high Treasurer, *Diego Lopes* of Lagran, Steward to the King of Castile, *Francis* of  
Pau of Arragon, *Sicart* of Montagu, *Bernard* of Rostaing a Basque. These with many  
others, were witnesses of all that past at this ceremony, as appeeres by the acts and wri-  
tings which are in the chamber of accounts of that realme. In Iuly following the quire  
of the church fell, where these things were celebrated, for the re-edefying whereof, the  
King and others did contribute very much. The death of *D. Iohn* King of Castile, fell  
out then vnfortunatly for the King of Nauarre: for besides that hee loued him, and was  
beloued of him like a brother, hee was a fit instrument to raine the wilfulness of the  
Queene Donna *Leonora*, who did afterwards much trouble him, before hee could make  
her leaue Castile, and returne to him.

Men of ac-  
count as the  
King of Nauarre  
coronated.

F

H h h 2

Don



D. Henry the 3. of that name, the feuenteenth  
King of Castile 38. of Leon.

17  
Castile.

**V**When as the King Don *John* had this mortall fall, Don *Pedro Tenorio*, Archbishop of Toledo, a wise man, knowing the alterations which doe commonly follow such accidents, to the prejudice of States, hee sodainly caused a Pauillion to be pitched in the place whereas the Kings body lay, and hauing set gards about it that it might not be scene, hee dissembled his death, giuing it out that he was sore hurt, but without any danger of death: and the better to conceale this businesse, he caused his physicians to come vnto the Tent, to whom he imposed silence, then at a conuenient time, he caused the Kings body to bee brought into the towne, and laied it in the Chappel of the Archbishops lodging.

In the meane time he made such dispatches as he thought fit to the cities and townes of the realme, and to the Prelats and Knights who he knew were affected to the deceased King, and to his sonne D. *Henry*. The Queene Donna *Beatrice* was at the time of this vnfürnat accident, at Madrid, where she receiued letters from the Archbishop, aduising her to goe to Alcala, the which she did, leading in her company D. *John Serran* bishop of Sigüenza Chancellor of the Kings priuy seale, and others, who were very sorrowfull for these lamentable newes: but especially the Queene Donna *Beatrice*, who had not any children by the King her husband, and was now dispossessed of her realme of Portugal, without any hope euer to recouer it. Beeing come to Alcala, the Archbishop hauing comforted her, and left her there for the gard of the body, he went to Madrid, where hee did set vp the Standards of Castile and Leon, for the new King D. *Henry*, who was then at Talauera with his wife Donna *Catherina*, and his brother the Infant Don *Fernand*, whereas their father had left them when as he ment to goe into Andalusia: but hauing receiued letters from the Archbishop, he came presently to Madrid. The Archbishop gaue such order for all things, as there was no alteration. The funerals for his death were performed throughout all Spaine, with great heauinesse, the which was followed with great demonstrations of ioy, for that D. *Henry* was proclaimed King in the same towne of Madrid, whether the Deputies of Prouinces, and the Estates of the realme began to come; the first were D. *Laurence Suarez* of Figueroa maister of Saint Iames, D. *Gonsalo Nugnes* of Guzman maister of Calatraua, and some others, who did not medle with any affaires, nor with the gouernment of the King (who was not yet eleuen yeeres old) by reason of the absence of Don *Frederic* duke of Benauent, of Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena Earle of Denia and first Constable of Castile, and Don *Pedro* of Castile Earle of Transamara, Princes of the bloud royall, who were sent for, and it was fit to attend them. Notwithstanding the Archbishop of Toledo thought it fit to conclude a marriage which was of great importance, and very preiudiciall for the Duke of Benauent, which was of Donna *Leonora* daughter and heire to Don *Shancho* of Castile, brother to the King D. *Henry* the second, Countesse of Albuquerque and Montaluisa, and Lady of many other townes and castles: to which rich marriage Don *Frederic* pretended, the which was thought fit and conuenient, both for that hee was of the bloud of Castile, as also to recompence him in some sort for the marriage which had bene concluded, betwixt him and Donna *Beatrice* of Portugal, whom the King D. *John* did afterwards marry, whereby he had bene vndoubtedly King of Portugal. But the Archbishop thinking that the marriage of Donna *Leonora* would bee more fit for D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnatiel, brother to the new King, hee did worke it, and concluded it, with the Kings consent and the Ladies, vpon condition that it should bee consummated when the Infant were foureteene yeeres old. Shee beeing sixteene yeeres old, promised it, but not the Infant, for that by the marriage betwixt Don *Henry* and Donna *Catherina*, the Duke of Lancaster her father had reserved, that if Don *Henry* should chance to die without

D. Henry the  
third, proclay-  
med King of  
Castile.

Marriage be-  
twixt the  
heire of Albu-  
querque and  
the Infant D.  
Fernand.

**A** out consummating of the marriage with his daughter, then D. *Fernand* his brother should marry her. The Noblemen, Prelats and Deputies of the towne of Castile and Leon, beeing not yet assembled, the Archbishop of Toledo demanded of *Peter Lopez* of Ayala, a worthy Knight and learned, if he knew whether the deceased King had made any will, to whom he answered yea, and that hee himselfe being present with others, the King had made his will at the seige of Cillorico in Portugal, the one and twentieth of Iuly in the yeere of our Lord 1385. and that he had sent his will to him being Archbishop of Toledo. The Archbishop remembered this, but he said that he had since deliuered that vp to the King. By this testament it was ordained, that the King dying, leauing his sonne D. *Henry* vnder age, the gouernment of the King and realme should remaine in the hands of D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, of the Archbishop of Toledo, D. *John Garcia Manriques* Archbishop of Saint Iames, D. *Pedro Nugnes* maister of the Calatraua, D. *John Alphonso* of Guzman Earle of Niebla, and D. *Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoza Lord Steward of the Kings house, and with them one or two Bourgeses of either of the sixe townes: that is Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Seuille Cordoua and Murcia.

But afterwards the King did shew by actions, that he had changed his resolution, not meaning that this should be receiued for his last will and testament, wherevpon there grew such debate, as it was hard to pacifie it. D. *Frederic* duke of Benauent, D. *Pedro* of Castile Earle of Transamara, the Archbishop of Saint Iames, with some others, beeing arriued, hauing kist the Kings hands, as their naturall Lord, the Estates beganne to conferre concerning the gouernment of the King and realme, and hauing first propounded the aboue-named will, it was concluded that the Archbishop of Toledo, the Maisters of Saint Iames and of Calatraua, the Duke of Benauent, the Earle of Transamara, and *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, should enter the chamber where the King kept his papers, to finde out this will. The chamber was opened by *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos, who afterwards was Constable, and *John Martines* of Castile, gardeners of those writings, where this will was found: It beeing read in the presence of the aboue-named, and they all disallowing of that which the King had ordained, they commanded him that he should read it into a fire which burnt in a chamber neere vnto the Bishop of Cuencas, one of the household to the deceased King, to auoide all contention and trouble, yet hee durst not doe it, but laied it vnder a bed, whereas the Archbishop of Toledo tooke it, saying, that there were some clauses which did concerne his Archbishoprike of Toledo, and so carried it away.

After some great contention betwixt the Noblemen and Deputies assembled, in the end it was concluded, that without any regard to the Kings will, or any other writing whatsoeuer, the gouernment should be mannaged by a set council, wherefore they named the duke of Benauent, and the Earle of Transamara Princes of the bloud royall of Castile, the Marquis of Villena, and the Archbishops of Toledo and Saint Iames, the Maisters of Calatraua and Saint Iames, with some other Knights: and it was said, of the Deputies of sixteene cities of this Realme, eight should assist at this councill by sixe monthes, with this clause that not any Prelat, Knight, Maister, Deputie or any other should haue any voice or authority, but when they were resident in the court. This resolution pleased them all except the Archbishop of Toledo, who refused for to sweare to certaine good Articles concluded by the councill, answering with the Bishop of Cuencas, that hee did it for that hee would not infringe the lawes of the realme, which said, that the King comming to the crowne in his minority, the father hauing appointed him no Tutors, in that case the Realme should choose one, three, five, or seuen to gouerne. Wherefore if they would heare what he had to say therein, for the discharge of his conscience, and that they would afterwards proceed otherwise, hee should bee contented with that they should conclude. His answer beeing allowed by the councill, he was willing to present himselfe the next day in the castle, where he should be heard. The councill was of opinion that the Archbishop would not be so rash, as publickly to contradict a generall accord which they had made, else they prepared to giue him a bad reception.

19  
Ordinance  
made by the  
King D. John  
in his testa-  
ment.

Orders for the  
Gouernment  
of the realme  
of Castile.

The Archbishop beeing aduertised by one of the Deputies of the resolution of the councell, hee ioynd with them the next day in a church, and sware the Articles, to auoide the scandale which had happened, if hee had done otherwise. This beeing thus repaired, the Archbishop desired to bee discharged of the gard of Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, brother to the deceased King, who had beene a long time prisoner in the ca-  
 file of Almonacid: wherevpon he made such instance, and so great protestations, as the councell (not able otherwise to pacesse him) decreed that the prisoner should bee deliuered into the hands of the maister of Saint James, who should take charge of him, and he caused him to be conducted to the castle of Monreal, belonging to the order of Saint James.

20  
 Archbishop of  
 Toledo surbur-  
 lion.

Some daies after the councell being assembled in the church of Madrid, whereas it was often held, certaine Gentlemen belonging to the duke of Benauent entred, ha-  
 uing shirts of maile, whereat many were amazed, especially Don *Pedro Tenorio* the Archbishop, who therevpon tooke occasion to dislodge from court, and in all places where hee past, he published that they had made a councell contrary to the will of the King Don *John*: writing to all the chiefe townes of Spaine, and to the Noblemen that were absent, who had beene named Tutors by the Kings will: Hee did moreover write to Pope *Clement*, and to the consistory of Cardinals, and the French King, and him of Arragon, intreating them not to allow of, nor receiue the dispatches of this councell. This did much trouble them of the councell, who incited by this disorder to a greater, C  
 would beginne to diuide the charges, offices, places and sortes of the Realme betwixt them. The duke of Benauent was the first, who demanded the office of high Treas-  
 orer, or Super-intendant of the Treasor, for *John Sanches* of Seuille, an infamous man by reason of his great vsurie, beeing also indebted to the King in great summes of mo-  
 ney: wherevnto the Archbishop of Saint James opposed, saying, that it was not fit that hee who ought to bee arraigned, should bee aduanced to an office which had iurisdic-  
 tion: wherevpon there grew great troubles, and scandales, and the Noblemen of the councell beganne to fortresse themselues with armes, causing their seruants and val-  
 sals to approach neere to Madrid, so as the Inhabitants of the towne set gardes at their portes: by reason whereof the Duke went out of the towne, and retired to Be-  
 nauent, leauing his companions in great feare lest hee should ioyne with the Arch-  
 bishop of Toledo.

21.  
 Sedition a-  
 gainst the  
 Jewes, caused  
 by D. *Fernand*  
*Martinez*.

As this man was moued with zeale for the affaires of state, so at the same time Don *Fernand Martinez* of Eccia, Archdeacon of Seuille, was moued for religions cause a-  
 gainst the Iewes, dwelling in Spaine, inciting the people against them, not onely in his sermons, but also in market places and streetes: so as the Iewes seeing they inten-  
 ded to spoile and murder them, they had recourse vnto the Lords of the councell at Madrid, who deputed Iudges to preuent this disorder at Seuille, Cordoua, and other townes of Andalusia: but the people were so incensed against this sect, as notwithstanding all the diligence of the Iudges, many were slaine, and their goods spoiled: An indi-  
 direct course to draw Infidels to the religion of Iesus Christ.

The King Don *Henry* who grew in yeeres and Iudgement, did much apprehend the troubles, wherein the Noblemen of the councell did ingage the Realme, and therefore hee did write vnto the Duke of Benauent, and the Marquis of Villena, who had not beene present at all these things, that they should come, or send presently to Madrid, men with full authority: complaining by his letters which hee did write to Don *Frederic* Duke of Benauent, for that hee had gone from court without leaue. The Duke sent *Aluis Vasques* of Losada, a Knight of honour vnto him, who gaue him a good accompt of his actions. The Marquis of Villena excused himselfe vpon the  
 An. 1391, diffention of the Councell, who wrote in the beginning of the year 1391. to the Arch-  
 bishop of Toledo, complaining greatly of the innouations which by his occasion did threaten Spaine, protesting for their parts, to yeeld vnto all that should be ordained by the Estates of the Realme: and as for the last will and testament of King *John*, they would alwaies referre it to his oath, if he had not declared before his death, that he meant not it should be of force.

The

A The Arch-bishop when he received these letters, was at Alcalá with the Duke of Benauent, the Marquis of Villena, D. *Martin Ianes* of Barbuda, Master of Alcantara, and D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, with other discontented Knights, by all their aduice, hauing made a league together, answer was made vnto the messengers, that hauing reloued among themselues they would make a fit answer: to whom the messengers that were sent from the King and the Councell replied, that in the meane time the Arch-bishop should forbear to assemble forces, and shold not employ the reuenues of the church to leuy soldiers: whereunto they answered, That whilst they of the Councell did gouerne to their preiudice, they could do no lesse then to seeke a remedy. During these broyles in Spaine, D. *Domingo* Bishop of S. *Ponce*, Legate to Pope *Clement* residing at Auignon, came to Madrid, with letters to the King, condoling for the death of the deceased king his father, and congratulating his assumption, who also brought letters from the Pope to the Councell, by the which, like a good pastor and father, he did exhort them to do iustice, and to gouerne the Realme well; the Legate making a long speech to that end: to whom *Garcia Manrique* Arch-bishop of S. *James*, answered. After which the Councell intreated the Legat to be a meane to pacifie the troubles which had beene raised by the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and that he would take the paines to look into the will and disposition of both parties, to the end he might make report thereof vnto the Pope. The Legate offered to employ himselfe in any thing they should thinke fit for the publike peace: wherefore the Councell hauing thanked him for his good will, they deputed *Peter Suarez* of Quignones, Gouernor of Leon, a wife and discreet Knight; *Garcia Alphonso* of Sahagun, and Doctor *Anthony Sanches* of Salamanca, an Auditor, who did accompanie the Legate. Beeing arriued at Talauera de la Reyna, where as the Arch-bishop was, he intreated him very earnestly to hearken to the peace and quiet of Spaine, giuing him many Theologi-  
 call reasons, beeing a great learned Doctor, especially vpon the wasting of the goods and reuenues of the Church, which was the patrimonie of the poore. propounding vnto him in the behalfe of the Councell, the iust conditions which they had deliuered vnto him, and promised to performe; perswading him and his associats to come vpon his faith and assurance, vnto the castle of Buytrago, belonging vnto D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, D.  
 to consult with them of the Councell, of the meanes how to accommodate all their di-  
 uisions. The like request and offer was made by *Peter* of Quignones in the behalfe of the Councell, signifying vnto them, that if they lost this opportunity, they might afterwards desire it in vaine: and of all this he protested and demanded an act. To all this the Arch-  
 bishop answered vpon premeditation, and excused himselfe, as well vpon the testament of the deceased king, as vpon the lawes of the Realme which were infringed, persisting in the answer which had beene made at Alcalá, pretending other lets, so as they could not go to Buytrago.

22  
 Pope Clement  
 sends a Legate  
 into Castile.

In the meane time Ambassadors came from France, to the new king Don *Henry*, to condole the death of the deceased king, and to performe such ceremonies as are vsuall at the coming of new kings, the Bishop of Landres, chiefe of this Ambassage, offering to the king Don *Henry* all friendship and ayde, in the name of the king his Master, and to confirme the league made betwixt their predecessors. To which ambassage the Arch-bishop of S. *James* made answer in the kings name with great applause: the king did then renew and tware the league betwixt France and Castile, and so did the Ambassadors. They being dispatched, and honoured with many goodly presents, they were accompa-  
 nied with other Ambassadors, whom the king Don *Henry* sent into France, for the con-  
 firmation of this league: within few dayes there came also to Madrid, Ambassadors from the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon: from the Duke of Lancaster, and other Christian Princes, vpon the same subiect. They of Nauarre particularly intreated the yong King, F  
 that he would so worke with the Queene Donna *Leonora* his aunte, as shee might re-  
 turne into Nauarre, and liue with the King her husband; wherein they of the councell employed themselves with great affection, but they preuailed not, for she vsed the same excules, which shee had done to the deceased King Don *John*, so much shee was pleased to liue in the court of Castile. The King of Arragons Ambassadors, besides their ge-  
 nerall Legation, had charge to perswade all the counsellors in particular, to gouerne the

Ambassadors  
 from France  
 to Castile.

Queene of  
 Nauarre  
 will not re-  
 turne to her  
 husband.

the realme with such care and loyalty, as the young yeares of the king his nephew required. And they of the Duke of Lancaſter demanded, that the league made with the deceased king, at the conclusion of their peace, should be renewed. All these received courteous answers, and were sent backe with content.

In the meane time the Arch-bishop of Toledo leauied forces, and made great practises throughout all the chiefe townes, and with the Nobilitie of the Realme. And on the other side, at the incitation of the seditious Arch-deacon Don *Fernand Martines*, the people of Seuille, Cordoua, Toledo, Logrogne, and other townes, of Castile, had fallen vpon the Iewes, making a horrible butcherie of this miserable people, and spoyling their goods, forcing by this meanes the rest, who escaped the present fury to become Christians, or at the least to faine themselves so: What can poore Infidels thinke (seeing such cruelties practised by Christians, and such greedinesse in them to imbeazle other mens goods) but that their religion is bloudie, desiring nothing lesse then the health of those whome they entertaine in their ignorance, by such detestable courses, and diuclish couerousnesse? With the like furie were the neighbour countries infected: for they of Valencia and Barcelona did the like, yea the rage of these zealous men had extended vnto the Moores dwelling in Castile and Arragon, if they had not feared that the king of Granada would haue massacred many Christians that were his prisoners, and that it should cause some new warre with the Arabians.

This worldly consideration respecting the commoditie of this life retayned them, not the zeale and honour of Iesus Christ, which consists not in murders and spoiles, but to do good to all men, and to pray for their enemies. The King Don *Henry* was aduertised of all these disorders, but by reason of his youth which was contemned, he could not apply fir remedies. Yet he did somewhat pacifie the mutinie against the Iewes: But as for the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and his Confederates, they had need of a sharper restraint. The Councell sent twice vnto him: that is, the Master of Saint Iames, who came vnto him at Illesca, and afterwards at Talauera de la Reina, D. *John* of Velasco, Lord Chamberlaine to the king, and *Peter Fernandes* of Villegas Merin Maior of Burgos, who admonished him to forbear to assemble forces, and that he should be content to vndergo with them, the resolution of the Estates, vpon their differences, but they had no other answer, but what he had formerly made.

Amidst these tumults there fell out a new occasion to increase them: for hauing beene propounded in the Councell of the deceased king D. *John*, to take the office of Constable from D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, for certaine reasons: being now in diuision with the Councell, and not greatly beloued of the young King D. *Henry*, D. *Pedro* of Castile Earle of Translamara, came to demand this office, who had yearly for his dyet and entertainment 70000. maraudis. The Councell did let him vnderstand, that the king at the beginning when the Estates assembled at Madrid, to gratifie the Marquis D. *Alphonso*, had confirmed him in the dignity, and that there were no reason thus to degrade him, without some apparent cause, the which might be a means to increase the troubles which were but too great: wherefore they were of opinion, that he should for that time forbear and content himselfe with a pension, equall to the Constables entertainment, the which they promised him in the meane time: but they sayd, that they must proceede against the Marquis by the course of Iustice: for the effecting wherof, they would procure the king to cite him to come to Court, and if hee did not obey, they promised to giue him his Estate. D. *Pedro* was satisfied with this answer, and D. *Alphonso Ianes Fajardo*, Gouvernor of Murcia was sent by the King vnto the Constable, to cause him to come to court: but hee excused himselfe from coming presently, promising to be there soone after, notwithstanding it was farre from his thought: for he had intelligence with the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and others of the league, who drew men together from all parts, to come to the Court in armes, to the end they might haue the testament of the deceased king D. *John*, put in execution, and chafe away the Councell.

The Arch-bishop of S. Iames, the Earle of Translamara, the Masters of S. Iames and Calatraua, *John Hurtado* of Mendoça, Lord Steward of the kings house, & others (wherof some were named Tutors by the kings will, and some not) knowing that this was not the cause

23.  
cruelties and  
murders com-  
mitted on the  
Iewes.

24.  
D. Pedro of Ca-  
stile demands  
the office of  
Constable.

A cause which drew the Arch-bishop of Toledo, but onely a colour pretended by him and his confederates to retire from Court, and to take armes; they also provided for their parts, and called all their friends to ayde them: they drew D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauar, vnto their league, binding themselves by oath one vnto another, and they wrought so, as the king Don *Henry* continued vnto the Queene his Aunt the pensions which the deceased King D. *John* was wont to giue her with an increase: By whose perswasion, and others of the Councell, he tooke the office of Constable from Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, who had enioyed it nine yeares, and gaue it to the Earle of Translamara, who was sonne to D. *Frederic*, Master of Saint Iames, and cousin to the king. Herevpon they fell to armes in Castile, committing great spoyles, robberies, and murders of all sides, diuiding the B Realmes, Prouinces, Citties, and Townes, especially Seuille, whereas Don *Aluar Perez* of Guzman, great Admiral of Castile, and D. *Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, Gouvernor generall of that citie, held the Councells part: and Don *John Alphonso* of Guzman, Earle of Niebla and others; that of the Kings testament.

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the realme with such care and loyalty, as the young yeares of the king his nephew required. And they of the Duke of Lancaster demanded, that the league made with the deceased king, at the conclusion of their peace, should be renewed. All these received courteous answers, and were sent backe with content.

In the meane time the Arch-bishop of Toledo leauied forces, and made great practices throughour all the chiefe townes, and with the Nobilitie of the Realme. And on the other side, at the incitation of the seditious Arch-deacon Don *Fernand Martines*, the people of Seuille, Cordoua, Toledo, Logrogne, and other townes, of Castile, had fallen vpon the Iewes, making a horrible butchery of this miserable people, and spoyleing their goods, forcing by this meanes the rest, who escaped the present fury to become Christians, or at the least to faine themselves so: What can poore Infidels thinke (seeing such cruelties practised by Christians, and such greedinesse in them to imbeazle other mens goods) but that their religion is bloudie, desiring nothing lesse then the health of those whome they entertaine in their ignorance, by such detestable courses, and diuclish couetousnesse? With the like furie were the neighbour countries infected: for they of Valencia and Barcelona did the like, yea the rage of these zealous men had extended vnto the Moores dwelling in Castile and Arragon, if they had not feared that the king of Granada would haue massacred many Christians that were his prisoners, and that it should cause some new warre with the Arabians.

This worldly consideration respecting the commoditie of this life retayned them, not the zeale and honour of Iesus Christ, which consists not in murders and spoiles, but to do good to all men, and to pray for their enemies. The King Don *Henry* was aduertised of all these disorders, but by reason of his youth which was contemned, he could not apply fit remedies. Yet he did somewhat pacifie the mutinie against the Iewes: But as for the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and his Confederates, they had need of a sharper restraint. The Councell sent twice vnto him: that is, the Master of Saint Iames, who came vnto him at Illeca, and afterwards at Talauera de la Reina, D. *John* of Velasco, Lord Chamberlaine to the king, and *Peter Fernandes* of Villegas Merin Maior of Burgos, who admonished him to forbear to assemble forces, and that he should be content to vndergo with them, the resolution of the Estates, vpon their differences, but they had no other answer, but what he had formerly made.

Amidst these tumults there fell out a new occasion to increase them: for hauing bene propounded in the Councell of the deceased king D. *John*, to take the office of Constable from D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, for certaine reasons: being now in diuision with the Councell, and not greatly beloued of the young King D. *Henry*, D. *Pedro* of Castile Earle of Translamara, came to demand this office, who had yearly for his dyet and entertainment 70000. marauidis. The Councell did let him vnderstand, that the king at the beginning when the Estates assembled at Madrid, to gratifie the Marquis D. *Alphonso*, had confirmed him in the dignity, and that there were no reason thus to degrade him, without some apparent cause, the which might be a means to increase the troubles which were but too great: wherefore they were of opinion, that he should for that time forbear and content himselfe with a pension, equall to the Constables entertainment, the which they promised him in the meane time: but they sayd, that they must proceede against the Marquis by the course of Iustice: for the effecting wherof, they would procure the king to cite him to come to Court, and if hee did not obey, they promised to giue him his Estate. D. *Pedro* was satisfied with this answer, and D. *Alphonso* Iames *Fajardo*, Gouvernor of Murcia was sent by the King vnto the Constable, to cause him to come to court: but hee excused himselfe from coming presently, promising to be there soone after, notwithstanding it was farre from his thought: for he had intelligence with the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and others of the league, who drew men together from all parts, to come to the Court in armes, to the end they might haue the testament of the deceased king D. *John*, put in execution, and chafe away the Councell.

The Arch-bishop of S. Iames, the Earle of Translamara, the Masters of S. Iames and Calatraua, *John Hurtado* of Mendoza, Lord Steward of the kings house, & others (wherof some were named Tutors by the kings will, and some not) knowing that this was not the cause

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24.  
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of Benauent his brother, the Queene of Nauarre, nor the Master of Saint Iames, were not A contented, saying, that his deliuerie had beene without their consents, with an intent to make vse of him to the preiudice of them three, and others that were of their opinion. Such was their inconstancie, as they which before would haue the kings will take effect, demanded now the accord of Perales. In the end they made choice of two of the greatest Doctors in Spaine, to be arbitrators, and to giue their aduice therein; which were Don Goncal Goncalles Bishop of Segobia, and Aluar Martines of Villareall, but they made their controuerfies more obscure, with their importune subtilties and obstinacie.

25.  
Exactions cau-  
sed immu-  
nities in  
Guipuscoa

Whilest that great men contended for the gouernement of the Realme, the Kings Of-  
ficers who had charge to recouer his rights, and to receiue his reuenues exacted vpon the B people, according to an order which had beene set downe by the Councell, pressing an imposition which is called *Pedido*, wherewith the countrie was charged, in the time of the King Don Pedro, from the riuer of Ebro vnto the sea, without any regard of the Priuiled- King Don Pedro, from the riuer of Ebro vnto the sea, without any regard of the Priuiled- ges or exemptions of the Nobilitie, namely, of the Inhabitants of this Prouince of Gui- ges or exemptions of the Nobilitie, namely, of the Inhabitants of this Prouince of Gui- piscoa; which tribute had beene contradicted in the time of the sayd King D. Pedro, and piscoa; which tribute had beene contradicted in the time of the sayd King D. Pedro, and since in the raignes of Don Henry, and D. Iohn, who had caused such exactions to cease, in consideration of the auncient immunities of the Guipuscoans: but in the time of this king the Councell beeing diuided, and all things in combustion, the Treasurers had reui- king the Councell beeing diuided, and all things in combustion, the Treasurers had reui- ued this receipt, whereof the Inhabitants of the countrie complained in vaine. For this C cause there was an assembly of the towne and commonalties of the Prouince of Guipuf- coa in the parish Church of Saint Mary, in the towne of Tholoufa, in August this yeare 1392. whither came the Deputies of Tholoufa, Segura, Mondragon, Motrico, Gueta- ria, Villafranca, Vergara, Salmas, and Sarauz, to aduise what was expedient for the de- fence of their immunities, who decreed, That for asmuch as the Prouince of Guipuscoa had first beene peopled by Gentlemen, and in all degrees free, and that by reason of the barrenesse of the countrie, they had neuer beene charged with any tributes, they be- sought the King, and the Councell, established by the Estates of Castile and Leon, to for- bid the Collectors, or any that haue to deale with the kings treasure, to exact any more mony of them. And attending the Councels resolution vpon their petition, the sayd D Tribute should not be payed, beeing assured that it was both the King and the Councels intention, not to lay any vndue charge vpon them: they ordained by way of prouision, as followeth:

Articles made  
in the assembly  
of Tholoufa in  
Guipuscoa.

First, that the Collectors and receiuers comming to exact money, there should not any thing be payed them: but the sayd Collectors should be apprehended, and led to the assembly at Vsarraga, there the Councell to determine of them according vnto reason and equity.

2 That if any of the Collectors should arrest one of the Inhabitants of the countrie, by reason of the sayd tribute, he crying out, and demanding ayde, the neighbours with- out exception, shall be bound to go forth in armes, and pousue the sayd Collector, and E hauing taken him, present him to the assembly at Vsarraga.

3 If any Collector hauing leauied a pawne of one of the Inhabitants of the country, shall escape, and cannot be apprehended, the value of the pawne shall be taken out of the kings ordinarie reuenues, with all costs, damage, and interest, for the indemnitie of the pawne.

4 That all the people of the country shal iustifie the petition presented vnto the king, tending to this, that he shall prouide a necessarie remedie for this mischiefe, and they shall be bound to contribute towards the damages which may happen.

5 That if the merchandize or wares, which they of Guipuscoa are accustomed to send towards Victoria, Saluaterra, Treuigno, Arganson, and other parts of Alaua vnto the riuer of Ebro, shall be arrested and stayed by any commonalties, townes, Lords that haue iustice, or by any person whatsoever, in regard of these tributes and impositions, whosoever shall haue the losse, shall make it knowne vnto his superiors, and to this end the Councell shall assemble at Vsarraga, and the townes shall be bound to send, that is to say, Tholoufa ten men, Mondragon ten men, Segura ten men, Salmas two men, Vergara five men, Motrico three men, Guetaria three men, Villafranca ten men, and Sarraux two

A two men, of the most sufficient among them, who together shall ordaine of the restitu- tion of those things thus seized, with the charges and fines, to the end the owner may not be damnified.

6 And for that the Merins Majors, and rulers of the countrie, were accustomed to make their circuits in great troupes, so as the people were charged and damnified, to the prejudice of the lawes and liberties of the countrie, it was ordained that hee that should haue this Office, were he Knight or Esquire, should be receiued as a Knight or Esquire, in all townes and places, so as his force should alwaies remaine in townes, in the which if the sayd Merins, or their men, did commit any insolencie or violence, for what cause soe- uer, every man should be bound to take armes, and oppose himself against the sayd force, B appealing to the Councell and assembly of the sayd townes, and worke so as the liberties and priuiledges of the countrie might remaine vniuolated, and he that was wronged vn- damnified.

7 Item, that if by reason of the sayd imposition and tribute called *Pedido*, some sea- zure hath beene made either of men or goods, by the sayd Collectors, Receyuers, Iud- ges, or any other within a towne, and that the sayd towne did consent thereunto, or winke at the sayd seizure, and that it hath beene transported to some other place, and there re- ceived and detayned, and the partie interessed can get no restitution, in this case the o- ther townes beeing required by him, or some other for him, shall bee bound to go with C force, to the place where such persons or goods are detayned, and there take so much of the Inhabitants goods as shall be needfull to satisfie the interessed, and themselves also, who are come thither for this cause, for all their costs and charges, and for every man that hath beene carried away, they shall take two, and detayne them vntill the deliuerie of the first, with full satisfaction of their damages.

8 If by reason of these things any of the Inhabitants of the sayd townes or iurisdic- tions should be cited or adjoined before the Prouost of the Kings Court, or other Iudges, or otherwise called in what manner soeuer, they shall not be bound to appeare, but the sayd townes shall take his cause in hand, and send their Attorneys to appeare, and defend him that is cited, without any cost and charge vnto him, but at the charge of the sayd D Townes.

9 That there shall be a firme friendship and brother-hood, sworne betwixt the sayd townes, and the Inhabitants, such as in the time of the king D. Iohn, vpon the paines or- dayned, and they shal be bound to ayde one another, so as where any wrong is done, they shall employ both body and goods one for another, and maintaine themselves in iustice.

10 And for that in former times the townes aboue-named had a league with other townes of Guipuscoa, not mentioned in this accord, their meaning was, that it should not hereafter take place, but with the consent of the king and his Councell, and that at the instance of all the townes of Guipuscoa, the sayd brother-hood and ordonances thereto belonging, were confirmed by the king D. Henry their Lord.

E 11 If any Baylife, or other Magistrate, or Gouernour, should giue assignation to all the aboue-named townes, enioyning them to their Attorneys or chiefe men of the sayd townes, they shall name their Attorneys, and send them to the place appointed, vpon condition that he shall neither do, nor suffer any displeasure to be done vnto them by his Ministers, for the which they shall giue caution. And if the assignation bee giuen out of the aboue-named townes, if it were in the towne of Saint Sebastian, the Deputies of the confederate townes shall assemble at Tholoufa: if it were to appeare in the towne of Mi- randa of Yraurgi, called Azcoitia, or at Saluaterra, called Azpeytia, or at Elgoibar, that they shall assemble at Guetaria, or Motrico, to consult what is fit to be done, both for the kings seruice, the preservation and increase of the sayd townes, and of their Im- munities and Nobility.

12 That in two assemblies which were made yearely in the name of the sayd brother- hood, the sayd townes should be bound to appeare by their deputies, as hath beene accu- stomed in precedent times: but extraordinary conuocations which should be made by the other townes of Guipuscoa, they shall not be bound to go nor send, vntill their gene- rall affociation be confirmed by the king, at the sute of them all in general.



To these Articles the sayd townes bound their goods and persons for ever, vpon paine of fifty maraudis of money then currant to be payed by him that should infringe them, and applyable to the Councell of the rest, which should maintaine the contents thereof, to dispose according to their wils: and the towne which hath sayled, shall be forced by the rest to pay the fine, by all ordinarie and extraordinarie meanes, with all charges, damages and interrests.

It is credible that the other townes of Guipuscoa made the like associations, in regard of their priuiledges and liberties. Vpon this question they pleaded against the Kings Receyuer, and there are letters found granted by the King Don Henry vpon the same, by the which he did abolish these tributes and exactions in fauour of the townes and places of Saluaterra of Iraurgui, *Miranda* of Iraurgui, Villamajor of Marquina, called *Elgoibar*, *Val* of Mendaro, *Monreal* of Deua, S. *Andrew* of Ayuar, Placenzia, Elgueta, S. *Cruz* of Cestona, the Chastellenie of Sayas, S. *Nicholas* of Orto, Bellamont of Vsuruill, with *Aguinaga*, *Altigarraga*, *Aynduayn*, *Vreota*, S. *Peter* of Alteaçu, the quarter of Larraul, *Ichazo*, *Cicurguil*, *Gauria*, *Araun*: the country of *Lescano* of Aduna, the Chastellenie of *Aiztondo*, that of *Aleria*, *Curnatraga*, the parish of *Beasain*, *Arama*, *Alcega*, *Echafonda*, *Saldibia*, *Gaiña*, *Légorreta*, *Goyas*, *Vidania*, *Beyçaina*, *Rexil*, *Aya*, and the territorie of *Azgoitia*, whereof there are letters found giuen in Saint *Marie* of Pelajos, in the year 1399. and confirmed at *Valledolit* 1401. and by other kings. Thus the Guipuscoans defended their freedoms and liberties against the Kings Officers, who made their profite during the confusions and troubles betwixt the Noblemen and the Councell. Afterwards all the Townes, Boroughs and places of this Prouince of Guipuscoa were vnited and made one bodie, and haue maintained themselves so vnto this day, to the great good and generall commoditie of the Countrey, and the seruice of the soueraigne King.

26  
Union of all  
the townes of  
Guipuscoa.  
An. 1392.

The Estates of Burgos continued with little concord, by reason whereof in the beginning of the year 1392. the Deputies of the Estates, with the consent of the parties contending, propounded euery one to write his voice in bulletins, vpon that which was in question: Whether they should follow the testament of King *John*, or not, and the sayd bulletins being cast into a coffer and then opened, the partie that had most voyces should carrie it: but without comming to this trial, the Queene *Donna Leonora*, who alwaies laboured to reconcile these differences, made another accord, and brought so many reasons, as Don *Frederic* duke of Benauent, and D. *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, were received into the gouernement and counsell: so as the Councell should consist of tenne spirituall men, besides the Deputies of the sixe townes, whereof siue should reside fixe moneths: and these were thus diuided: the Duke of Benauent, the Arch-bishop of Toledo, the Master of Saint *James*, and *John Hurtado* of *Mendoza* for one fixe moneths: the Arch-bishop of Saint *James*, the Earles of Gijon and *Transtamara*, and the Master of the *Calatraua* for the other: the Marquis of *Villena*, and the Earle of *Niebla* should make vp the ten, but they would not come to Court. It seemed by this expedient, practised by the Queene of *Navarre*, that the affairs were in a course of peace: but the death of *Diego Sanchez* of *Roja* a knight of the Earle of Gijons faction, who was slaine neere vnto Burgos by two horsemen of the Duke of Benauents house troubled the whole assembly againe, and had like to haue caused great slaughter in the citie: he that was slayne was interred, and the murderers escaped. For which fact the Deputies of the Estates were so much discontented, as they neglected all that had bene decreed, and done, touching the establishing of a Councell, and took the way of writing their voyces in bulletins, the which being put into a coffer & thag opened, it was found that all did ioyntly require to haue the will of the K. *John* in force. Whereupon the Duke of Benauent, who was not mentioned, went from Court much discontented. The Arch-bishop of Toledo seeing him retired, agreed with them of the aduerser party, vpon these conditions: That whensoever the Marquis of *Villena*, and the Earle of *Niebla* should forbear to come to Court, hee should supply their places, and that a moitie of the kings reuenues should be deliuered to him, to be distributed as he should thinke fit, that he should be satisfied for the charges hee had bin at in seeking the execution of K. *Johns* testament. These things thus concluded, the next day the king

Accord between  
twixt the Noblemen of Castile.

A king with the knights and deputies of the Prouinces being present, it was decreed, that the testament of the deceased king *D. John* should be obserued, and that sixe tutors with the Deputies of *Burgos*, *Toledo*, *Leon*, *Seuile*, *Cordoua* and *Murcia*, should gouerne. There were then present of the tutors, the Arch-bishops of *Toledo* and *S. James*, the Master of *Calatraua* who was successor both in the dignity and tutelage to *D. Pero Nuygues*, and *D. John Hurtado* of *Mendoza*, representing in like manner in this charge *D. Pero Gonzales* of *Mendoza*, named by the will. And for that the Marquis of *Villena*, and the Earle of *Niebla* were absent, the king sent for them to come to Court by a certaine day. The Legate was very ioyful of this accord, and absolved all them that had sworne to the contrarie: and in like manner the king did pardon all those that had made any leagues or assemblies. And to giue some contentment to the Duke of Benauent, and the Earle of Gijon, who were excluded from the gouernment, the tutors agreed to giue to either of them a pension of a million of maraudis yearly, during their liues. In this manner the gouernement of the realmes of Castile began to take some form: but yet the factions dyed not, for euery man fought rather his owne aduancement, then the publike good, as well such as remained in Court, as those that left it: some with extreame ambition and desire to gouerne all, as the Archb. of *Toledo*, and others vpon diuers pretexts of discontents, they did for a long time entertayne diuisions and factions.

Order for the  
gouernment of  
Castile.

During the troubles of Castile, *D. John* king of Portugal, did quietly enioy his conquered realme, with whom the tutors of Castile sought to prolong the truce, which was almost expired. For the effecting whereof they sent vnto the frontier *D. John Serran* bishop of *Siguença*, *Garcia Gonçal* of *Herera*, and *Diego Fernandes* of *Cordoua*, Marshals of Castile, with *Anthony Sanchez*, Doctor and Auditor: to whom vpon proposition of a perpetual peace, or of a long truce, there were such vnreasonable conditions demanded by the deputies of Portugal, as the Castilian Ambassadors were forced to return without effect. The K. of Portugal shewed himself intractable in his demands, by reason of the new support he thought to find in Castile. For they treated a marriage betwixt a base daughter of his called *D. Beatrice*, and *D. Frederic* duke of Benauent, who gaue willingly care vnto it.

27  
Portugal.

Treaty of marriage to the prejudice of Castile.

The Ambassadors hauing made their report to the king *D. Henry* their master, whome they found at *Segobia*, hee sent back into Portugal the bishop of *Siguença*, and Doctor *Anthony Sanchez*, adding vnto them *Pero Lopes* of *Aizala*, *Alcaide* Maior of *Toledo*. They were much troubled concerning the marriage of *D. Frederic*, whereof the Q. of *Navar* did aduertise the king *D. Henry*, yea she did solicit in the name of the D. of Benauent, that either he might bee allowed to marry the daughter of the K. of Portugal, or else they should giue him the Countesse of *Albuquerque* to wife, who was secretly accorded to the Infant *D. Frederic*. The K. desiring neither of these marriages, seemed to refer all to the Countesses will, who told the Archb. of *Toledo* in the presence of them all, that shee would do all that pleased the king: wherefore there was hope giuen to the Queene of *Navar* to haue the marriage finished at *Arenalo*, and a dispatch was sent to *D. Frederic*, to aduertise him of what was past: but all this was but to diuert the marriage with Portugal, being more pleasing to the Duke, then that of the Countesse of *Albuquerque*, the which hee made openly knowne vnto the king: wherefore the king proceeding in the same manner, sent the Archb. of *Toledo* to him, to perswade him with reason, that neither of these two marriages was fit for him, and rather to offer him the Marquis of *Villena's* daughter, with a more ample dowrie, then that which the king of Portugal could giue to *D. Beatrice* his daughter. But he could draw no other answer from *D. Frederic*, but that many Noblemen about the king declaring themselves his enemies, he was forced to seeke fauor and friendship in Portugal.

At the same time the Inhabitants of *Zamora*, growing iecalous of the captaine of the castle, and of the tower of *S. Sauior* (being a gentleman called *Nugno Martinez* of *Villaycan*, a deuoted seruant to the Duke of Benauent) put themselves in armes, and made trenches and barricado's against him, saying, that he had some bad dessein with the Duke of Benauent, whose men he receiued daily into those forts in great numbers, so as they sent to demand succours of the king, and of the Master of the *Calatraua*, who had bene sent with some troupes, to keepe a garrison at *Salamanca*, against the frontier of Portugal.

28  
Troubles in  
Zamora.

The Master considering the consequence of this trouble, at this time when as the truce with Portugal being expired, they expected warre, would not send any succours, lest he should incense the Duke in shewing himselfe partiall; the which pleased the king, who sent the Bishop of Sigüenza speedily to Benauent, whereas the Arch-bishop of Toledo was yet, to the end they might so worke with the Duke, as these troubles of Zamora might be pacified, the which they effected, and the Archb. came to Zamora, & brought the captaine, vpon assurance that the king would take it well to promise to deliuer the fort of S. Sauior, into the hands of *Fernand Alphonso* of Montenegro, Governour of Toro: the towne also gaue hostages: which things beeing thus ended, the Archb. returned to the king at Segobia.

29  
Portugal.

conditions of  
peace propo-  
sed by the king  
of Portugal.

Castile.

The Deputies of Castile appointed to treat a peace with Portugal, hauing met with the Prior of S. Iohn of Portugal, and others appointed by the King *D. Iohn* at Sabugal, & conferred often of that busines, they could not yeeld to those hard conditions which were demanded: for the Portugals would haue the townes of Miranda and Sabugal left free to them: that the king *D. Henry* should giue 12. Gentlemen, and 12. good Burgeses in hostage for 12. yeares, for the assurance of the peace, which should be changed euery fourte yeares, and others of the like quality deliuered for them. And that during the sayd 12. yeares he should not giue any ayde vnto the Queen *D. Beatrix*, nor to the Infants *D. Iohn* and *D. Denis*, brethren to the deceased king *D. Fernand*, who were in Castile, nor to any other that should attempt against the Portugals: that all prisoners of either side should be deliuered, with other conditions, which seemed so hard vnto the Castillans, as they durst not adventure to promise any thing, but onely concluded a truce for two moneths, that they might conferre more amply vpon this pacification.

In the meane time the king *D. Henry* came to Medina del campo, to bee neere to Portugal, and to the duke of Benauent, who made shew to breed some innouation within the realme, hauing drawne together about 500. lances and a great number of Gentlemen at Pedroço, and about Toro. By reason wherof, & of many other infolencies, wherof complaints came daily to Court, the king sent the Archb. of Toledo againe vnto him, with some Deputies of the citties which were of the Councell, to let him vnderstand, how vnseemely it was for him to entertaine the realme, whereof he was a member, in such ielousie, and to consume the people by the spoils and robberies of his men who kept the fields: to what end went he so armed? what feared he? whereon did he complaine? what great benefit did he pretend by the allyance of Portugal, that he should disdaine the fauours of his king, who had dealt both bountifully and honourably with him, giuing him a million of maraudis yearly, and might hope for greater matters, and seeing that he had such ample testimonies of the kings loue, and the counsels, to perswade him to come to court, where he might purchase more fauor then euer? The duke answered to all that which the Archb. had propounded vnto him, that he had neuer giuen care to a marriage with Portugal, but in case a peace or a long truce were concluded betwixt the two realmes. As for that hee went accompanied with souldiers, it was well knowne that he had enemies in Court, who had factions throughout the realme, which forced him to stand vpon his guard, and therefore they should not hold it strange if he came not to court. Moreouer, if he had receiued fauors from the king, he was ready to employ them in his seruice, and his whole estate. The Archb. deliuered many reasons vnto him, in presence of the Deputies to pacifie him, and then returned to Medina del campo, where hauing giuen an accompt vnto the king and councell of his employment, he held it fit to content the duke in some sort, for the marriage of Portugal was much aduanced. Thereupon it was bruted (whosoever were the author) that the Duke approached neere vnto the towne, and that hee had intelligence with some, to be brought in with his forces, which caused a great mutiny among them, and euery man began to gather souldiers together for his owne assurance.

The Archb. who was a friend to the duke (so far forth as he did entertaine the troubles wherein he tooke delight) propounded a means which he held very conuenient, to auoid the spoiles which might follow these quarrels, which was, that he with the Archb. of S. Iames, and the Master of the Calatraua should retire themselves to their houses, and that about the king there should only remaine *Iohn Hurtado de Mendoza*, and the Deputies of townes,

A townes, and that the king should consult with them how to giue content to the duke of Benauent, and to find him a party equall to that which was offered him in Portugall.

By these factions, all the Realme was in combustion, and all sorts of infolencies were committed both in town and countrie, iustice was abused, and the treasure misgouerned. The city of Seuille was molested by *D. Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, and *D. Alphonso* of Guzman, Admirall of Castile, who seized thereon, in the absence of *D. Iohn* Alphonso of Guzman, Earle of Niebla one of the tutors, chasing many of his seruants and followers out of the city. On the other side *Nugno Martinez* of Villaycan, captaine of the fort of Zamora, not satisfied with the accord which had beene made by the meanes of the Archb. of Toledo, sent to the duke of Benauent to haue him approach, and he would deliuer him vp the castle which he had in guard: the duke posting thither, could not effect this enterprise, for that the inhabitants of Zamora, being aduertised by some of the dukes men, provided for it, whereupon the Duke returned, and many that followed him did abandon him: wherevpon the king sent the Archb. of S. Iames, and the Master of Calatraua to assure the townes that were suspected, but they were shut out of Toro, the inhabitants saying, that they would not receiue any, if the king were not in person, but they entered into Zamora, where as many knights of the dukes traine yeilded vnto them, and soon after the king came. But the Duke was aduertised thereof at the castle of Majorca, belonging to the Infant *D. Fernand*, by *Iohn Alphonso de la Cerda*, who hauing bin high Steward of the Infants house, and then displaced by the kings tutors, substituting in his place *Pero Suarez* of Quignones, Governour of Leon, had through despight fallen to the Duke of Benauents partie.

Whilest that these contended in Castile, the Deputies, appointed to treat a peace with the King of Portugal during the truce which had beene prolonged, came to Extremoz in the yeare 1393. the Portugal demanding for a finall resolution, these Articles following. That they should giue in hostage the base sons of the duke of Benauent, of the Earls of Gijon, and of Niebla, (for the great men of Spaine had more base children then legitimate) the nephewes of the Masters of S. Iames and Calatraua, of the Arch-bishops of Toledo, and S. Iames, of *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoza, and of *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga. But about all they demanded the Duke of Benauents son, thinking he would not giue him, vnlesse the king of Castile, would deliuer the castle of Zamora into his hands, the which they desired, being assured that the Duke was wholly at their deuotion: but when they vnderstood, that he had sayled to enter that fort, and that he began to be abandoned by many of the knights which had folowed him, they became more tractable, and yeilded to a truce for 15. yeares, so as they would giue them in hostage, the Earle of Gijons son, and eleuen Knights sonnes more, with 12. children of the citizens of Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Seuille, Cordoua, and Zamora: yet would not the Deputies of Castile conclude this truce, which was most beneficiall for Portugall, but demanded some respite to aduertise the king and his tutors. The king with his councell hauing considered the danger wherinto the homebred troubles, together with a forraigne warre would draw them, they yeilded to all the Portugals demanded, namely, not to ayde nor assist *D. Beatrix* the widow Queen, nor *D. Iohn*, nor *D. Denis* her Vncles. Thus a truce was concluded for fifteene yeares betwixt Castile and Portugal.

The Court being in the cittie of Zamora, the captaine of the castle refused for some daies to deliuer the place vp to the king, saying, that his father *Iohn Martinez* of Villaycan lately deceased, being Governour of Zamora, and he had held it by fealty and homage, and that they might not deliuer it vp vntill the king were 14. yeares old complete: but the tutors sought him by so many meanes, and made him such promises, that he should be recompensed for his fathers estates, which had beene giuen to others, as in the end he deliuered the place into their hands, for the which he was in effect recompensed. They had promised him the gouernement of Ledesma, which did belong to the Countesse of Albuquerque, but they of the place refusing him, for that they did not trust him, he was otherwise provided for. The Court remaining at Zamora, the Archb. weary of too much rest, retired himselfe into his Bishoprick, being not greatly affected to the kings seruice, but to take part and adhere wholly to the Duke of Benauent, he now gaue them greater cause to suspect

30.  
Portugal.  
1393.  
Demands of  
Portugall to  
Castile.

31  
Castile.

Mistries of sig  
will warre.

suspect him, for that he grew in choller with them of the Councell vpon his departure, A  
 pressing them to giue the Duke of Benauent contentment, and to pay him the Arrerages  
 of his pensions: and that they should also giue satisfaction to *D. Diego Hurtado* of Mendo-  
 ça, touching the Admiralty which he demanded, and to *John* of Velasco, for the Office  
 of Lord Chamberlaine to the King, and to *Don John Alphonso de la Cerda*, touching the  
 place of Lord Steward to the Infant *D. Fernand*, which they had taken from him, to giue  
 it to *Pero Suarez* of Quignones. Whereunto they answered mildly, that it was fitt such  
 men should be satisfied, and that they would resolute, according to iustice and equity, and  
 as their dignitie required. Besides these importunities, and other presumptions, it was re-  
 ported, that he had receiued the twentieth penny of all merchandize and goods which had  
 bene sold within the Realme, with other vnlawfull impositions: whereupon the Go-  
 uernors gaue order to stay him, and *Don John* of Velasco. Whereupon they were com-  
 manded to deliuer vnto the King or his Captaines, the castles which they held: so as the  
 Arch-bishop was constrainned, notwithstanding any excuses, and allegations of his good  
 seruice, to dispossesse himselfe of the castles of Talauera, Vzeda, and Alcala the old, and  
*John* of Velasco of that of Arnedo. For the Arch-bishops imprisonment there was a ge-  
 nerall interdiction in the Diocesses of Zamora, Palence, & Salamanca, and in the court.

Archb. of To-  
ledo and D. John  
of Velasco de-  
tained pris-  
oners in court.

Such things past in Castile, during the minoritie of the King *D. Henry*, which did much  
 grieve the confederate Princes their allies, to see a young Prince so ill intreated by his  
 ambitious subiects; among which, the most remarkable were the great Prelates of the  
 Realme. Among others, *Charles* the sixth, the French king, did the office of a Christian  
 Prince and friend, sending this yeare 1393. a sollemne ambassage to the king of Castile,  
 she which came to Toro, where as the Court then remayned, to condole for the disobe-  
 dience of his subiects, especially of the Noblemen, offering the king, in their Masters  
 name, all ayde and support of the forces of France, if he had need. The French did also  
 write to euery one of the Gouvernors, to the chiefe Noblemen of Castile, and to the prin-  
 cipall townes, exhorting them by the duty which they did owe vnto God, & to the crown  
 of Castile, to obey their King, and to seeke the peace and quiet of the realme. This ambas-  
 sage was receiued, heard, and sent backe with great honor, as it was fitt.

To draw the Duke of Benauent to the kings seruice, the Arch-bishop of *S. James* went  
 to him being at Tordehumas, a place belonging to the duke, hauing a safe-conduct from  
*D. Alphonso Henriques* of Castile, son to the deceased *D. Frederic*, Master of *S. James*. This  
 Archb. wrought in such sort, as he reclaime the duke, promising him in the kings name  
 a confirmation of his annuall pension, and to giue him 70000. thousand frankes of gold,  
 to aduance him to some good marriage, so as he would leaue the allyance of Portugal,  
 and moreouer, the King would pardon him all that was past. After which the Duke  
 came to Burgos to the king, without any distrust, yea he refused a son of *D. John Hurtado*  
 of Mendoça, and one of *D. Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, with the Arch-bishoppes nephew,  
 which were offered vnto him for hostages: at which his free disposition the king and the  
 whole court did much reioyce. Being at Burgos, the truce concluded with Portugal was  
 proclaymed, as it had bene in like manner in Lisbon: thither came Ambassadors from  
 the Duke of Lancaster, to demand two yeares arrerages of the pension which the decea-  
 sed king *D. John* had granted to the sayd Duke, and to the Dutchesse *D. Constance* his  
 wife, being foure score thousand Frankes of gold, the which was willingly payed, and  
 therefore the Duke did quit the interest which hee pretended, for want of due payment.

35  
Minority of D.  
Henry king of  
Castile.

The King *Don Henry* growing to the age of foureene yeares, when as hee should take  
 vpon him the gouernement of the Realme, being riper of iudgement then of yeares, he  
 did anticipate three moneths to free himselfe of his tutors: and therefore hauing called  
 the Noblemen and Prelats which did freely frequent the Court, with the Deputies of the  
 townes, in the presence of *D. Domingo* Bishop of *S. Ponce*, Legat to Pope *Clemen*, hee  
 declared that from thence forth he tooke the gouernement of his realmes into his owne  
 hands: wherefore none of them should any more stile themselves Tutors, nor meddle with  
 the gouernment, vnlesse they were called.

In this assembly the Legate was a meanes to haue the Arch-bishop of Toledo restored  
 to those places and Castles which had bene before violently taken from him, and the  
 inter-

A interdiction of the three aboue-named Bishoppricks was taken away, the king making  
 great submissions: There they also treated to reforme many disorders within the Realm,  
 by reason that Bishoppricks and other spirituall-liuings were giuen to strangers,  
 whereas they should be employed to entertaine youth at schoole, or to reward men of  
 merit, and such as were borne in the Country, which was the cause that Spaniards did  
 not studie, for want of meanes, whereby the Realme was much dammified, not onely in  
 spirituall matters, but also in temporall. The redresse must come chiefly from the Pope,  
 who being importuned by such as had bin preferred to benefices, and by letters of fauor  
 from forraigne Princes) decreed, that they should enioy them, but after their deaths none  
 should be preferred to any benefice in Castile and Leon, if he were not borne in the coun-  
 try. In this businesse the king carried himselfe afterwards as he pleased. Being free from  
 his Gouvernors, hee had many waightie affaires, especially for the confirmation of the  
 peace made with the Duke of Lancaster, and for the truce newly concluded with the king  
 of Portugal, there being a reservation in both treaties of a confirmation when he should  
 come to the full age of foureene yeares. And moreouer, it did behooue him to send an  
 ambassage into France, to renew the League with king *Charles* the sixth. Besides, the or-  
 dinarie expences in the Gouvernours time amounted to fife and thirtie millions of mara-  
 uidis then currant mony, so as it was needfull to cut off this excessiue charge: for these  
 considerations and others, he called a generall assembly of the Estates at Madrid. Whi-  
 lest that they assembled, he passed into Biscay, where hee had not bene since his com-  
 ming to the Crowne.

Orders for the  
giuing of spiri-  
tual liuings.

The Companies and commonalties of the countrie, at his comming assembled in the  
 field of Arechualaga, according to their vsuall manner, demanding from the king a con-  
 firmation of their auncient liberties, rights, and priuiledges, the which he granted. More-  
 ouer, they desired to bee freed from all royall Prerogatiues which had bene imposed in  
 that Prouince, since the death of King *John*, and that he should confirme the new socie-  
 ties erected among them, for the punishment of malefactors: and hee did also grant the  
 combat as it was vsed among Gentlemen in Castile: of all which things he granted then  
 full power with the aduice of his Councell. There the King was receiued for the Lord of  
 Biscay, where hauing kissed his hands, he was led to the church in the towne of Larrabe-  
 rna, where according to the custome of his Predecessors Lords of Biscay, hee tooke an  
 oath vpon the altar to maintaine the rights of the countrie. Being afterwards come to  
 Guernica, some Biscayens presented a petition vnto him, to haue all crimes which had  
 bene committed in the country since the death of King *John* pardoned, from the which  
 hee was dissuaded by the Noblemen of his Councell, that loued iustice to auoyd the per-  
 nicious consequence thereof. Hee did also sweare at Berneo, in Saint Eusemia's church,  
 to maintaine the freedoms and liberties of that Town, but not so amply as they desired.  
 Being returned to Guernica, after much disputation touching the combat, which some  
 demanded, and others denyed, he granted it by pluralitie of voyces, and then was this  
 manner of challenge brought into Biscay, the King being set vnder a tree, in the vsuall  
 place, and after the accustomed manner. Then hee returned by Durango and Victoria  
 to Burgos, and from thence to Madrid, where the Estates assembled.

Demands made  
by them of Biscay  
to the king  
of Castile.

This yeare some Biscayns and Guipuscoans, armed certaine shippes at Scuile, at their  
 owne cost and charge, to seeke their fortunes at sea, and came to one of the Ilands of the  
 Canaries, called *Lanzarote*, where being landed, they made prey of all they found, a-  
 gainst whome the Ilanders with their King gathered together, and came to encounter  
 them, but the Biscayns had the vpper hand: they slue many of their enemies, and caried  
 away an hundred and seenty prisoners, with the King and Queene of the Iland: hauing  
 well obserued these Ilands, with the number, greatnesse and situation, they returned into  
 Spaine with great store of hydes, wax, and other things, whereof those Ilands abound. The  
 king *D. Henry* was very ioyfull of this exploit, and from that time challenged a right of  
 propriety in the Ilands of the Canaries, which they hold to be the ancient fortunat Ilands,  
 whereof he afterwards gaue the conquest to a French Gentleman, called *John* of Betan-  
 court, reseruing the fealty and homage thereof vnto his Soueraigntie.

33  
Discovery of  
the Canaries.

In the assembly of the Estates held at Madrid, the Kings majoritie was confirmed, who  
 also



to court, to giue his opiniop touching these things, but hee answered, that hee would A not come, whilest the Archbishop of Toledo was in court.

36.  
Moorez.

With these intestine troubles, the King D. Henry was almost drawn into an vnseasonable warre, with the Moores of Granado, by the vaine ouerweening of D. Martin Iuanes of Barbuda, maister of the Alcántara, a Portugal borne, who being entred into quarrell with Ioseph King of Granado, touching religion, would make triall of the truth of Christian religion by armes; of his person against the King of Granado, or of a hundred Christian Knights against two hundred Moores, or more, to that proportion, vnto a thousand. The King being aduertised of this other tumult, hee commanded the maister by his letters not to enter into this action; for that hee would not by any meanes haue B the truce broken with the Moores: but the maister not regarding, the Kings prohibition, marched to Cordoua, with three hundred Launces, and one thousand foote, hauing a crosse for his Ensigne. They of Cordoua, let him know that he should not undertake this enterprize, which was contrary to the Kings will and seruice, and the peace of the country, giuing him many examples of their ruine which haue caused vnecessary wars: but he gaue more credit to an Hermit, called Iohn del Sayo, who had assured him that hee should haue the victory, wishing him not to giue care to any that said the contrary: Moreouer being much giuen to Astronomy, he thought he had foreseene something C by the starres. The wisest men of Cordoua, namely D. Alphonso and D. Diego; Lords of Aguilar, seeing that no reasons could preuaile with the maister, would haue stopped his passage at the city bridge: but he was so fauoured by the superstitious multitude, vnder colour that it was dishonourable to hinder an enterprize of the crosse against Infidels: so as he not only past, but so augmented his troups, as being come to Alcala the Royal, he had aboue five thousand foote. At Alcala D. Alphonso Fernandes of Cordoua Lord of Aguilar, and his brother D. Diego Fernandes, came vnto him, who did admonish him againe, adding withall, that euery one would hold it indiscreetly done of him, who was reputed a wise Knight, and Maister of the Order of Alcántara, to goe and desie the King of Granado, who was so neere, as with in lesse then two daies hee might encounter him with two hundred thousand foote, and fifty thousand horse, and that without doubt, besides the daunger and hurt hee might doe vnto the realme, by the breach of the truce, D and defeat of his men, he should blemish his honour, and draw vpon himselfe perpetuall blame, amongst all men that professed armes as a rash and ill aduised captaine: but finding him obstinate, and pretending that it would be held cowardise and basenesse in him, if hauing past so farre, hee should now returne: wherevpon they wished him to lead his men to the riuier of Agores, which makes the limit betwixt Granado and Castile, and there attend the King of Granado a day or two: if hee appeered, hee should either fight with him body to body, or else a hundred Christians against two hundred Moores, as they agreed: But if the Moores came not to the confines, hee should bring backe his troups, and so hee should preserve his honour and reputation. The Maister who was confirmed in his desire to fight with the Moores, being moreouer incensed for that the Granadins had intreated two Gentlemen ignominiously, whom hee had sent vnto their King, to carry this challenge; hee answered brauely to these Knights, that hee thanked them for their good aduice, but he was resolued not to stay, vntill hee saw the port of Eluira at the city of Granado, or fight with the Moores, if hee met them vpon the way, & that he did hope to let the world see a miracle within few daies. Thus he entred vnfortunatly into the country of Granado, and did assault the tower of Excla, where hee was hurt in the hand, and neere vnto him were three of his men slaine by the defendants, whereas hee beganne to bee amazed, for the Hermit which followed him had told him, that he should not loose a man, and therefore hee demanded of him what it ment, that they had already slaine three of his men, to whom the Hermit answered, that it was ment, in battaile, and not at the siege of places, the which the Maister beleued, as assaying the tower more furiously then before.

Great power  
of the realme  
of Granado.

Afores the  
bonds be-  
twixt Grana-  
do and Castile.

Hermit an  
Impostor.

The King of Granado seeing the rashnesse of this vnadvised Maister of the Order of Alcántara, sent Ambassadors to the King of Castile, to complaine of the breach of the truce made betwixt them, and to demanda if it were by his commandement or not. On

A On the other side hee assembled a good number of horse and foote, with the which hee marched towards the frontier, he surprized the maister, who was ill aduertised, and charged him, with his troups so furiously, as without giuing them time to arme, hee slue the maister, and all his horsemen, with most of his footmen, of the which about fiftene hundred saued themselves by flight. The maister D. Martin Iuanes caused himselfe to bee surnamed *Without feare*, and there is such an Inscription found vpon his tombe in Alcántara, whether his body was carried by the permission of the King of Granado. The King of Castile had newes of this defeat being in the Monastery of Santa Maria of Pelayos, neere vnto the towne of Saint Martin de val d'Eglise, where in a manner at the same time arrived the Ambassadors from the King of Granado, who made their complaint, and demanded if the maister of Alcántara were entred in hostile manner into Granado, by his commandement, and what his pleasure was for the entertayning of the truce. The King answered, that what the maister had done did much displease him, and that he had forbidden him by his letters to undertake such quarrells, it auayling nothing to countenance religion by the breach of the truce, which he desired to entertaine with the King of Granado his friend: but he had not obeyed him, for the which he had beene punished, if God by his iust iudgement had not abandoned him to bee slaine by the Moores, and his men defeated, as they had well deserued, whereof he was newly aduertised, to his great content. The Messengers were sent backe with this answer, the which C did increase the ioy which the Moorish King conceived for his victory, by the assurance which they brought him of the continuance of the truce betwixt Granado and Castile.

Ambassade  
from the king  
of Granado to  
the King of  
Castile.

This trouble vpon the Moores frontier, was a pretext for the Duke of Benauent and other of the confederates to arme, and to fortifie themselves, euery one in his quarter, saying, it was to be ready at the Kings commandement, if the Moores did enter into Andalusia. The King did cause D. Fernand Roderiques of Villalobos, to bee chosen maister of the Knights of Alcántara, in the place of the deceased Barbuda. D. Lawrence Suarez of Figueroa maister of Saint Iames, vnderstood of this route in Ocagne, where he was, and came presently to the King being at Pelayos; he aduised him to haue his forces in readinesse for all euents, assuring him that he should easily suppress the Duke of Benauent and the Earles of Gijon and Transamara, with other Malcontents, the which hee should not much regard, but rather bee carefull of the Moorish warres, if they grew hot. And to assure the frontier of Andalusia it was expedient that he were sent to Villa Real, with the Archbishop of Toledo, to ioine with the Maister of the Calatrava, and that the King should come to Toledo: promising moreouer that he would perswade D. Alphonso of Arragon Marquis of Villena to come and doe him seruice. The King beleued this counsell, and came to Toledo, whether D. Diego Lopes of Estuniga came vnto him, and gaue an account of the goiage which hee had made vnto D. Iohn Garcia Almirique Archbishop of Saint Iames: but the King being otherwise aduertised of the disobedience of the Duke of Benauent, and of his confederats, and how they continually leauied men, he came to Illesca, being followed by the Archbishop of Toledo, the Maister of Saint Iames, the Earle of Niebla, D. Diego Hurtado of Mendoza Admirall, Iohn Hurtado of Mendoza Lord Steward, Diego Lopes of Estuniga chiefe Iustice, Ruy Lopes of Aualos Chamberlaine, and other Noblemen, with about seuentene hundred Launces.

37  
D. Henry re-  
duceth the  
rebels to his  
obedience.

Heere D. Alphonso of Arragon Marquis of Villena, who had not approched neere the court all the Kings reigne, came and kist his hands, being accompanied with a hundred Knights and Squiers of the country of Valencia, which he had aduentured through the absence of the Earle of Transamara his competitor, who was in disgrace with the King D. Henry. The Marquis hauing purged himselfe of such things as might bee objected against him, and made many excuses, for his not comming to court, he made sure to be restored to his Office of Constable of Castile, which had beene taken from him by the Gouernors, to conferre it vpon D. Pedro Earle of Transamara, to the preiudice of his honour and dignity, to whom the King gaue a gracious answer, assuring him that he would order his affaires with all equity and Iustice: then he intreated him to passe the mountaines and to come with him into Castile the Old, but the Marquis excused him selfe,

D. Alphonso of  
Arragon re-  
ceived grati-  
tously by the  
king of Castile.



selfe, saying, that he was not come so well appointed as he desired to doe him seruice, A  
but if he gaue him meanes he would returne willingly to serue him. So he returned in-  
to his country, not well satisfied with the King D. Henry, who made no account to re-  
store him to his office of Constable, but soone after, by the aduice of the Archbishop of  
Toledo, he tooke from him the title of Marquis of Villena, for that it seemed not safe,  
nor profitable for the Estate of Castile, that a Marquisate fronting vpon a forraine  
Realme, should remaine in the hands of a Knight who had so strict an alliance as the  
Marquis D. Alphonso had with the Kings and Realme of Arragon. From Illesca the  
King past to Vaileddolit, where he was aduertised that the duke of Benauent was at Cis-  
neros with six hundred Launces, and two thousand foote; and the Archbishop of Saint  
Iames in Amusco, with other six hundred Launces and one thousand foote. Many were  
of opinion that the Kings forces should be led against them, to fight with them: but the  
founder iudgment dissuaded al fighting, if it were possible, for the realm should looke of  
either side, besides the hazard where into the King should thrust both his Estate and  
life, by a battaile, to the which a Prince must neuer come against his subiects, vnlesse he  
be forced by ineuitable necessity. This aduice preuailed, and there were sent vnto the  
Archbishop of Saint Iames, and at his request, *John Hurtado*, and *Diego Lopes* of Mendo-  
sa to Calabaganos, with whom they wrought so, as they drew him to court vpon assu-  
rance, whereas the Archbishop did also obtaine a safe-conduit for the Duke of Benauent,  
to whom he went himselfe, and brought him to court. The duke being in the Kings pre-  
sence, sought to free himselfe of the accusations which were laied against him. First he  
maintayned that he had taken none of the Kings reuenues within his iurisdiction, but  
what was due vnto him, the which should not be held so great a crime, seeing that many  
prelats and others of lesse quality then himselfe, had often vied it, and were not drawn in-  
to questiō. As for the men of war which he had gathered together, he had therein follow-  
ed the general command, for feare of war with the Moores, after the defeat of the maister  
of Alcantara: and if he had bene at Roa, to see the Queene of Nauarre his sister, it was  
not preiudicial to the realm, nor contrary to the Kings seruice. These excuses were held  
neither good nor true by the king, who notwithstanding told him, that he would willing-  
ly forger al that was past, so as he would from thenceforth liue in peace and obedience,  
propounding vnto him these conditions. That if it were found he had leauied more mo-  
ney then had bene assigned him at the last Estates held at Madrid, he should restore it  
vnto the king, or to such as it did belong: that he should cause D. Pedro to come to court,  
whom the King pardoned, for that which did concerne him, restoring to others their in-  
terests: that the duke should giue his two base sonnes in hostage, and should leaue in de-  
posito the castles of Medina del Riosecco, and Tordehumos for foure yeeres; with this  
clause that if he raised any tumults, those places should come vnto the King: That if he  
should fall from the Kings seruice, certain Knights of his household should promise & swear  
to turne vnto the kings party: that the pension of an hundred & 15. thousand Marauidis,  
granted vnto the Duke at the Estates at Madrid, should be augmented to five hundred  
thousand: that for the seuentie thousand frankes of gold which had bene promised him  
for his marriage, the King gaue him the reuenues of Valence de Campo, the which *John*  
of Portugal had till then enjoyed, and now he tooke it from him, for that hee had bene a  
practiser and confederat against his Estate. These things being thus ordred, the duke and  
the Archbishop went from court, and being come to Cisneros, the duke ratified all, and  
dismissed his troups, retayning only a hundred launces for the Kings seruice.

Within few daies after D. Alphonso Henriquez came vnto the King being at Vaileddo-  
lit, with a letter of credit from the Constable D. Pedro Earle of Transimara his brother,  
telling the King, that if it pleased him to giue some assurance vnto the Earle, hee would  
come to court: wherevpon the King assured him, and hee came presently, freeing him-  
selfe of many things whereof he had bene accused: then he complained of D. Alphonso  
Earle of Gijon, who had forcibly taken from him the towne of Paredes of Naua, which  
the deceased King D. John had giuen him in exchange for the towne of Alua de Tormes,  
which he had taken from him, to giue it to D. John Infant of Portugal.

The King gaue the Constable a good reception, promising to provide for all things  
according

Duke of Benauent comes to court, and seeks to purge himselfe.

conditions propounded to the Duke of Benauent.

D. Pedro Earle of Transimara comes to court.

A according vnto Iustice: and presently he went in person to Paredes of Naua, which place  
he deliuered into the hands of *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos his Lord Chamberlaine, and did som-  
mon his vncler D. Alphonso Earle of Gijon, to appeere within threescore daies, and to  
produce what right he had to this place, wherevpon Iustice should be done him: but if  
he did not appeere, it should be adiudged to D. Pedro. The King did also presse him to  
swear the Articles of the truce of Portugal, as other Noblemen, Prelats and Knights  
had done according to the capitulation, the which the Earle would not doe, but sought  
excuses and euasions, wherewith the King was very much discontented. This was a  
matter of great importance, for the Marquis of Villena and the Earle of Gijon refusing  
to swear the Articles, the King of Portugal pretended that the truce was of no force,  
and that the hostages were forfeited vnto him: So as he refused the oth which the Mar-  
quis, after his refusall, would haue taken when as hee came to court, saying, that the  
time prefixed for such ratifications was past, wherefore they must capitulate anew.

During these troubles in Castile, the King of Nauarre did still sollicit his wiues returne  
or at the least of his two daughters: and the King D. Henry had a great desire to see her  
dislodge, but he knew not how to send her honestly out of Castile: But she her selfe pre-  
pared the way: for when as shee vnderstood that the Duke of Benauent, and others of  
the league were reduced vnder the Kings obedience, fearing some surpris, she procured  
D. Pedro the Constable to come to Roa, with two hundred Launces, and some foot-  
men, and then seeing her selfe as it were assured, shee sent vnto the King, to demand as-  
surance to come to court, to iustifie her selfe: but the King thinking that the Duke of  
Benauent, the Constable, his aunt, and all they of the league in Generall, did smother  
in their breasts the same wils they had before, hee resolved to punish them, one after an-  
other; and therefore he caused them, that the Queene of Nauarre had sent vnto him, to  
be staied, and then being come to Burgos, he propounded in counsell, what was to bee  
done. There were present the Archbishop of Toledo, the maisters of Saint Iames and  
Calatraua, D. John Hurtado of Mendoza the Admiral, D. John Hurtado, D. Ruy Lopes of  
Aualos, and others, whereof some came armed to counsell, by the Kings commande-  
ment. D. Frederic Duke of Benauent came also, notwithstanding that some of his friends  
had wished him to retire, telling him that they ment to take him: as he entred into the  
place where the counsell was kept, the King went forth, making shew that he would goe  
sup, and speaking aloude, that they must consider what answere to giue to the Queene of  
Nauarre.

And soone after hauing sent them word, that they should speedily dispatch that  
which they had to doe, the Duke was taken prisoner, and put in the castle of Burgos, in  
the custody of the Maister of Saint Iames, from whence hee was afterwards transported  
to Monreal, and in the end in the time of the King. D. John to the castle of Almodouar  
del Rio neere vnto Cordoua, where he ended his daies.

This is that famous prison of D. Frederic duke of Benauent, celebrated throughout all  
Spain. This done the King sent *Diego Peres Sarmiento* the Gouvernor, to seize vpon all  
the Lands and goods, not onely of the Duke of Benauent, but also of the Constable D.  
Pedro, and by the same meanes he seized vpon the lands of his aunt, Donna Leonora  
Queene of Nauarre, and he himselfe, being followed with some troups, went to Roa  
(where she was) to beseege her, and take her: wherevpon the Constable who was with  
her, abandoned her, and went into Galicia, to provide for his owne affaires. The  
Queene seeing her selfe forsaken, beganne to lament, filling all the castle of Roa with  
pitifull cries; and the more to moue them to pitty, she attired her selfe, her daughters  
and women in mourning weeds, and sent her Confessor vnto the King, to know his  
pleasure, seeing hee came in that manner with an army. The King gaue him some rea-  
sons, and marched on to Valera, from whence he sent *John Hurtado* of Mendoza and *Ruy*  
*Lopes* of Aualos to the Queene, to whom (being full of teares, and with a mournfull ha-  
bit and countenance) she complained much of the King her Nephew, saying, that hee  
sought to take away her goods; and demanded assurance to see and speake with him.  
The Inhabitants of Roa, carefull of their safeties, sent to offer the place vnto the King, if  
it pleased him to receiue them as his owne, and not to alienate them any more, where-  
with

D. Frederic Duke of Benauent a prisoner.

Queene of Nauarre daunted.

with the King was content: wherevpon they receiued the Archbishop of Toledo, *John Hartado, Diego Lopes* and *Ruy Lopes* with their followers, and soone after the King entred, to whom the Queene being come, they entred into a church, and there had much conference. In the end the King granted her the reuenues of Roa, Sepulueda, Mardrigal and Arcualo, retayning the Iustice vnto himselfe and he commanded her to follow him to Vailledolit.

Earle of Gijon  
sits upon  
Outside.

This businesse being ended, the King marched towards Leon to make warre against his vnkle D. *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, who was in the Asturia's, and had seized vpon the city of Oueido, which did belong vnto the King, the which he did fortifie, with his towne of Gijon, and other places. By the way hee had conference with the Archbishop of Saint James, who was much moued for the imprisonment of the Duke of Benauent: for he had come to court vpon his word and assurance. The King made him promise that he should not enter into any league, yet the griefe hee had for the Dukes detention, made him forget all the affection he had had to the seruice of the crowne of Castile, which in the end he left, and retired into Portugal, making the Schisme in the church his pretext, saying, that of his knowing the Pope raigning in Auignon was not lawfull, but he that held his seat at Rome: and for that the Portugals did adhere vnto him he retired into Portugal, where he obtained the Bishopricke of Coimbra, and then the Archbishopricke of Braga, where he ended his daies. He was of the noble family of Manriques, a man of a small stature, but of an actiue spirit, full of courage, high minded, eloquent, liberrall, apt to compound great mens quarrels, ambitious, and one that enuied the Archbishop of Toledo. D. *Pedro* of Tenorio, who was of a different humor; seuer, stately, ambitious also, but he couered his ambition with modesty, maintrayning his dignity in such sort as he was respected and feared. He lost in Castile the Archbishopricke of Saint James, the office of Chancellor to the King, with many other iuyings. The King in passing caused the castle of Manfilla to be razed, and vntied the towne (which had belonged vnto the Duke) vnto his demaines. He then sent his men against Gijon, the which they did beseege both by sea and land.

Archbishop of  
S. James: retires  
into Portugal.

His disposition

Being come to Leon, he made a declaration in a great assembly, in the chiefe church, of the rebellions and felonies of the Earle D. *Alphonso* his vnkle, committed both against the King D. *John* his father and himselfe, the fauours he had done him since his enlargement by the Gouernors, and his Ingratitude, for the which he did confiscate all his goods to the crowne, except the Siegneury of Noruegna, which he gaue to the church of Oueido, as had bene formerly ordained by the deceased King his father. The King hauing sent some troupes towards Oueido the Earles men were chafed away, and the King was maister of the city; so as the Earle was forced to shut himselfe into Gijon, where he was straightly beseege. One of his base sonnes called D. *Hernando* holding the castle of Saint Martin, deliuered it vnto the King, and came vnto his seruice. The Constable D. *Pedro* Earle of Transmara, seeing what had befallne the Duke of Benauent and the Queen of Nauar, and how they handled the Earle of Gijon, he found means to make his accord, and came vnto the King at the seege of Gijon, by whom he was well receiued, and had giuen him the townes of Pont Ferrada, Villafraanca and Vargarcell, which had bene the Duke of Benaunts. The yeere growing towards an end, and the country of Asturia being barren, not able long to maintaine an army, the King resolved to make some accord with the Earle, who sought it: wherevpon they concluded these Articles. That the French King should be Iudge of their controuersies, who should iudge within six monthes whether the Earle had offended, and if it were found that hee should loose his lands, he was content, if not, all should be restored to him againe: That vntill a definitiue sentence, the towne of Gijon should remaine in the Earles hands, vpon condition it should remaine in the Estate it was then, without adding any supply of victuals or men; and that the Earle should not goe about three leagues from the town, if it were not into France, to sollicite the iudgement of this cause. In which case the King should giue him thye hundred thousand Marauidis, to defray his charges: That the Earles other Lands should remaine in the possession of D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, Lord Chamberlaine to the King, who should hold them vpon his faith; and that the Earle

Accord made  
with the Earle  
of Gijon.

A Earle should giue his sonne D. *Henry* for hostage. By this composition the Earle D. *Alphonso* was freed from seege.

This yeere 1394. died D. *John Alphonso* of Guzman Earle of Niebla, a man of a peacefull spirit, yet was he somewhat engaged in the troubles of Castile, leauing his sonne D. *Henry* of Guzman heire to his great possessions. Pope *Clement* died also that yeere in Auignon, the sixteenth yeere of his Popedom, in whose place the Cardinals of that seat, meaning to proceed to the election of an other, receiued letters from the Vniuersity of Paris, to perswade them to deferre it for some daies, to know the intention of Pope *Boniface* the ninth, resyding at Rome, touching the vnion of the church; yet notwithstanding they entred into the Conclau nine daies after the funeral, and without regard of any letters written by the Vniuersity, and King *Charles*, they gaue their voices, and withall made a protestation in writing, that the future Pope should not hinder the rooting out of the Schisme, and that he should bee bound to giue ouer his dignity if neede were; they made choise of D. *Pedro de Luna*, carrying the title of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, a Cartelan and Doctor of the Canon law; a man of great authority, and well practised in worldly affaires, whom they called *Benedict* the thirteenth. The French King yielding to that was done, sent his Ambassadors to Auignon, to doe the accustomed homage to the new Pope: but beeing afterwards solicited by some of the Cardinals, who repented themselves of *Benedict's* election, he sought, by meanes of the protestation which had bene made, to force the Pope to quit his dignity, vnder pretext to reconcile the Schisme: but *Benedict* was loth to leaue so sweet a morcell, which so many of his order had gap'd after, resisting long, to the great preiudice of all Christendome, and the French king did in vaine sollicite by many Ambassages, D. *Henry* King of Castile, to ioyne with him, in the displacing of *Benedict* from his Popedom, whom the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon did also obey.

38  
Death of the  
Earle of Niebla.

Death of Pope  
Clement at  
Auignon.

Election of  
Pedro de Luna  
to be Pope,  
called Benedict  
the 13.

The King D. *Henry* hauing proceeded, as we haue said, against the chiefe authors of the troubles of his realme, he returned to Vailledolit, and knowing by good experience the disposition of his aunt, whom he had brought with him, he resolved to send her into Nauarre, to King *Charles* her husband, the which (notwithstanding the Estate shee was in) she did impugn by all meanes possible: wherefore the King fearing she would steale away, and put her selfe into some place of strength, which would be very troublesome to take, he commanded the prior of Saint Iohn to set a gard about her lodging, and he himselfe went to Tordeillas. Then the Queene knew that she must of force returne into Nauarre, without any other assurances then such promises and othes as the King her husband had giuen, and seeing no euasion, nor delay, she sent to intreat the King her Nephew to be well aduised what he did, in seeking to force her to returne into Nauarre: and seeing that it did concerne both her honour and life, she intreated him to propound it to the graue and learned men of his counsell, to resolve what was fit for her to doe. The King was very well pleased herewith, and committed the businesse to the Bishops of Palence and Zamora, by whose aduice it was concluded, that the Queene Donna *Leonora* should returne to her husband, and that the King her Nephew should accompany her to the frontiers of Nauarre, whereof she was aduertised, that she might dispose her selfe to obey, but it was against her will: wherevpon the King returned to Vailledolit, and from thence they tooke their way towards Nauarre, hauing sent the Archbishop of Toledo and him of Zamora, an Arragonois, and the bishop of Albi a Frenchman, with others, to Tudele, to aduertise King *Charles* of his wiues coming and to take a new oth of him, to intreat her well and honourably. The Archbishop of Saragossa came to meet the Queene, being accompanied by many Knights of Nauarre, France and Arragon; to whom she was deliuered, with her daughters, vpon the confines of Castile and Nauarre, to the great contentment of King *Henry*, to whom she had bene chargeable many yeeres, by her turbulent and ambitious spirit. The King D. *Charles* did shew by the effects, that he was neuer ill-affected towards her; for he receiued her, with all that did accompany her, with great honour, and shewes of loue and ioy: he intreated her courteously, and honoured her as much as she could desire: commanding there should be feasts and bonfires made throughout all the realme of Nauarre, by reason of her coming.

39  
Nauarre.

Queene of  
Nauarre sent  
to her husband  
against her  
will.

ming. And for that they had not yet had any sonne, he would haue the Estates of his A  
realme (assembled to that end at Pampelone, some monthes after the Queenes returne)  
swear the Infanta's his daughters for lawfull heires of the realme, and of his other E-  
states, who should succeed one after another, vnto the last liuer. He caused his sub-  
iects to take this oth, as it was accustomed in Spaine, and to auoide warre and sedition,  
whereof they had fresh examples in the neighbour countries of Arragon and Valencia.

Arragon.

D. John King of Arragon, sonne to D. Pedro the Cerimonious, hauing reigned nine  
yeeres and three monthes, went about that time into the Island of Majorca, whether he  
had beene drawne by the seditions of the Islanders, rayfed against the Iewes, which  
dwelt among them, whom they had slaine, and spoiled, after the manner of the Castillans  
and Arragonois, incensed by a seditious Archdeacon, preaching at Seuille, with which B  
the mischief all the townes of Spaine were in the end infected except Saragossa. The  
King hauing punished the chiefe authors of these hatefull mutinies, in his returne, he  
was driven by a storme, to Cap de Cruz, about Ampurias, from whence being come to  
Castillon, he was surprized by sodaine death; some hold that it was in chasing the Wolfe  
in the woods of Foxa, others say, hee fell and bruized his skull, in the yeere 1395. This  
Prince, as we haue formerly said, had taken to wife a French Lady, called *Martha*, daugh-  
ter to *James* Earle of Armaignac, who gouerned him quietly, by whom he had one on-  
ly daughter called *Joane*, married at the time of his death to *Mathew* of Castelbon, C  
Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearn, which was the cause of much warre in Arragon. The  
Queene D. *Martha* being dead, soone after her deliuey, the King D. *John* married Don-  
na *Violant* daughter to the Duke of Bar, who brought him a sonne, but of short life, and  
lies interred at Saragossa, and afterwards a daughter, carrying the mothers name, and  
married in her time to *Lewis* duke of Aniou, sonne to that *Lewis* which died in Italy, pur-  
suing his interest to the realme of Naples. After the death of King *John*, *Mathew* Earle  
of Foix, who had married his eldest daughter, pretended, according to the custome  
practised in Spaine, that the crowne of Arragon did belong vnto his wife, and sought  
all meanes to obtaine it: but the Arragonois would not then subiect themselues vnder a  
strange Prince, and reiecting the womans right, they did choose D. *Martin* for their king,  
who was brother to the deceased, and was then in Sicile.

The Arragon-  
nois reiect D.  
Joane from  
the succession  
and choose D.  
Martin.

These quarrels ryling from the succession in Arragon, and the reiection of the heire  
of that realme, which happened soone after the returne of the Queene Donna *Leonora*  
into Nauarre, it moued King *Charles* to take an oth of his subiects, that they should  
maintaine the Realme to his eldest daughter, and successiue to the rest.

The end of the seuenteenth Booke.

THE



## THE EIGHTEENTH BOOKE

of the Generall History of Spaine.

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husband D. Martin, who was the 15. King of Arragon, and the first of that name, wherevnto  
the Estates consented.
8. Confirmation of D. Martin King of Arragon: his carriage in the gouernment of his realme  
to foraine Princes and the Pope.
9. Death of D. Pedro Tenorio, Archbishop of Toledo, his family, qualities, workes and build-  
ings, vacancy of that see foure yeeres.
10. Ruy Lopes d' Aualos, and the beginning of the house of Aualos.
- C 11. Continuation of the Schisme, friar Vincent Ferrier a great preacher.
12. Warre against the Moores of Granada: the death of King Henry the 3.
13. Marriage of D. Blanche Infanta of Nauarre, with Don Martin King of Sicile. Ac-  
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14. D. Iohn the second of that name, King of Castile, an Infant of two and twenty monthes  
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| ARRAGON.  | CASTILE and LEON           | NAVARR.        |
|---|----------------------------|----------------|
| 15. D. Martin 1.<br>16. D. Fernand 1.<br>17. D. Alphon 5. | 18. D. Iohn 2. and the 39. | 32. D. Iohn 1. |

IN

## The generall History of Spaine.

A **I**N the reign of King Henry the third, it often appeared how vaine the en-  
terprizes of bad subjects are against a vertuous and innocent Prince: for  
God did preferue this poore pupill, from the ambitious rage of his Tutors,  
Princes, Prelats and great Lords of Castile, ruining them by their owne  
discord. And he did so much honour the royall Maiesty, as when as this  
young Prince had taken vpon him the government of the realme, at the age of foure-  
teene yeeres, he deliuered them into his hands, to punish them, as their obnoxious rebelli-  
on, and ingratitude had deserued. Being freed (as we haue said) of the Duke of Benavente,  
the Queene of Navarre, and the Archbishop of Saint Iames, and hauing by their exam-  
ple reduced the Earle of Trastamara and the Archbishop of Toledo, to their duties:  
there onely remained D. Alphonso Earle of Gijon his vncl, who was reduced to that ex-  
tremity, as he was forced to vndergoe the censure of a strange Prince, in a cause which  
concerned his honor, his goods and his liberty: the which he might haue enioyed with  
reputation, yea much augmented his dignity, if he had contained himselfe with mode-  
sty, in the fauor of D. Henry King of Castile his naturall Prince.

According to the accord made at the seege of Gijon, the King sent his Ambassadors to  
the French King, to debate the causes he had to dispossesse D. Alphonso, who hauing staid  
many daies in the court of France, the Earle of Gijon, nor his Attorney appeering,  
and the time of the assignation being expired, they prepared for their returne, when they  
C had newes that their aduerser party was come to the coast of Britaine, and was comming  
towards Paris: wherefore to giue more countenance to their cause, they attended.  
Being arriued, hee spake with King Charles, for his iustification, accusing the King his  
Nephew, that he sought to take his portion from him, lying in Asturia, Leon and Ca-  
stile, the which was assigned him by the deceased King D. Iohn his brother, adding many  
other charges and excesses, wherevnto the Ambassadors answered pertinently, laying  
open the Earles ingratitude, rebellion and conspiracy, against the King his Lord, and  
benefactor, who had drawne him out of prison, and restored him to all his goods,  
the which King Iohn had iustly taken from him, adding therevnto pensions, Estates and  
honours; and accusing him in particular of the violent vsurpation of the towne of Pa-  
redes of Naua, and other tyrannicall actions done by him, hauing also refused to signe the  
truce of Portugal, with many other acts of contempt and felony: concluding that hee  
ought to loose the Earldome of Gijon, and to be wholly left to the discretion and will of  
the King his Lord; so as in the proofes of these crimes, exhibited by the Ambassadors, in  
defence of their Princes actions, hauing not any thing to reply publicly, he gaue the  
Lords of the French Kings counsell secretly to vnderstand, that the ill will which the  
King his Nephew bare him, incensed by his bad counsellors, who were corrupt and mer-  
cenary, proceeded from nothing else, but that hee had alwaies opposed himselfe to the  
practises and secret intelligences which they had with the English, in league with whom  
they would draw the King of Castile, to the preiudice of the friendship and ancient al-  
E liance, which was betwixt the houses of Castile and France: wherefore he intreated  
them to deale so with King Charles, as he would iudge fauorably of his cause, causing his  
Estates and Lands, to be restored to him againe, promising, all his life time, to doe him  
good and loyal seruice.

The King desirous to reconcile Princes that were neere in blood, caused the Am-  
bassadors to be treated with about a prorogation of the assignation; for they had pro-  
tested that the time prefixt being expired through the Earles negligence and contempt,  
to whom the King their maister had caused three hundred thousand maraudis to be de-  
liuered, for the charges of his voiage, and to take from him all excuse, that they could no  
more appeere before him, as before, their Iudge: yet they said, that seeing the King of  
F Castile their Lord had submitted himselfe vnto his Iudgement, for the brotherly  
loue that was betwixt them, notwithstanding, that many of his counsell had disuaded  
him, holding it a disparagement for the soueraigne Prince to contend with his vassall  
and subjects before a strange Iudge, and out of his country and iurisdiction.

They were of opinion, that if the Earle Don Alphonso did willingly deliuer the  
towne of Gijon vnto the King of Castile, and submit himselfe to his will and mercy,  
that

Kkk 3

that by his intercession the Earle should obtaine a safe conduit and assurance to come into Castile, and so he should treat of his affaires more profitably then by any other course. They withall made a request vnto King *Charles* in the name of the King their Lord, that for the league which was betwixt the two Kings and realmes, he would be pleased to command *D. Alphonso* to depart his country, which the French King could not refuse, and therefore he caused notice to be giuen vnto the Earle, that he should retire himselfe, and commanding all Gouernors of Prouinces, especially of port towns, not to giue him any fauor or aide, wherefore he went away in poore estate, & kept himself some daies about Rochelle. The six monthes of truce concluded betwixt the King and him being many daies before expired, and yet the Ambassadors had not written any thing concerning the conclusion of this sute, there were some troupes of horse and foote sent about Gijon, after which the King came with greater forces, both by land and sea, the which did so presse the place, as the Countesse, *Donna Isabella* of Portugal, yeelded it, compounding for her life and liberry, and of some Knights that were within it, and the deliery of her sonne *D. Henry*, whom the King held in hostage. In the meane time letters came out of France, from the Ambassadors, contayning what had past in this cause, wherewith the King was wel satisfied. The miserable Countesse *Isabella*, daughter to *D. Fernand* King of Portugal, being destitute of all meanes, went into France to her husband *D. Alphonso*, who was poore, and without any helpe or fauour, but from the Vicountesse of Touars, in whose country he liued in the towne of Marant. After the taking of Gijon, the King went to Seuile to treat a truce with the Moores, being solicited by King *Mahumet* then reigning in Granado, the third after the death of *Mahumet* the old, who was bruted to haue poisoned the King *D. Henry* the second, and this was his succession.

*Given yeelded vnto the King, and the Earle dispossessed and banished into France.*

### Mahumet Guadix the tenth King of Granado.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahumet* surnamed *Guadix*, after the death of *Mahumet* the Old his father, was settled King of Granado: he onely among all his predecessors, received this Scepter peaceably, and left it quiet at his death. During his reigne which beganne in the yeere 1379, and ended 1392, he had not any warre against Christian Princes for all the time of his reigne, the Estate of Castile vnder King *John* was so troubled with wars with *D. Fernand* King of Portugal, and afterwards with the maister of Auiz, and besides with the Duke of Lancaster, as the Realme of Granado felt no trouble. This *Mahumet Guadix* was sonne in law to the King of Tunis, whose daughter, named *Hadis*, of the ancient linage of the *Almohages*, he had married when his father liued, by whom he had *Ioseph* his successor to the Realme, and yet he had other wiues, and many children by them, according to the liberty of the *Mahumetists*, in that point. During this calme, he fortified many places in the Realme of Granado, especially towards the frontier of Andalusia; by the which the Kings of Castile were accustomed to invade the Moores. Hee renewed the truce betwixt the two realmes of Granado and Castile, with King *John*, in the yeere 1390. the which was sworne and confirmed by the Kings, and by their eldest sonnes and successors. The name of *Guadix* was giuen him, for the great loue he bare to the towne of Guadix, and that country, from his Infancy, the which he did frequent and beautifie with many things whilest he liued. He died in peace, in the yeere of our Lord 1392. the thirteenth of his reigne.

### Ioseph the eleuenth, King of Granado.

To him succeeded this King *Ioseph*, of whom wee haue made mention, in the route with he gaue vnto *Martin Ianes* of Barbuda, maister of Alcantara. Before there was

A was some likelihood of warre, during the raigne of *D. Henry* the 3. king of Castile, but it was soone pacified, after an encounter neere vnto Lorca, wheras the Moores at the coming of this king *Ioseph*, beginning to flie, were defeated with great losse. If the father had reigned peaceably, as well among his subiects, as with Christian Princes his neighbours: his son gouerned with great difficulty & tumults: for besides the quarels he had with the Christians, (which succeeded reasonably well) he was pursued by his owne sonne, and in danger to loose both Crowne and life. This bad sonne called *Mahumet*, as his Grandfather was, thrust on with ambition to raign, ioyned with a Nobleman among the Moores, called *Aben Mohaya*, who had long hated King *Ioseph*. These two together did what they could to put him from his royall seate, dispersing among the Moores all the slanders they could inuent against him: but chiefly they did charge him with the vice of clemencie, which he had vied to many Christian captiues, hauing set them free without rancome: an vndoubted argument, sayd they, that he was a Christian in heart. There were great combusions throughout all Granado, by meanes of this peruerse sonne and his confederats, the which were pacified by the mediation of an Ambassadour from the king of Maroc, of the linage of the Merins, who was then at Granado, for his Princes affaires, who wrought in such sort, as the sonne and all that followed him, yeelded obedience vnto the king, to the good of the Realme, which for a time enioyed a desired peace: for by reason of the troubles, many Christians had imbraced these quarrels of the Moores, ioyning with either partie, but all tending to the ruine of their estate. Besides this *Mahumet*, son to king *Ioseph*, who made warre against him, Histories make mention of three others: that is, *Ioseph* the eldest, who reigned, but not immediatly after his father, *Cidi- Ali* and *Cidi- Amed*. After this pacification, and the defeat of the Master of Alcantara aboue-mentioned, king *Ioseph* was more respected among his subiects, and gouerned his Realme in peace the remaynder of his dayes without any opposition. He kept friendship with the Princes of Spaine his neighbours, and with the Kings of Affricke, as much as he could: yet he grew into secret hatred with the king of Fez, whereof no man knowes the occasion, neither did he discouer it, vntill he felt the poison, which this trecherous king sent him: for among many rich presents, there was a cassocke of cloth of gold, of great price, but infected with D this mortall poyson, which did not worke sodenly, but by degrees: an art much practised among those damned creatures, to free themselves of their enemies, or to make States and Principalities voyd, as their ambitious appetites did driue them. King *Ioseph* hauing no cause, as he thought, to suspect any such treason from a king of his sect, whome hee had not offended, receiued the presents: but hauing one day put on the cassocke, he felt himselfe presently poysoned without remedie: the which was of such force, as hauing depriued him of all his naturall faculties, his flesh fell away by peece-meale, with great horror to them that were about him, and amazement of the Phisitions, which had him in cure, to whome the true cause of his infirmitie, nor the remedies were euer knowne. Thus this king died miserably, hauing reigned about foure yeares in Granado, in the yeare of our Lord 1396. and of the Arabians 779.

*Some persecutes the father to raigne.*

*Ioseph king of Granado poysoned.*

*VVonderfull force of poyson*

### Mahumet the 9. of that name, and 12. king of Granado.

**M**AHVME T his sonne surnamed *Aben-Balua*, who had so much desired to raigne in his fathers life-time, vsurped the Realme from his elder brother *Ioseph*, who yeelding to the time, supported it as well as he could, beeing countenanced by some Noblemen, that were friends to his deceased father and him. The first entrance of this king *Mahumet* was pleasing vnto the Moores, by the cruelty he suffered to be done to two Priars brethren, who moued with an inconsiderate zeale, would goe and preach in Granado. Beeing forbidden by the king to preach their doctrine to a people ill prepared to receiue it, they persisting in their resolution, the Almaguis and Doctors of the Alcaron fell vpon them,



*D. Henry of  
Castile, called  
the Sickly.*

<sup>3</sup>  
Castile.

and having whipt them, they slue them most cruelly, so as these two poore Friars were A held holy Martyrs, whereof some of their bones were gathered together, and carried to Seuille and Cordoua, to them of their Order, all men perswading themselves that they wrought miracles. This king thinking himselfe settled in his estate, he confirmed the truce with Christian Princes, especially with D. Henry king of Castile, who freed him of the tribute which the kings of Granado were wont to pay to the Kings of Castile. The King Don Henry shewed himselfe tractable, by reason of the indisposition of his person; who being the rest of his daies ill disposed, purchased the surname of Sickly, and made him to desire peace with his neighbours, and to hate warre. The friendship and familiaritie of these two Princes was very great, and continued long, visiting one another by ambassages, and sending presents, striving who should be more stately and bountifull: and King B Mahomet desiring on a time to make demonstration of his loue to the king D. Henry, sending him rich presents, hee gaue the charge of the ambassage to one of his wiues, the which gaue great content to the king of Castile.

But to returne to this king Don Henry, after that he had subdued the Princes of his bloud, and their confederates, who contemning his youth, and thrust on by ambition, had troubled his Realme, he beganne to be sickely, and vnfit for the actions of warre, and the causes whereof by the singular grace of God ceased. Hee had a great care of Iustice, and to ease his subiects, and being in that estate hee fought all meanes to maintaine his reputation and authoritie, fearing nothing more then to be contemned of his seruants, to C whome he sometimes seemed seuer and rigorous, and sometimes was content onely to terrifie them: Whereof they produce this example. The king on a time hauing hunted late in an vnknowne countrie, and ill followed, recouered his lodging, being readie to sit downe to his supper, hauing a very good stomacke, he found it ill prepared, so as hee began to grow in choller with the clark of his kitchen, saying, that hee was negligent, and that he would punish him. The clark who (it may be) sought for this occasion, excused himselfe vpon the small meanes which were appointed him by his Counsellors to furnish his table: so as, sayd he, besides the assignation which is very short, I recouer it with such difficultie, as I am forced to pawne mine owne, to supply it: wherewith the king was D very sad, taking it for a great argument of the small esteeme the Noblemen that ruled, made of him, by this dishonest sparing for a kings table, into whose coffers there entered of yearly reuenue 70. millions of Marauidis, if Writers do not erre. And therefore he beganne to studie, how he might make them know it, giuing to his Clarke one of his robes, called at that time Balandrawas, the which hee pawned for two shouldres of mutton; with the which, and some Quails which they had taken, the king supped, being serued by the Clarke.

Being returned to Burgos, he dissembled that which he had in his heart, and watched an opportunitie to be reuenged. Hee was aduertised that the chiefe Noblemen of his trayne and Councell, holding the greatest dignities in the Realme of Castile, the Prelats, the Masters of knightly Orders, the Duke of Medina Celi, D. Ray Lopes of Aualos, Don E Iohn and D. Diego Hurtado of Mendoza, Diego Lopes of Estuniga, Iohn of Velasco, Gomes Munrique, Peter Alfan of Ribera, and others hauing gouernements in the chiefe Prouinces, should meet together one night at a stately and sumptuous banquet: wherefore hee found meanes to enter disguised, to see their cheare, and heare their discourse: where hee saw all things furnished in great abundance, and with more then royall state, where there wanted not any thing that might please the appetite, and as for their discourse and table-talk, it was nothing but of the great and bounteous pension they drew from the King, of the profits and commodities of their Offices and Gouernements, gifts, presents, honours, fauours, and such like, which makes the Courtiers paradise. The King hauing observed all this, being returned vnto his lodging, hee secretly in the night, drew in F his Guards, and many other souldiers: and when it was day, he sent for all these Noblemen of the Banquet, to come vnto his Pallace, to be witnesses to the Will which hee would make, who flocking thither with all expedition, they stayed in the great Hall, vntill it was past noone.

In the end the king came forth with a naked sword in his hand, setting him downe in

A in his chaire, and then presently the hall was full of his armed guards, so as the Noblemen were amazed at this vnaccustomed ceremonie. The king addressing his speech to the Arch-bishop of Toledo, asked him, how many kings of Castile he had seene: he answered, that he had seene foure; which were the king D. Pedro, D. Henry his grandfather, D. Iohn his father, and himselfe. The like demand the king made vnto the rest, and euery one answered as he had seene, according to their ages, some three, some foure, and some five. How can it then be, sayd the king, that I who am younger then any of you, can brag to haue seene about twenty: The Noblemen replied, that they knew not what hee meant thereby; for naturally with his corporall eyes he could not haue seene so many kings. Yes, truly, sayd the king, I haue seene them, and all you here present are those kings, who dis- C pose of my Realme, and manage my rents and reuenues at your pleasures. I am king but in name, and as a shade, but you are the bodie and the effect, wasting my goods to my dishonor, and the contempt of my authoritie. I haue seene, I haue seene the pompe and abundance you liue in at my charge, and haue vnderstood how you intreat my subiects, and abuse the power which I giue you in your estates and gouernments: but you shal not liue vnpunished, I haue conuicted you all by your owne confessions and brags, and iudge you all to die, like bad and trecherous vassals. This speech being ended, the Ministers of iustice appeared, & among them the executioner of the court, carrying an axe and cords, the which did much amaze all the Noblemen, thinking verily, that they should lose their heads: seeing themselves compassed in his guards, and considering that they had to do with a young king, who for want of iudgement might giue way to his choller, and re- C uenge his wrong without regard to the consequence. Being thus amazed, looking one vpon another, and not knowing what to answer, the Archbishop of Toledo tooke courage to speake vnto the king, who kneeling downe, told him, that so seuer a sentence was happily more iust then honourable for a young Prince, or profitable for the realme of Castile, which for euer would feele the losse of so many great and worthie men, both for counsel and armes, as he meant to put to death, for that they had committed some faults which are common to all that liue with kings, and are bred vp in great charges of realmes. Moreouer, it was not reasonable to take that for a confession to conuict one, which is spoken at banquets, and in wine, where men do vsually talke, and bragge, and oftentimes D without truth, yet he spake not these things to iustifie himselfe, or any of his companions nor to contend against his clemencie, as being free from offence, the which they would rather implore and trie, demanding with all humilitie, the liues of all these offenders, and his pardon, adding many other reasons, the which were allowed by the king, for he desired an occasion to pardon them, yet he would haue them yceld vp all the forts which they had in guard, and he condemned them in pecuniarie synes, so as he drew from them a- boue an hundred and fifty millions of marauidis, for the exactions and concussions done vpon his people, and the kings money: keeping them two moneths in the castle of Bur- gos, vntill the full payment and execution of these things.

E If he were moderate in this act of iustice, hee vsed greater rigour at Seuille, where all was full of partialities, proceeding from the diuisions and quarrels which his tutor had bred, which the Magistrates and kings officers could not suppress. Being declared of full age, he went thither and caused the Earle of Niebla, Peter Ponce of Leon, and other heads and chief authors of these seditions to be put in prison; and hauing examined euery mans actions, he banished some, others he condemned in great synes, and losse of their offices, and caused many to be hanged, or lose their heads: so as there were about a thousand persons intangled in these punishments and executions of iustice: one of the chiefe ministers whereof, was Doctor Iohn Alphonso of Toro, to whom the gouernement of Seuille was giuen for matters of iustice: and the more to countenance him, the king stayed there ma- ny daies.

F This king gaue many other testimonies of his loue to iustice: he gaue audience to all suitors indifferently, three daies in the weeke, he heard all the complaints of his subiects, and provided for them: he could discerne of men of iudgement, which were fit for coun- cell, and the gouernment of the commonwealth. The most esteemed, and of greatest au- thoritie about him, were Don Pedro Tenorio, Arch-bishop of Toledo, Friar Iohn Henri- ques,

*Executions  
at Seuille.*

Election of  
many men  
to make a  
great effort.

4  
Doctor Pablo, a  
Jew, learned,  
and of a good  
life.

Doctor Pablo's  
children all  
learned.

Counsel of a  
Jew against  
Jews.

ques, and Friar *Fernando* of Illeſca, with the Cardinall *D. Pedro* of Frias Biſhop of Olma, A  
and theſe for the Clergie: of Knights he made great eſteeme of *Don Laurence Suarez* of  
*Figuerola*, Maſter of Saint Iames, *Gonſales Nugnes* of Guzman, Maſter of Calatraua,  
*Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, high Admirall of Caſtile, *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, his Lord  
Chamberlaine, and afterwards Conſtable, *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga chiefe Juſtice, *Peter*  
*Lopes* of Ayala, a knight of great learning, who came to be Lord Chancelour, *John Pe-*  
*laſco* a Chamberlaine, and other knights of his Councell, which conſiſted of ſixteen graue  
perſonages. Among others, that were very deare vnto him, there was a Doctour, a Jew  
by ſect, borne at Burgos, who afterwards imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, called *Don*  
*Pablo*, who for his learning and good life, was in time choſen Biſhop of Carthagea, and  
in the end obtained the Biſhopricke of Burgos. He had many times oppugned the Chri-  
ſtian Religion, as a Jew Rabin, and Maſter in the Iewiſh Law, but hauing receiued in gift  
of a Chriſtian Doctour, the booke of Saint *Thomas Aquinas* intituled *de Legibus*, he read  
it diligently, and was ſo moued with the reaſons thereof, as he left his Iewiſh religion,  
the which is not ſtrange, ſay the Diuines of Spaine: for he that knowes not Saint *Thomas*  
knoweth not any thing, and he that knoweth him, knowes all things. This Prelate who  
was a great Preacher, a great Philoſopher, wiſe and iudicious in matters of State, and of  
the kings Councell, wrote many bookes, whereof ſome are yet extant. Becing a Jew, he  
was married, and had three ſonnes all learned men, whereof the one was Deane of Sego-  
bia, and ſucceeded his father in the Biſhoppricke of Burgos, he was called *Don Alphonſo* C  
of Carthagea, from whence we haue the genealogie of the kings of Caſtile, written in  
Latine. *Don Gonſalo* another ſonne of *D. Pablo* was Biſhop of Palenca, a Prelat of great  
learning: and the third was *Aluar Garcia* of *S. Maria*, a learned man alſo, *D. Pablo* their  
father becing of the King *Don Henries* Councell, notwithstanding that he had bin a Jew,  
did aduiſe him and his ſucceſſors, not to receiue into their ſeruite, either of his houſholds  
Councell, or to any Offices of the Realm, any Jew, although he were conuerted, and that  
for ſome ſpeciall cauſes.

The King *Don Henry* being endowed with theſe good qualities beyond the Ordinary  
of young Princes, had alſo ſome blemiſhes, like other mortall men: for hee was noted to  
be ſparing, and deſirous to heape vp treaſure, and yet they ſay, that it was without the op-  
preſſion of his ſubiectes, the which is hard in a Prince: yet hee gaue many prouiſions and  
pentiſons to them that were neere to him in bloud, or allyed to him by affinitie: as to the  
Queene *D. Beatrix*, his mother-in law, whome he maintained in the eſtate of a Queene,  
and to *Don Fernan* his brother, who ſhewed himſelfe alwaies obedient to his will. His  
countries becing in peace, he gaue himſelfe to repaire and fortiſie the frontier places, and  
did build a new caſtle of Carthagea. As for religious buildings, the church, and con-  
uent of the Carthuſians at Burgos, called *Mireſteurs*, are his worke: he was a great fau-  
orer of the Franciſcans, to whome Queene *Katherine* his wife, had a particular deuotion,  
who was a Ladie of great pietie, according to the inſtruction of that time, bountifull,  
maieſticall, wiſe, and diſcreet in her words, yet ſuperfluous in her manner of liuing, and  
louing wine, whereby in her latter dayes the fell into a palſey. E

The Kings infirmities which began at the age of ſeuenteene yeares, did in time ſo vnder-  
mine him, being incurable, as he became drie and leane, ſo as the proportion of his body  
was changed, and he ſeemed another man, then formerly he had beene: moreover, he was  
ſo ſad and melancholicke, as moſt commonly he was alone, and would not admit of any  
company. Yet he was alwaies carefull of the gouernement of the Realme. He alwaies en-  
tertayned Ambaſſadours in Princes Courts, as well Chriſtians as Mahumetiſts, by whom  
he was aduerted what was done in forraine countries, their manners, and manner of go-  
uernements: a thing moſt profitable for him that ſends them, but not for them that re-  
ceiue them: for by Ambaſſadours which are reſident, the Councels and actions of Princes  
are diſcouered, to the great preiudice of their eſtates. Two of his Ambaſſadours ſent into  
the Eaſt, the which were *Pelayo* of Soto maior, and *Fernando Pelafuel*, fell into the hands  
of *Tamberlaine*, Emperour of the Tartarians, after the defeat of *Batazet*; who intreated  
them graciouſly, and ſent them backe into Spaine with an Ambaſſador of his, to demand  
friendſhip of king *Henry*.

During

Ambaſſadors  
diſcouer the  
councils and  
actions of Prin-  
ces.

A During his raigne, in the yeare 1397, the order of the Knights of the Calatraua, in ſteed  
of a blacke hood which they had worne vntill that time, tooke for their marke a red ſquare  
croſſe, which they carry at this day, the which was done by the Bull of Pope *Bene-*  
*dixt* of Auignon, at the inſtance of *Don Gonſal Nugnes* of Guzman, maſter of the  
Calatraua.

5  
Red croſſe the  
marke of the  
Order of Calat-  
raua.

The realme of Caſtile being at peace with all men it was ingaged in new troubles by  
*Don John* King of Portugall, for that the Articles of the truce, concluded betwixt their  
Ambaſſadors for ſixteene yeares, had not beene ſigned and ſworne by certain Noble men  
of Caſtile, as had beene agreed: with other light occaſions, which drew him to field, be-  
ing yet proud of his former victories, and contemning the youth and infirmity of King

6  
Portugal.

*Henry* his aduerſary, wherefore he ſuddenly brought his army before Badajos, which towne  
hee tooke, and the Maſhall *Don Garcil Guttiere* of Herrera in it: whereat the King *Don*  
*Henry* was much incenſed, and ſpeedily prouided for all things neceſſary, to ſuppreſſe the  
boldneſſe of this Portugall King, both by ſea and land. One of the moſt remarkable ex-  
ploits of this warre, which continued three yeares, was the incounter of ſiue Caſtillan  
gallies with ſeaunen of Portugall, coming from Genoa, laden with armes and ſouldiers:  
the fight hauing continued very ſharpe ſome houres, in the end foure of the gallies of  
Portugall were taken, one broken and the reſt put to flight. In this incounter the Portu-  
galls loſt about ſiue hundred men, beſides the armes and equipage of their gallies, the  
which were drawne to *St. Lucar*. Many noble men of Portugall at that time left King  
*John*, and retired into Caſtile, where they were entertained, and had lands and houſes  
giuen them by the King *D. Henry*. Among others *Martin Vaſques* of Acugna, and his bre-  
thren *Giles Vaſques* and *Lopes Vaſques* came alſo with an hundred lances, *John Fernandes*  
and *Lopes Fernandes Pachecos* bretheren, *Aluar Gonſales Camelo* Prior of *S. John*, with ma-  
ny others. The king of Portugal entring by Galicia, he tooke from king *Henry* the town  
of Tuy, and towards extremadura he layd ſeege before Alcantara, to whoſe ſuccour  
was ſent *D. Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, then made Conſtable of Caſtile, in the place of the  
Earle of Tranſamara, who raiſed the ſeege, and entring into Portugal, ſpoiled and burnt  
the countrie, and tooke Pegna maior, a place of ſtrength, by force. On the other ſide, the  
D towne of Miranda of Duego was beſieged by King *Henries* captaines, who preſt it in ſuch  
fort as it yeelded. After ſome courſes and prizes made at ſea by the Admirall of Caſtile,  
the truce was renewed betwixt the two kings, and was ſo entertayned, as it was the laſt war  
which the Portugals had with Caſtile vntill our daies, ſo as theſe two Princes gouerned  
their Eſtates in peace and quietneſſe the remainder of their liues.

Victory of the  
Caſtillians at ſea

In Arragon whileſt they contended for the right of the ſucceſſion againſt *Mathew* of  
Caſtelbon Earle of Foix, and his wife *D. Iſeane* eldeſt daughter to the deceaſed king *D. John*  
as we haue ſayd: *D. Maria* wife to the *D. of Momblanc*, being abſent in Sicily, took vpon  
her the title of Queene, by the aduice of the counsell of Cattelogne, in the city of Barce-  
lona, where there aſſiſted *D. Inigo Valterra*, Archb. of Tarragona, *Bernard* of Pinos, *Hugh*  
*Angleſole*, Roger of Moncade Viceroy of Sardinia, *Michel Gurrea*, *Francis* of Aranda, *Whe-*  
E was held the wiſeſt of his time, *Bernard Michel*, *William Puſade*, *Gerard Paliol*, and *Bernard*  
*Zatrille*. Theſe were of opinion that the Regencie of the realme ſhould bee put into the  
hands of *D. Maria*, vntill her husbands coming, to whom they had ſent *D. Hugh* of Bage,  
Biſhop of Tortoſa, *John Foulq* ſon to the Earle of Cardona, *Emanuel Ragiaſel*, *Raymond*  
*Zauaſ*, a Citizen of Barcelonet, and *Peter Grimald* of Perpignan, Ambaſſadors, to giue  
him notice of his election, and to haſten his returne. The widow Queene *Piolant*, was in  
the meane time accompanied by foure of the chiefe Ladies by order from the Councell,  
the which did neuer abandon her, and ſhould haue a care of her deliuey, for that the ſaid  
ſhe was with child. And for that many men of ſtate, and others hauing had charges & of-  
fices in the time of the deceaſed King, had abuſed them, their actions were now called in-  
to queſtion during this Interegne, and ſome of them were committed at Barcelona. The  
Will of the deceaſed King, beeing opened in the Aſſembly of Cattelogne, they found  
that the ſame Duke of Momblanc, to whom the peoples fauour inclined, was there na-  
med heyre and ſucceſſor to the Crowne, in caſe the King *Don John* dyed without iſſue  
male, the which was ſignified to the Counteſſe of Foix.

7  
Arragon.

Francis of A-  
randa a wife  
man.

Officers called  
into queſtion.

As

At the Estates assembled at Sarragossa, to giue order that the realme should receiue no A  
losse in the absence of the king D. Martin, these chiefe men were present:

D. Garci Fernandes of Heredia, Arch<sup>b</sup>ishop of Sarragossa.

D. John Martines Murillo, Abbot of Montarragon.

D. Pedro Fernandes of Ixar.

D. William, and Raymond Allamans Ceuillon.

D. Pedro Ruis Morio, for the great Prior of Amposta.

The Prior of Rota.

The Abbot of S. Fides.

D. Pedro of Ladron, Vicount of Villanoua.

D. Lopes Ximenes of Vireca.

D. Fermand Lopes of Luna.

D. John Martines of Luna.

D. Alphonso Fernandes of Ixar.

D. Pedro Fernandes Vergua.

D. Francis of Allagon.

D. Pedro Ximenes of Vireca, son to D. Lope.

The Attorneys of D. Lewis Cornel, of D. Arsal of Allagon, of D. John Ximenes of Vireca Atrasillo, of D. Pedro Galcerand of Castro, and of D. Anthony of Luna. Moreover, John Ximenes de la Cerde, Iustice Maior of Arragon, with many other Noblemen, knights  
and Deputies of towns and commonalties, who without regard to the demands and protestations of Mathew Earle of Foix, and D. Jeanne his wife, confirmed the Duke of Monblanc testamentarie heire of the Realme, disannulling the conuentions made by the  
deceased king D. Pedro, grandfather to D. Jeanne, at the treatie of her marriage with the  
Earle of Foix, by the which it was sayd, that if Don John her father dyed without issue  
male, she should inherit the Realme: whereupon Mathew Earle of Foix sought to obtaine his right by armes, seeing that iustice was denied him. And hauing employed the  
ayde of the Earle of Armaignac, of John Duke of Berry, the French kings vncl, and of other Noblemen of France, he passed with a thousand men at armes, and three thousand  
light horsemen, from the Vicountie of Castelbon, beyond the Pyrenes, and by the valley  
of Ferriere at Villemur, he tooke Camaraça, and marched as farre as Lerida, where hee  
spoyle the country: against whome the Estates did chose Don Pedro of Vrgell for General. And for that it was suspected that D. John Earle of Ampurias, had fauoured these  
French troupes at the passage of the mountaines, he was committed to prison, but soone  
after deliuered, hauing made prooffe of his innocencie. Although the Earle of Foix did  
much annoy the Arragonois, yet the greatest losse fell vpon himselfe, for being too  
weake a partie to incounter the power of Arragon, he did nothing but spend his estate,  
ingage himselfe, and strue for nothing, his army being forced to rise from before Barbastro, and to retire for want of victuals and other discommodities towards Huesca, and  
then to passe by Caparosso belonging vnto Nauarre, into Bearne, on this side the mountaines, after which hee neuer made any memorable attempt. The king D. Martin, notwithstanding all the importunitie of the Arragonois, was not resolu'd to leaue Sicile, vntill he had seene his sonne peacefull king of the Iland, the which he effected after a long  
and tedious warre, by the ruine of the noble families of Clairmont and Alagon, and of other rebels, whereof Andrew of Clairmont Duke of Modica was beheaded at Palermo,  
after which Arsal of Alagon was expelled Sicile, with all his family, by vertue of whose  
Predecessors, that Realme had bene in a manner conquered for the house of Arragon.

Articles of marriage bro-  
ken by the  
Estates to the  
prouidence of  
the Earle of  
Foix.

Andrew of  
Clairmont be-  
headed at  
Palermo.

D. Martin

D. Martin the first of that name, and 15.  
King of Arragon.

Matters beeing thus brought to passe, D. Martin elect King of Arragon, leauing with the King his sonne, called also D. Martin, and his wife Marie, William of Moncado, Marquis of Malta, chiefe Iustice and Constable of the Realme, Peter Serra Bishop of Cattranea, Francis Zagarriga, Hugh Santapaz, and other Cattelans and Arragonois, for  
L Counsellors, he sayled towards the Island of Sardinia, where he was visited by the Noblemen holding his partie, as well of that Island as of Corsica, whereas the Earle of Cinerche and others of the familie of Istria, and of that of Rocca, held many townes and castles at his deuotion. From thence the King past into Prouence, where he did visit Pope Benedict in Auignon, receiuing a rose from him on Palme Sunday, hauing done him homage for the Islands of Sardinia and Corsica: then continuing his voyage, hee arriued in Cattelogne in the beginning of Maie, in the yeare 1397. At his entrie into the countrie, hee found a stately ambassage, where were the chiefe Noblemen of Arragon, and deputies of the cite of Sarragossa, who intreated him, that without any stay he should goe vnto the  
C Estates assembled at Sarragossa, and that he would not deale in any affaires of the realme, vntill (according to the auncient custome) hee had taken and receiued their othes, the which seemed something strange vnto the King: yet he answered these ambassadors graciously, that being tired with so long a voyage, he had need of rest: wherefore after some little staie at Barcelona, hee would come presently to Sarragossa: notwithstanding after his entrie into Barcelona, which was very stately, sitting in his tribunall, hee pronounced a sentence against Mathew Earle of Foix, and D. Joanne his wife, beeing his neece, by the which he declared them rebels, and guilty of high treason, and fallen from all their rights: he did confiscate the Vicontie of Castelbon, and other lands held by them in the realme of Arragon and Cattelogne, adiudging them vnto the crowne. Moreover, hee sent from thence shippes and souldiers into Sardinia and Sicile, sending backe D. Roger of Moncado into his gouernment of Sardinia, and D. Pedro of Bage into Sicile. After which, hee went to Sarragossa to the Estates about the end of October. The King presiding in this assembly, did much commend the vertue, fidelitie, and valour of the Arragonois, seeking by good words to make them tractable and well-affected to him and his children: for alter the oath taken by him for the obseruation of the rights and priuiledges of Arragon and other Prouinces, and reciprocally by them, he intreated the Estates to acknowledge his sonne D. Martin King of Sicile, beeing absent, for lawfull heire of that crowne after him, the which was willingly done, the King of Siciles ambassadors hauing promised an vnion of the two realmes for euer, and to cause the King their master to ratifie it, and to take the oathes accustomed in such acts. There was giuen vnto the King at these Estates 130000 florins of gold to pay his debts, and 30000 for his expences. During the assembly, there was some tumult of warre in the Mountains, there being entred by the pace of Sarazal some of the Earle of Foix troupes, who tooke and sackt Thermes: but without any other exploit they returned. In the meane time Mathew of Castelbon Earle of Foix dyed without any children, being in the yeare 1398, whereby D. Martin remayned peaceable King of Arragon, who settled himselfe, and disposed of his affaires according to his desire.

Sentence as  
against the earle  
of Foix.

Death of the  
Earle of Foix.

First of all knowing that the wisdom of a Prince consists chiefly in knowing wel how to chuse men of valour, whose seruice he must vse in the gouernment of his Estate, he laboured to draw vnto him, by his bountie and fauour, the hearts and affections of those which he knew to be such: namely, he gratified D. Alphonso of Arragon much, and honored him with the Duchie of Gandia; he made D. James of Prade Constable of Arragon, and to many other Noblemen and knights, hee gaue gifts and priuiledges: hee restored Archambaud of Graille, who had bene heire in the right of succession to the Earledome of Foix by reason of his wife, sister to the deceased Mathew of Castelbon,

Wisdom necessary in a  
Prince to chuse  
men of valour.

to the lands which he had forfeited: yet he made but a bare recompence to his Neece the Countesse of Foix, who retired her selfe to Valencia, with 3000. florens of yearly pension, for her whole entertainment, where she ended her dayes. He married his other neece D. Violant to Lewis Duke of Anjou, chosen king of Naples, to whom hee gaue 160000. florens in dowrie, so as the should renounce all rights and pretensions which shee might haue to the Crowne of Arragon, and other lands of the deceased king D. John her father, adding afterwards to this bond, an allyance which he made with Nauarre, to be the better assured of the French. And not to forget the workes of pietie, couered with the vale of religion, seeing Pope Benedict greatly molested in Auignon, although it were by the practices of the French king, he sent an armie by sea, to assist him, and if need were to carrie him away, the euent whereof was miserable: for being come vnto the mouth of the riuer of Rhosne about December, in the heart of a very sharpe winter, the gallies not being able to go vp the riuer, by reason the water was low, most of the slaues, mariners and soldiers dyed for cold.

Statues sent by  
the Pope into  
Arragon.

The fauour which the king of Arragon did shew vnto the Pope, did so far auayle him, as it made the French king forbear for a time to oppose himselfe: to acknowledge the which, and in his loue to his country, he sent into Arragon foure statues of siluer and gilt and enriched with stones, the which were kept in the city of Sarragossa, and therein were inclosed the reliques of Valerius, Lawrence, Vincent and Euerastia, reputed by the Sarragossians for Saints, patrons and protectors.

Thus the king D. Martin sought in the first yeares of his raigne, to content the world by his humane wisdom, and to purchase the fame of a politicke and religious Prince: notwithstanding as humane wisdom failes most commonly, he could not keepe such a meane, but in gratifying some, he discontented others, yea the Arragonois themselves: for the Realme being often in combustion, by reason of the old quarrels betwixt the houses of Luna, Virea, and Gurrea, and especially during the interregne many of these factions presumed to go to field, and did rob and spoile euen to the towne gates: whereupon the king raised some troupes to suppress these theues, giuing the charge thereof to Don Alphonse, sonne to D. Alphonse of Arragon Duke of Candia, making him as it were Governour of the realme, and his Lieutenant generall: a great dignity, which was presently impugned by the Noblemen of Arragon, moued through enuy, alledging, that that charge ought not to be giuen according to their ancient customes, but to one that was borne in Arragon: wherefore they appealed before the Iustice maior, being an attempt against their liberties and freedoms: so thinking to preuent a mischief, hee augmented it for the Realme was presently full of armes, which hee was forced to remedy with great difficulties and seuerer meanes, it may be vnworthie of his royall Maiestie.

Troubles in  
Arragon.

Castille.

The Schisme which was in the church of Rome, did somewhat trouble Spaine: yet by the wise counsell of Princes, all past without any great akeration. The French king did greatly sollicite him of Castile to ioyne with him, to force Pope Benedict of Auignon to submit himselfe to a compromise treated by the Princes, and according to the protestation of the Cardinalls which had chosen him, to leaue his dignitie, vntill it had bene determined who should be Pope, and head in the church of Rome. For the which the king D. Henry hauing called a great assembly at Salamanca of Prelats and Doctors, both Dominians and Canonists, in the end he yeelded after many difficulties: whereof D. Martin K. of Arragon being aduertised, he was wonderfully moued: for he did much support Pope Benedict, a Cattelane by nation, and therefore sent to Salamanca before the kings departure, his ambassadours were Vidal of Blagues, and Raymond of France, to complain of this vnion which the king of Castile had made with him of France, without communicating any thing vnto him: to whom an answer was made in friendly tearmes, which did satisfie them.

In the assembly of Salamanca it was aduised, that the two Popes should reuoke all the proceedings made one against another, and should haue an interview in some place of assurance, where they should denife betwixt themselves how to free the church of this Schisme, the which they should declare within a certaine time: and during the delay they should giue a certaine pastor vnto the church, but if they could not, or would not agree, that

A that then they should both giue ouer their pretended dignities: but this aduice was of no force, for D. Pedro de Luna, or Pope Benedict, would by no meanes leaue it, saying, that he would hold his Popedom, whereupon he was much afflicted by the French, yet by the meanes of the king Don Henry, he had some rest for a time, and the French king seemed neither to acknowledge, nor obey him, the which continued not long.

At that time there sprung vp a Sect of white coates: their author was a Priest of the mountaines of Sauoy. They were men moued with deuotion, who began to runne ouer Italy, as it were in procession, attired in white shirts, and wearing their haire long ouer their faces, demanding pardon of God, and mercie for their sinnes, with great and lamentable cries: and moreover in going they sung Hymnes, as that which begins, *Stabat mater dolorosa*, and other such suffrages. Their troupe in the beginning being but small, they grew to so great a number, there ioyning with them at all the townes where they past, men, women, children, Clergi-men, secular men, Gentlemen, peasants, poore and rich, so as they were forced to diuide themselves into bands, which sometimes were not lesse then ten, twelue, or fifteen thousand persons, which made many Princes and Potentates of Italy to suspect, that vnder a shew of religion they had some hidden enterprize to the prejudice of their Estates. The towne of Luca gaue them most credit. They ranne vntill that their captaine with a great multitude of his sectaries being come to Viterbo, Pope Boniface found meanes to draw him to Rome, where being examined of his intention, they found nothing in him but meere ignorance and superstition, whereby all the townes and families in Italy had bene troubled: many men leauing their houses, wiues, children, parents, with all publike and priuate affaires, to follow this poore ideot, who for all the paine he had taken, was by the Popes sentence condemned to the fire, who being burnt, euerie one retired to his home, and his followers were dispersed into diuers parts.

Beginning of  
the white coate

About the yeare 1399. died D. Pedro of Tenorio, Archb. of Toledo, being forrie hee could not attaine vnto the yeare 1400. to the end he might depart this world in the yeare of Iubile. The Spaniards speake much good of this Prelate: that he had bene employed during the raigne of three kings, in the weightiest affaires of Spain, with opinion to haue bene a wife and discreet Councillor, a learned man, and a louer of learned men: but he was wilfull, and that which he himselfe bragged of, not very liberall (for the great reuenues which he enioyed) especially to his kindred, who neuer receiued any aduancement from him, nor by his fauour, from the king of Castile. His house was ancient, issued from Galicia, but growne greater in Portugall: he himselfe was borne at Tauria, the sonne of a simple Gentleman, and but poore. He left many remembrances of him in his buildings in diuers parts of Spaine, as S. Martins bridge in the citie of Toledo, and the castle of S. Seruant towards the port called Alcantara, the Monasterie of S. Catherine of the Order of S. Jerome, and the Collegiall church of Chanoins in the towne of Talauera, the chappell where his bodie lyes in the great church at Toledo, and the cloyster thereof, a stately and royall worke. Besides these buildings, he repaired the castles of Canales, Alhamin and Almonacid. He caused a strong castle to be built neere vnto Alcala the royall, to serue for a refuge for Christian slaues, which escaped the Moores that were nere vnto the frontier, and ordayned a certaine rent for the entertainment of a wonderfull great lampe, the which should be a direction in the night for poore fugitiues, giuing light three great leagues round about. The towne of Villafrañca, the church and the bridge vpon Tayo, betwixt Talauera and Guadalupe, were his worke, it being called at this day, the Archbishops bridge. By the death of this Prelate, the sea of Toledo was void foure yeares, the Schisme in the Romish church being the cause thereof. In the meane time D. John Bishop of Siguencia had the gouernement of the Church, who gaue credit to the image of Saint Marie of Nieua, and beganne to build the Church thereof, the which was afterwards augmented by the Queene Donna Catherine. This image was found by one Peter, who for that cause was surnamed, Of good aduenture, who hauing found it, aduertised the bishop. It is much reuerenced by the Spaniards, who hold, that shee doth wonderfull and great miracles.

An. 1399.

Death of the  
Arch-bishop of  
Toledo.

Sea of Toledo  
void for foure  
yeares.

The yeare 1400. at what time the Iubile was, the Spaniards going about to set vp a great





Demond of  
King Henry of  
the first.

of a hundred millions of Marauidis then currant, paying to euery horseman twenty Marauidis a day, and to euery foote-man tenn. He therefore intreated the estates, to provide and contribute that summe freely and speedily, seeing it must be employed for the defence and safety of all Spaine. The estates were amazed at so great a charge at that season and besought the Infant to speake vnto the King for the moderating of the summe, seeing hee had to great a treasure lying at Segobia, whereof a small portion might ease the Estates. The Prelats and Clergy men about all others, made great difficulty for this contribution: the which in the ende the King, after conference with his Brother, and other his familiars, ordred in this manner.

Testament of  
the King D.  
Henry.

That the Estates should presently furnish fourty five Millions of Marauidis, which are valued at a Million of Crownes by the Authors of those times: and if the King should neede any more, hee might impose it without calling of the Estates. The condition to impose mony vpon the subiects without calling the States seemed hard, yet they all consented for that time, so as it might not be a president. Matters standing thus, the Kings infirmity increased in such sort, as foreseeing his approaching death, he made his will, and instituted for heire of his realmes his Sonne D. John, beeing but twenty two monethes old, leaving him for Tutors, vntill hee came to the age of fourteene yeares complete, the Queene D. Catherine his wife, and his brother the Duke of Pegnasel. And if his heire should die, hee did then substitute his daughter Catherine, and vnder the same tutors, to whome also he left the gouernment of his realmes.

Death of King  
Henry of Cas-  
tile.

His will was to be buried in the habit of Saint Francis, and that his Sonne should be bred vnder the discipline of Diego Lopes of Estuniga, chiefe iustice of Castille, of D. John Velaasco his Lord Chamberlaine and of D. Pablo Bishop of Carthage-na. Having thus disposed of his last will, hee died soone after. Some Authors say, that he was poysoned by a Phisition a Jew, the which was knowne afterwards by the confession of other Jewes that were prisoners, for other disorders committed in derision of the ceremonies vsed in the Christian Religion, and were executed at Segobia. The King D. Henry the third hauing rayned sixteen yeares and almost three months, dyed in the yeare 1406. in December, in the City of Toledo, being not much above twenty seauen yeares old: hee was interred in the Chappell of the last Kings in the Cathedrall Church there. The same yeare dyed Pope Innocent the seauenth at Rome hauing rayned two yeares, in whose place was chosen Angelo Carairo a Venetian, Patriarke of Constantinople, and Cardinall of Saint Marke, by thirteen Cardinalls of his faction, and was named Gregory the twelfth by whome the Schisme was contynued.

13  
Nauarre.

After the returne of the Queene D. Leonora to the King of Nauarre her husband, shee was deliuered of a Sonne in the city of Pampelone, who was called by his Fathers name, but heliued little. The peace of this realme was great vnder this King Charles, who liued very contentedly with his wife, after her returne, and made her Regent when hee past into France, which was in the yeare. 1397. for hee had many great affaires to decyde with King Charles the sixt, who detayned many places from him, which had bene seazed on in his fathers time, and had often sollicitied him in vaine by his Ambassadors to do him reason: wherefore hee was forced to goe in person. Before his departure, hee ordayned there should be payed towards the building of the great Church of Pampelone, ruined some yeares before, the fortieth pennie of all the reuenues of his realme, for twelve yeares, where-with it was built in the forme we now see it. Hereof there were letters given by this King at Saint John of Pie de Port this yeare 1397. in May. His voiage into France did benefit him little, for besides that the French King was not counsellled to yeld vp the places which he held, especially in Normandy; the friendshippe which the King of Nauarre had with the English, was suspect and odious vnto him, although this amity were not preiudiciall to the French, but rather a Neutrality (to the end they might liue in peace) then a league. Seeing therefore that hee was not wellcome, hee returned presently into Nauarre, from whence soone after he sent the Cardinall of Pampelone, who had retired himselfe into Nauarre, after that hee had endured many miseries in Auignon, for Pope Benedict.

Hee

A He vsed such dilligence and fit meanes, as he made the French King and his counsell willing to giue recompence to the King of Nauarre for his lands, wherefore he was constrained to repasse the Pyrenees againe. In the meane time died John of Montfort duke of Brittain, husband to Ioane, sister to this King Charles of Nauarre, who had by her husband foure children, John who was duke, Richard, Arthur and Gyles. This Princeesse was afterwards married to Henry of Lancaster King of England, fourth of that name, he who deperied his cousin Richard of the crowne: by him she had not any children. Charles King of Nauarre, hauing caused his sonne Charles to be sworne his heire by the Estates of his realme, he married D. Ioanne his eldest daughter to John the eldest sonne of Archambaud, who had succeeded in the county of Foix and Bearn, by the death of Mathew of Castelbon: his second daughter called Donna Maria died a Virgin: and as for the third, Mary Queene of Sicile, being a little before dead, who by her testament had left this realme to D. Martin her husband, sonne to D. Martin King of Arragon, he thought to make her Queene of Sicile, and to marry her to this young D. Martin being a widower. He therefore sent his Ambassadors to the King of Arragon to this effect, who was very well pleased, and yeelded to the marriage, although they had offered him many other matches for his sonne D. Martin King of Sicile, and that the Sicilians did what they could to make him incline to a marriage with Ioane sister to Ladislaus King of Naples. The accord was made betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Ambassadors both of Nauarre and Sicile (amongst which was Peter Serra, Cardinal of Cartanes) at a place called C. Alen in the Realme of Valencia, in the yeere of our Lord 1401. where it was concluded that the King of Nauarre should giue in dowry with his daughter a hundred thousand florins, of the stampe of Arragon: whereof forty thousand in hand, and threecore thousand at a certaine time, for the which he should giue in pawne the townes and castles of Arguedas, Santa Caro, Murillo, and Gallipienso: the King of Arragon should binde for her dowry the townes and castles of Sos, Saluaterra, Vncastillo and Ruefte. And for that they were somewhat allied by affinity, there should be a dispensation procured from Benedict. For confirmation and execution of these things, the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre had an enterview vpon the confines of their Realmes, betwixt Cortes and Mallen, where they did sweare what had bene concluded. With the King of Nauarre did sweare D. Lionel of Nauarre his brother, D. Charles of Beaumont chiefe Standard-bearer, D. Martin of Lacarra Marthal, D. Francis of Villa Espeza, Chancellor of the realme, John Ruys of Ayuar, superintendant of the treasure, and D. Martin of Olloqui prior of Saint Iohn with others: In like manner did many noblemen and prelates for the King of Arragon.

Marriage of  
D. Martin  
King of Sicile  
and D. Blanch  
of Nauarre.

This done the King of Arragon was conducted to Cortes, where hauing bene royally feasted by the King of Nauarre, the Infanta D. Blanch was deliuered vnto him, a Princeesse of excellent beauty, whom he led into his country, & hauing prepared a fleet at Valencia, he sent her into Sicile, to the King D. Martin his son vnder the charge of D. Martin of Cabrera, a Knight of Carrelogne, in 1402. This Lady was in the end Queene of Nauarre: for soone after the content of this marriage followed a discontent for the death of D. Lewis the second son to the King of Nauarre, being but sixe months old, and not long after that of D. Charles his eldest, which two Infants are buried in the Cathedral church at Pampelone, and D. Blanch suruiued her eldest sister D. Ioane. The crowne of Nauarre fell then to the succession of daughters, and the King caused D. Ioane his eldest daughter, to be againe sworne heire of the realme, with her husband D. John of Foix. This same yeere the Episcopall sea of Pampelone was voided, by the death of Cardinal Martin of Salua, bishop of that city, who had past the age of 66. yeeres, in great trouble and paine, to maintaine the party of Pope Benedict in Auignon. D. Michel of Salua his Nephew obtained the Bishoprike after him, who was afterwards made Cardinall by Pope Benedict, in following of whom he died two yeeres after at Monaco. The King of Nauarre being the third time called in France, his voiage was then more profitable vnto him, then at the precedent, for he obtained of king Charles the sixt the Lordship of Nemours the which was erected to a Dutchy, and moreouer twelve hundred pounds sterling of yeerely rent, to be taken out of the reuenues of Bry and Champagne, with a good

Death of the  
two sonnes of  
Nauarre.

Title of Earle  
of Euxeu  
cesseth in the  
house of Na-  
uarre, and take  
that of duke  
of Nemours.

good summe of ready money for all pretensions and rights, the which he renounced, seeing he could not doe otherwise: in respect whereof the title of Earle of Euxeu ceased in the house of Nauarre, taking that of Duke of Nemours.

The towne of Cherbourg in Normandy, being deliuered to the French: all letters and Marthal D. Martin *Henriques*, was by this accord deliuered to the French: all letters and expeditions being ended, the King D. Charles returned into Nauarre, an other way; for he past by Languedoc and Cartelogne, where he visited the King D. Martin at Lenida, with great content and pleasure to these two Princes allied. Passing from thence by Saragossa, he came into his country, where afterwards he gaue himselfe to building in many places, yea two sumptuous pallaces, one in Tafalla, the other in Olite, the which now fall to ruine, for want of reparations, especially that of Olite, where the Marshalls of Nauarre were accustomed to lodge: and the Spaniards say, that he had intent, to make a paved causey and couered, to passe at all times without discommodity, from one of these places to the other, being but a litle league distant. The bridge of Estella vpon the riuer of Ega, was this Kings worke, who for that he had liued in continuall peace, had store of treasure, to imploy in such buildings. During his aboad in France, there had bene some speech of marriage betwixt his youngest daughter D. *Beatrice* and D. *James* sonne to the Earle of Vrgel, of the bloud royall of Arragon, the which by reason of certaine lets,ooke no effect: wherefore the King being returned, he married her to *Lames* of Bourbon Earle of March, one of the goodliest and actiue Princes of his time. The marriage was celebrated in the city of Pampelone, in the yeere 1406. with great solemnity, and concourse of the nobility of Spaine and France, about the beginning of the warre of Granado, and a litle before the death of D. *Henry* King of Castile, the newes whereof were greuous to King *Charles*, a great friend and allie to the house of Castile.

### D. Iohn the second of that name, 18. King of Castile, 39. of Leon.

14  
Castile.

Factions in  
Castile after  
the Kings  
death.

The heat of the warre against the Moores was somewhat quenched by the death of King *Henry*, leaving his sonne and successor in his realmes, an Infant, in his swathing clothes, being but two and twenty monthes old. For it behoued to haue a speedy care of that which was necessary for the peace of the Realme, wherein the Queene D. *Catherine*, and the Infant D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnasfel, appointed Governours by the testament of the deceased King; imployed all their care: but they could not keepe the noblemen from entring into factions: and as the government of two is neuer firme, they were the first which diuided themselves. The prelates, noblemen and deputies of townes which were in court, assembled againe in Toledo: Some perswaded the Infant D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnasfel, to take vpon him the title of King, promising to maintain and defend him, alledging that it was no new thing in Spaine, when as the deceased Kings children were young and not fit to gouerne, or they left none but daughters, that the royall Scepter was put into the vnckles hands, or of some other Prince of the bloud, a man of fit age and endowed with wisdom, to gouerne the affaires of that realme: producing many examples of D. *Sancho* the fourth, who had bene receiued for King, and the children of his elder brother, being yet young reiectet, and of the King D. *Henry* his grandfather, who had reigned with the consent of the Spaniards, although he were a bastard, to the prejudice of D. *Constance* Dutchesse of Lancaster, being then eldest daughter to the King D. *Pedro*, with other examples more antient, as well of Castile as of the first Kings of Leon, either well or ill reported; That the vrgent affaires of the realme, and the warre of Granado which was begunne, required that he should reigne, and the troubles which he had lately seene in his brothers time, did aduertise him to prevent others, which were a breeding, if Castile should receiue an Infant of two and twenty monthes for King. The Infant D. *Fernand* was not well pleased with these perswasions, but the Constable D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, hauing in a publike assembly, required

openly,

A openly that they would raise him to the royall throne of Castile, being a plot laied among the noblemen, thinking that most voices would choose D. *Fernand*, he made an answer of rare example, and persifted therein; and to whom then said he belongs the realme, but to my Nephew D. *Iohn* sonne and onely heire to the King D. *Henry* my brother? Thus by this conscientious Prince, the crowne of Castile and Leon was preferred for the Infant, who was then at Segobia, with the Queene Donna *Catherine* his mother, whether the duke of Pegnasfel went, with the other noblemen, after the funerals of the deceased King. The breeding vp of the young King was left in the mothers charge, who made great instance against D. *Iohn* of Velasco, and *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, who demanded it, according vnto the fathers will, to stop whose mouthes, and to giue them some content there was presently giuen them twelue thousand florins of gold. The will being read, and an oth taken, the Queene and the Duke charged themselves with the gouernment of the King, swearing in the hands of D. *Iohn* of Illeica Bishop of Siguença, and promising the obseruation of the lawes, rights and preiudges of the realme, Prouinces and cities thereof: But within few daies the Queene and D. *Fernand* disagreed in their commands. The Queene being a woman was gouerned by an other woman of Cordoua, called *Leonora Lopes*, without whose aduice she did not any thing, no not that which was resolved in counsell; so as without the dukes great modesty and patience, the realme had bene full of seditions and great confusion. It was ordained that the King should haue three hundred launces for his gard, and the Duke two hundred, the which did much displease euery man of iudgement. And for that the souldiars which were vpon the frontier were not paid, and endured much, there was drawne out of the Kings cofers twenty millions of Marauidies, vpon condition it should be repaid out of the first of the Kings reuenues that should be receiued, or others that should be leauied.

Whilest they were attentue about these affaires at Segobia, the Marshal of Castile *Fernando Garcia* of Herrera, being in Lorca, entred into the country of Granado, to surprise some moores, who had their retreat at Vera, but for want of ladders he could not effect it. Some daies after he incountred with other troups neere vnto Xurena, where hauing defeated them, he entred into the towne, but he could not take the castle; wherefore the Christians retired, hearing that a great number of Moores came to charge them. These petty exploits did somewhat kindle the warre of Granado, wherein the Infant D. *Fernand* desired to imploy himselfe.

Difficulties increasing in Segobia, in respect of the government, it was thought fit Donna *Catherine* the Queene mother, and D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnasfel should diuide it betwixt them: so as the places remoat from all tumults of warre, and within the country, should be at the Queenes disposition; which were the dioceses of St. Iames, Tuy, Astorga, Ouedo, Leon, Zamora, Salamanca, Ciudad Roderigo, Auila, Segobia, Olma, Burgos and Calaoarra. And vnder the dukes charge, should remaine the Archbishoppries of Toledo and Seuille, and the Bishopries of Cuenca, Siguença, Carthagen, Caliz, Cordoua, Iacn, Badajos, Coria, Plaisance, Lugo, Mondonedo, Palence and Orense, with certaine conditions vpon the iudgement of suits, and other things.

The King of Granado hauing for his allies and assistants in this warre the petty Kings of Tunes and Tremessen, he caused his army to march towards Priego. And at the sametime the Duke of Pegnasfel went towards the frontier, and came to Seuille. There were many light incounters, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse: the towne of Zaara, the castle of Andiro, Priego, Cagnete, Las Cuevas and Ortexica were taken from the Moores. The strength of the Moores army was about Iacn, and yet they durst not giue bataille to the Christians, who went and camped before Septenil, hauing in their campe some peeces of ordinance, whereof the Spaniards were in those daies very vnskillfull, the inuention of that deuillish Engine being then new. At sea thirteene galleys of Castile did fight against three and twenty of the Moores, D. *Alphonso Henriques* being Admiral of Castile, who tooke eight of the enemies galleys, the rest soone perished, and some fled.

The sege of Septenil was long, during the which D. *Pedro* of Estuniga tooke Ayamont: and in the end through the valour of the Moores, which were within Septenil, they

The Infant  
D. *Fernand*  
suffeth the  
realme of Cas-  
tile.

Gouernment  
Castile diuided  
betwixt the  
Queene mo-  
ther and the  
Duke of Peg-  
nasfel.

15  
First use of  
Arillery in  
Spaine.

they were forced to raise the siege. The Moores after this retreat recovered Priego A and Las Cucuas, and burnt them: they attempted Cagnette, but they found it well manned.

The duke of Pegnafiell going from Seulle, had carried in this warre the sword of King *Fernand* furnished the holy, who tooke that city from the Moores, attributing some vertue and happinesse thereunto: and for that hee had promised to bring it backe, and leaue it in its place, hee did it at this returne, and then past into Castile, leauing good order vpon the frontier: this is all was done in the yeere of our Lord 1407. in the warre of Granado; at what time died Don *Pero Lopes* of Ayala great Chamberlaine of Castile, being threescore and fiftene yeeres of age, a Knight endowed with two principall qualities which adorne nobility, for besides his learning, which was great, he had made B prooffe of his valour in the two battailes of Nagera, betwixt the two Kings *D. Pedro* and *D. Henry* brethren, and in that of Aljubarote, betwixt *D. John* King of Castile and *D. John* of Portugal. He hath left in writing the History of Castile, of his time; a treatise of hunting, whereunto he was much giuen, and other Bookes.

An. 1407.  
Death of D.  
Pero Lopes of  
Ayala, valiant  
and learned  
Knight.

An. 1408.

The yeere 1408. being come, the Estates of Castile and Leon, assembled at Guadalajara, whether came the King, the Queene-mother and the Infanta. The duke of Pegnafiell came also, whereas the deputies of the Estates hauing had diuerse conferences touching the continuance of the warre of Granado, they agreed and offred money for the furnishing thereof, yet with some delaies and difficulties. *D. Pedro de Luna* Archbishop of Toledo, who had bene at this assembly, had led a young man of eightene yeeres of age C with him, whom he aduowed to be his kinsman, and was called *Aluaro de Luna*, whom he brought into the Kings house, and made him Page of the chamber, by the means of *Gomes Carrillo* the Kings Governour. He was held to be sonne of *Aluaro* of Luna, Lord of Cagnette, who was chiefe cup-bearer to the King *D. Henry*: but he who was held to be his father, did not avow him for his sonne, for he was borne of a dishonest woman, called *Mary* of Cagnette, who had bene common to others, and had brought them children: wherefore *Aluaro de Luna* did not thinke that this was his sonne, and for that he should not inherit his great possessions, hee found all in his life time, leauing to this child only eight hundred florins, and that at the intreaty of his friends. *Aluaro* the father being dead, the child retired to Auignon, to the court of Pope *Benedict*, where hauing remained some time, he came into Castile to the Archbishop, by whose meanes he was receiued into the Kings house, and in time grew so great, as he was made Constable of the realme, and yet it was not very successfull for him. His mother *Mary* of Cagnette, had also by a captaine of Cagnette, *D. John* of Crezuella, who was Bishop of Ojuna, and afterwards Archbishop of Seulle, and in the end of Toledo.

Exploits of  
warre betwixt  
the Castilians  
and Moores.

Treaty with  
the Moores.

Whilest they remained at Guadalajara, the King of Granado came to the siege of Alcaudete, hauing seven thousand horse and 26000. foote in his army: yet through the valour of *Martin Alphonso* of Montemajor and others, which were within the place, it was preferred. The Moores victuals were many times cut off by the garrisons of Andalusia, & many light victories gotten one of the other, whereas *Garcia Fernandes Manrique* captaine of Xeres, and *Fernand Rodriguez* of Vallezillo, who held Zahara, and *Fernand Arias* of Sahaedra, Governour of Cagnette, shewed themselves both valiant & vigilant, carrying great spoiles out of the Moores country, every one in his quarter. This warre being more difficult to the King of Granado then hee had esteemed, hee sent Ambassadors to the Governours at Guadalajara, to demand a truce, the which was graunted, against the will of *D. Fernand* Duke of Pegnafiell, who desired the warre should continue. Wherefore the Estates reduced the subuention which they had granted of threescore millions of maraudies, to fiftie and forty.

Joseph

## Joseph the thirteenth King of Granado.

Dying this cessation of armes, King *Mahumet Aben Balua* died, hauing put on a poisoned shirt, the twelfth yeere of his reigne, and of the Arabians the 791. in whose place came King *Joseph* his eldest brother, a little before put in prison in Salobregne, from whence he was drawne and led with great silence to Granado, to raigne ouer the Moores, being loath presently to divulge *Mahumets* death, for feare of the Christians enterprises. Seeing himselfe settled, he sent a messenger presently to *D. Alphonso Fernandes* Governour of Alcala the royal, aduertising him of his aduancement, and withall he sent vnto the King of Castile and to the Governours, a Moorish Knight called *Abdalla Alemin*, to let them vnderstand what had past, intreating them to reioyce at his good hap, and to continue the truce made with his predecessor *Mahumet*, the which the Queene mother, and the duke *D. Fernand* did confirme for the said time, and sent a Secretary to Granado to see it sworne. At his returne, he was accompanied with an other Ambassador, who had charge to present vnto the King of Castile, horses, twords, some peeces of veluet, rayfins, dried figs, almonds, and other presents, and to require a prolongation of the truce for two yeeres, but he obtained it not; for the Queene mother and the duke of Pegnafiell, would haue King *Joseph* acknowledge himselfe vassall to the King of Castile, whereof the Ambassador excused himselfe, saying that he had no charge to treat of any such matter: yet all acts of hostility ceased that yeere 1409. notwithstanding some tumult at Priego, the Moores contrary to their plighted faith, running vpon them which did repaire it: but this was peaceified and satisfied, with excuses from King *Joseph*, and the truce prolonged for fiftie monthes.

An. 1409.

The court being at Vailledolit, was then in some combustion, for that many imagining that *D. John Velasco* and *D. Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, did entertaine the Queene mother in quarrel with the duke of Pegnafiell, *D. Frederic* the young Earle of Transamara, sonne to *D. Pedro*, did presse him to punish them, offering to lay hold of them, if he pleased: whereof they hauing some intelligence, retired from court, whereat the Queene was much discontented, and was not quiet vntill she had caused them returne, hauing obtained a safe conduit from the duke *D. Fernand*. At Vailledolit there arrived Ambassadors from the French King, and from *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his brother, who offered the King of Castile and his Governours to come to the war against the Moores, with a thousand launces entertained: with them were Ambassadors from the Dukes of Austria and Luxemburg, making the like offers: and moreover the Duke of Orleans demanded Queene *Beatrix*, widow to King *John* the first to wife. There were great thanks giuen vnto them all, and the truce made with the new King of Granado made knowne vnto them. As for the marriage the widow Queene would giue no care vnto it, contenting herselfe to liue a widowes life, in her house of Villa real, from whence she did not part. The French Ambassadors confirmed the ancient league betwixt the houses of France and Castile.

At Vailledolit there was an assembly, in the which was ratified the marriage of the Infanta Donna *Maria* the Kings sister with her cousin Germain *D. Alphonso* eldest sonne to the Duke of Pegnafiell, to her was assigned for dowrie the Marquisate of Villena, Aranda and Portillo: and for an earnest penny of the marriage, there were thirty thousand doubloons of gold deliuered. This yeere *D. Laurence Suarez*, of Figueroa, master of Saint James being dead, there was substituted in his place *D. Henry* the third, sonne to the Infant *D. Fernand* Duke of Pegnafiell, notwithstanding all the labouring of *Garcia Hernandez*, Lord of Villagarcia, great Commander of Castile.

About that time there was set vp (as a most holy thing in Spaine) an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, found by a religious Frenchman, in the mountaine which is betwixt Salamanca, and Cité Roderigue, called *La Pegna* of France, where afterwards there was a Monastery

16.  
Marriage betwixt D. Alphonso eldest sonne to the Duke of Pegnafiell, and D. Maria the Kings sister.

monastery built, in honour of this Image, whereof the Spaniards report many Prodiges A and miracles, of the which they haue made whole bookes and treaties. This age was fertile (during the Schisme of the church) of sects and new monasticall institutions. For besides the reformation of the regular Chanoins of Saint *Augustin*, by the diligence of *Leon* of Carrate Prior of Frigionaja of Santa Maria in the fields of Luca; the Order of White Monkes of Mount Oliuet had its beginning neere vnto Siena, by *Bernard* and other Monkes of Siena, and that of Saint George of Alaga, by *Laurence Insulin* a Venetian otherwise called blue Celestins.

Three Popes at  
one time in the  
church of  
Rome.

The same yeere the Schisme in the church did produce a third head in the church of Rome: for many Princes hauing insisted much for the reuion of the church, that the B two Popes *Benedict* of Auignon, and *Gregory* of Rome, should meet at Sauona, and take some good course for the quiet of Christendome, these good fathers, zealous of their glory, did so contemne one another, as there was no meanes to draw them together: wherefore many Cardinals being disbanded, as well from the sea of Rome, as from that of Auignon, there was a councill celebrated by them at Pisa in Tuscany, by the which *Benedict* and *Gregory* being depofed from their papal dignity, *Peter Philarge*, a friar, borne in Candy, Archbishop of Milan, and Cardinal of the title of the twelve Apostles, was chosen, and named *Alexander* the fifth, who liued but tenne monthes: wherefore the Cardinals were forced to meet againe at Bolonia in Lombardy, whereas *Balthasar C* *Cosse* a Neapolitaine, Cardinal of the title of Saint Eustace, and Legat of Bolonia, was chosen, and named by them *John* the three and twentieth. This was a tripling of the Schisme, and confusion in the church of Rome: for the two first Popes did still hold their dignities, and had their followers, to the contempt one of another, namely Castile and Nauarre held for *Benedict* relying in Auignon, holding the other two for false Popes.

Arragon.

17  
Vvare in  
Sardynia.

About all others *D. Martin* King of Arragon did reuerence and support Pope *Benedict*, who at that time had many crosses both within and without his realme: for the King of Sicile his sonne, being young and gouerned by young men, had so discontented the Noblemen of the country, both Sicilians and Arragonois, as finding himselfe plunged againe in very great difficulties, the King his father was forced to send him succors both of gallies and souldiars, whereby in the end he became maister of all Sicile, but with great paine: and being better counselled he did gouerne it with more honour and authority, but not without continuall iealousie and distrust: Yet hee had meanes to imploy himselfe in the warre of Sardynia, and to preserue that Island to the crowne of Arragon: In the which *Brancalcon* of Oria, had made such attempts against the Arragonois, as they were in a manner ready to abandon it, hee hauing ioyned vnto his forces those of Americ Vicont of Narbone, who had married *Beatrice* sister to his wife *Leonora* of Arbozea; these two brothers in law, being strong and also fauored by the common-weale of Genoua, it was needfull to haue the forces of Sicile and Arragon vnited to suppress them. *D. Martin* King of Sicile came thether in person with tenne gallies, with a resolution not to leaue the Island, vntill he had wholly subdued it, whereof he did aduertise the King his father, who soone after sent *D. Pedro Torellia* into Sardynia with an hundred and fifty saile, which transported good numbers of foote and horse with many Noblemen and Knights of faine.

Viceroy of Valencia  
slaine  
by the treachery  
of his owne  
brother.

During this preparation *D. Raymond Boil*, Viceroy of Valencia, was murdered in Easter weeke, going out of the castle, whereof his owne brother was a practiser, whereof being conuicted, he lost his life, with the rest that had committed the murder. Within a while after there was a marriage in the same city, betwixt *D. James* of Arragon Earle of Vrgel, sonne to *D. Pedro*, and *D. Isabella* the Kings sister, and daughter to the deceased King *D. Pedro*, and of *Sibille* of Sforza, his last wife, an vnfortunate marriage, as we will see. And for that a son which *D. Martin* King of Arragon the grandfather, conceived vnto was dead about that time, *D. Martin* King of Arragon the grandfather, conceived vnto great a griefe, as retrying himselfe from all affaires, he shut himselfe vp in the Monastery of *Val de Christus*, which hee had caused to bee built, and left the whole charge of the warre of Sardynia to his sonne *Don Martin* King of Sicile, who (with the forces of

A of Arragon, led by *D. Pedro Torellia*) charged the enemies campe about Sauluri, and put them to rout with great slaughter, forcing the Vicont of Narbona to saue himselfe in Montreal: he tooke Sauluri and the castle, with the towne of Eglise, and laied siege to Oristagno, the chiefe fort of Brancalcon of Oria, and of the Sardinians rebelled: but the King being surprized with sickness in this fortunate victory, hee caused himselfe to be carried to Caillery, where he died, to the great griefe of all the Sicilians and Arragonois, and extreame sorrow of the King of Arragon his father, who liued not long after him. By his death without any lawfull children, the realme of Sicile fell to the King of Arragon, and was for euer after vnited to that crowne. *Blanche* of Nauarre, the widow Queen, remained Regent of the Island, by the will of the King her husband, confirmed by her father in law: A base sonne of his called *D. Frederic*, had for his portion the Earldome of Luna. At that time there grew great troubles in Arragon, whereof *D. James* Earle of Vrgel was the chiefe author, a turbulent Prince, who made no difficulty to challenge the crowne euen in the life time of the King *Don Martin*: and for that it was a tickle point, and did not succeed well, he aspired to the ordinary Regency, which was a dignity wherewith the eldest sonnes of Arragon, and the presumptiue heires, were wont to bee honoured, the which hee obtained, and was moreover made Constable: but vnderhand the King gaue order that he should not be receiued in his Regency, and caused an appeale to be made by the factions of *Vvrea*, *Hercidia* and other, before the C Iustice Major of Arragon.

Death of Don  
Martin King  
of Sicile.

Marriage of  
D. Martin  
King of Arra-  
gon & Donna  
Isabe of Prin-  
ces.

This was in the yeere 1409. when as the King desirous to see if he might haue a child to succeed him in his great Estates, married with *Donna Isabe* of Prades, or *Marguerite*, as some write, a faire young virgin of the blood royall, the which hastened his end: and in the meane time hee was much sollicit by *Lewis* duke of Aniou, who had married *Donna Violant*, daughter to *D. John* King of Arragon, and by the Duke of Pegnasel, borne of *Donna Leonora* of Arragon, daughter to the King *Don Pedro*, and sister to this King *D. Martin*, that he would declare his successor, the which he refused to doe, at their requests, but tired with their importunities, he was ready to name by his testament, for heire of the realmes of Arragon, Sicile and other lands, *Don Frederic de Luna*, bastard to his deceased sonne. This King being thus distracted with passions in his age, the affaires of Sicile and Sardynia were more troubled then before.

18  
Castille.

In the yeere 1410. beganne the warre in Castile against the Moores, the truce beeing expired, and the Moores army hauing surprized Zahara with great slaughter of the inhabitants and souldiars, and great spoile of them that remained. The Infant *Don Ferdinand* comming for this occasion to Cordoua, hee caused the ruines of Zahara to bee repaired, and went to beseege Antequera, hauing in his army tenne thousand foote and three thousand five hundred horse. Neere vnto the towne were two hills, the approaches whereof beeing kept, the army might bee safe from all attempts of the Moores, who were in field with five thousand horse and 80000. foote, led by *Cidi Ali* and *Cidi Amet* brethren to *Ioseph* King of Granado. These passages were garded, the lower part of the hill with fixe hundred Launces and two thousand foote vnder the command of *Don Sancho* of Rojas Bishop of Palenca, *Don Diego Fernandes* of Quignones Gouvernor of the Asturia's, *D. Aluar Peres* of Guzman, and *Don John Hurtado* of Mendoza. And at the other hill of harder access, being higher and easier to be kept, there were set foure hundred Launces and one thousand foote, commanded by *Don Martin Vasques*, *D. Fernand Peres* of Ayala, Gouvernor of Guipuscoa, *D. Raymond* of Guzman and *Iohn* of Soto Major great commander of Alcantara. The Duke of Pegnasel had caused many ladders to bee brought from Seuille, with other Engines of warre to assaile townes.

F The Moores beeing desirous for to raise the siege from before Antequera, came to assaile the Bishop of Palenca and his troupes in this passage of strength, from whence they were not onely repulst, but the skirmish growing very hot, in the end, beyond the Moores expectation, there was a great encounter, the Bishoppe beeing fortified with new bands, which came from the campe, so as the Moores fighting without order, and rather hindered then fauoured by their numbers of rascally footemen, they

M m m

they were forced to turne their backs with great losse; for authors write that there were above fiftene thousand of them slaine vpon the field, and onely twelue hundred Christians.

Defence of  
Christians  
neere to Mon-  
texicar.

After this victory the sege was continued, and the place battred by all meanes, the which in like manner was valiantly defended, where as the Christians lost more in the sallies of the beleeged, then they had done in the battaile. There died *Martin Ruiz* of *Abén Dagno*, of a poisoned arrow. On the other side three hundred christians home-men, going out of their garison of *Iaen*, were incountred, and cut in peeces by the Moores about *Montexicar*. But the Moores garison of *Archidona* within two leagues of *Antiquera*, were happely defeated by the Christians that were at the sege, for they did much annoy them, by their continuall courses, and cutting off their victualers and foragers that came to the campe. The riuier of *Gorza* was their common waiting place whether they could not go without a gard. The Christians being aduertised of an enterprise made vpon their men, hauing set a sentinell vpon an high eminent place, called the rocke of two Louers, they found themselves so strong, when as the Moores came to charge them, as they repulst them, and pursued them beating and killing euen vnto the gates of their fort: there were two thousand slaine vpon the field, and many carried away prisoners. The rocke of two Louers was so called from the deed of a Christian

Rocke of two  
Louers.

slauie, and his Maisters daughter being a Moore, whom he had perswaded to flie with him from *Granado*, to enioy their desired loues, and to liue freely together in *Castile*: they being pursued by her father, who was well accompanied, and ouertaken vpon this rocke, which is midde-way betwixt *Archidona* and *Antiquera*, after that they had long defended themselves against them that would take them, and seeing no meanes to escape, they cast themselves downe head-long from the top of the rocke, imbrasing one another, and so slue themselves. To diuert the sege of *Antiquera*, the Moores sent some to burne the Engines of battery that were before it with wilde fire, vnder colour of treating of a truce. The treason being descouered and punished, the Infant caused a trench to be cast and a rampart to be made round about the place, setting good gards, and then he pursued the sege, hauing fortified his army with the companies of *Seuile* and *Cordoua*, who haue alwaies done great seruice in these Moorish warres, the which kept King *Ioseph* for aduenturing of a battaile.

Antiquera  
taken.

The towne of *Antiquera* being prest with all violence, it was taken, there going first vnto the assault, the companies of *D. Garci Fernandes Manrique*, of *D. Charles* of *Arcilan* Lord of *Los Cameros*, and *Roderigo* of *Narbaez*. The first which died in fighting, was *Iuancho* a *Biscain*, and the first which entred were *Gutierre* of *Torres* and *Sancho* *Gonzales Cherino*. The castle did hold out eight daies longer, and then was yielded by the Moores, to haue their liues saued and their goods, who were safely conducted to *Archidona*. There entred into it, *Don Frederic* Earle of *Transtamara*, and the Bishop of *Palencia*: the garde of the towne and castle was given to *Roderigo* of *Narbaez*. In the meane time the Moores did forrage the territorie of *Alcala* the royall, and the Christians after the taking of *Antiquera*, did ouerrunne the country of *Aznal-mara*, *Cabecha* and *Yehar*, small rownes which were taken by force, through the wisdom and valour chiefly of the Constable *D. Ruy Lopes* of *Aualos*: after which exploits the Infant *Don Fernand* returned a victor to *Seuile*, where he had messengers from the King of *Granado*, soliciting him to make a truce, wherevnto hee yielded, being prest to attend the affaires of *Arragon*: wherefore there was a truce concluded betwixt *Castile* and *Granado* for seuentene monethes.

Truce with the  
King of Gra-  
nado.

19  
Arragon.

Wee haue before left *Don Martin* King of *Arragon*, being without children, to succeed him, importuned by many Princes, pretending to bee his heires, troubled with the seditions and rebellions of the *Sardynians* and *Sicilians*, being old and broken, and yet newly married to a young Princeesse, with hope to raise his house: But being the weake both in bodie and minde, griefe and care made the way to a pestilent feuer, the which seized on him this yecre 1410. in the Monastery of *Valdonzell*, neere to *Barcelona*, hauing reigned about 14. yecres, whose body was buried in the Monastery of *Poblete*.

There

A There was no will of his sount, or any heire instituted in his Realmes of *Arragon*, *Sicile* &c. The reason thereof was thought to bee for that hee knew not to which hee should incline amongst all the pretendants to that crowne, after his deceale. Wherefore the *Arragonois*, *Valentians*, *Cattelans* and *Sicilians* were in great perplexity, for *Don Fernand* Duke of *Pegnafiel* Infant of *Castile* pretended a right, being sonne to *Donna Leonora* of *Arragon*, sister to the two last Kings deceased: *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* hauing married *Donna Violant*, daughter to King *Iohn* the first, maintained the succession to belong to him: the like pretension had *Don James* Earle of *Vrgel*, hauing also married one of the daughters of the King *Don Pedro*: *Don Frederic* of *Arragon*, Earle of *Luna*, base sonne to *Martin* King of *Sicile*, put forth himselfe, and so did *Don Alphonso* Earle of *Gandia*: all these pretendants had their partisans within the Realme, and euery one tried all meanes, with great contention, and likely hood of sedition, to attaine vnto that which hee pretended, so as in these tumults *Don Anthony* of *Luna* slue *Don Garcia* Archbishop of *Saragossa* treacherously. To prevent which disorders in time, the Noblemen of the Realme agreed, that of the three Estates there should be nine men chosen, by whose Iudgement the Scepter of *Arragon* should bee giuen to him of the pretendants whom they should thinke most profitable for the common-weale. For *Arragon* there were named *Don Dominike* Bishop of *Huesca*, *Francis* of *Atanda* and *Don Berenger* of *Bardaxi* a great Lawier. For the principality of *Cattelog*, *D. Pedro Zagariga* Archbishop of *Tarragona*, *William* of *Vallesca* and *Bernard* of *Gualues*. And for the Realme of *Valencia* were chosen *Vincent Ferrer*, of the Order of the preaching friars, who was afterwards cannonized, his brother *Bonifacio Ferrer* a Lawier, a Monke of the Order of the *Carthusians*, and Maister *Peter Bertrand*, this last was substituted in the place of *Gines* of *Rabeca* who fell mad. These nine men being assembled in the castle of *Caspe* which is in *Arragon*, all those which pretended any right vnto the Realme, were summoned to exhibit their reasons before them, whereof some appeared personally, and others by their Ambassadors. In the meane time in *Castile* the Infant *D. Fernand*, for himselfe and the King his Nephew, caused this businesse to be consulted of by the learned of the country, who in the beginning were of opinion that both of them had an interest, and that they must frame an opposition before the Delegates, as well in the Kings name, being a pupill, as in his vncle and tutor *Don Fernand*; yet hauing better considred, or being otherwise perswaded, they gaue all the right of the succession, in the realme of *Arragon*, to the Infant *D. Fernand*, who for this cause deputed Ambassadors, the Bishop of *Palencia*, and *D. Diego Lopes* of *Estuniga*, chiefe Iustice of *Castile*, and Lord of *Bejar*, with Doctor *Pero Sanchez* of the Kings council, to send them into *Arragon*: and at the same time hee caused fiftene hundred launces to draw neere vnto the frontier of *Arragon*: hee and the Queene-mother with the young King comming to *Aillon*, a neere place to *Arragon*.

Princes pre-  
tending to the  
realme of Ar-  
ragon.

Murder of  
the Arch-bishop  
of Saragossa.

Nine arbitra-  
tors to chosse  
the King of  
Arragon.

D. Fernand  
with his right  
of his armie.

Whilest they are busie about these pursutes, the Duke of *Benauent* a prisoner in the castle of *Mont-real*, brake prison, and escaped, hauing slaine the captaine which had him in gard, whereof they being aduertised at court, they provided speedily for all the passages, especially towards *Portugal*, thinking that hee would bend that way: but hee went towards *Nauarre*, where hee was kindly entertained by the King *D. Charles*, and by the Queene *Donna Leonora* his sister: who notwithstanding hauing receiued letters from the Queene-mother, the Infant *Don Fernand*, and the councill of *Castile*, intreating them to set a gard vpon the Dukes person, vntill they had further newes, they caused him to bee put into a strong castle, yet intreating him with all honour and respect, and then they sent an Ambassador into *Castile*, to make their excuse, for that they had receiued this fugitiue Prince, and intreated him as their brother, but they kept him in fure garde, that he should not attempt any thing against the crowne of *Castile*. This Ambassador found the court at *Aillon*, where he was well receiued, and his excuses allowed.

20  
Castile.

There arrived also Ambassadors from the French King, with very rich presents, the which were required with others of no lesse value, being sent by an expresse Ambassage some monethes after.

Mmm 2

This



An. 1411.  
Greene crosses  
the badge of  
the Knights  
of Alcantara.

This yeere of our Lord 1411. Pope *Benedict* graunted that the Knights of Alcantara, in steed of hoods which they did weare in signe of their profession, should from thence forth carry greene crosses. During the courts aboade at Arllon, attending what would bee the end of the troubles of Arragon, which increased daily, they sent the hogemen of Castile to fauour the friends of the Archbishop of Saragossa that was slaine, by the which the lands of D. *Anthony de Luna* were spoiled. And at that time friar *Vincent Ferrer*, that great preacher, made a voiage to the court of Castile, who made some sermons before the Queene mother, and some Noblemen; by whose aduice there was an Order made, that all Iewes, dwelling in Castile, should carry for a marke and distinction to bee knowne, a peece of red cloth vpon their cloakes, and the Moores' greene hattes with white moones. The affaires of Arragon growing tedious, the King was carried backe to Vailledolit. The truce of Portugall being expired it was treated by Ambassadours to make a perpetuall peace, the which was not then concluded.

Arragon.

The arbitrators appointed to iudge to whom the Realme of Arragon did belong, hauing bene many daies in conference in the castle of Caspe, in the end they did all agree to adiudge it to the Infant D. *Fernand* of Castile, whereof hee had notice given him in Iune, in the yeere 1412. beeing at Cuenca: wherefore hauing made his election knowne vnto King *John* his Nephew, and to the Queene his mother, and giuen great thanks for the fauour he had receiued in that respect by the forces and meanes of Castile, he prepared himselfe to goe and take possession of his Realme. And first of all hee declared for Tutors and Gouvernors of the Realme in his place, D. *John* of Illesca, Bishop of Siguença, D. *Pablo* bishop of Carthagena, D. *Henry Manuel* Earle of Montalegre, and *Pero Alfan* of Ribera, Gouvernor of Andalusia, with whom hee ioyned other men of State and learning. This and other things beeing ordred hee went into Arragon, where he found great resistance, especially of Don *James* Earle of Vrgel, who pretended where he sought by all friendly meanes to draw vnto his seruice, but in vaine for the Earle being obstinate, he drew the English into Spaine, notwithstanding whole aide hee yielded.

### D. Fernand the first of that name, the sixteenth King of Arragon.

21.  
Genealogie of  
A. 1402.

Don *Fernand* the first of that name, reigned in Arragon, Cattelogne, Valencia, Sicile, Majorca, Minorca &c. By the consent of all the Estates: and for his good parts was surnamed the honest, whose posterity was famous: Before hee came to the crowne of Arragon, he had by his wife the Countesse of Albuquerque, Don *Alphonso*, who was heire of the Realmes, and was in his fathers life-time called Prince of Girone, in steed of the title of Duke, vsurped vntill that time by the eldest sonnes of Arragon. He had also by her the Infant Don *John*, who was King of Nauarre, and afterwards of Arragon and Sicile by the decease of his elder brother. Moreouer hee had, Don *Henry* maister of Saint James, Don *Sancho* maister of the Alcantara, and the Infant Don *Pedro*, who died in the warres of Naples, beeing slaine with a great shot: all these five Princes were borne in Castile. The daughters which issued from this marriage were Donna *Maria* Queene of Castile, married to King *John* the second her cousin germaine, and Donna *Leonora* who was Queene of Portugal, wife to Don *Edward*. D. *Fernand* was two and thirty yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne in Arragon, beeing Lord of great possessions in Castile, whereof he gaue the Dutchy of Pagnafiel, and the Signeury of Lara to Don *John* his second sonne, all which Inheritance, both by father and mother in Castile, his children enioyed for a time, but beeing turbulent, and not able to entertaine themselves with the Kings of Castile, they lost all.

In the yeere 1413. the King Don *Fernand* hauing beseegeed the Earle of Vrgel, in

A Vrgel, in the towne of Balaquer, for that hee did still raise new troubles, hee prest him in such sort, as his wife was perswaded to goe forth, and casting her selfe at the Kings feete to demand her husbands life. The King vsing his accustomed clemency, pardoned him his life: but the Earle comming forth, and hauing kist the Kings hands, hee was shut vp in the same castle. There were many Knights of Castile which serued the King in this warre, and amongst other forces, there were sent vnto him by Donna *Catherine* Queene of Castile, foure hundred launces with promise to furnish him with foure thousand, if he had need; but the Earles yeelding freed him of that necessity. Hee seized vpon Lerida, and other places, and in a short time made all within the Realme to bow, and therefore hee sent away his souldiars of Castile well satisfied, Don *Godfrey* of Nauarre, Earle of Cortes, and Marshall of Nauarre, the Kings base sonne, was at this warre, with some men at armes.

The new King did afterwards cause the Earle of Vrgel to bee araigned, and condemned him to perpetuall prison, depriuing him of his dignity and goods, and then he sent him prisoner to Vruagna, a fort in Castile, from whence he was afterwards transported to Mora. The Countesse his mother was also condemned to loose her goods, and some men of base condition were put to death. These things being done, the King came to Saragossa, where he was crowned by the Archbishop of Tarragone, in the presence of many Noblemen of Arragon, Valencia, Sicile, Cattelogne, Castile and Nauarre, at the which there were great and stately triumphes. To serue at this ceremony, the Queene of Castile his sister in law had sent him a crowne of gold, weighing fiftene marks, inrich with many stones of great value. He was armed Knight by the Duke of Gandia, and then annointed and crowned in the great church of Saragossa: after which adhe was very bountifull to the Noblemen and Knights that assisted at his coronation. From Nauarre came the Marshall D. *Godfrey*, *Peter Martin* of Peralta, with many others.

Going from Saragossa, he came to Morella, where he should meete with Pope *Benedict*, who after his deposing had retired himselfe into Arragon, yet retaining still his dignity, as much as he might. There they had an interview, whereas Pope *Benedict* went in a sollempne procession, in his pontificall habit, with a white Miter on his head set with stones of great price, to whom the King did all the honour hee could deuise: Before his departure from thence there came Ambassadours from the Emperour *Sigismond*, who perswaded the King of Arragon to fauour the counsell, which was then called at *Constance*, for the rooting out of the schisme. To treat whereof there was an interview concluded betwixt the two Princes at Nice, and the King was intreated to perswade *Benedict*, willingly to renounce his dignity of Pope. The counsell began the fifth day of Nouember in the yeere 1414. and continued about three yeeres. There were Ambassadours sent from Castile, by the aduice of King *Fernand*, D. *Diego* of Anaya Maldonado Archbishop of Seuille, and D. *Martin Fernandes* of Cordoua, accompanied with many great Doctors in Diuinity. This yeere died in Castile *Vincent Arias* a great Doctor, and the first that did comment vpon the lawes of Castile.

The King D. *Fernand* hauing held the Estates of Cattelogne at Momblanc, he past to Valencia, where he found *Benedict* held for Pope, onely in Castile, Arragon and Nauarre. In that court there were also many prelats, noblemen and knights, as well of the realme as strangers, by reason of the marriage which was celebrated there, betwixt the Infant D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, the Kings eldest sonne, and *Mary* of Castile, sister to the King Don *John*, by reason whereof there were great sports, so as some Bishops, according to the manner of that age, carried the praise, namely Don *Sancho* of Roias Bishop of Palence: to whom at the intreaty of the Queene of Castile, *Benedict*, the pretended Pope, did conferre the Archbishoprike of Toledo, beeing void by the decease of Don *Pedro de Luna*. And for that in the contract of future marriage, there had bene granted in dowry to the Infanta, the Marquisate of Villena, when as there was no likely-hood that the Infant should come to the crowne of Arragon, it was againe concluded, for that it seemed by this means the Marquisate should bee alienated from the crowne of Castile, that in lieu thereof there should bee giuen two hundred thousand doubloons of Castile.

Coronation of  
the King D.  
Fernand at  
Saragossa.

22  
Pope Benedict  
in Arragon.

counsell of  
Constance.  
An. 1414.

Marriage betwixt  
D. Alphonso of  
Arragon, and D.  
Maria of Cas-  
tile.

During the Kings aboad at Valencia, hee fell sicke, which staied him from going to A Nice: wherefore the Emperour *Sygmund* resolved to come into Spaine, whereof the King *D. Fernand* being aduertised, he caused himselfe to bee carried to Perpignan to meet with this great Prince, who toiled himselfe for the reuinion of the church: an example of modesty in his traine which was small; in habits which were simple: and in his seruice, for he was not serued but in penter.

Interview of  
the Emperours  
*Sygmund* and  
*D. Fernand*  
King of Arra-  
gon.

Their interview was in September in the yeere of our Lord 1415. after the foureteenth Session of the councill of Constance, where *John* the three and twentieth, and *Gregory* the twelfth, were depofed, who yeelded (though against their wills:) onely *Benedict* held his Popedom by force, and would not allow of this council, with whom neither the intreaties nor threats of Princes, nor the acts and protestations of Ambassadors from the councill could preuaile: after whose departure, the King *Don Fernand* laboured what he could to induce this froward spirit to yeeld to the consent of all Christendome; but there was no meanes; yea *Benedict* retired in great indignation to Pignicola, a fort vpon the sea in the Realme of Valencia: wherefore the King by the aduice of *Friar Vincent Ferrer*, and other great Doctors, gaue him to vnderstand that he retired himselfe from his obedience. This did not amaze *Benedict*, but flying to his spirituall armes, hee pronounced King *Fernand* to bee fallne from all regall authority in Arragon, writing to all the townes and people that were subiect vnto him, that they should not yeeld him obedience.

Death of *D.*  
*Fernand* King  
of Arragon.  
An. 1416.

The King little regarding it, not onely persisted in his resolution, but also went into Castile; to perswade the councill of King *John* his Nephew, to submit him and his Realmes to the authority of the councill: but being not fully recovered, he was forced to stay at Igualada, where hauing newes of the death of his sonne, *Don Sancho* maister of Alcantara, his sicknesse increased, so as hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1416. hee had reigned onely three yeeres and tenne monethes, beeing about fixe and thirty yeere of age, and was buried in the Monastery of Poblete. Hee did institute by his will *Don Alphonso* his eldest sonne, to bee heire of his Estates, and for want of children did substitute his brethren: and if they died without children, hee did substitute vnto them the sonnes or nephewes of his daughters, excluding them. The authors of the History of Sicile write, that this Prince beeing come to the crowne of Arragon, would not sodainly intitle himselfe King of Sicile, for that the Island was full of tumults and seditions, which grew presently after the death of King *Martin*, whereof the chiefest was *Bernard* of Cabrera Earle of Modica and chiefest Iustice, which is the principall dignity in that Realme, who with other Noblemen his confederats, pretended that the vnion of Sicile with the crowne of Arragon, plotted by the two King *Martins*, father and sonne, had bene concluded against all right and custome: and therefore they maintained that it was lawfull for the Sicilians to choose a King at their pleasures.

*Bernard* of Cabrera had a conceite that this honour was due to him, and therefore hee sought to seize vpon the person of the widow Queene *Donna Blanche* the Regent, to the end that hee might marry her, were shee willing, or not, thinking by this meanes to make his way more easie to the crowne: but shee beeing aduertised of his intent, retired from Cattanea, and fortified her selfe in Syracusa, where soone after shee was besieged by *Bernard* of Cabrera and his partisans, and without their speedy and faithfull succours, which disallowed of his enterprises, shee had bene taken. *Cabrera* was repulst from this seige, and the Queene carried to Palermo, where as hee pursued her againe, hauing gathered all his forces againe together, and had almost surprized her: Hee still laied ambushes for her, vntill at length hee himselfe was betrayed by his owne men, and drawne into his enemies snares, who deliuered him into the hands of the Admirall *Sancho Doriz*, who kept him some daies prisoner, in great miserie, in the castle of La Motte of Saint Anastase, and in the end deliuered him to the Agents of King *Fernand*, by whom hee was sent to Barcelona, there to receiue the punishment of his rashnesse at the Kings pleasure: but this milde and generous Prince, moued with his age, and the seruices which the Princes of Arragon

A Arragon had receiued, after that he had reprehended him sharply, he not onely set him at libertie, but did assigne him an honorable ranke in his Court. The troubles of Sicile being pacified by the taking of this *Bernard* of Cabrera, *Don Fernand* was acknowledged for king, and obeyed, who gouerned it by his Lieutenants and Viceroys, as other Kings of Arragon haue since done. The Maiesty of this Prince was such, together with his mildnesse and wisdom, as without vsing the rigour of armes, or any other violent constraint, he caused all rebellion to cease, as well in Sicile as Sardinia. As for Queene *Blanche*, widow to *Martin* king of Sicily, who was also heire of Nauarre, shee was afterwards married to the Infant *Don John* of Arragon.

## D. Alphonso the fifth of that name, the 17. King of Arragon.

TO *Fernand* succeeded his sonne *D. Alphonso*, surnamed the Valiant, a Prince worthy of that title, for his royall vertues, and the famous conquests and exploits of warre done by him, and for that he did no lesse loue learning then armes. Eight and twenty daies before the death of the King *Don Fernand*, dyed *Donna Leonora* Queene of Nauarre his Aunt, hauing bene married to King *Charles* her husband foureteene yeares, she was buried in the Cathedrall church at Pampelona.

There was great mourning and heauinesse in Castile, at the newes of King *Fernands* death, whose obsequies Queene *Katherine* caused to be celebrated, with a pompe worthy of such a Prince, and afterwards by the aduice of the Nobility, shee tooke vpon her the sole gouernement of the realme, and the tutelage of King *John* her sonne, whome shee gaue in guard to *Don John* of Velasco, *D. Diego* of Estuniga, and to *D. Sancho* of Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo: whereat the Constable *D. Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, *D. Pedro Manrique*, and *D. Alphonso Henriquez* grew very ieaious, whereupon there grew quarrels and troubles after the accustomed manner during the minority of Kings. The Queene and the Councill did prolong the truce with the King of Granada, for two yeeres. In the yere 1417. sending *Lewis Goncal* of Luna, Secretary of the Kings chamber to Granada to that end. By this treatie the king of Granada set an hundred prisoners at libertie, whose ransomes would haue mounted to a great summe of money. *D. John Rodrigue* of Castagneda, Lord of Fouente Duegna, and *D. Inigo Ortiz* of Estuniga, sonne to *Diego Lopes*, being in quarrell, and demanding the combate, the Queene would not grant it them in Castile, but commanded them to retire into Granada, where as king *Ioseph* would giue them the field: These Knights were put into the field by the Moorish king, but he presently forbade them to fight, declaring that they were both good Knights, and reconciling them together, he sent them home honored with Iewels and rich presents. This hee did at the intreaty of the Queene-mother of Castile, who had writ earnestly vnto him, shewing therein to haue a mild and Christian-like heart. For these combats are proofes of mad men, which should not be suffered in the place of iustice, seeing thereby all controuersies, how great soeuer, may be compounded and ended.

The Emperour *Sygmund* grieuing for the death of the king of Arragon, after that he had laboured in vaine to reconcile the kings of France and England, who were continually in warre, he passed to Constance, whereas the Councill in the two and thirtieth Session, declared *Benedict* to be periured, contumacious, a rebell, Schismaticke, and Hereticke, depriving him of his papacie, which he had held almost two and thirty yeares: yet he played the Pope still in Pagnicola: but the Princes of Christendome in generall yeelded to the Councill, notwithstanding *Benedicts* exclamations, that seeing it was called without his authoritie, it was not lawfull. The Cardinals which were at Constance, being two and twenty, with thirty Electors deputed by the Councill, did chuse *Orthon Colonne*, a Romane, Cardinall of the title of Saint *George* in Velabro, and named him *Martin* the fifth. *Benedict* although he were abandoned by the Princes, yet he continued still in his purpose, keeping some Prelates vnder his obedience, among which were the Cardinals of

24  
Castille.

Truce with  
Granada.  
1417.

Combats should  
not be allowed  
among Christi-  
ans.

Pope *Benedict*  
condemned by  
the Councill.

Councill con-  
demned by  
Pope *Benedict*.

Tholoufa, Rafan, S. Angelo, S. Eustace, S. George, and Montarragon, the Archb. of Tarra- A gone, and the Bishops of Barcelona, Vic, Elne, Gironne, Huesca, and Tarrassone, with many Abbots, and other Clergimen, who held him for true and lawfull Pope.

26  
Conquest of the  
Canaries by  
John of Betan-  
court.

This year *John* of Betancourt, a knight of France, by gift from *Queene Katherine*, con- quered the Ilands of the Canaries, and intituled himselfe King. He could not take the great Canarie, for all the Inhabitants of the Iland had retired themselves thither: wherefore finding too great resistance, he retired himselfe, having buile a fort in that of Lancerot, from whence he did trafficke, and drew profit from the neighbor places, of leather, tallow, slaues, and other such commodities: he being dead, one *Menaule* succeeded him, in whose time Pope *Martin* instituted an Episcopall see in those Ilands, to the which there was a certaine Monke called *Friar Mendo* aduanced: but this king *Menaule* hauing no great re- gard, when there was question of profit, to the soules health of the Ilanders, he sold them indifferently, as well the Pagans, as those which had received Baptisme: whereof the new Bishop did complaine to *Queene Katherine*, requiring her to free them of that Lord: whereupon she sent *Peter Barba de Campos* with three ships of warre, with whom *Menaule* hauing long contended, in the end by the *Queenes* sufferance, he sold these Ilands to a Knight of Seuille, called *Fernando Peres*, in whose hands, and his successors of Seuille, they have remained vnto the time of the king *D. Ferdinand* the 5. and of the Queen *D. Izabella*.

*Menaule* the 2  
King of the Ca-  
naries, sold the  
Ilands to them  
of Seuille.

27  
Family of *Elsta-  
niga* comes out  
of Nauarre.  
An. 1418.

*D. Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, Iustice maior of Castile, hauing long serued King *Henry* the 3. and *John* now reigning dyed this year. His house came out of Nauarre, and was of the blood royall, as some Authors haue left in writing. The year 1418. *Queene Catherine* dyed suddenly, being fifty yeares old, she was buried at Toledo in the chappell of the last kings. By her death King *John* was freed from tutors, and there was a Councell established, with the which he should gouerne his Realmes, whose letters and expeditions should be signed on the back-side, by two of his Councillors. This year there came am- bassadors to him from France, to demand ayde against the English, to whom they gaue hope of an army at Sea. The king of Portugal did also send to confirm a perpetual peace betwixt Castile and Portugall, but there was nothing concluded at that time. The Eng- lish proclaimed warre against Castile, whereupon the truce with Granado was prolon- ged for two yeares. King *John* being at Medina del campo, was betrothed to *D. Maria* of Arragon his cousin, daughter to the deceased king *D. Ferdinand*: then hee held a Par- liament, when for his new accord of marriage, they granted him a great subuention. The same year mention is made of the death of *Friar Vincent Ferrer* of Valencia, afterwards canonized a Saint by Pope *Calixtus*, who was also of Valencia. Hee that most gouerned the king at that time entring into his maioritie, was *Don Sancho* of Rojas, Arch-bishop of Toledo, whereat they did murmure, from which time the Estate of Castile was very turbulent.

The Guipuscoans and Biscayens fell to theeuing at sea, without any subiect of warre, euen vpon the coast of Brittain, whereof *D. John* then liuing complained much by his ambassadours, to the King of Castile, who desirous to liue in peace with Christian Princes, sent *Fernando Peres* of Ayala, Gouernour of Guipuscoa, to bee an arbitrator. Hee with another chosen by the Duke of Brittain, caused all disorders to bee reformed, and restitution to be made. The Councell of King *John*, was then reduced to fiftene Prelates and Knights, whereof fise should assist and serue, and they should change euery foure moneths.

28  
Portugal.

*Don John* King of Portugall laboured to quench and qualifie all occasions of new troubles, betwixt his Realme and that of Castile, by a firme peace: Wherefore hauing sent backe his ambassadours in the year 1419. to *Don John* King of Castile, they were re- turned with good hope and promise, to send ambassadours into Portugall, expressly to that end. This king *D. John* the first of that name then reigning in Portugall, hauing made a long truce with *D. Henry* King of Castile, during that time he gaue himselfe to go- uerne his Realme with iustice, to repaire the ruines which had growne by the precedent warres, and to adorne it with new buildings: wherein employing himselfe with iudge- ment, bountie, and wisdom, hee was beloued and respected both of his owne subiects, and of strangers.

In

A In remembrance of the victorie which he had gotten at Aljubarote, he did build neere vnto it a sumptuous Monastier, which he dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and did call it *Saint Mary* the royall of the battell, or victorie, which is a Conuent of Iacobin Friars. And for that he had a better iudgement then many other Princes, knowing that most of the religious Monkes, and other persons did not vnderstand the Latin tongue, in the which the houres and suffrages were sung in churches, he caused them to be translated in- to the Portugall tongue, and in like manner many bookes of the holy Scripture, and the interpretation thereof, namely, the foure Euangelists, the which did afterwards much displease our Doctors in Diuinity. Hee was so zealous of the honor of his house, as a Groom of his chamber called *Don Fernand Alphonso* of *Saint Iren*, hauing so much for- gotten himselfe as to deflowre one of the *Queenes* maides, daughter to *D. Aluar Peres* of *Castro*, Earle of *Arroyales*, he caused him to be burnt in the place of *Ruffio* in Lisbon, and as for her, he chased her shamefully from Court, sending her to her parents, neither could the *Queenes* intercession preuaile any thing. He did also punish with great seuerity, the other insolencies of his Courtiers; and about all things he shewed himselfe a louer of ius- tice, onely he did forget to do reason to *D. Beatrix* *Queene* of Castile, pretending to be right heire of the Realme, which he enioyed whilest that she liued (as it were) in a priuate estate in Castile, an example of rare patience and chastitie: for shee would neuer heare speake of a second marriage, although she were sought vnto by Princes of great state, who happily might haue settled her in her fathers kingdom.

C Besides the aboue-named buildings, he built the towne of Almerin vpon the riuer of Tayo, the pallace of Sintra, the castle at Lisbon, those of Sierra Balada, neere to *S. Iren*, and other. Seeing himselfe in peace with all Christian Princes, and well obeyed of his sub- iects, he passed the sea with an armie, and tooke Ceuta from the Moores of Affricke, ha- uing in his company the Infant *D. Edward*, holding then the place of the eldest, for *Don Alphonso* was dead, the Infant *Don Pedro* Duke of Coimbra, and Lord of Montmajor the old, and of Auero, *Don Pedro* of Meneles, Earle of Viana, Standard bearer of the realm, who was the first Gouernour of Ceuta, which victorie was intermixt with mourning for the death of the *Queene D. Philippe* his wife, which happened in the year 1415. at what time the king *D. John* did take a vay the vse of accompting the yeares, by the *Era* of *Ce- sar*, the which had bene till that time obserued in Portugall, ordaining, that from that time the year should begin from the Natiuity of Christ: and that it should bee so dated in all publike and priuate writings, to the end to conforme himselfe to that which was brought into Castile, Arragon and Nauarre, and to auoyd the confusion which fell out in contracts and bargains, betwixt the subiects of the Realmes of Spaine.

In the year 1419. the Infant *Don Henry* his sonne, who was Master of the Order of Christ, moued with an honest emulation, by the conquest which his father had made vpon the Barbarians, hauing conferred with some men of knowledge and experience in Cosmographie, resolved to runne ouer the Ocean sea, and to discover the shoare and Ilands thereof. Going from Lisbon with some ships, hee came to the Iland of Madera in the year 1420. the which he found desert and full of wood, whereof it carries the name: for Madera is that which the Latins call *Materia*, and we timber. He set fire to this wood, so as hauing cleaned it, they found the soyle good and fruitfull for all things, especially for sugar canes, which grow in such abundance, as both Spaine and all Europe make great vse of it.

The Infant did afterwards continue this and other nauigations, and was the first spur- re to the Portugals, which came after, to discover the coasts of Affricke and Asia, and the I- lands of the South, and Easterne seas, with great honor to their nation, and infinit profite to the whole world. These things were attempted by the Portugals, when as the peace betwixt them and the Castillans was doubtfull: for the Councell of Castile delayed it, by reason of the kings minority, yet they liued quietly one with another.

About that time the ambassadors of Castile, which had bene sent to the Councell of Constance, returned into Spaine, bringing home the re-union of the church of Rome vnder Pope *Martin* the fift. Among them was *Don Diego* of *Anaya Maldonado* Archb. of Seuille, who built the Colledge of *Saint Bartholomew* at Salamanca, this year 1420. being

Booke of the  
holy Scripture  
translated into  
Portugall.

1419.

An. 1420.  
Madera dis-  
covered.

*D. Henry* Ma-  
ster of Christ  
the first disco-  
uerer at sea.

Castile.

beeing called the great Colledge, the most auncient of all Castile, where many learned men haue bene bred. In that Vniuersitie of Salamanca are many other Colledges, built and endowed with good liuings, where there is good exercise of Diuinity, arts, and tongues, as also in other townes of Spaine, by the care of Bishops and good Prelates, labouring chiefly to maintaine learning which are the grounds of pietie and vertue.

29.  
Nauarre.

The same yeare a marriage was made betwixt D. *Blanche* of Nauarre, the widow-Queene of Sicile, and the Infant D. *John* of Arragon, second sonne to the King Don *Fernand* deceased. By the treatie concluded the yeare before, it was sayd: That if the Infanta, the presumptiue heire of Nauarre (for the elder sister the Countesse of Foix, was already dead without children) should die before her husband, hauing children or not, that hee should raigne during his life in Nauarre, after the decease of King *Charles*, his father-in-law. From this condition and promise being sworne, there grew many troubles in Nauarre. Besides the expectation of the Realme, there was giuen to the Infant Don *John* by King *Charles*, in dowry with D. *Blanche* his daughter, foure hundred twenty thousand, a hundred and twelue florens of gold, of the coyne of Arragon, fixe folz, and eight deniers: a notable summe for a King of Nauarre, an argument of the great treasure which hee had gathered together during the long peace of his raigne. It was also agreed, that the lands and forts which the Infant did hold in Castile and Arragon, should descend to the heire which should be borne of that marriage, succeeding to the Crowne of Nauarre. The Infant did enioy in Arragon the Dutchie of Gandia and Momblanc, the Earldome of Ribagorça, and the towne of Balaguer: and in Castile the Dutchie of Pegnasil, Infantazgo, and the Seigneurie of Lara: and moreover, the townes of Cuellar, Castro-Xeris, Villalon, and Haro: afterwards he obtrayned Alba de Tormes, Olmedo, Paredes of Naua, Majorga, Villarado, Cerezo, Medina del campo, Aranda of Duego, Roa, Colmenar, and other places, all which he afterwards lost by the wars he had against Castile, the titles and patters whereof are remayning in the records of Nauarre.

Possessions D.  
John Infant of  
Arragon.

These articles of marriage were sworne by the three Estates of the Realme. And it was long disputed betwixt the Infant Don *John*, and the king of Castiles counsell, where this marriage should be celebrated. In the end he got fortie dayes libertie to go and perform it in Nauarre, whither he went accompanied with many of the Nobility of Castile: From hencefoorth D. *John* will entitle himselfe Infant of Nauarre and Arragon. The marriage beeing ended, returning with his wife D. *Blanche* towards Castile, hee met with a messenger from Don *Sancho* of Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo, who aduertised him of a great excess committed by his brother Don *Henry*, Master of Saint Iames, soliciting him to returne with all speed to court: and thus it was.

30  
Castille.

Don *Henry* the third sonne to the deceased Don *Fernand* king of Arragon, desired to marrie Donna *Catherine*, King *Johns* youngest sister, who had the Marquitate of Villena for her dowrie, but fearing that he should neuer obtaine her by any due course, he resolved to haue her by force: so as beeing rash and exceeding bold, he entred on a time into Toledo with three hundred armed men, where he seized on the kings person, wherein he was assisted and fauoured by Don *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos the Constable, and D. *Pedro Manriques*. They tooke *John Hurtado* of Mendoça Lord Steward of the kings house, and others who were opposite vnto them, and holding the King as it were a prisoner, they caused many of his household seruants and Officers to be chased away: about all, they desired to displace D. *Aluaro de Luna*, kinsman to the deceased Archbishop of Toledo, who of a page of the chamber was come to be the kings great minion. But D. *Henry* held it now the best to winne him by mildnesse and bountie, that hee might make vse of him in that which he pretended.

The Infanta Donna *Catherina*, to whom this marriage with Don *Henry* was not pleasing, entred into the Monasterie of Saint *Claire* in that cittie, from whence she was afterwards taken, for that Don *Henry* led the King to Segouia, and then to Auila, promising not to vse any force concerning the marriage. Don *John* Infant of Nauar and Arragon, hearing of these newes, he much blamed the attempt of Don *Henry* his brother, and resolved to oppose himselfe against him, wherefore he called all his friends to Olmedo, and such Noblemen and Knights as disliked of this excess: so as in few daies hee assembled

3000.

A three thousand Lances, the Infant D. *Henry* preparing also for the warre, hee was in a manner equall in strength to his aduersaries, beeing in the towne of Auila, whether hee had led the King. The factious being ready to enter into a furious warre, D. *Leonora* the widow Queene of Arragon, and mother to these two Princes, laboured so betwixt them as all these troupes retired except a thousand Lances, which remayned for the Kings gard: then comming to the treaty of marriage, the Infanta D. *Catherina* being instantly intreated by the King her brother (who was not free) to take D. *Henry* for her husband, she would by noe meanes harken to it, D. *Henry* being the stronger about the King, thinking that D. *John* was opposite to his desires, he kept him from the king, & not respecting him, nor them that followed him, he called an assembly of his partizans, in forme of a Parliament, where he caused the fact of Tordefillas to be allowed, and ordained what he pleased: yea he caused letters to be written in the Kings name to the Pope, by the which hee intreated him to giue vnto the Infant D. *Henry* the Lands of the Maisterhippe of Saint Iames: in fee simple, to him and his children for euer, with the title of a Dutchy: an impudent demand, and so reiected by the Pope. The King married with D. *Maria* of Arragon, in Auila, without feasts or ceremony, and then they led him to Talauera: and the Infant D. *Henry* neuer ceased vntill he had celebrated his marriage with D. *Catherina* his Cousin Germaine, causing the Marquitate of Villena to be assigned for her dowry with the title of Dutchy, who was the third Duke of Castile: and the question being of marriages, where they doe vsually shew themselves bountifull, *Aluaro de Luna* the Kings Minion, had in guilt the towne of Saint *Stephen* of Gormas, and other Knights were advanced to other lands, as it pleased D. *Henry*. The King being much discontented with his restrained Estate, hee conferred often with *Aluaro de Luna* of the meanes how hee might escape, but there appeared great difficulties on euery side, for the confederats which held him watcht carefully ouer him, notwithstanding going one day abroad vnder colour of hunting, he aduentured to runne to Villalua, and finding himselfe not safe there he past to Montalban, which is betwixt Talauera and Toledo, some what out of the way: whereof the Infant D. *Henry* being aduertised, who had newly fynished his marriage he was wonderfully troubled in mynde, drawing what forces he could to field, and then the Constable and he followed the King, but in vaine, for he was in a place of safety, who sent some to aduise them that they should not follow him, but returne to Talauera, which the Infant D. *Henry* did, but the troupes which were in the poursute stayed not vntill they had some newes, and came and lodged about the Castle of Montalban, yet they attempted not any thing, for the reuerence they bare vnto the King, who seeing himselfe as it were besieged, and without victualls in the place, he had means to aduertise the Infant D. *John*, D. *Sancho* of Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo, the Admirall D. *Alonso Henriques*, and other Knights, intreating them to come and free him.

Estates forced.

Demands of D.  
Henry must  
beuent.

Marriage forced  
betwixt D.  
Henry and D.  
Catherine of  
Castille.

King escapes  
out of D. Henrys  
hands.

In the meane time D. *Henry* held a counsell with his partisans at Talauera and prouided for many things, lest the King should escape from him. Being intreated by his men, who were in the forme of a Campe about Mountalban, hee came thether, bringing with him the Queene D. *Maria* his Sister and all the Nobility that was at Talauera, to repaire this disorder in some sort. The King and such as were with him in the Castle, for want of better foode, did eate their horses: D. *John* of Torfillas Bishop of Segobia, being brought in, hee sought to make an accord for the Infant D. *Henry*: but the King interrupted him, saying, that D. *Henry* should come himselfe, and so hee sent him backe. D. *Henry* would not aduenture to enter, but he procured that the Constable d' Aualos, and D. *Aluaro* of Luna conferred together, but they could not conclude any thing, nor yet the deputies of the prouinces of the realme, who entring into the Castile, were intreated to moue the King, but they could get noe other answer but that D. *Henry* must free his lodging from teage: who indeed was forced to dislodge, for the Infant D. *John* and other Noblemen, being followed by good troupes of men at armes approached, and would haue taken him from thence by force. Thus the King was deliuered from this teage, and the Castle furnished with victualls: wherefore he sent a commandement to the Infant D. *John* of Arragon, that he should not aduance with his troupes, vntill he had other newes from him. The Infant stayed at Fonsalida, where D. *Alonso Henriques* the Admirall ioyned with him,

King of Castile  
beseged by his  
owne subjects.

him, being well accompanied, and others which came from all parts, to deliuer the King A as they laid, out of prison. This was at that time when as Villa-real beganne to be called Ciudad real, in recompence of the good seruice which the Inhabitants did vnto the King in this tumult. Don Henry being retired to Ocagne, hee had commaundement from the King to lay downe armes, but hee would not obey. The King parted from Monraban to returne to Talauera, vpon the way hee was met by the Infant Don Iohn, and Don Pedro his brother, with other Noblemen, who hauing kist the Kings hands, dined with him at Villalua, and then they werē sent backe to their troupes: for Aluar de Luna, who gouerned the King, could not endure that any of the Infants should stay in court, least it should impaire his credit and authority.

The King being come to Talauera, he sent a new commaundement to Don Henry and his confederats to disarme, who were content, so as D. Iohn the Infant of Arragon, did also disarme, whom the King commanded to send away his men, wherein he obaid; after which the King hauing dispatched some businesse in his fauour at Talauera, hee went to Auila: by the way hee came to Pegnasil, where hee did visit his cousin Donna Blanche of Nauarre, wife to the Infant Don Iohn, making great demonstrations of loue vnto her. Don Henry would not disarme, especially being degraded of the title of Marquis of Villena, by a decree of the councell, and his lands being seized on, hee would recouer them by force, if he might not otherwise, for prooofe whereof hee assailed Chinchilla, Alarcon and the castle of Garci Nugnes, where there was a garrison C for the King: causing on the other side his wife Donna Catherina (to whom the Marquisate did belong) to bee a sutor vnto the King for his pardon: but the King was so incensed, as he would not heare speake of it, and he reuoked the title of Duke, which hee had caused to bee given him, of the lands belonging to the Order of Saint Iames, hoping to make them hereditary. The King did also reuoke the gift of Castagnedain the Asturia's of Santillana, which hee had made vnto Don Garci Fernandes Manrique, for that hee was one of Don Henry's faction: Don Garci refusing to yeeld, being in possession, there were some companies of men at armes sent, who chased him, and tooke some of his followers, of whom Iustice was done. Don Henry hoping for no fauour from the King, marched towards Aguilar del Campo, as hee sayd, to kisse D the Kings hand; but the King dislodged from Aguilar, and came to Palenquela, sending word to Don Henry that hee should not aduance, and that hee should dismis his souldiers: then hee came to Vailledolir, and from thence to Tordeillas, whereas Queene Mary his wife was: yet Don Henry followed the King, leading with him fiftene hundred launces, and came vnto Guardarama; so as the King was forced to draw companies vnto him for his safety. Don Henry sent againe to beseech him to giue him access, that he might discharge himselfe, causing the deputies of townes to make the like sute from him; but they laboured in vaine, the King giuing them so many reasons, as they laied all the blame vpon Don Henry and told him that he must obey, and leaue his armed troupes, the which he promised to doe, but he did not performe it.

The Queene Donna Leonora mother to these Infants of Arragon, being in great perplexitie to see this her Sonne in danger to be ruined, she laboured all shee could possibly to pacifie the Kings wrath most iustly incensed against this rebell and rash vassall. Don Lope de Mendoza Archbishop of Saint Iames did the like, but they preuailed nothing, the King reiecting all prayers and sutes, vntill hee had laid aside Armes: wherefore Don Henry hauing made shew of two thousand Lances, and three hundred light horse, hee dismist them, and returned to Ocagne with the Noblemen of his faction, except Don Pedro of Velasco, who came to the Court. The King did also muster his men, where there were found about fixe thousand men at Armes, whom hee also discharged, being payed, except one thousand Lances which hee ratayned for his guard.

In the meane time Donna Blanche Infanta of Nauarre, was deliuered of a Sonne at Pegnasil, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred twenty and one, the which was Christened at Olmedo by the King of Castile, and was named Don Charles: and Don Aluar de Luna was his other God-father: Don Iohn the Infants father, sealed the

D. Henry de-  
prived of his  
cords and dig-  
nities in Cas-  
tile.

Intercession  
for D. Henry  
Infant of Ar-  
ragon.

A the King and whole court, with great bounty and state. Two yeares after this Infant was carryed into Nauarre, at the instance of King Charles his Grand father, who at that time made Viana a Principallitie, affected to the eldest Sonne of Nauarre, annexing to the towne and castle of Viana, those of Guadalupe, Saint Vincent, Bernado, Aguilar, Vaconuilla, Pombation, San Pedro, Cambreda, val de Campeço, Maragnon, Toro, Herrara and Buradon; and more ouer he gaue vnto him Goxola, and Cienruenigo, Peralta and Cadrieta, these foure last being distant Siegaucias, from the Principallitie: And at the Estates at Olmedo, he caused him to be sworne heire of the realme of Nauarre, after the decaie of the Infant Don Iohn his father.

From Olmedo, the King of Castile came to Toledo, to the Estates, whether D. Henry, B the Constable, and their confederates were cited, who appeared not, but sent their Ambassadors to make their excuses, saying, that they held for their professed enemies Don Saicho of Rojas Archbishop of Toledo, D. Iohn Hurtado of Mendoza, and many others, and that they suspected the Infant D. Iohn: wherewith the King being more incensed then before, refused to pursue them by armes, wherewith they were: but Don Henry being aduertised, and aduised, promised to present himselfe before the King at Madrid by the fourteenth of May this yeare 1422. where he appeared a day before the Assignation. An. 1422.

Hauing kist the Kings hand, beginning to enter into a discourse, to excuse and iustifie himselfe, the King would not heare him, but sent him backe to his lodging. The day following, there were produced in the Kings Councell, fourteene of the Constable d'Analos C letters, by the which he was charged with treason, and practising with the King of Granada against the King of Castile his Lord. They were openly read by Sancho Romero the Kings Secretary, who said, that D. Diego of Fuentefalida, Bishp of Zamora had giuen him them. D. Henry and Garci Fernandes Manrique, thinking to defend the Constables innocie and fidelitie, were committed to prison by the Kings commaundement, and all the horses and furniture they had in Court seized on. The Constable and the Infanta D. Catherina, being aduertised of what had past at Madrid, they left Castile, and retired to Balueda, a castle in the realme of Valencia, and the Governour Don Pedro Manrique fled to Tarassone: wherefore the King caused all their goods to bee seized, commanding all D Governours and Magistrates to apprehend them. These letters did not seeme very certain, wherefore they of the Kings councell suspecting that they were counterfet, (as in truth they were) they caused the Kings Attorney generall, to frame an accusation against the Constable, for that he had beene a confederate and fauourer of D. Henry, when as the King was detained in Tordezilla, and of the disorders which after followed: by reason whereof his goods were seized on, for it did appeare that the letters were counterfet, by the confession of Iohn Garcia of Guadalajara the Constables Secretary, who betraying his Maister, had himselfe counterfetted them, and sealed them with his leale at Toledo, for which crime he was executed at Vailledolir. The King caused Gonzala Mexia to bee named Administrator of the Order of Saint Iames, whereof the Infant D. Henry, being in prison, was Maister, and did aduertise the King of Arragon of his detention and the E causes. The Constable and the Infant D. Catherina being retired to Valencia, they were well entertained by them that did gouerne those realmes: in the absence of D. Alphonso of Arragon, who was at Naples, whereat D. Iohn King of Castile was so much discontented as he sent his Ambassadors into Italy to the K. of Arragon to complaine of this fact.

About the end of this yeare 1422. King Iohn had by Queene Mary his wife, a daughter borne at Ilesca, who was named D. Catherina: and about that time D. Sancho of Rojas Archbishop of Toledo, died at Alcalá de Henares, in whose place was substituted Don Iohn of Contreras Deane of the same Church, and borne at Riixa. The Infanta D. Catherina was declared and sworne heire of the Realme of Castile, the yeare following 1423. at the Estate of Toledo, if the King her father should die without heires male: for such was the custome of Spaine. There the truce betwixt Castile and Portugall was renewed for twenty nine yeares, with a condition, that if hereafter the one should offer to make warre against the other, hee should giue him warning 18. moneths before: A sinceritie which is contemned in this age, whereas they seeke to surprise one another by any secret and indirec meanes. This truce was proclaimed the court being at Auila.

N n n.

And

D. Roy de A-  
ualos the Con-  
stable charged  
with treason.

Death of the  
Archb. of To-  
ledo.



And soone after the king Don John beeing at Vailledolit, there came ambassadours from A  
D. *Alphonso* King of Arragon, to excuse the reception which had bene given at Valencia, to the Infanta D. *Catherina*, and the Constable, Don *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos: and to acquaint the king of Castile with the successe of the waite of Naples; whereas they king of Arragon was buied.

38  
Arragon.

*Isabella*  
of *Joane* 2.  
Queene of  
Naples.

This Prince who was famous not only among all them that had reigned in Arragon, but in all the rest of Christendome had this occasion to vnderstand the warre of Naples: after the decease of king *Ladislaus*, his sister *Joane* the second, widow to the Duke of Esterlic, having succeeded in the Realme, as shee was infamous, by reason of the familiarity which was more then did beset the greatnesse of a Queene, which she had with *Pandolfello*, a Knight of Naples, being held to be one of the goodliest men of his time. Shee to couer their loose life, contracted marriage with *James* of Bourbon, Earle of Marche, a Prince of the bloud Royall of France, vpon condition that he should not intitle himselfe king, nor should nor meddle with the gouernement of the Realme, but as she pleased. The Earle being come to Naples, he soone discovered what past betwixt the Queene his wife, and *Pandolfello*: wherefore being mouued with a iust disdain, hee caused the adulterer to be flaine, and deprived the Queene of the gouernement, hauing punished her onely with words and reproches. The Queene dissembling her discontent against the Earle, watched a fit opportunity to be reuenged: wherein she wrought so by her practises and intelligences, as she not onely recovered her liberty, but she put the Earle her husband into prison, who beeing afterwards freed by the intercession of Pope *Martin*, retired into France, leauing the Queene to liue after her owne appetite. Pope *Martin* who was molested by the faction of *Vrsins*, the chiefe whereof was *Braccio Fortebracci*, hee made a strict league with this Queene, by the which she promised to ayde him with three thousand horse, and other things: but their friendship was soone dissolved: and Pope *Martin* to annoy Queene *Joane*, did inuest in the Realme of Naples, *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, called the third, who was sonne to *Lewis* the second, and of the Infanta D. *Violant* of Arragon, and declared Queene *Joane* fallen from it, and deprived thereof: wherefore *Lewis* began to league himselfe in Italy with many Princes and Potentates, namely, with the Commonweale of Genoua, who were mighty at sea, from whom he was ayded to conquer the Realme of Naples, with thirteene gallies, whereof *Baptist Fregoso* was General.

Pope Martin  
enemy to  
Queene, calls  
in Lewis Duke  
of Anjou.

*Alphonso* King  
of Arragon,  
leads an Armie  
into Corsica,  
against the  
Genouois.

These things beeing come to the knowledge of King D. *Alphonso*, who was newly advanced to the Crowne of Arragon, beeing young, and desirous of glorie, considering how much it might preiudice the Estate of Sicile, if the house of Anjou should settle it selfe againe at Naples, he thought he should greatly disappoint *Lewis* his deffines, if he should make warre against the Genouois: wherefore hauing prepared an armie at sea, he came and landed in the Iland of Corsica, which was wholly in the power of that State, and vnder colour of the right which the kings of Arragon did pretend, by reason of ancient donations made vnto them by the Popes, of the two Ilands of Corsica & Sardinia: at his first landing he tooke Calui, and then besieged *Boniface*, pressing it in such sort, as without speedie succors from Genoua it had bene taken, and the whole Iland. During this seige Queene *Joane*, who saw a great storme readie to fall vpon her, sent *Anthony Caraffa* vnto him, intreating him to vnderstand the defence of her and her Realme, against *Lewis* of Anjou, the Pope and their allies, in requitall whereof she would adopt him for her sonne and successor in the Realme of Naples, and for an earnest-peny she would deliuer him the two castles of Naples. King *Alphonso* was well pleased with these conditions, who to make this accord authentick, sent *Raymond* of Perillos to Naples with 18. gallies, and 14. galliots, and D. *Bernard* of Centillas, and D. *John* of Moncado his ambassadours, with authoritie and sufficient instructions, who agreed with Queene *Joane* in the Kings name, and receiued the aboue-named forts: and after the releefe of *Boniface* by the Genouois, whereas the king receiued some losse, he passed with the rest of his army into Sicile, and from thence to Naples, where the accords and adoption was confirmed, the Queene inuesting him then in the Dutchie of Calabria, as presumptiue heire of the Realme: but the peace betwixt the mother and the sonne was not lasting: wherefore the

repenting

A repenting to haue adopted *Alphonso*, he dealing in her affaires, there fell out warre betwixt them: so as after many encounters, and variable successe, the Queene left Naples, and was forced to retire to Auerse, from whence she sent to call backe *Lewis* of Anjou, beeing then at Rome, who in the yeare 1423. came to Auerse, where hee was receiued with great ioy, and was adopted there by the Queene, and was made Duke of Calabria, and *Alphonso* reiecte as ingrate: at which time happened in Castile the imprisonment of D. *Henry* Master of Saint Iames, brother to the king D. *Alphonso*, and the retreat of D. *Catherine* his wife, with the Constable to Valencia, and of other Noblemen into diuers parts of Arragon, whose goods D. *John* King of Castile had confisked, whereupon grew many quarrels: by reason whereof the King D. *Alphonso* was forced to returne into B  
Spain, leauing his brother D. *Pedro* at Naples, to make head against the Duke of Anjou, with *James Cadorna*, and many Noblemen Italians, of his faction to assist him. Sayling along the coast of Prouence, he surprized *Marfeilles*, a Towne belonging to the Duke of Anjou, being Earle of Prouence, the which he spoyle and burnt, carrying away for a precious Iewell the body of *Louis* sometimes Bishop of Tholousa, sonne to King *Charles* the Lame, being held a Saint. It is noted for a noble and religious act in this Prince, that at the taking of the towne hee would not suffer any iniurie to be done vnto the women that were retired into the Churches, nor any thing to be taken from them. It was taken in the night at a second assault: *Alphonso* being rich with spoiles landed at Valencia.

*Marfeilles* surprized by the King of Arragon.

In the meane time in Castile they made the processe of all the fugitiues, and degraded C  
D. *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos, of his Estate and dignitie of Constable, deprived him of the gouernement of Murcia, and did confiscate all his lands and goods. He had enioyed *Xodar*, *Nimena*, the tower of *Alaquin*, *Arcos*, *Arjone*, *Arjonilla*, *Figuiera* and *Colmenar*, in the countie of *Auila*, and *Osono* and *Ribadeo* in *Galicia*, and other places, which were all forfeited to the King, who gaue the office of Constable to Don *Aluar de Luna*, who was afterwards created Earle of Saint *Stephen* de *Gormas*, and receiued with great solemnitie. *Alphonso* *James Faierdo* was made Gouernor of the frontier of Murcia, and his lands were distributed to others: so as the house of Aualos remained very poore in Castile. The King decreed, that D. *John* of Tordezilla Bishop of Segobia, who had bene Superintendent of the treasor, in the time of the deceased King *Henry*, should be apprehended, to make him giue an account of his charge: but the bishop of Zamora who had this charge, shewed himselfe a friend, and suffred him to escape into Portugal, from whence he past to Valencia. About the end of this yeere 1423. D. *Leonora* king *Johns* 2. daughter was borne: as soone as he had intelligence that the king of Arragon was arrived at Valencia, he sent him an Ambassage, to congratulat his arrival, and to intreat him to send him D. *Catharina* the wife of D. *Henry* and the fugitiues of Castile, or else to chase them out of his country: whereof the king D. *Alphonso* excused himselfe, as well to these Ambassadors of Castile, as by others whom he sent expressly to K. *John*, who intreated him for an interview, wherewith the king was willing, but such as were enriched with the constables spoils, dissuaded him, wherewith the king of Arragon was discontented, and afterwards more, they refusing him to let him confer with the Queen of Castile his sister. In the yeare 1424. the Infant D. *Catherina* died at Madrigal, where vpon the King caused the Princeesse *Leonora* to be sworne for heire of those realms, in case he died without any issue male. In which yeere there also died at Pegniscola, *Benedict*, being 90. yeeres old, hauing held the Popedom 31. yeeres 2. months and 10. daies, from his election made at Auignon, and after that hee had bin deposed by the council of *Constance*, 7. yeeres and 4. months, his body was interred in Illuega, in vnhalloved ground (as they say:) a man to violent in all his actions, obstinate and indomptable: of so strong a constitution of body, as they could not attribute the cause of his death but to poison, the which they found had bin giuen him in certaine sweet meats, by a Monke, called *Thomas*, set on by the Cardinal of Pisa, who was sent into Spaine to that end. The crime being auerred, the Monke *Thomas* was taken and quartered, the Cardinal who remained at Tortosa fled, fearing that Don *Roderigo* and Don *Aluar de Luna* *Benedicts* Nephewes should reuenge his death vpon him. After his decease the Cardinals which were of his faction, and were retired with him, to Pegniscola, would haue continued the Schisme, and entering into the Conclau

32  
Castile.

D. *Aluar de Luna* made Constable of Castile.

Don Alphonso  
King of Arra-  
gon & Castile  
of a new  
Solismon.

1425.

Birth of the  
Infant Don  
Henry of  
Castile.

Nauarre.

Death of  
Charles King  
of Navarre.

Pampelona  
united into  
one body.

with the accustomed ceremonies, they did choose a Chanon of Barcelona, named *Gil A Mugnos*, borne at Teruel, whom they called *Clement* the eight, wherevnto Don *Alphonso* King of Arragon consented, beeing in bad termes with Pope *Martin* at Rome. This *Clement* created Cardinals, gaue Benefices and Dispensations, and did all acts of a Pope as well as *Martin*, and by him the Church of Rome continued diuided.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty and fise, *D. Henry* sonne to *D. Iohn* King of Castile, was borne at Vailledolit, who succeeded him in the Realmes. Hee was baptized by Don *Aluaro* of Osorno Bishop of Cuenca, the God-fathers were *Aluar de Luna*, the Constable, and Don *Alphonso Henriquez* Admirall of Castile: and the Godmothers Donna *Eluira Porto-carrero* the Constables wife, and Donna *Joane* of Mendoça B the Admirals: and within few moneths after this Infant was sworne Prince and heire of the realmes in that Towne, in the Monasterie of Saint *Pablo*, the Infant Don *Ihon* of Arragon, as Lord of Lara, being the first that swore him fealtie and future homage.

The offences betwixt the Kings of Castile and Arragon were such, as they attended nothing but open warre, not onely in these two realmes, but also in Nauarre, the successor thereof, Don *Iohn*, being much bound to either cuntry: wherefore the King Don *Charles* vsed all meanes possible to reconcile them. Notwithstanding the King Don *Alphonso* sent a letter open, by a Secretarie of his, to the Infant *D. Iohn* his brother, to come into Arragon to assist at a Parliament which hee had called, vpon paine to bee declared a rebell. Don *Iohn* not onely obtained leaue to goe to the King his Brother, but hee C had also full authoritie to make an accord with him. When he came to the Court of Arragon at Tarassone, hee had newes of the death of the King of Nauarre, his father in lawe, which happened suddenly at Olite, in September, being busie about his build- ings. A Prince much lamented both of his subiects and strangers, for his vertues and milde dispositions: who besides other remarkable things, settled a perpetuall peace in Pampelona, the which before his time had bene diuided into three regions or coun- tries, called Bourg, Peuplement, and Nauarriere, gouerned by three diuers Iudges, with seuerall Iurisdiccions, so as there oftentimes fell out great contentions and mu- tinies among them, the which hee did abolish, reducing all the Inhabitants of the Towne vnder one Iustice, taking away for euer the factious names of parts and quar- ters, placing one Gouvernour or Magistrate ouer them, with ten Iurates to assist him. Hee was threecore and foure yeares old when hee dyed, and had reigned thirtie nine yeares and nine moneths. His body was laide in the Cathedrall Church at Pampelona, with Queene *Leonora* his wife.

### Don John, first of that name, thirty three King of Nauarre.

Don *Iohn* his sonne in lawe succeeded him, in the right of Donna *Blanche* his wife, the Crowne of Nauarre passing from the house of France, to the house of Castile and Arragon, for want of heyres male, the which continued not long. Hee was about eight and twenty yeares old when hee began to raigne in Nauarre: when as King *Charles* dyed, hee was in the campe of King Don *Alphonso*, who being incensed against the King of Castile, for his brother Don *Henrys* imprisonment, was gone to Armes, and had his forces on the confines of Arragon and Nauarre, about Tarassone, the which hee caused to enter into Nauarre, as soone as the newes came of the Kings death. After which they vsed this ceremonie: Don *Iohn*, who should succede, kept F his chamber three dayes, after which hee went to horse-back, accompanied with the King his brother, and causing the Standard of Nauarre to be carried before him, by a Knight called *Nugno Vaca*, and a Herald to march before with a coate of the armes of Nauarre, crying out aloud, Nauarre, Nauarre, for the King Don *Iohn* and Donna *Blanche* his wife: going often about the field, the Trumpets sounding, and being followed

Ceremonie in  
taking posses-  
sion of the  
realmes of  
Nauarre.

A followed by many Knights and Gentlemen of Castile and Arragon, on foote, but there was not one Nauarrois, for the Nobilitie of Nauarre had done the like at Olite, for the Queene Donna *Blanche* their naturall Princeesse, and not without a misterie.

Whilest that these things past vpon the frontiers, the King of Castile hauing made a great assembly at Palence, and gathered together much money, in the end hee was aduised to free Don *Henry* out of prison, beeing the cause of all this tumult, and for the which the King of Arragon had taken Armes. The King of Castile would first haue the King of Arragon disarmed, which difficultie being debated, it was agreed that Don *Henry* should bee deliuered in the hands of Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre, who should bee answerable vntill that the King of Arragon his brother had laide downe B Armes. Wherefore *Pero Garcia* of Herrera, Marshall of Castile, followed by fise hun- dred men at Armes, came to the Castle of Mora, whereas the Infant Don *Henry* was deliuered vnto him, hee swearing to conduēt him and deliuer him into the hands of Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre.

34.  
Castile.

Don Henry  
brother to the  
King of Arra-  
gon and Nau-  
arre, deliue-  
red.

The two Kings Brethren being come to Saint *Vincent* of Nauarre, hearing that they brought Don *Henry*, they returned, and going to meete him, the King Don *Iohn* recei- ued him at Agreda, and then ledde him to Tarassone, whereas the King of Arragon embraced him with great content. Beeing there, Don *Lewis de Guzman* Maister of Calatraua, and Don *Ihon* of Soto maior, Maister of Alcantara, sent to offer him their friendship and meanes, against them of the Kings Councell, and against his Mig- C nions, which had bene opposit against him. The which the King of Castile did not doubtr, but sent *Fernande* of Robles, and Doctor *Periagnez* of his Councell, to Calcante a Towne of Nauarre, to treat with the King Don *Ihon* touching his returne into Castile to end that which remained to doe touching Don *Henry*, the which hee yielded vnto, and came to the King of Castile beeing at Roa, who entertained him kindly, and hauing bene there some dayes together, without speaking of any affaires, the King of Castile went to Segobia, and hee of Nauarre to Medina del Campo. Soone after, in the beginning of the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty and six, hee came to Toro to the King of Castile, where hee gaue him an accompt of that which hee had negotiated with the King of Arragon his Brother, wherewith the D King seemed to bee very well satisfied. The Estates were held there, by the which the King was let vnderstand of the superfluous charge of a thous and Lances which hee led for his garde, the which cost eight Millions of Marauidis, wherevpon they were redu- ced to a hundred, vnder the Constables charge, who was in such authoritie and fauour, as euery man feared him openly, or hated him secretly. The Estates requiring also that the Kings excessiue gifts should bee cut off, it was ordained, that all that had or should be giuen by the King before the age of twenty fise yeares, should bee reputed void: Many other good decrees were made, but they lasted little.

Estates at  
Toro, and  
their remon-  
strances.

The King of Nauarre staid in Castile, where he had great possessions, and was much fauoured, yea for his sake many Noblemen Castillans were aduanced to Offices in the Kings house, as *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça was made Lord Steward, and *Ihon Aluaro* of Ga- dillo Standard-bearer. As for himselfe hee was wholly gouerned by *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, whom he made Earle of Castro Xeris, a place which was of his patrimonie. There were three Leagues beginning in Court, one for the king of Nauarre, the second for *Henry* his brother, and the third for the Constable Don *Aluar de Luna*, who increa- sed daily in authoritie. The king spent the rest of that yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty and sixe, at Fuente del Saucó, at Vailledolit & at Zamora, where he caused some pettie mutiniers and rebels to bee punished by Iustice, whilest that great men, which troubled the realme, liued in all assurance.

F In the beginning of the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty and seauen, the In- fant Don *Henry* and his wife Donna *Catherina* came from Valencia to Ocagne, where the hatred burst forth betwixt the King of Nauarre, and the Constable Don *Aluar de Luna* being much fauoured and highly supported by the fauor of the King, who desired also to entertaine the King of Nauarre. Don *Henry* aduancing towards the Court, came to Vailledolit, accompanied by the Maisters of Calatraua and Alcantara,

Nnn 3

and

League against  
the Constable  
Aluaro de  
Luna.

D. Aluaro de  
Luna fled  
from court.

and others of the faction opposite to the Constable, it availing nothing that the King, A who was at Simanca, did write vnto him, and commanded him by many messages, that he should not come to Court, but returne to Ocagne. The two Brethren entring into Vailladolid, being confederate with Don Pedro de Velasco, who was Earle of Haro, and Lord Chamberlaine to the King, Don Inigo Lopes de Mendoza, Lord of Hita and Buitrago, who afterwards was the first Marquis of Sentillana, Don Fernand Aluarez of Toledo Lord of the Vallee of Corneia, who afterwards was the first Earle of Alba, and his Vncle Don Guttiere Gomes of Tolledo Bishop of Palence, the Maisters of Calatrava and Alcantara, with other noble men of Castille, sent to beseech the King, that for some good respects he would command the Constable to retire from Court, for that the absolute power which he did vsurpe in the gouernment of affaires, was the cause of many inconveniences. The King would haue it put to Compromise, and that the King of Nauarre on the one side, and Don Aluaro on the other, should deliuer their reasons before Arbitrators: of which aduice Francisco of Soria, a Franciscan Friar, was the Author. The Judges named for the confederates, were Don Lewis of Guzman Maister of the Calatrava, and the Gouernour Don Pedro Manrique, and for the Constable, Don Alphonso Henriques high Admirall of Castille, and Fernand Alphonso of Robles, of the Kings Councell, and his chiefe Treasurer: and for an Vmper the Abbot of Saint Benets in Vailladolid. All which gaue sentence, that Don Aluaro de Luna the Constable, should absent himselfe from Court, for the space of eightene moneths next ensuing, and not come within fiftene Leagues of it, and so should they doe whom hee had put into the Kings Chamber.

The Constable yeelding to this sentence, hee retired himselfe to his house at Aillon, and the King of Nauarre with his brother Don Henrie, came to Cigales, where the King was, of whom they tooke their leaues with reasonable good shewes of loue: yet Don Henry had a better countenance of him then the King of Nauarre, to whom they imputed the whole cause of the Constables dismission, which made the King the more desirous to see him againe. And for that Fernando Alphonso de Robles, one of the Kings Counsell, had bene one of the principall Instruments of all these alterations, hee was shut vp in the Castle of Segobia.

Accord made  
by the King  
with Don  
Henry.

After all this, they treated of Don Henries affaires, and of his confederates. The accord which the King made there with Don Henry, besides the restitution of his goods, and the dignitie of the maistership of Saint James, was, that for the Marquisate of Villena, hee should enioy Trugillo and Alcaras, with their appurtenances, and other lands in the country of Guadaluja: Moreover they gaue him two hundred thousand Florens of gold in ready money, and a Million and two hundred thousand small Maraudis of yearly pension during his life. To the King of Nauarre for his charges during the troubles, hee gaue a hundred thousand Florins to bee payde by a certaine time. There was then present Inigo Ortiz of Estuniga, Marshall of Nauarre, who had married Donna Joane base Sister to the Queene Donna Blanche.

D. Rayn Lopez of  
Aualos restored  
to his honor  
and good  
name, but not  
to his goods.

The King discharged and sent home to their houses a great number of vnecessary men which followed the court without cause, who were but a burthen to him and the country: and to take away all occasion of distrust and new troubles, hee granted a generall pardon to all men, of what Estate, quality, or condition soeuer they were, that had medled with the precedent troubles. Hee restored Don Rayn Lopez of Aualos the Constable (beeing accused to haue had Intelligence with the Moores, by letters produced to the Kings Councell) to his honour and fame, but hee neither restored him to his Office nor goods. Amidst these treaties the Constable Aluaro de Luna was called backe againe to the court, his verie enemies consenting therevnto, yea the King of Nauarre, and his brother Don Henry, who grew after so ialous one of another, who should bee in the Constables fauour, as they entred into factions: wherefore the King of Castille employing therein the Queene of Nauar, and the Estates also of Nauarre, they perswaded their King to returne into his realme. D. Henry went in pilgrimage to Saint James, and then was sent to the Moores frontier, who began to raise some tumults, as we will hereafter shew.

The

A The King of Castile being at Vailladolid, D. Leonora Infanta of Arragon, sister to the King of Nauarre, past thereby going into Portugal, to be married to Prince Edward, the heire of that Realme, to whom the King her cousin gaue the best reception he could, honouring her with rich presents, money and men to accompany her. Soone after the King being at Arando of Duero, he receiued D. Pedro Infant of Portugal, and Duke of Coimbra, very graciously, being also his cousin germaine: for D. Philippe mother to D. Pedro, and Donna Constance mother to the King D. Iohn, were sisters daughters to the duke of Lancaster, but by diuers ventures. This Prince came from traauailing ouer Christendome: and it is he of whom it is said in Portugal, that hee had seene the seven parts of the world, that is to say all: from thence he past much honoured into Portugal. In like manner there came the same yeere into Castile, D. Pedro Infant of Arragon, in his returne from Naples, whereas the affaires had not bene very successfull for the Arragonois: where he went to see the Queene Donna Leonora his mother, at Medina del Campo. The King freed D. Garci Fernandes Manrique out of prison, who had bene committed with the Infant D. Henry. Thus past the gouernment of Castile vnto the end of the yeere 1428.

D. Pedro of  
Portugal a  
great traue-  
ler.

In the which the King of Arragon hauing made an accord with Pope Martin, he forced the Antipope Gil Magnus, refyding in the castle of Pegniscola to renounce the Popedom, hauing held it foure yeeres, whereby the Schisme in the church of Rome ended, hauing continued foure and forty yeeres. This Gil Magnus had in recompence the Bishoprike of Majorca, and was receiued into the bosome of the church, and in fauor with the Apostolike sea of Rome. The Cardinals created by him gaue ouer their hats, and Martin remained sole Pope.

This yeere beganne an other sect of Monkes of Saint Ierosme, springing out of that of Saint Bartlemew of Lupiana, wherevnto Friar Lopes of Olmedo, a Doctor of the lawes, and a religious man in that Monastery, gaue the beginning. Hauing bene chosen by the Monkes of Saint Bartlemew to be generall of their Order, being desirous to reforme them, he gathered out of the Bookes of Saint Ierosme, and others, a certaine rule and manner of lyuing, which hee said, had bene held in Bethelhem, wherevpon that great Doctor, and his Monkes prescribed that monacall weed, which hee said was vsed by them, and hauing presented all vnto Pope Martin, hee caused his order to be allowed, vnder the name of friars hermits of Saint Ierosme, of the obseruance of Bethelhem, and then he fought to haue it receiued in Spaine, by the religious of his Order, and to reforme them to bee more perfect, according to the same: but they told him plainly, that they would none of it, wherefore he was forced to finde out other followers. He therefore erected a conuent vnder that title neere vnto Seuille, called of Saint Isidro, a name which hath remained to this new sect, so as there haue bene since in Spaine two sorts of Monkes of Saint Ierosme, the one of Lupiana, and the other of Saint Isidro, or of friar Lope. This Order of Monkes makes the fourth of them that liue vnder the Romish church in Spaine, numbred with the Bernadins, Benedictins and Carthusians. These Isidres haue multiplied in such sort, as since they haue extended themselues farre into Italy, and other Regions. And although that their beginning be from Spaine, and that in the beginning the chiefe of their order was a Spaniard, yet in succession of time, and through the negligence of the Spaniards, the Italians haue gotten it: and whereas they sent vice-generals of this Order out of Spaine into Italy, now it is otherwise. Such were the effects of the doctrine of that age.

35  
Castile.

Four Orders  
of Monkes  
which beg. not.

Whilest that D. Iohn King of Nauarre, and his wife D. Blanche were in Castile, the Estates of Nauarre assembled, and tooke a new oth to D. Charles Prince of Viana. Queene Blanche went first into Nauarre, and soone after the King her husband arriued, hauing made a renuntiation of certaine lands in Castile, in fauour of his sonne D. Charles, being then seven yeeres old, where the leagues were renewed betwixt Castile, Nauarre and Arragon, King Iohn hauing full power from King D. Alphonso his brother. And on Whitsonday 1429, the King D. Iohn and Queene Blanche his wife were crowned at Pampelone, the three Estates of the realme being assembled, and the rights, preiudges and liberties of the country sworn by them. D. Martin of Peralta Bishop of Pampelone did the ceremony

ceremony of the vnction, and others accustomed in such cases. There were present the Ambassadors of forraigne Princes, the Bishops of Calaoorra, Tarrassone and Bayone, with many Noblemen and Knights of Nauarre, Castile and Arragon. At this coronation there was againe sworne and confirmed the matrimoniall conuentions betwixt the King D. Iohn, and D. Blanche the heire, made in the time of King Charles her father.

The Estate of the Moores of Granado, during these tumults in Castile, had bene quiet, by prorogation of the truce with the King of Castile, and his counsell, in consideration of a certaine tribute, which was paid by King Ioseph vntill his death, the which was in the yeere 1423. being very old, and hauing enioyed the realme fiftene yeeres.

### Mahumet the Left-handed, called Aben-Azar the foureteenth King of Granado.

Moores.

AFTER Ioseph reigned his sonne Mahumet, called Aben-Azar, the Scepter of Granado continuing by him in the succession of Ferrachen, who was Gouvernor of Malaga. This King who was left-handed of his person, had also a sinister reigne: for he was thrice chased from his throne, after great miseries, and twice restored. These seditious changes were ordinary, and haue alwayes bene amongst the Arabians, who are inconstant, treacherous, rauishing and ambitious, if there be any liuing. King Mahumet did maintain the truce, and entertaine himselfe in the fauour and friendship of the King of Castile, for some yeeres, and in like manner with Muley Aben Ferriz King of Tunes: but he could not get the loue of his owne subiects. In the beginning of his reigne, he made a Knight whose name was Ioseph, of the family of Aben Sarraes (which was great and much esteemed amongst that nation) Alguazil Major or chiefe Marshall of Granado. The troubles of Castile, whereas many Noblemen, yea D. Henry Maister of Saint Iames, banded against their King, was a president for the Moores, who conspired against this Left-handed Mahumet, in fauour of an other of the same name, surnamed the Little: so as they made him King, and forced Mahumet to flie to Tunes, to King Muley Aben Ferriz his friend: in which exile he was followed by about five hundred Moores of his faction, as well horse as foote, who were all well entertained, and afterwards assisted to recouer the lost Kingdome in Spaine.

Mahumet Aben-Azar expelled.

### Mahumet the Little, the fifteenth King of Granado.

Tyrants care not to be hated, so they be feared.

MAHUMET called the Little, reigned then about the yeere 1427. the eleuenth of that name, and fifteenth King of the Moores at Granado. The surname of Little, was giuen him, to distinguish him from his predecessor, who reigned before him. This King entring by tyranny, thought that rigour and cruelty was the best means to maintaine him in his Estate, as commonly tyrants doe; wherefore he beganne to persecute the Officers, friends and partisans of his predecessor (whom he had expelled) by imprisonments, banishments, confiscations and cruell deaths, whereas many were ruined, and many also escaped, amongst the which was the Alguazil Ioseph Aben Sarraes, who fled to Lorca a towne in the realme of Murcia, submitting himselfe to the mercy of the King of Castile, and of the Gouvernor of Lorca, who was Lope Alphonso of Lorca, who afterwards led him to court, and presented him to the King D. Iohn at Illesca, a towne belonging to the Archbisshop of Toledo, seated betwixt Madrid and Toledo. The King gaue good entertainment to this Moore, from whom he vnderstood the resolutions of Granado, Lope Alphonso being truchman betwixt them. The King being intreated by Ioseph Aben Sarraes, to aide his maister to recouer his realme, hee yielded vnto it, and hauing giuen him many presents, and shewed him all fauour, he sent him with Lope Alphonso in Ambassage to

A to Tunes, to let King Mahumet vnderstand how much hee desired to doe him good, and to exhort him of Tunes, to aide and fauour his guest. The businesse succeeded so well, as Mahumet Aben Azar, receiuing money, and all other kinde of aide, from the King of Tunes, he past from Tunes to Oran, and then crossing the sea, hee came and landed at Vera in Granado, whose comming being divulged through the country, the towne thereabouts, yea that of Almeri, opened their gates vnto him. Mahumet the Little, who held the Realme, resolved to make head against him, thinking that his forces were yet but weake, sending about eight hundred horse and some foote before to encounter him, most of which ioyned with Mahumet Aben Azar, who pursuing his good fortune, entred with the like facility into Guadix, yea hee was receiued into the city of Granado: so as Mahumet the Little, his competitor was forced to shut and fortifie himselfe, in the Alhambra of Granado; where he was presently besieged, Aben Azar lodging his campe at a place called Alcabiçar, neere to the fort of Alhambra: to whose obedience there presently yielded the townes of Malaga, Gibraltar, Ronde, and in the end the whole realme: wherefore Mahumet the Little, being hated and abandoned of all men, and fainting, hee was forced, and taken in the castle of Alhambra, with his children, where hee ended his daies miserably, and his children were kept prisoners. Thus Mahumet Aben Azar recouered the realme, two yeeres after he had bene expelled, in the yeere 1429. and of the Arabians 812.

Mahumet Aben-Azar recouers his realme of Granado.

Mahumet the usurper taken and put to death.

An. 1429.

37 Castille.

C The King of Nauarre at his departure out of Castile, left Diego Gomes of Sandoual, Earle of Castro Xeris, his familiar friend there, who presently cauled the townes of Pegnassiel, Portillo and Castro Xeris to bee repaired, which made D. Iohn King of Castile conceiue, that there was some enterprise in hand to his prejudice, and that the King of Nauarre was gone away discontented with him. In which opinion he was confirmed by the newes which he receiued, that they leauied both foote and horse in Nauarre and Arragon, the which they couered with a pretext to send them into France, to succour King Charles against the English: Moreouer that hauing treated an accord and pacification betwixt Castile, Nauarre and Arragon, although the King of Nauarre had signed it, yet he of Arragon would not heare of it. For these causes the King of Castile sent D. Iohn Francis of Soria his confessor, and Peter of Bocanegra Deane of Cuenca, Ambassadors into Nauarre, to know what the King of Nauarres intention was, and to complaine of the Earle of Castros doings, and of other things, whereof hee was aduertised, which were practised against him, and the Estate of Castile: To whom answer was made, that they did not practise any thing against him, and that the souldiars which were leauied, were not to bee sent into Castile, and if they should, it were not for any thing that might offend the King their maister.

But in effect D. Iohn King of Nauarre, hee of Arragon, and D. Henry their brother, were conspired against the government of Castile, and they had an intent to trouble the State, to pull downe them that were great, and to aduance others, who were kept vnder or chased away; about all the King of Nauarre was furiously iealous of the Constables D. Aluaro de Lunas greatnesse, and other things that were managed in that court contrary to his liking: and as he was of a turbulent spirit, hee did not cease to seeke occasion of quarrels, entertaining his brother D. Alphonso king of Arragon in the hatred which he had conceiued against the king of Castile, for the imprisonment of D. Henry. These two Princes being thus disposed, all things prepared to warre, the which did much trouble the Queene Donna Blanche, and the Estates of Nauarre, who intreated him that hee would forbear, and enioy his realme in peace, and those goodly Estates which hee had in Castile, whereas the Queenes dowry was assigned, & the reuenues of many Lordships affected to Prince Charles his sonne: but they were not heard, and much lesse a second Ambassage from the King of Castile, in which were D. Alphonso Tenorio, Notary or Secretary of the realme of Toledo; and Doctor Fernand Gonçales of Auila counsellor of State to the King of Castile, with two deputies of townes: wherefore the King of Castile made preparation, and leauied men of all sides, to resist the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and he rooke a new oth of fealty of all the Noblemen of his realme, especially of the Infant D. Henry.

Ceremonie in taking possession of the realme of Nauarre.

Here-

Death of D.  
Alphonso Hen-  
riques Admi-  
ral of Castile.

Warre of the  
Castilian a-  
gainst Arra-  
gon and Na-  
uarre.

Hereupon the King of Nauarre sent to excuse himselfe, and to require an enterview of A the King of Castile, but his excuses were not credited, yet the enterview was graunted. At this time there being dead D. *Alphonso Henriques* high Admiral of Castile, bafe sonne to D. *Frederic* maister of Saint Iames and grand-child to King D. *Alphonso* the twelfth, there was substituted in his place his sonne D. *Frederic*; his body was interred at Saint Clara in Palence, founded by him. The Kings troups being ready to march, the constable went towards the frontier of Arragon with two hundred launces, and the King led the rest of his forces towards Pegnasfel, whereas the Earle of Castro and the Infant D. *Pedro*, brother to the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre, had fortified themselves. Their other brother, D. *Henry*, sought in the meane time to leauy men about Toledo, but the B Inhabitants hindred him. The King sommoned D. *Pedro* and the Earle to yeeld vp the towne of Pegnasfel, vpon paine to be proclaimed traitors, and to be so condemned; so as the Earle yeelded vp the towne, vpon honorable conditions, and amongst others, not to be bound to carry armes against the King of Nauarre. The castle which was commanded by *Gonzalo Gomes* of Sumel, held some daies. On the other side the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre, entred into Castile, with two thousand five hundred men at armes, and some few foote, whose entry the constable could not stop, with whom Don *Henry* ioyned with two hundred and twenty horse, against the promises made. They ranne neere vnto Cogollado, and beeing come to Xadraque, the Constable following C them, they presented him battail, the which he would not accept, for *Peter* Cardinal of Foix sonne to *Archimbold*, and *Mary* Queene of Arragon, sister to the King of Castile, came by great iourneies out of Arragon, and put themselves betwixt them, making an entrance to an accord, which was, that the two Kings should returne into their realmes, and that the constable and other noblemen of the King of Castiles army, should intreat him to restore vnto the King of Nauarre, and to the Infant D. *Henry* their lands: for as soone as the army of Arragon and Nauarre had entred into Castile, the King did cause all that the house of Arragon did hold in Castile, to bee seized on. By this meanes the armies parted, and the two brethren Kings came to Huerta and Hariza, in Arragon, and the Infant D. *Henry* to Ocagne; but the indignation of D. *John* King of Castile, was so great, as he did not regard, that which had bene capitulated, but sent to all his subjects, D that they should hold the Arragonois and Nauarrois for enemies, and make violent warre against them, and comming himselfe in person to the campe at Piquera, hee resolved to goe and charge his enemies in their fort at Hariza. Queene *Mary* and the Cardinal *Felix* returned againe to the King of Castile, propounding many meanes of peace, but all in vaine: whereupon they returned, very much discontented. D. *Frederic* of Castile Earle of Arjone, was apprehended in the army, vpon suspicion that he fauored the Arragonois: war being proclaimed throughout al Castile, the inhabitants of the country of Biscay, Guipuscoa, Alaua, and Rioja, entred suddenly into Nauarre, where they committed infinit spoiles. Thus an innocent Realme suffered for a nocent King, whom they had earnestly intreated to entertaine peace with Castile.

The King of Castiles army being strong and ready to enter into Arragon, hee sent word to D. *Alphonso* King of Arragon, that he would spare his country, if hee would forsake the king of Nauarre, the which he refused: whereupon the constable of Castile being followed by five hundred horse, marcht to Monreal, tooke it, spoiled Cetina, and finding no resistance, returned to the army, which consisted of 7000. men at armes, 3600. genets or light horse, and 60000. foot, with the which King *John* entred into Arragon, where he tooke and burnt the towne of Hariza, but hee attempted not the castle, which was very strong: this was all the exploit was done with that mighty army: for the two brethren Kings not presenting themselves to battaile, and victuals fayling for so great an army, he was forced to retire into Castile, towards Medina Cell, from whence he sent for the gard of the frontier, D. *Pedro* of Velasco his Lord Chamberlain, with 600. launces to lie with them in Alfaro, Calaoarra, or Logroño: against whom the King of Nauarre did fortifie Tudele, Viana and La Garde.

In the meane time D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* brethren to the kings, ouerran the country of Estremadura, hauing to incounter them Don *Roderigo Alonso Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent

Army of the  
King of Ca-  
stile.

A. Benauent, who finding himselfe weake, had the Constable sent to him, with sufficient forces: The king being returned to Pegnasfel, wrought so as the captaine of the castle yeelded it vnto him, fearing to be put in the ranke of rebels and traitors to their Prince. The king of Arragon slept not, but employing his forces (his enemy being farre off) hee tooke in Castile, in the country of Soria, Deca, and the castles of Ciria, Boronia and Bozmediano, carrying away an infinite number of prisoners, aboue forty thousand charges of corne, and great store of cattle and other spoiles. The king of Castile was much moued with these newes, and gaue all the lands which the king of Nauarre, his sonne D. *Charles*, the Queene Donna *Blanche*, and the Infant D. *Henry* held in Castile, to D. *Henry* his sonne, Prince of the Asturia's, and he sent D. *Pedro* of Velasco to make most E violent warres in Nauarre: and being resolved to enter himselfe in person the next yeere with a great army, he called the Estates to Burgos, to haue money, demanding a hundred millions of Maraudis to entertaine it sixe monthes: and for that their was some difficulty to draw together so great a summe he borrowed of rich men, and of churches, all their plate and siluer vessel, and sent it to bee coined at Seuille. During the assembly at Burgos, there came Ambassadors from the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, which were, *Peter* of Peralta, the Abbot of Roncevaux, Doctor *John* of Lezana, D. *John* of Luna, and *Berenguel* of Bardaxi, to treat of a peace, to whom answer was made, that the king of Castile would send Ambassadors expressely to giue them a conuenient answer: and to them of Nauarre, shewing particularly in the name of Queene *Blanche* and of her sonne C D. *Charles*, that they had not done any thing, for the which they should seize their rents and pensions, yea the Queenes dowry, who had neuer consented to these quarrels, the like answer was made. The Ambassadors of Castile were D. *Sancho* of Rojas Bishop of Astorga, *Pero Lope* of Ayala Marshall of the kings body, and D. *Fernando Gonçales* of Auila, of the Kings counsell. Who being come into Nauarre, made great complaints of D. *John* King of Nauarre, accusing him of great faults, wherein they did also comprehend the Queene, saying, that she was a confederate in the warre, seeing that she had sold her jewels to furnish her husband with money, and made other demonstrations of an enemy. From Nauarre they past into Arragon, where they gaue as little hope of peace: wherefore King D. *Alphonso* sent Ambassadors to Rome, to Pope *Martin*, to complaine D of the King of Castile, who refused all honest meanes of an accord. The Constable being come into Extremadura, he made the Infants D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* retire towards Albuquerque, vpon the frontier of Portugal, whether they sent great store of cattle, hoping they should serue to victual them, for the which the King of Portugal was glad to excuse himselfe to the King of Castile, who complained. The Constable tooke Trugillo, and hauing seized also of the castle by the meanes of one of the captaines of the garrison, he deliuered it into the Kings hands: hee attempted Montanches, and hauing taken D. *Roderigo Alonso Pimentel* Earle of Benauent with him, he came and camped before Albuquerque, an impregnable fort, but hee desired to draw the Infants to fight E Knight to Knight, but they would not vouchsafe to accept it: wherefore he retired his army towards Pierrebonne, from whence hauing aduertised the King of the Estate of his affaires, he came presently to the campe, and then the castle of Montanches yeelded, by intelligence which the constable had with the captaine. The Prouinces and townes of Castile did furnish the King with five and forty millions of Maraudies for the warres: and there was an Ambassage sent to Rome to Pope *Martin* to free the King of Castile of the imputations which were laied vpon him by him of Arragon. The King of Nauarre making shew to enter into Castile by Briones, D. *Pedro* of Velasco went to field, with all the troups he could gather together, hauing drawne out of Biscay three thousand men, led by *John* of Abendagno, *Ordengo Garcia Arrega*, *Gonzalo Gomes* of Buitron, and his sonne *Gomes Gonzalo* of Muxica, Lord of the house of Muxica, and finding no man to make head against him hee went to beseege the towne of Saint Vincent, the which was taken by assault, but whilest the Biscains were busie at the pillage, not caring to keepe any order, nor martiall discipline, entering confusedly into the houses, without any gards vpon the approaches: being entred into the houses, the Inhabitants who were armed, and retired into the castles, seeing this confused multitude in their towne, they brake

Exploits of the  
King of Arra-  
gon.

Biscains de-  
feated by them  
whom they had  
vanquished  
for want of  
discipline.



Towne of  
Saint Vincent  
obtains new  
priviledges.

Institution of  
the Order of  
the golden  
fleece.

Ceremonie of  
the Order of  
the Fleece.

1430.

39.  
King of Na-  
varres lands  
in Castile con-  
fiscated and gi-  
uen away.

brake out vpon them, and incounting *Gomes Gonçales* in the street, with a small compa-  
ny they tooke him, hauing slain most of his souldiers: whose father *Gonçalo Gomes* of Bu-  
tron, running to succour him, beeing as ill accompanied as his sonne, was slaine with  
some of his men, and could not be releued. *D. Pedro* of Velasco, seeing that the castle  
could not be forced with a long and painefull seege, he set fire on the suburbs, and of  
some houses in the towne, and then returned to Haro, carrying with him many of his  
Knights and good souldiers wounded. The towne of Saint Vincent, for the losse it sustai-  
ned then, and for the good seruice it did in the warre betwixt Nauarre and Castile, ob-  
tained many priuiledges and freedoms for the inhabitants thereof. He among the Na-  
uarrois which did most harme to the Castellans, was a Knight called *Sancho* of Londog-  
no the kings Marshall, issued from the house of Londogno, neere to Ordugna, a member  
of Biscay: he running one day into Kioja, was surprized by the ambushes which *Diego*  
*Perez Sarmiento* captaine of Bastide had layed for him, who carried him prisoner to that  
fort: but this losse was soone recompenced by *Ruy Dias* of Mendoça the bald, borne at  
Seuile, and yet he did serue the king of Nauarre faithfully, and was gone forth of Tu-  
dele with foure hundred horse and fise hundred foot, ouer-running the countrie of A-  
greda, against whom *D. Inigo Lopez* of Mendoça Lord of Hita and Buitrago (who kept a  
garrison there for the king of Castile) falling forth, and coming to fight in the field  
of Arauiana, he was there vanquished, with the death and imprisonment of many Ca-  
stillans. At that time the Infanta *D. Izabella* of Portugall, daughter to the king *D. Iohn*,  
was married to *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie, Earle of Flanders, and Lord of many other  
Seigneuries, who had two wiues without any children. Of this marriage was born *Charles*  
whose daughter and onely heire was afterwards married to *Maximilian* of Austria. The  
very day that this marriage betwixt *D. Philip*, and the Infanta *Izabella* was celebrated  
with great pompe at Bruges, the Order of Bourgondie of the golden fleece was institu-  
ted by him, the tenth yeare after his coming to it, vpon a vow which he had made to  
go and make warre against the Infidels of Syria, and to conquer the countrie of Iurie: but  
his great affaires made his vow fruitlesse. His Order had for head and patron (I know not  
by what diuinity) *S. Andrew*, and the solemnitie of the Order was to be celebrated euery  
yeare three dayes together, whose knights should be the first day attired in red, in signe  
that heauen is purchased by the effusion of bloud and by Martyrdome: the second day in  
blacke, representing mourning for the dead: and the third in white, in honour of the pu-  
rity of the Virgin *Mary*: and they should carry for a marke of their knight-hood, a chaine  
made in fashion of fuzils, with a rams skin & fleece hanging at it: a deuise taken, not from  
the Pagan *Iason*, but from the faithfull *Gedeon*, as some say. The first knights of this Or-  
der were foure and twenty in number, of the Noblest and most renowned of his Estates  
of Burgondy, Flanders and the Netherlands: wherewith since many Princes and great  
Noblemen of Spaine and other places, haue held themselves much honoured. This was  
that Duke *Philip*, who to reuenge the death of his father *Iohn*, murdered at Montreau-  
faut-Yonne by the Dauphin *Charles*, drew the English into France, to the ruine of his  
naturall country, as you may read at large in the History of France.

The yeere 1430. being come, *D. Iohn* King of Castile prepared to make warre against  
the King of Nauarre, against whom he had the greatest spleene; and forgetting no kinde  
of rigour, he resolved to deprive him and his of all the lands which they held in Castile,  
without euer hoping to re-enter into them: and therefore he gaue to *D. Gutierrez* of To-  
ledo Bishop of Palence, and afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, the towne of Alua de  
Tormes, to *D. Pedro Manrique* Gouvernor of Leon, the towne of Paredes de Naua: to  
*D. Roderigo Alphonso Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, Majorga: to the Marshall *Inigo Ortiz*  
of Estuniga, Cerezo: he would haue giuen to *Fernand Diaz* of Toledo, fise hundred  
vassals in the lands which did belong to *D. Iohn* King of Nauarre, but hee refused them:  
He gaue to *D. Frederic* of Arragon Earle of Luna, base sonne to *Martin* King of Sicile,  
Villalon and Cuellar: to Queene *Mary* his wife *Olmedo*; and other places to other  
Knights. The king being come to field, before the fort of Albuquerque, hee caused the  
Infants *D. Henry* and *D. Pedro* to be summoned, to yeeld him the place, promising that  
the Infants should be herd in Iustice, and that all the rest should haue a generall pardon:

giuing

A giuing the Infants thirty daies time to resolue, and the rest forty: but their answers were  
arrowes and bullets, with great daunger to the Kings person, who being in a great rage  
at their obtnacy, he caused *D. Henries* proceesse to be made, and gaue the administrati-  
on of the maister-ship of Saint Iames to the constable, diuiding his lands to diuerse  
Knights, very prodigally, as hee had done the King of Nauarres. In the meane time *D.*  
*Diego* of Estuniga, or Suniga, Bishop of Calaoarra, and *Calçada* and his vnle *D. Pedro* of  
Estuniga, Earle of Ledesma, Iustice Major of Castile, and another *D. Diego* of Estuniga  
his cousin, with the forces of the frontier, tooke the towne of La Garde in Nauarre, by  
Scalado, being two leagues from Logroño, the castle held out, and cost many good  
mens liues, on either side, and beeing fortified with new succors, sent from the King of  
Nauarre, they made furious and bloody sallies vpon their enemies, who held the towne,  
but in the end they were so prest by the Bishop and the Earle of Ledesma, as they did ca-  
pitulate to yeeld, if by a day prefixt they were not releued by the King their Lord; du-  
ring the which there should be a cessation of armes; and if there came any succors, the  
besieged should bee bound to aduertise the Bishop that hee might doe as hee pleased.  
This accord being made, the captaine of the place besieged made a mine vnder ground,  
by the which he drew into the castle a great number of souldiers, which the King of Na-  
uarre had sent him, vpon the aduertisement of the capitulation. The time beeing ready  
to expire, the captaine aduertised the Bishop, that the succors were arrived, and at that  
instant he opened the mine in the midst of the place, from whence issued great num-  
bers of souldiers of Nauarre, who beganne to charge the Castellans, which caused a  
great confusion amongst them, and did much trouble the Bishop; yet beeing made  
with this treachery, they put themselves in defence, and repulst the Nauarrois into the  
castle ditch, hauing lost many good men of either side. This hauing not succeeded so  
happely as the Nauarrois expected & their victuals fayling them, by little and little they  
abandoned the fort: So La Garde both towne and castle remained in the King of Ca-  
stiles power. The Queene *D. Leonora* mother to the Princes of Arragon, sorrowful for so  
many ruines, being old, and wholly giuen to deuotion, lyuing at Medina del Campo, in  
her Monastery of *S. Iohn* de las Dueñas, was not exempt from the discomforts of  
this war: for the King of Castile suspecting that she fauored her children, caused her to be  
shut vp in Santa Clara of Tordisillas, and put garrisons in her houses of Montalban, V-  
uegna, and Tyedra: and would haue done as much at Castro Xeris, and Saldagne, but the  
Earle found meanes to exempt himselfe, and yet the King was not very well pleased with  
him. The court being in Astudillo, there came an Ambassador from *Iohn* Earle of Foix,  
father to *Gaston*, who afterwards married *Leonora* the heire of Nauarre, who besought  
the King of Castile, that he would bee pleased that the Earle his master might employ  
himselfe, to make a peace betwixt him and the Kings of Nauar and Arragon: to whom  
the King of Castile answered, that he did thanke the Earle of Foix for his good will, but  
there was no meanes of a peace. On the other side the Earle of Armagnac, an enemy to  
the King of Nauarre and the Earle of Foix, hauing giuen all the hindrance hee could to-  
wards Galcony, that no succors should passe out of France to the King of Nauarre, for  
the which he had bene at great charge, hee sent to intreat the King of Castile, to re-  
bourse him, to whom were paid ten thousand florins of gold. This yeere *D. Pedro* of  
Velasco, Generall vpon the frontier of Nauarre, was created Earle of Haro. The King  
being at Burgos, had newes that the Infant *D. Pedro* ouerrunning the country about  
Zamora, had taken the castle of Alua de Lista: and passing afterwards to Olma, which  
was the Rendezvous for the army of Castile, there came vnto him a Franciscan friar,  
confessor to Donna *Blanch* Queene of Nauarre, whom they called Archbishop of Tyre:  
*Peter* of Perault chiefe Steward to the King of Nauarre, and *Ramir* Deane of Tudelo,  
F counsellor to the King, Ambassadors for the King of Nauarre; and for him of Arragon,  
*D. Dominike* Bishop of Lerida *D. Raymond* of Perillos, and *William* of Vigue, Knights,  
sent to treat and conclude a peace, at what price soeuer.

The difficulties were very great, and they were forced to send backe some of the  
Ambassadors to the two brethren Kings, and in the meane time the army marched:  
but the reasons, and propositions of the Ambassadors were in the end admitted, and a

ooo

truce

Garde taken  
by the casti-  
lans.

Leonora  
Queene of  
Arragon re-  
sisted by the  
King of Castile.

Truce betwixt  
the King of  
Castile and the  
King of Ar-  
ragon and  
Navarre.

Death of the  
Duke of Ar-  
ragón.

Moores.

Castro Xeris  
confiscated.

truce was accorded at Majano, for five yeeres, both by sea and land, betwixt the King of A  
Castile, and D. Henry his Sonne Prince of Asturia's, on the one part; and D. Alphonso  
King of Arragon, D. John King of Navarre, D. Blanch his wife, and D. Charles Prince of  
Yiana, their Sonne, on the other part: into which truce there entred for the King of Ca-  
stile, the Earle of Armaignac; and for the two Kings brethren, the Earle of Foix. It was  
stiled, the Earle of Armaignac; and for the two Kings brethren, the Earle of Foix. It was  
also agreed, that D. Godfrey of Navarre, Earle of Cortes, brother in law to King John,  
who had followed the party of Castile, should not be troubled nor molested in the per-  
ception of his goods, nor otherwise. This Knight staid long in Castile, and did the  
King good service in his warres against the Moores: the like assurance was graunted in  
regard of the Infants D. Henry and D. Pedro: and to iudge of the differences during the B  
truce, there were seven persons named for Navarre and Arragon, and seven for Castile,  
whose seat should be at Tarassone and Agreda, alternatiuely. Thus ended the warre be-  
twixt Castile, Navarre and Arragon, to the great prejudice of the King of Navarre: for  
he was dispossessed of all the lands he had in Castile, and moreover of the towne of Garde  
in Navar. During these treaties, D. Frederic Duke of Arjone died a prisoner at Pegnasel,  
whose Dutchy and Estates were given to D. Frederic of Arragon, Earle of Luna. There  
were also restored vnto Queen Leonora her houses & castles, and she was set liberty, and  
freed from the Monastery of Santa Clara of Tordeillas, at the intreaty of the King of  
Portugal, to whom the King of Castile sent the proceedings against her four sonnes,  
the King and Infants of Arragon, and their offences, to the end that she might see what C  
reason he had to confiscate their lands. The same yeere King John of Castile, was folli-  
cited to make a league of friendship with the English, but he excused himselfe touching  
the league, being loath to doe any thing to the prejudice of the King and Realme of  
France, an ancient friend and confederate to the crowne of Castile, sending backe the  
Ambassadors with a discreet and friendly answer: and soone after hauing sent D. San-  
cho of Rojas Bishop of Astorgo to the King of England, hee concluded a truce betwixt  
Spaine and England for one yeere. At the same time being fought vnto by the King  
of Granada to continue peace and friendship betwixt them, the said Moorish King of-  
fring him all the force of Granada to serue him at his will, he gaue him thanks for the D  
offer, and by an Ambassador which hee sent expressely to Granada, to conclude some  
truce, hee delcouered the Estate of that realme. The Ambassador, who was Lewis Gon-  
zales of Luna, Governor of Cordoua, found King Mahumet averse to those conditions  
which the King of Castile demanded: wherefore he returned without any conclusion,  
reporting how little assurance there was of the Moores faith; which made the King of  
Castile to thinke vpon the affaires of that frontier, and to man it well, sending some pre-  
sents to the King of Tunes, by Lopes Alphonso of Lorca, his Ambassador, with complaints  
against the King of Granada, intreating him that he would not succor him in the warre  
which he was resolved to make against him.

Mahumet Aben-Azar King of Granada, was, as we haue said, restored to his regal seat,  
in the yeere 1429. two yeeres after his exile, who shewed himselfe thankfull to the King E  
of Castile, for the fauour and aide which he had giuen him in the recouery of his realme,  
sending sundry Ambassages vnto him, with offers and thanks: but refusing this yeere to  
pay the tribute and pensions to the King of Castile, which he demanded, of friends they  
became enemies, and the warre was begunne by Diego of Riucera, Gouvernor of the fron-  
tier, who running through the plaine of Granada, tooke about two hundred horse, and  
towards Ronda, D. Fernando Aluares of Toledo, Lord of Val de Corneja, did great  
spoiles vpon the Moores. The King of Castile meaning to imploy D. Diego Gomez of  
Sandoual, Earle of Castro Xeris, in this warre, hee sent for him to court; but the Earle  
distrusting the King, retired to Briones a place belonging to Navarre, from whence  
hee sent to make his excuse, but it was not allowed. Wherevpon the King caused F  
his processe to be made, and by a sentence giuen at Zamora hee was condemned  
by contumacy, as a rebell, his castle of Castro Xeris was confiscated, and deliuered  
by the Captaine thereof to John of Luxan, Ramir of Tamojo, and to Doctor Fernand  
Diaz of Toledo, whom the King had sent thither. The Earle hauing many great men, and  
of the Kings fauorits which hated him, durst neuer more appeare in his presence. Before

40  
Portugal.

Peace betwixt  
Portugal and  
Castile.

Religious build-  
ings of the  
Constable Don  
Nugno Aluares  
Pereira.

A Before he entred into Granada, Don John King of Castile, keeping his Court at Me-  
dina del Campo, was solicited by the Ambassadors of Portugal, to make a perpetuall  
peace betwixt the two realmes, wherevnto hee consented, and it was sworne in the yeare  
one thousand foure hundred thirty and one, by the two Kings, and their eldest sonnes,  
and next successors to the Crowne, Don Henry of Castile Prince of the Asturias, and  
Don Edward of Portugall. This peace did end all quarrels betwixt Portugal and Ca-  
stile, and continued fortie three yeeres, to the great good of both realmes. This yeere  
died Don Nugno Aluares Pereira, first Constable of Portugal, by vertue whereof Don  
John, from being Maister of Auiz, came to the royall dignity. This great personage to-  
wards the end of his dayes, possessed with a superfluous deuotion, left the affaires of the  
B world, whereas hee mought haue serued God well, and beene profitable to the com-  
mon-weale, retyring himselfe into the Monasterie of the Carmelites in the city of Lis-  
bone, which he had built, and there he liued very solitarie and simply almost nine yeeres.  
The Portugals speake wonders of the almes-deeds, fastings, prayers, and other workes  
tending to piety of this Noble man, as well in his Monasticall life, as before. Besides the  
Carmelites at Lisbon, he caused S. Georges Church to be built in the place of battraile  
at Aljubarote, that of Saint Mary of Villa viciosa; the great Chappell of the religi-  
ous of Saint Augustin in the same place, the Church of Saint Mary de Monte, Saint  
Mary of Portel, and Saint Mary of Sonfel; and others. Before hee retired himselfe, hee  
distributed his goods after this manner. To Don Diego his grand-child, borne of Donna  
C Beatrix his daughter, and of Don Alphonso Earle of Barcellos, her husband, hee gaue  
the Earldome of Oren, with all the lands which hee held in Extremadura, at Lisbon  
and thereabouts. To Don Ferdinand his other grand-child, borne of the aboue named,  
heire after his father of the Duchie of Bragance, and who succeeded in the Earldome  
of Arroyolos, with all the rents hee had on this side Tayo and Vdiana. To Don Isabella  
sister to his two grand-children, married to the Infant D. John Maister of Saint James of  
Portugal, the Kings Sonne, who was the second Constable of that realme, hee gaue the  
lands of Lonsada Payua and Tendanes, and the Towne of Almadaan, with the rents of  
Loule: and to his familiar vassalls and household seruants, he diuided his money, horses,  
armes, apparrell and mouebables. And thus naked, and discharged of all temporall goods  
D hee entred into the Monasterie, where hee was possessed with so strong an opinion to me-  
ritheauen by austeritie of life, strauell, and affliction of his body, as hee resolved to sepe-  
rate himselfe more from the company of men, and to liue alone in desarts, if the King  
Don John and Prince Edward his Sonne, had not diuerted him, shewing how much it  
would hurt the estimation which all men had of him, and of his wisdom: wherefore  
hee contained himselfe in his Monasterie vntill his death, which was in the yeare 1431.  
and 71. of his age.

E

The end of the eighteenth Booke.

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THE

F



## THE NINETEENTH BOOKE of the Generall History of Spaine.

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### The Kings mentioned in this nineteenth Booke, are of PORTUGAL.

11. D. Edward. 1.
12. D. Alphonso. 5.



He affaires of Castile beeing some-what pacified, with the Christian Princes of Spaine, made way for the warre which King *Iohn* had resolved against the Moores of Granado, notwithstanding that according to the discipline brought in of late, hee had alwaies a spleene against them which had presumed to resist him by armes: and therefore vpon euery occasion he fell into new troubles within his realme: for he had mignons by whom hee was wholly gouerned, who made him iealous of many great men, and by their importune reports did estrange them, and in the end made them ill affected to their Prince. For besides that which we haue related in the precedent Booke, of the Earle of Castro Xeris, D. *Iohn* of Soto Major, maister of Alcantara, being sent for by the King, he neuer durst with assurance present himselfe before him, nor come to court, what promise soeuer he made him, neither could Don *Gustiere Gomes* of Toledo, Bishop of Palence, his great friend perswade him: Yet did he performe whatsoeuer they commanded him, that did concerne the Kings seruice, and the obedience which hee ought him, excepting alwaies that he would not be bound to come to court against his will. And moreouer, notwithstanding any peace concluded betwixt Castile and Nauarre and Arragon, the King D. *Iohn* did still entertaine occasions of quarrels, and maintained the Earle of Armagnac, a great enemy to the King of Nauarre, furnishing him with money, to the end he might be as a thorne in his foote, to annoy him towards France, so as hee might not attempt any thing against Castile. And for a greater prooffe of his hatred against this Prince, nor satisfied to haue taken his lands from him in Castile, he caused his castle of Pegnafil to be razed.

The country of Galicia beeing in a manner all in armes through the quarrels of *Nuño Freire* of Andrada, and his subiects, the King sent and pacified them, then leaving D. *Pedro Manriques* for Gouernor general in Castile, he went in person towards Cordoua: for *Roderigo* of Pereira Gouernor of Gascola having entered rashly with three hundred

Hatred betwixt Courtiers cannot be reconciled, but by the ruine of one party.

Castilians de-  
feated by the  
Moors.

red horse, and one thousand foot into the country of Granado, had beene defeated and A most of his men cut in peeces by the Moores: but this losse was at the same instant recō-  
penced by the taking of the towne and castle of Ximena by scalado, through the dili-  
gence of the Marshal Garcia of Herrera: wherefore the King hearing that the warre be-  
gan to grow hot, he made hast to approach nere vnto that frontier: being vpō the way, &  
passing by Ciudad Real, there was a great earthquake, ouer a great part of the country;  
for euen the city of Granado was shaken therewith. The King being come to Cordoua,  
he sent the constable D. Alonso de Luna with three thousand horse, who forraged the ter-  
ritories of Illora, Trajara, Loxa, Archidona and other places in the champion country of  
Granado, and then he returned towards Ecija.

Moores.

In the meane time a knight, called *Gilaire*, who was by birth a christian, and had beene  
taken being but eight yeeres old, and instructed in the law of *Mahumet*, came to the King  
at Cordoua, telling him vnderstand that there was a Knight of the Moores, descended  
from King *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, called the *Vermeil*, the ninth King of Granado, hee  
who had beene slaine by D. Pedro King of Castile, called *Ioseph Aben Almas*, who was in  
no good termes with *Mahumet Aben Azar* then raigning, and desired some fit occasion  
to reuolt from him; wherefore if the King would enter into the plaine of Granado, hee  
did assure him, that this Moore would come and ioyne presently with his army and re-  
uolt the whole realme in his fauor. This businesse being propounded in counsell, they  
were of opinion, that King *Iohn* should aduance with his forces, which were 80000, C  
fighting men. On the other side *Mahumet Aben Azar* assembled all his forces of Grana-  
do, which amounted to two hundred thousand foote, and fise thousand horse, with the  
which hee came to make head against King *Iohns* army, with whom *Ioseph Aben Almas*  
the Moore, had ioyned, with some troupes of horse. The armies being neere, about the  
mountaine of Eluira, there were many skirmishes: so as on a Sunday the first day of  
Iuly, both the armies were drawne forth to battaile, in the which the Christians had the  
victory. This was called the battaile of Figure, for that it was fought in a country full  
of figs, and is very famous in Spaine; for there died about ten thousand Moores, King  
Iohn remayning so maister of the field, as he spoiled and burnt all round about the city of  
Granado, and yet the Moores durst neuer come without their walles to defend their  
houses and fields. The King of Castile had greater enterprises, but by the counsell and  
importunity of the Constable, he retired: they say the King of Granado had corrupted  
him with good store of gold, which he sent him in a present of figs & dried rayfins, which  
made him so presse the Kings retreat: who being returned to Cordoua, and hauing gi-  
uen order for the safety of the frontier, he came to Toledo, and from thence to Escalone,  
where he was wonderfully feasted by the constable. After which the Estates were called  
at Medina del Campo, at the which the peace with Portugal was confirmed, and there  
was granted to the King of Castile by the deputies of the Prouinces, 45. millions of Ma-  
rauidis, for the charge and continuance of the warre against the Moores of Granado  
whereof *Ioseph Aben Almas* intituled himselfe King, by the aduice of D. Iohn King of Ca-  
stile, who did assist and fauor him all hee could to dispossesse *Mahumet Aben Azar*: and  
therefore he sent commandement to the captaines and Gouernors of the frontier, to as-  
sist him in any thing hee should vndertake. This Moore was so well followed in a short  
time by a good number of Knights of his sect which hated King *Mahumet*, as hauing sur-  
prized Montefrio, he made it his residence and storehouse for the warre, the which he did  
mannage with wisdom, valour and iudgement: and being aided and fauored by Don  
Lewis of Guzman, maister of Calarraua, D. Diego of Riuera, and other Noblemen and  
Christian captaines, within few daies hee rooke the townes of Cambil, Alicum, Illora,  
Ronda, Inajar, Archidena, Casarobonella, Serenil, Turon, Hardales, Castellar and Loxa,  
all which yielded willingly, except the castle of Loxa, which held for king *Mahumet*, into  
the which the Algazil *Ioseph Aben Sarraz* had put a good garrison: but soone after  
he being dead, it was yielded to *Ioseph Aben Almas*, through the fauour of a route  
the which hee gaue to *Mahumets* troupes: which victorie was of such consequence,  
as the citie of Granado opened her gates: so as King *Mahumet* being out of hope  
to bee able to resist, going out of Alhambra, with that which was most deere and  
precious,

Defeat of King  
Mahumet and  
the taking of  
Granado, by  
Ioseph Aben  
Almas.

A precious, hee led with him the two sonnes of *Mahumet* the little, who had beene vanqui-  
shed and slaine by him, with a Sister to Captaine *Coxo* his Neece, and so fled to Malaga.  
By this euent *Ioseph Aben Almas* remained King of Granado, in the beginning of the  
yeare 1432. *Mahumet* hauing raigned since his returne three yeares, and it was in the  
815. yeare of the Arabians raigne.

1432.

### *Ioseph Aben Almas*, the sixteenth King of Granado.

B

THIS new King *Ioseph* being receiued of the whole realme without contradiction,  
the Crowne of Granado returned by him into the family of *Mahumet Aben Alha-*  
*mar*, or the *Vermeil*, who presently made himselfe vassall to the King of Castile, by whose  
faueur hee had gotten the realme, promising a certaine tribute of money and other  
things, whereof there were letters past, sealed with his seale of Gold. He did aduertise King  
Iohn of the successe of this warre, and did attribute all the happinesse thereof to God  
and him: informing him moreouer of the siege which hee went to lay before Malaga,  
wherein the King did assist him, as he had done before, commanding D. Diego of Ribera,  
C Gouernor of that frontier, to furnish him with men, victualls, and all sorts of aide in that  
enterprife. Whilst these things were acting, there came a Genoiois to Court, an Am-  
bassador from *Muley Aben Ferriz*, King of Tunes, who had charge to intreate King Iohn  
to spare King *Mahumet Aben Azar*, and to finde some expedient for peace: but finding  
the realme already possessed by *Ioseph*, hee complained in the name of the King of Tunes  
his maister, of the misfortune of *Mahumet* his Kinsman: to whom the King of Castile  
answered pertinently, saying, that he had made warre against him for good and iust rea-  
sons, for that hee had beene daily informed that hee had secret Intelligence with the  
Kings of Nauarre and Arragon his enemies. This Ambassador staid some dayes in the  
Court of Castile, being then at Vailledolit. The raigne of *Ioseph Aben Almas* lasted not  
D about sixe moneths: for being old and broken, hee dyed that same yeare 1432. whereby  
*Mahumet Aben Azar* came to raigne againe the third time, who being aduertised of the  
death of his Competitor, rooke all fit courses to make the Granadins obey him againe,  
wherein the King of Castile did not oppose himselfe, it may be moued at the request  
of the King of Tunes, by his Ambassador, who returned well satisfied into Affrick, being  
accompanied by *Lope Alphonso* of Lorca, sent by the King of Castile, that hee might  
take with the King of Tunes some friendly expedient for peace, betwixt Castile and  
Granado: and in the meane time there was a short truce granted to *Mahumet*, who made  
a Knight called *Audilbar*, who had beene faithfull vnto him, his Alguzil Maior, in the  
place of the deceased *Ioseph Aben Sarraz*.

*Mahumet Aben Azar* re-  
couers the  
realme of  
Granado.

E The warre of Granado being ended after this manner: there fell out new occasions  
of trouble in the Court of Castile by the Kings credulitie, who willingly gaue eare to  
reports, giuing him to vnderstanding that the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon had secret  
intelligences with D. Pedro Fernandes of Velasco, Earle of Haro, *Gustiere Gomes* of To-  
ledo, Bishop of Palence, and his Nephew D. Fernando Aluarez of Toledo, with other  
great men of Castile: wherevpon he staid some, imprisoned others, and many seeking  
to escape, were brought back to Court, being then at Zamorra, and others escaped: so as  
it was full of amazement and tumult. Of the number of the prisoners were the aboue-  
named D. Fernando Aluarez of Toledo, Bishop of Palenza, and the Earle of Haro, who  
had the Court giuen him for prison, putting in caution. The Bishop was committed to  
the castle of Muzientes, and D. Fernando his Nephew to that of Vruenza. D. Ferdinand  
F of Velasco the Earles brother fled away, and being come into his brothers country, hee  
assured himselfe of the towne and places of strength there. Don *Inigo Lopes* of Men-  
doça, Lord of Hita and Buirrago, hearing what had beene done in Court, and how  
his friends and kinsmen were persecuted, hee fortified himselfe in Hita. There was no  
matter found to charge and conuict these Noblemen, so as they were deliuered one  
after

2  
Castile.

Trouble in  
Castile by false  
reports.

after an other, but the Bishop and his Nephew were the last of all. Don *John* of Soto. A Maior, Maister of Alcantara remained, who being in disgrace with the King, and afterwards reconciled, yet hee fell againe into dislike, so as Don *Henry* Infant of Portugal was enforced to imploy himselfe to restore him to grace. The King gaue charge to Doctor *Franc* to end all differences with him, who conferring with *Diego* of Manjarres Treasurer of Alcantara, they ended all matters, so as the Maister had reason to bee contented: but hee shewed himselfe so indiscreet, as hee reiected all that they had concluded: and notwithstanding that the Doctor sought to satisfie him in all his demands, yet he was so transported with his passions, as contemning the King, and all them that treated in his name, he called *D. Henry* and *D. Pedro* Infant of Arragon, remaining at Albuquerque to deliuer them Alcantara, and the forts which depended. The Maister going from Alcantara to Valencia, before he had gone two leagues, he had a conceit that hee should not be safe in that towne, wherefore he returned to Albuquerque, to the Infant *D. Henry*: And for that he feared to be surprized in the towne, he desired to lodge in the castle, whether also Doctor *Franc* was led prisoner. Whereupon it was giuen out, that the Infant Don *Henry* kept the Maister of Alcantara prisoner in the castle of Albuquerque: wherewith *Gutierre* of Soto Maior, great Commander of Alcantara, nephew to the Maister, being much discontented, he staid the Infant Don *Pedro* prisoner at Alcantara, the whole people consenting thereunto. Don *Frederic* Admirall of Castile being aduertised of these things, hee went post to Alcantara, with all his horsemen, to the end this prisoner might bee deliuered vnto him, to conduct him vnto the King, but the Commander would not yeeld him: The Admirall wisht him to keepe him in safe guard, promising him a great recompence in the Kings name, and from thence hee went and spoiled the country about Albuquerque.

The detention of the Infant Don *Pedro*, did much trouble Don *Henry* his brother, who caused the Maister to goe to field, to let the world know that hee was no prisoner: but for all this the Commander would not release Don *Pedro*: for the King tempting the couetousnesse and ambition of this man, promised to make him maister of Alcantara in his Vncles place: so as it appeared to all men, that in retaining Don *Pedro*, hee had more hope to aduance him-selfe, then charitie to his Vncle, who indeed was deprivied of his Maisterhip, the Commander advanced vnto it, and the Inhabitants of Alcantara, for their forwardnesse in the taking of the Infant, were endowed with great priuiledges. Don *Henry* seeing his affaires in very bad estate, fearing they should vse his brother vnworthily, he had recourse vnto the King of Portugal, to mediate his peace with the King, and his brothers deliury: by whose meanes an accord was made with this condition, that the fort of Albuquerque, & all others that the Infants did hold, should bee deliuered into the Kings hands, and they deprivied of all their lands in Castile.

These things happened in the yeare 1432. when as King *John* gaue the title of a City to the towne of Victoria, the chief in the prouince of Alaua. About the end of this yeare there fell such abundance of Snow in Nauarre and Arragon, as the townes and boroughs were in a manner besieged, the Snow continuing forty dayes together, so as they could not go from one place to another: and the long continuance thereof made many beasts, yea the most sauage, and birds of all sorts, to come familiarly into their houses, being prest with hunger, and suffer themselves to be taken, as if they had put off their natural wildnesse, and were become tame, a preface of future miseries.

The truce betwixt the King of Castile, and *Mahomet Aben Azar* King of Granado being expired, in the yeare 1433. there were new supplies of men sent vnto the frontiers of Andalusia, vnder the command of Don *Fernand Aluarez* of Toledo, Lord of Val-de-corneja, who tooke Benamaruel and Bencalema from the Moores: and the Estates of Castile were held at Madrid, where they treated to continue this holy warre.

This yeare *D. John* King of Portugal, dyed in the Castell of Lisbon, a Prince full of yeares, leaving his realme in peace, and a happy memory of his gouernment, hee was seauenty seauen yeares old when hee dyed, and had reigned forty nine yeares. His body was layed in the Cathedrall Church at Lisbon, and afterwards buried in the royall

Nephew betrays his uncle through ambition.

Infants of Arragon lose all their lands in Castile.

Admirable Snow in Nauarre & Arragon.

An. 1433.

Portugal, Death of Don John King of Portugal.

A royall Monasterie of *S. Mary* of the battell. Before he left this world, he saw a son borne of *D. Edward* his sonne and succesor of the Realme, and of *Donna Leonora* of Arragon his wife, who was named Don *Alphonso*, and reigned after the father.

### D. Edward the first of that name, and II. King of Portugall.

B On *Edward* was presently after proclaymed king in the pallace of Alcaçaua, in the presence of his breethren *D. Henry* Master of the Order of Christ, and duke of Viseo, the Infant Don *John*, Master of Saint Iames of Portugal, and Constable of the realm, Don *Pedro* of Meneses Earle of Viana, the bishop of Ebor and many other Prelates and Knights: whereas the bishop of Ebor did celebrate the ceremonie. They say, that the Noblemen being assembled to celebrate this act, a Jew, Phisitian to the new king, and very learned in astrologie, came and presented himself vnto the assembly, beseeching them to deferre it vntill noone, with assurance that he had obserued some bad constellation, threatening that Kings raigne, that should be receiued at that houre. The king (who was better instructed, touching these prognostications) would haue them proceed without delay, wherefore the Jew replied, that the king should raigne little, and with great trouble. He was one and forty yeares old when he began to raigne, and had bene married five yeares before, too late for a Prince that was heire to a great Estate. His wife *Donna Leonora* was daughter to King *Fernand*, who of Duke of Pegnasfel had bene making of Arragon, by election of the arbitrators deputed by the Estates of the countrie, borne of *Donna Leonora* of Albuquerque, who was issued of the bloud royall of Castile and Portugall: for *Donna Beatrix* her mother was daughter to the king Don *Pedro*, and sister to Don *John* king of Portugal, borne of the faire and happie *Agnes* of Castro, and the father was Don *Sancho* sonne to Don *Alphonso* king of Castile, the last. Of this Princeesse of Arragon king *Edward* had Don *Alphonso*, his eldest, and succesor to the Crowne of Portugall, borne in the pallace of Sintra, in the yeare 1432. then *D. Fernand* his second sonne this yeare 1433, who was Duke of Viseo, and married *Donna Beatrix* his cousin germaine, daughter to *D. John*, Master of S. Iames, and the third Constable of Portugal: of which marriage was borne *Donna Leonora* Queene of Portugall, wife to Don *John* the second: and also *D. Isabella* Dutchesse of Bragance, and Don *Dominicke* Duke of Viseo, and Don *Manuel* who came to raigne in Portugal, from whome is descended the last King Don *Sebastian* by the masculine line. Besides these two sonnes, *Donna Leonora* brought king *Edward*, her husband, foure daughters, *D. Philip* who dyed being but eleuen yeares old, stricken with the plague at Lisbon, *D. Leonora* married to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, father and mother to the Emperor *Maximilian* of Austria, the first of that name, the third was *D. Catherine*, who was betrothed to Don *Charles* Prince of Viana, heire of Nauar, and afterwards to *Edward* the fourth King of England, and yet married neither of them, but dyed a mayd: the fourth was *D. Jeanne*, a very faire Princeesse, who married with Don *Henry* the fourth, king of Castile. This was the issue of king *Edward*, who is numbred for the eleuenth king of Portugall, vnfortunate at the least in this, that during his raigne the plague neuer ceased to consume his people: yet he was a loue of iustice, for the administration wherof he deputed euery three moneths one of his brethren, an Earle and a Bishop, commanding them to do Iustice to euery man, and to suppress all exceffe: he was sober in speech, and in his manner of liuing, as much as any Prince of his time: he did limit the expences of his Wardrobe to fife hundred doubloons of gold by the yere, he caused both gold and siluer to be coyned of a good Standard. His residence at his first comming to the crowne was at Belin: there his brother the Infant *D. Pedro* the Traueller, duke of Coimbra, came and kist his hands, and sware vnto him fealty and homage.

The first yeare of his raigne, and the second of the age of his sonne Don *Alphonso*, hee caused

Genealogie of Portugal.



Title of Prince  
first usurped  
by the eldest  
sonne of Portu-  
gall.

Stately fune-  
rals of King  
Iohn of Portu-  
gall.

Modesty of the  
Infant D. Pe-  
dro, and his  
other vertues.

caused him to be sworne the lawfull heire of the Crowne, by the assembled at Sintra, and A would haue him called Prince, a title first vsurped by him in Portugall, following the example of the eldest of other Christian kings, his neighbors in Spaine. After this solemnitie, he caused the bodie of the king his father to be transported, whose obsequies were the most royall and stately that euer were made for any king of Portugall. For two moneths space that he lay in the cathedrall Church, there were thirtie Masses sayd every day, and an aniuersarie once a weeke, the bodie being accompanied, and watched euery night by a great number of clerkes and religious men, singing diuers suffrages for the soule of the deceased. The bodie being to be transported, it was layed vpon an high bed, garnished with many banners and trophees, and it was watched in the night by the Infant Don Pedro, being accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, Don Fernand Arch-bishop of Braga the kings nephew, doing the seruice, who the next day sung Masse in his pontifical habit, with great state & ceremonie, after which and the Sermon made by Friar Giles Lobo the kings Confessor, the bodie was layed vpon a chariot, and conducted by the new street, where there was another Sermon made, & a third in S. Domingo: after which it was accompanied with a great procession out of the towne, and conducted by the king and the Princes to the Monasterie of S. Denis of Odiuella, distant a league and an halfe from Lisbon, where it rested that night, where as the Infant Don Henry, Master of the Order of Christ, with his commanders watched: from thence it was carried to Villafraanca, where they made another pause: the Infant Don Iohn Master of Saint Iames, with his Commanders, watching that night: Passing on the next day with the like pompe, they came to Arcoentre; where it rested againe, and the bodie was watched by the Infant D. Fernand Master of Auiz, with his commanders. Continuing the next day, they came to Alcouaça, where they made the fourth pause, and there watched D. Alphonso Earle of Barcellos, brother to the Infants aboue-named, accompanied by his two sonnes, Don Diego Earle of Oren, and Marquis of Valencia, and Don Fernand Earle of Arroyolos, and Marquis of Villavitiola, in all which places there was Euen-song and vigils sayd at night when it arrived, and in the morning before it parted Masse being sung pontifically by the abbot of Alcouaça, and the Bishops of Ebor and la Garde, in all places: in the end they came to the Hermitage of Saint George in the place of battell, with the like procession, pompe and ceremonie, as they came out of Lisbon. The Hermite came forth to meet it, and did accompanie it to the royall Monasterie of the battell, where it was receiued, and layd in a royall sepulchre, with great and sollemne Masses, and other ceremonies, and very rich offerings, where as aboue all others the pietie and filiall duty of the Infant D. Pedro, was remarkable, in which good and kind offices hee continued towards king Edward his brother, in the gouernement of the affaires of the realm committed vnto him.

This Prince is much commended by the Portugals for his modestie, affirming, that he would neuer suffer any one to kisse his hand, nor to speake to him kneeling, nor to vse any other tearmes of submission accustomed to great men: Hee loued learning and learned men greatly, and himselfe did write some Treaties of the gouernement of Princes, and made some traductions out of the Latine tongue into the vulgar Portugal, not without learning and iudgement: He had a particular deuotion to Michael the arch-angell, as he was instructed by the Diuines of that age, wherefore he carried a ballance for his deuice, and was a great builder of Temples and holy places: He caused Saint Michael of Penela, and Auero to be built: and in the same towne he was the founder of the Monasterie of Pietie of the preaching Friars, and of the church of Tentubel: and of the hospitall of Saint Eloy: he made a collegiall Monasterie, as it is at this present. Besides which buildings, hee caused the Estates to be built in the city of Lisbon, to lodge Courtiers, to ease the inhabitants of that troublesome, and many times preiudiciall subiection. This Prince was husband to Donna Izabella of Arragon, daughter to Don Iames Earle of Virgel, and of D. Izabella Infanta of Arragon, daughter to Don Pedro the fourth of that name. Of D. Iames, I say, who thinking to raigne in Arragon after the decease of D. Martin, rebelled against the determination of the arbitrators, who had chosen Don Fernand of Castile for King, the which cost him his libertie, and estates, goods, and dignities, whereof being

A deprived, he dyed a prisoner. The Infant Don Pedro had by this Ladie Donna Izabella, Don Pedro who was third Constable of Portugall, who in the warres which the Castellans had against Don Iohn king of Nauarre, heire to his brother Don Alphonso King of Arragon, he was chosen King of Arragon, and dyed in that warre, with that title. Moreover he had Don Iohn future king of Cypres, husband to Donna Izabella, whome Don Alphonso the fifth of that name, her cousin germaine married: a princeesse hauing her deuotion and hope directed to Saint Iohn the Euangelist, in whose honor shee caused the Monasterie at Lisbon to be built, dedicated to him on the toppe of Euxobregas. With these two sonnes he had D. Philippe, who liued a religious woman in the Monasterie of Odiuella, and was so giuen to studie, as she translated into the Portugal tongue, a worke of Laurence Iustinian Patriarke of Venice and of Aquileia, founder of the Order of S. George of Alaga, moreover, Don Iames and Donna Beatrice, who were retired after their fathers decease, by Donna Izabella, Dutchesse of Bourgondie, their aunt. Don Iames was aduanced to spirituall liuings, afterwards made a Cardinall, and Arch-bishop of Lisbon, and Donna Beatrice was married to the Lord of Rauestein, nephew to the Duke of Bourgondie. This Cardinall dyed a Virgin, as they say, at Florence, where he was buried, in the time of Pius the second.

Cardinall dyed  
a virgin.

In the beginning of the yeare 1431. there had beene a generall councill called, the which was continued by Pope Eugenius Successor to Martin the fifth, in the cittie of Basill, this yeare 1433. but afterwards the fathers were diuided, and the Pope himselfe, finding the councill not plyable to his affections, transferred it to Ferrara, and from thence to Florence. In this councill of Basill, the Fathers being assembled, they were spectators of a combate betwixt a gentleman of a Portugal race, but borne in Castile, called Iohn de Merle, and Henry of Rauestein a knight of Bourgondie, who fought on foot, and the Bourgondian was vanquished. The same de Merle had a little before fought a combate on horsebacke, with the like happinesse, in the cittie of Arras against Peter of Brechemont, Lord of Charny, in the presence of D. Philip.

Councill of Basill.

King Edward hauing finished his fathers funerals, and all solemnitie, oaths, reception of fealties and homage, and other accustomed duties, at the first coming of Kings, hee assembled the Estates of his Realme at S. Iren, in the yeare 1434. to consult concerning the gouernement thereof: from thence there was an ambassador sent to the councill of Basill, which was D. Diego Earle of Oren, being accompanied with many learned men and Prelates of Portugal: and then the warre against the Moores was propounded, after the example of Kings his Predecessors: It was also held conuenient to continue that which King Iohn had begun in Affricke: for the execution whereof he obtained a Croisado from the apostolike Sea of Rome, by the meanes of the Earle of Oren, who brought the Bull into Portugall.

An. 1434.

The King of Castile also sent many of his Prelates and Diuines to the Councell, during the which Don Alphonso Carrillo, Bishop of Siguença and Cardinall, dyed, whose Bishoppricke was giuen to his Nephew, carrying the same name, who in time came to be Archbishop of Toledo. The ambassadors for the king of Castile at this councill were D. Aluaro of Osorno, Bishop of Cuenca, D. Iohn de Sylua Lord of Cysuentes, Standard-bearer to the king, and Doctor Alphonso of Carthagea, Deane of S. Iames and Segobia, sonne to D. Pablo Bishop of Burgos, which Bishoppricke Don Alphonso obtayned in his life time, he being preferred to be Patriarke of Aquileia. There falling out a great question in the councill betwixt the ambassadors of England and Castile for the precedence, this Doctor Don Alphonso of Carthagea did so well defend the preheminence of the crowne of Castile, and gaue such pertinent reasons for the dignity and prerogative thereof, as the fathers gaue the precedence to the ambassador of Castile, wherein the Doctor was held to haue done great seruice to his countrie of Spaine, whereof he himselfe hath made a treatise: notwithstanding Raphael Volaterran, in his third booke, and last chapter, sayth, That in the time of D. Fernand the 5. this cause was pleaded againe at Rome, and ended in fauor of the king of England, who had giuen sentence by prouision, without any great examination of the cause.

Castile.

Controversie  
betwixt En-  
gland and Ca-  
stile for prece-  
dencie.

Returning to the politticke affaires of Castile, the King D. Iohn being aduertised that Don

*D. Frederick of Arragon Earle of Luna a prisoner in Castile.*

Don *Fredrick* of Arragon, Earle of Luna, would haue seized vpon the city of Seuille, A he caused him to be apprehended at Medina del campo, and to be carried to the Castle of Braquelos, which is neere vnto Olmedo, where he ended his dayes, and many of his confederates were put to death, who for that cause were brought to Medina del campo. The warre begun in Granado, continued with variable successe, for after the taking of Benamaruel, by Don *Diego* of Ribera, Lord of Val de Corneja, Gouvernor of the frontier of Andalusia, attempting the towne of Alora, hee had bene slaine by the Inhabitants, and them that defended it: after whose death, the King gaue the gouernement to *D. Pedro Alfan* his sonne, a young man but fiftene yeares old. Don *Roderigo Manriques* somewhat to ease this losse, tooke the towne of Huefcar by scalado, and the castle afterwards by fight: for the recouerie of which place, there were enterprises and encounters betwixt the Christians and the Moores, all that yeare, 1434. in the which dyed *D. Iohn* of Contreras, Arch-bishop of Toledo, and Primat of Spaine: and to him succeeded *D. Iohn* of Crezuela, brother by the mothers side to the Constable *D. Aluaro de Luna*.

About that time the king of Castile gaue vnto the Earle of Armagnac (who had alwaies shewed himself his great friend and partizan in the wars against Nauar) the towns of Cangas and Tinco, with the title of an Earle: and there arriued at Madrid ambassadors from *Charles* the 7. the French king, to renew the league betwixt France and Castile, to whom the king gaue audience in great state, and sitting on a high throne he gaue them a good and friendly answer, who after much feasting, were sent home well satisfied: there they did see a ramelyon lying at the kings feet, a thing which is not ordinarie.

The same yeare dyed *D. Henry* of Villena, the kings vncler, son to *D. Pedro*, and nephew or grand-child to *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, who had bene Marquis of Villena, and first Constable of Castile: a Prince abusing learning, wherein he had bene bred, giuing himselfe to infamous Magicke arts, whereof he had written many treatises, the which by the kings commandement, and by the censure of *Friar Lopes* of Barientos, then Schoole-master to *D. Henry* Prince of the Asturia's, were for the most part burnt. The king being in pilgrimage at Guadalupe, *D. Gutierrez* of Soto maior, the new Master of Alcantara, being entred into the Moores countrie with 800. horse and 400. foot, was surprized and compassed in by the Moores in a streight passage, so as there hardly escaped an hundred of his whole troupe. This crosse shold haue admonished him of the bad office he had done his vncler, and the Infant *D. Pedro*: the which although they would couer with a colour of the kings seruice, yet was it a plotted treason: *D. Fernand Aluarez* of Toledo, Lord of Val de Corneja, had bin also in danger, if he had not speedily retired from Huelma, which hee sought to force, hauing failed to take it by scalado: for a great number of Moores marched to fight with him, and hee had not sufficient forces to resist them. Hauing retired with his men to laen, he entred by Guadix, scoured the country, and was sharply incoun-tered by the Moores, who notwithstanding were vanquished: *D. Fernand Aluarez* spoiling two leagues round about Guadix.

The truce betwixt Castile, Nauarre and Arragon being expired in the yeare 1435. E there came ambassadors to the court of Castile, from the Queenes of Arragon and Nauar, to beseech the king for a propagation of the truce, in the absence of their husbands, which the king granted them for some moneths: the which was the sooner obtained by their sending of *D. Iohn de Luna*, the Constables cousin, who gouerned the king his Master. These two kings, breethren, were gone into Italy, to pursue the realme of Naples, where matters succeeded as followeth: After that king *D. Alphonso* (being called back into Spaine, for matters which concerned him nere, namely, for the imprisonment of his brother *D. Henry*) had left Naples, Queen *Ioane* and her adopted sonne *Lewis* of Anjou, had some time of breathing, and means to recouer the city of Naples, and other places of the realme; there only remained *Iohn Anthony* of Vrsins, Prince of Tarentum, a partizan to *D. Alphonso*, who made head against *Lewis* duke of Anjou: the duke making war in Calabria, was surprized with a burning fever, whereof he died at Cosenza, in the yeare 1434 not leauing any children: and the same yeare dyed Queen *Ioane* also, leauing by her will (whether it were true or counterfeit) *Rene* of Anjou, duke of Lorraine and Bar, brother to *Lewis* deceased, heire of the realme of Naples, who was at that time a prisoner in the hands

*Death of Don Henry of Villena.*

*Defeat of the Moors by the Christians.*

4  
Arragon.

*Death of Ioane Queen of Naples, and her will.*

A hands of *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie, by reason of the warre betwixt the French and the English: for whose libertie the Gouernors of the Realm, chosen after the Queens death, sent ambassadors into France: but on the other side those that were affected to the house of Arragon, as the Prince of Tarentum, *Iohn Anthony* of Marzan Duke of Sessa, *Christopher Gaetan*, Earle of Fondy, and *Roger* his brother, with other Noblemen and knights which held Capua, called backe King *Alphonso*, who a little before was come into Sicily, hauing left the Queene *D. Maria* his wife, Regent in Arragon, and had led his breethren with him. *D. Iohn* king of Nauarre, who had left the gouernement to *D. Blanche* his wife, Queene proprietarie of the Realme, *D. Henry* and *D. Pedro*, who being dispossessed of all they held in Castile, had retired themselves vnder the fauor of the kings their breethren, with them, and many Noblemen and Knights, as well Spaniards, as Sicilians, King *Alphonso* past into the Realme of Naples, and came and landed at Gayete, in which place were besides the Inhabitants, and other souldiers of the countie 300. Geneuois, vnder the command of *Francis Spinola* of Genoua, sent by *Philippe Maria Angelo*, Duke of Milan, vnder whose protection the common-weale of Genoua was at that time, and who held the partie of *René* Duke of Anjou. The beseeched seeing themselves prest, aduertised the Duke of their extremity, and what need they had of succors: whereupon he presently gaue order to prepare an armie at Genoua, of the which *Blaise Araxeto* was General, being accompanied by *Elisa Spinola*, *Iames Iustinian*, *Galiot Lomelin*, and other famous Captaines & expert at sea, who directed their course towards the Iland of Ponce, whereof King *Alphonso*, who was before Gayete, being aduertised, hauing nineteene great ships, and eleuen gallies, he left onely five to continue the sege, and resolved to go in person with the rest to encounter the enemy: but he must first pacifie a question which was growne betwixt the King of Nauar, for the generall conduct of the armie, with his brother *D. Henry*, either of them aspiring to haue it, mooued with zeale to ayde their brother.

Hauing set sayle, Don *Pedro* hauing charge of the gallies, the Kings and the Infants euery one apart, well appointed, came to encounter the Geneuois armie, the which did consist of twelue great ships, three gallies, one galeasse, and a foist. Being in sight, and within a league and a halfe one of another, the Geneuois seemed as if they would not fight: the kings army kept it selfe together till noone, struiuing to get the wind, that they might fight with more aduantage: In the meane time the gallies of Arragon discovered the enemies armie, which approached neere vnto them, finding that they had left three great ships behind, as it were for a rereward. Before they came to ioyne the Generall of the Geneuois armie, sent a trumpeter in a boate to let the king of Arragon vnderstand, that their intent was not to hurt him, but they had onely put to sea to draw out of Gayete, their souldiers, cittizens, and merchants of Genoua, with their goods and merchandize, and to transport them to Genoua. The trumpeter was detayned a good time, during their consultation, but the conclusion was, that they must charge them: for it was likely, that the Geneuois had sent this trumpeter, for that they fainted, and feared the Arragonois armie. The captaines and souldiers, with great demonstrations of courage, cryed out for battell, and presently discharged their artillerie, which the Geneuois did presently answer, so as grappling ship to ship, and galley to galley, the fight was furious and cruell, and continued long doubtfull, vntil that the three great ships left by the Geneuois in the rereward, hauing gotten a full wind, came with great violence vpon the ships of Arragon, and among others giuing the stemme to that in which King *Alphonso* was, they made it lye on the one side, and had so shaken and shattered it, as it tooke in an abundance of water, and put the king and all them that were in it in great danger, so as he was forced to yeeld to *Iames Iustinian*, Gouernor of the Iland of Scio, who took him into *Spinola's* ship.

The shippe wherein King *Iohn* did fight, hauing lost her maine-yard, yeelded, and was taken by *Galiot Lomelin*. Don *Henry* was prisoner to *Cyprian de Marc*. With these Princes there were taken *D. Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, Earle of Castro Xeris, and two of his sons, *D. Iohn* of Sotomajor, who had bene Master of Alcantara, *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça the bald, *Fernando Aualos* Chamberlaine to *D. Henry*, and another Sonne of Don *Ruy*

*D. Alphonso King of Arragon called back to Naples.*

*Army sent by Genoua to succor Gayete.*

*Prisoners taken in a battell at sea.*

Ppp

Lopes

*Lopes d'Aualos*, who had beene constable of Castile, with many other Noblemen and Knights of Arragon, Nauarre, Cattelogne and Valencia, and about 600. souldiers and mariners slaine. The Infant *D. Pedro*, leaping with the helpe of a cable from one galley to another, escaped: there were 13. ships taken, and most of the gallies were burnt, or sunke, after they had spoiled them. To conclude, the Geneuois victorie was great & memorable, as well in regard of the prisoners, as of the rich spoyle which they shewed all curtesie and humanity, for after the end of the fight, they did set at liberty about 400. souldiers, that were prisoners, besides mariners, retayning only the chiefe men: wherein they did wisely, and like souldiers, for a multitude of prisoners of meane qualitie, are but an incumber: and it is an vnprofitable charge, and doth many times make the vanquished take courage to rebell, and to become Masters of them that hold them. Among the multitude that were set at liberty, there were many Knights of great worth escaped vnknowne. That which gaue the aduantage to the Geneuois army, was the 3. ships left in the rereward, the abundance of scalding lime, and wild-fire which they cast, and finally, that they were better sea-men then the Arragonois.

By unanimity  
of king of Milan  
Alphonso.

The victorious army approaching neere to the Iland of Ischia, King *Don Alphonso* being a prisoner was prest to make it yeeld vnto the Geneuois, wherunto although he were a captiue, he would not yeeld. By this defeate the seege was raysed at Gayete, and the prisoners carried to Sauona, from whence they were afterwards, by the Duke of Milans commandement, distributed into diuers prisons: King *Don Alphonso* to Pauia, with *Don Henry* and others: King *Iohn*, the Earle of Castro, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoza were led to Milan.

Monny of the  
duke of Milan

These lamentable newes did wonderfully trouble the Queens of Arragon and Nauar, and all the people of these two Kingdomes, especially *Donna Leonora* the widow-queen of Arragon, who liued in her Monasterie of Saint *Iohn de las Duegnas*, without the walles of Medina del campo, very simply and modestly, who conceiued so great a griefe as shee dyed soone after: This did much afflicte the King and Queene of Portugall, and all the Noblemen of that Realme. The imprisonment of these Princes and Noblemen was short, for *Don Philip Maria* being courteous, and visiting his prisoners often, hee was so perswaded by king *Alphonso*, that both he and his Estates should reape more profit in maintaining the partie of Arragon, then that of France, as vanquished with his reasons, hee not onely let them all go free without ransome, but gaue them many rich presents, after that he had entertayned them royally many dayes, suffering them to go and come with all libertie, where they pleased. Hee caused *Don Iohn*, King of Nauarre, and *Don Henry* his brother, to bee conducted to *Porto Venere* with fixe hundred horse for their guard, where they were receiued by *Don Pedro* their brother, and moreover he would that the Neapolitane Knights which were then at Milan, and the ambassadors of townes should take an oath of fealtie to King *Alphonso*, acknowledging him for their king, making so great a change of all things, as of an enemy he became a partisan and friend to the Arragonois: by reason whereof the Geneuois being incensed, rebelled against the Duke.

If the newes of the defeat and taking of these Princes, caused great heauineffe in Arragon and Nauarre, the ioy was so much the greater, when as they vnderstood of their deliuerie, the which was carried into Castile, where as the king of Nauarre was much desired of many, to whom the greatnesse of the Constable *D. Aluaro de Luna*, was offensive and hurtfull, *Don Fredericke* Admirall of Castile, who was one of them, sent a messenger to Queene *Blanche*, aduertising her that her husbands absence was very prejudiciall to himselfe and all his friends, for that his aduersaries grew great according to their owne desires, and therefore she should do well to hasten his returne as soone as might be: The like aduertisements were giuen her by many other knights of Castile, wherefore she sent three knights of her household into Italy, to the king her husband: which were *Iohn Henriquez* of Lacarra, *Sancho Ramirez* of Aualos her caruer, and the Seigneure of Vertiz, to hasten his returne.

*D. Iohn* king of Castile at the request of his sister Queen *Mary* of Arragon, continued the truce fixe moneths longer, vpon the newes of the defeat of the two kings brethren. Being

5  
Castile.

A Being at Segobia, there was a Germain knight called *Robert* presented himselfe vnto him, who would make triall of armes, with *D. Iohn Pimentel* Earle of Majorca, by whom he was vanquished. The like prooffe being made by other twenty Germaine knights, which came in the company of *Robert*, had in a manner the like issue, to the dishonour of strangers, and great commendation of the Spanish nation: *D. Fernand* of Gnevara, a knight of great valour, being at Vienna, the chiefe towne of Austria, he fought within a list on foot, with a Germaine knight called *Vourapach*, in the presence of Duke *Albert* sonne-in-law to the Emperour *Sigismond*, who casting his staffe, caused the combat to cease, and put them out of the lists, to the great honour of the Spanish knight. *Don Iohn* of Pimentel Earle of Majorca, desirous to trie his valour with strange Knights out of Castile, as he practised to play with a battell-axe with a seruant of his called *Lope de la Torre*, hee was strucke by him inconsideratly on the face, so as he dyed soone after; a due reward for this quarrelling exercise, which was then in so great estimation, to go seeking honor, (without cause or quarrell) in the force and dexterity of the body, more then in the gifts of the mind, humanity and iustice.

Whilest that King *Iohn* was busie at Aleala of Henares to celebrate the funerals of his deceased aunt Queene *Leonora*, there was hot warre made vpon the frontier of Granado, where as *D. Alphonso James Fajardo*, receiued the townes of Velez the white, and Velez the red, which yeelded voluntarily to the king of Castile, the Inhabitants Moores promising to pay him the same tribute which they payed to king *Mahomet*, wherewith the King was satisfied: but he would not heare the ambassadours of Baça and Guadix, who came to beseech him to giue them another king a Moore, then *Mahomet*, for that he did intreat them ill: but *k. Iohn* knowing that this was but a deuice to free themselves from the spoile which he intended against them, he sent them away, and commanded his captaines to forrage and spoile their countrie, the which was executed by *D. Fernand Aluarez* of Toledo. The Moores of Galea and Castilegia yeelded to *D. Roderigo Manriques*, vpon the same conditions like vnto them of Velez. It fell out vnfortunatly for *D. Henry* of Guzman, the seege which he pretended to lay to Gibraltar: for being come by sea with some barks before the towne, whether his sonne *Iohn* of Guzman should come by land with the rest of his forces to beseege it, he had no patience to attend, but landed, & began to skirmish on the shoare, neere vnto the walles, with the Moores which sallied out against him, but the sea flowing, it forced him to retire to his barke, leauing many of his Knights on land, in prey to the enemy, who began to cry out and to complaine, that he had left them there to the slaughter, with such vehement words, as moued to pittie, hee caused his barke to approach to land to receiue them: but it was so ouer-laden as it sunke, and there the Earle *Don Henry*, with about forty Knights were drowned, whose losse was great. The bodies being cast vpon the shoare, were drawne to land by the Moores, and the Earles was put into a coffer, and set vpon an high tower, to be a terrour to the Christians, where it continued some yeares. By this pittifull successe, the sonne retired from Gibraltar, and out of all Andalusia with teares and mourning: the bones of this Earle are at this present in a most auncient Tower made of Bricke, in the highest part of the castell of Gibraltar, which the common people beleuee was built and erected by *Hercules*.

*D. Henry of Guzman* drowned neere Gibraltar.

Whilest that these things past in Spaine, in the yeare 1436. the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre were deeply engaged in the warre of Naples, whither the Duchesse *Lea Bell* of Lorraine, wife to *René* of Anjou a prisoner was come, and with the helpe of Pope *Eugenius* defended her husbands right courageously. The two brethren kings being aduertised of the affaires of Spaine, by their friends and seruants, they resolved to send a ioynt ambassage to the king of Castile, to treat a peace with him vpon some good conditions. The ambassadors found the Court at Toledo, where hauing deliuered their charge vnto the king, it pleased God that after many conferences and debates, a peace was concluded vpon a promise of marriage betwixt *D. Blanche* Infanta of Nauarre, and *Don Henry* of Castile, Prince of the Asturia's, with these conditions:

That the solemnization of this marriage should bee accomplished within the limite of a certaine time, betwixt *Henry* heire of the Realmes of Castile, and *Donna Blanche*, eldest

Conditions of  
peace betwixt  
Castile, Nauarre  
and Arragon.

eldest daughter to D. *Iohn* king of Nauarre, to whom should be assigned the Marquisat A of Villena, the townes of Medina del campo, Olmedo, Coca, Roa, and Aranda: the reuenues of which lands, D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre should receiue the foure next following yeares. That if there were no children borne of this marriage, the king of Nauarre should haue ten thousand florins of gold of yearly rent assigned vpon the reuenues of Castile. That to D. *Blanche*, Queene of Nauarre, and to her sonne D. *Charles*, should in like manner be given an assignation of ten thousand florins of gold yearly, during their liues. That all knights should be pardoned, which during the warres, and fore-past quarrels, had followed either partie, and they restored to their goods and dignities, except on the part of Castile, D. *Iohn* of Soto-major, who had beene Master of Alcantara, and the B Earle of Castro Xeris: and on the behalfe of Nauar, D. *Godfrey* of Nauar, Earle of Cortes: Item, that to the Infant D. *Henry* brother to the kings of Arragon and Nauar, should be assigned 5000. florins of gold of yearly hereditarie rent: and to the Infanta D. *Catherine* his wife should be given 50000. florins of gold in ready mony for her dowrie. These articles beeing accorded, a peace was proclaimed in the Realmes of Castile, Arragon, and Nauar, and D. *Pedro* of Acugna, son to *Lopes Basknes* of Acugna, Lord of Buendia, was sent to Azagna, with sufficient authority, to make the first promise in the name of Prince *Henry*, and it was concluded the sollempne betrothing should be at Alfaro, whether came at the time assigned, the Prince D. *Henry* accompanied by D. *Aluaro de Luna*, constable of Castile, and many other Noblemen, Knights, and Prelates, who arriuing C two dayes before the Infanta: being aduertised that she was at Corella, he went to meete her with all his traine. The Queen of Nauarre, mother to the Infanta, Prince *Charles* her brother, the Bishop of Pampelone, with many other Prelates, *Peter* of Peralta, Lord Steuard of the kings house, *Leon* of Garro, and other knights, many Ladies and Gentlewomen of Nauarre attended her, all in equipage worthy of such a solemnitie, the which was celebrated in Alfaro, in the yeare 1437. D. *Pedro* of Castile, Bishop of Osma stipulating and receiuing the promises, either of them being but 12. yeares old. The Prince D. *Henry* gaue many goodly and rich Jewels to the Infanta, and vied the like bountie to the Ladies and Knights of her traine. Then hauing spent foure dayes at Alfaro in great feasting and joy, the parties separated themselves, euery one retiring into his country. By this peace D there was also restored vnto the king of Nauar, the town & castle of la Garde, and the castles of Asaturuguen and Burandon: and towards Guipuscoa, there were yeelded the castles and places of Gorriti, Cobono, Toro, Araciel, and Saragana, which the Guipulcoans had taken during the wars. Moreouer, the towne of Briones was yeelded to the king of Nauar, touching the Seignourie and the reuenue, but the Soueraignty remayned to the king of Castile. This peace was promised and sworne, vpon a penalty of 300000. florins of gold, payable by him that should breake it: and it was confirmed by the chiefe officers of either realme, both clergy and secular, and by the deputies of the chiefe townes. For Nauar, there signed D. *Martin* of Peralta bishop of Pampelona, the archb. of Tyre, the Queens confessor, the Prior of S. *Iohn*, & the Deane of Tudela, clergy-men: D. *Lewis* E of Beaumont, *Tristan* Lord of Luce, *Peter* of Peralta, Lord Steuard, *Philip* Marshall of Nauar, & Vicont of Ro, with other knights: moreouer, the deputies of the cities of Pampelona, Estella, and Tudela, and of the townes of Sanguessie, Olite, Arcos, Biane, S. Vincent and others. For Castile, besides the great officers of court, there did sweare all the Noblemen of the frontier of Guipuscoa, Rioja, and others, yea they of the families of Lazcano, Berastequi and Amezqueta: and these accords were written by *Bartholomew* of Renes, Secretarie to D. *Iohn* King of Nauar, and of Queen *Blanche* his wife, and by *Alphonso* Peres of Biuera, high Treasurer and Secretary to the king of Castile.

Imprisonment  
of D. *Pedro*  
*Martique*.

This ioy was crost according to the custome of humane things, with great grieve in the court of Castile, the king hauing caused D. *Pedro Martique* Gouernour of Leon to be committed to prison, where at euery man did shew himselfe discontented, so as the king caused 2000. lances to come for his gard, which remayned continually about the court. He sent the prisoner to the castle of Fuente Duegna, commanding that hee should haue the liberty of the prison, & that somtimes they should suffer him to go on hunting, which liberty was procured by the Admirall of Castile, who was discontented for his detention. This

A This yeare which was 1438. there were brought vnto the King stones, which they said, were fallen from heauen in great abundance, at Madernelo, a house belonging to the Constable, very light: the which although they were reasonably big, yet were they so light as they did not hurt any one they fell vpon, a strange thing, and which was held prodigious. The Articles of the peace being brought into Italy, were allowed and confirmed by King Don *Alphonso*, in the presence of Doctor *Ferdinand Lopes* of Burgos, one of the Kings Councill.

1438.  
Stones fallen  
from heauen  
very light.

The warre of Granado was managed with variable successe: many Knights among the Moores disliking the gouernment of King *Mahumet*, reuolted, taking the party of Castile, of the which one *Aben Amar* was Captaine, who soone after went with his men to the King of Tunes, with leaue from the King of Castile, hauing receiued both pay and presents from him: and moreouer 6000. pounds sterling for the charge of their voyage. Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça Gouernor of the Fronter, Lord of Hyra and Buytrago, who was afterwards Marquis of Sentillana, tooke the towne of Huelma from the Moores, and had the castle afterwards by composition, causing the garrison of Moores to be conducted in safety to Cambil and Halabar. But *Roderigo* of Perca, Gouernor of Caçorla, being entred rashly into the Moores countrie, was surprized by a great number of horse and foote, lead by *Aben Sarraz*, a wife and valiant man, among all them of his nation, by whom he was cut in peeces, scarce twenty of his men escaping, being in all foure hundred horse, and a thousand foote: yet this victory was not without losse of blood to the Moores, for their Captaine *Aben Sarraz* was slaine, and many Knights of note.

Granado.

The sacred warre of Affrick, which was led by D. *Ferdinand* Maister of Auis, and Don *Henry* Maister of the Order of Christ, Infants of Portugal, had answerable successe, who hauing obtained, by great importunity from the King their brother, leaue to passe the sea, had besieged the towne of Tanger, hauing brought but 6000. fighting men out of Portugal. The siege hauing continued thirty seauen dayes, being well assailed and well defended, there came an infinite multitude of Moores, both horse and foote, to succour the besieged, being lead by the Kings of Fez, Maroc, Velez, and other Princes in person. Wherefore the Portugals fought to retire themselves, but beeing in a manner inuested D by this great armie, they were forced to fortifie themselves in their trenches, and changing their condition of besiegers, they found themselves besieged, so as hauing no meanes to escape, they must capitulate with the Moores for their liues and liberties, promising to yeeld vp vnto them the towne of Ceuta, and all the captiue Moores that were in Portugal. Vpon this accord D. *Henry* and his men were sent back, and came naked and stript to Ceuta, the Infant D. *Ferdinand* remaining for hostage in the hands of the King of Fez, vntill the accord were performed: But D. *Henry* being returned with this disarmed armie into Portugal, when as King *Edward* had assembled the Estates of the realme at Eбора, being much grieved at this vnhappy successe, to take some course for the deliuey of D. *Ferdinand*, they would neuer yeeld that the towne of Ceuta should be deliuered E vnto the Moores: but they consented to all other meanes to free D. *Ferdinand*: the difficulties and delays were such, together with the death of King *Edward* which happened, as for want of execution of that which had beene promised vnto the Moores, the Infant D. *Ferdinand* past the rest of his dayes in prison in the hands of Infidels, with great constancie, and a rare example of patience and religion, comforting the other captiue Christians, not onely for that they saw a Prince participate of their miseries, but he did also encourage them by godly exhortations to continue constant in the faith of our Sauour. King *Edward* being very penfui for this dishonorable losse, but especially for the captiuitie of his brother, going out of Eбора, where as the plague was violent, hee retired to Auis: and to ease the court, and to spare charges, hee commanded the Infants his brethren to retire to their houses. Hee came in person to Pont du Soleil, where hee caused a strong wall to be made, to assure that place from theues, then going to the Monasterie of *Tomar*, hee felt himselfe toucht with a sharpe and pestilent Ague, whereof hee died in September this yeare 1438. beeing fortie seauen yeares old, and hauing reigned onely fise: his body was interred in the royall Monasterie of the Battaille.

Castilians de-  
feated by the  
Moores.

7  
Portugal.

The Portugals  
forced to ac-  
cept of disho-  
norable condi-  
tions.

D. *Ferdinand*  
in captivity in  
Barbarie.

Death of King  
*Edward*.

By his will he left all his mooueables to the Queene Don *Leonora*, and made her Gouver- A  
nesse of their children, and Regent of the Realme.

Castille.  
D. Pedro of Aragon  
slays  
out of prison.

D. Pedro of  
Aragon slays  
at Naples.

About that time Don *Pedro Manrique* a prisoner in Castile at Fuente Duegnas, slip-  
ping downe with cordes from the castle wall, he fled to Enzinas, a fort belonging to his  
sonne in lawe D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga sonne to D. *Pedro* Earle of Ledesma, whether pre-  
sently came the Admirall Don *Frederic*, his brother, Don *Henry* and his friends, with  
great company. The King at one instant receiued this newes, and that of the death of  
the Infant Don *Pedro* of Arragon, who had beene slaine with a great shot, assaying the  
cittie of Naples, whereat he was equally grieued, but with diuerse passions: the Infants  
body was buried in the castle de l'Ouo. This fort de l'Ouo, and the new castle at Naples, B  
had alwaies held good for the Arragonois. King *René* was come a little before to Na-  
ples, with twelue galleys of Genoua, and was there receiued with royall pompe and  
state: after which hauing sent back his galleys, hee filled the city and all places there-  
abouts with his soldiars, hauing gathered together a great armie, he began to assaile the  
neighbour places, but with small effect. There came a Herald in his name to King Don  
*Alphonso* being at Castellucci in Abruzzo, with a gantlet dipt in bloud, challenging him  
to a single combat: Don *Alphonso* receiued the gantlet, and demanded of the Herald,  
if King *René* meant they should incounter in single fight, one against another, or with  
all their forces: the Herald answered, that the King his Maister would present himselfe C  
with his armie. Wherevpon King Don *Alphonso* replied, that seeing hee was the chal-  
lenger, it was in him to make choise of the place, and day of battaile; and therefore he  
did choose the fields which are betwixt Nola and la Cerra, whether hee would come  
within eight dayes, with his whole armie, to fight as his aduersary would. At the day  
assigned, Don *Alphonso* presented himselfe vpon the place, and attended *René*, who ap-  
peared not, for that he had beene dissuaded by his friends and seruants, who came to  
lodge with his armie at that place, from whence Don *Alphonso* was parted, and tooke  
Castelluccio: *Alphonso* on the other side tooke Arpaio in the valley of Gardano, and  
so taking places, and ruining the country, hee marcht to Naples, hauing about 15000.  
men in his armie, with which forces and ten galleys he held the towne besieged, where  
happened the death of the Infant Don *Pedro*, as wee haue said. But soone after, *René* D  
comming with the like, or greater forces, hee not onely preferred the city, but he forced  
the garisons of the new castle, and of the fort de l'Ouo, to yeeld for want of victuals.  
About which time the King of Nauarre returned into Spaine, to ouer-throw those  
good accords which had beene made betwixt him and the King of Castile, and to trou-  
ble all Spaine, being of an inconstant and rurbulent disposition.

Returne of D.  
John King of  
Nauarre into  
Spaine.

8  
Castile.

D. Aluaro de  
Luna the Con-  
stable, insolent,  
conetous and  
treacherous.

The enemies of Don *Aluaro de Luna* the Constable, relying much vpon the King of  
Nauarre, and his forces, had banded themselves openly against him: the chiefe whereof  
were the Admirall Don *Frederic*, Don *Pedro Manriques* Gouvernor of Leon, Don *John*  
*Ramir* of Ariellan, Lord of Los Cameros, Don *Pedro* of Quingones Merin Maior of  
the Asturia's, Don *Diego* of Estuniga sonne to the Earle of Ledesma. Don *Roderigo* of E  
Castagneda Lord of Fuente Duegna, and Don *Pedro* Mendoga, Lord of Almacan,  
who drew many others vnto their league, namely the Earle of Ledesma, who had his  
lands fronting vpon Eccia. The King called soldiars from all parts to suppress this  
tumult (among the rest hee was speedily serued by the Nobility of Andalusia) to  
whom the confederates did write very durifull and respectiue letters, intreating him to  
cause the Constable to dislodge from Court, before that hee grew so powerful, as hee  
might be preiudiciall both to him and his realme. There was in truth some reason to sup-  
presse the boldnesse and greatnesse of this man, who was insolent, conetous, and not  
very faithfull to his Prince, the which was well knowne to the King, and to many of his  
Councill: but hee had them all so tyed vnto him, as nor any one could attempt against F  
him, nor consent willingly to that which should displease him: wherefore an answer  
was made vnto the letter, quite contrary to that which the Noblemen of the league de-  
manded, with whom there newly inoynd Don *Lewis de la Cerde* Earle of Medina Celi,  
and Don *Pedro* of Castile Bishop of Osma, who had seized vpon many places, as Don  
*Pedro* of Quingones had done of the City of Leon, so as the whole realme was full  
of

A of seditions and tumults, all in generall imputing the fault vnto the constable, partly  
with reason, and partly without. The King being at Roa, vfed all diligence to assem-  
ble forces, to be the stronger, writing letters to Toledo and other great townes, admo-  
nishing them of their duties, and to be faithfull vnto him.

In the meane time the Marshall D. *Inigo Ortiz* of Estuniga, brother to the Earle of  
Ledesma, entred into Vailledolit, with five hundred men at armes, and seized on the  
towne in the name of the confederate Lords. On the other side the King was aduer-  
tised that the King of Nauarre, and D. *Henry* his brother, were entred into Castile with  
five hundred men at armes, and not knowing vpon what pretext, considering the accord  
lately concluded betwixt them, he sent vnto them, intreating them to ioyne with him  
and to come to court: the King of Nauarre consented, and came to the king to Cuellar,  
with sixe horse onely, whereat the whole court did much reioyce. They came at the  
instance of the confederate Lords, and also incited with a desire to recouer that which  
they had lost in Castile, by meanes of the present troubles, in whose company was the  
Earle of Castro. The King of Nauarre beeing seperated from the rest, and come vnto  
the king, receiued great honour and good vsage: but the Infant D. *Henry* aduanced not,  
but staid with the troups, the which hee led to Pegnasel, where they opened him the  
gates, the King hauing so commanded, and soone after hee had conference with the  
king of Nauarre his brother at Minquela, neere to Cuellar, there beeing good corre-  
spondency betwixt them, although they made no shew of it: for the King of Nauarre  
continued with the King of Castile, and hee retired to Vailledolit, to the Lords of the  
League: there was much trouble, and many enterviewes of Noblemen of either part,  
with great leauies of souldiars to the oppression of the people, and yet there was no  
meanes to make an accord; the confederats insisting still that the constable should be  
banished from court, the which was a hard matter to effect. The Admirall and the In-  
fant D. *Henry* sent to challenge the constable, and he accepted the combat, but yet they  
did not fight. The King did sollicit D. *Henry*, promising him that if he would bee of his  
party he would make him maister of Saint Iames, and would giue him other things, for  
the which the Infant gaue him thanks, letting him vnderstand, that whatsoeuer he did,  
was for his seruice.

D In these treaties of pacification the greatest difficulty was in the restitution of lands  
forfeited, the which had beene distributed to many: yea to some of the confederats,  
who would not restore them, at the least without recompence. Being in these garboiles  
and out of hope of any accord, they had newes, that D. *Roderigo* of Villandrado, first  
Earle of Ribadeo, who had some yeeres before serued *Charles* the seuenth, the French  
King, with great reputation and honour, was come into Castile, bringing with him three  
thousand souldiars to serue and succor King *John* his naturall Lord: wherefore all trea-  
ties of accord ceasing, the Kings of Castile and Nauarre went as farre as Pegnasel to  
meet him with some troups, to assure him from the surprises of the confederats, who  
sent the Earle of Ledesma with fiftene hundred horse, to attend him at a passage. This  
supply, and other occasions, together with the diligence of certaine religious men,  
who sought to reconcile these Noblemen, made the parties more tractable, so as in  
October 1439. a peace was concluded, vpon these conditions. That the constable D.  
*Aluaro de Luna* should absent himselfe from court for sixe monethes, and that the king  
of Castile should recompence the king of Nauarre and D. *Henry* his brother, for the  
lands he had taken from them: and the processe and proceedings made against them that  
were in armes disannulled: that the townes and forts held by the confederats should bee  
restored. These things being concluded at Castro Nugno, the constable to fulfill the  
Article which concerned him, parted from court, leaving most of the kings counsell  
which fauored him, discontented. The Noblemen dimitt their souldiars, and the king  
parted from Castro Nugno to goe vnto Toro. In the meane time the Infanta D. *Cathe-  
rina*, wife to D. *Henry*, died in child-bed.

Lands of con-  
fiscation giuen  
away vnder  
the peace.

An. 1439.

F There was no peace firmly settled by this accord, for the king being possit by a counsell  
made by the constable, was held in distrust, and the courtiers in continuall ialousie. He  
caused some of them, which had followed the confederate Lords, to be imprisoned at Sa-  
lamanca,



lamanca, and to take Segobia from *Ruy Diaz* of *Mendoza*, who held it, he gave it to the Prince of the Asturia's his sonne. The King of Nauarre and his brother *D. Henry* seeing these proceedings, they went from Madrigal, towards the court, but the King sent to forbid them to come there: and to the end they should not finde him at Salamanca, he lodged and went to Bonilla de la Serra, from whence hee sent to demand a fauour-conduit of the Noblemen for *Don Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo Archbishop of Seuille, whom hee ment to send to treat with them, the which beeing willingly granted, the Archbishop came to Madrigal, with some of the Kings council, but they returned without any conclusion: wherefore the King of Nauarre and the Infant his brother led some troupes towards Auila, where by the meanes of *Aluaro* of Bracamont, and *Fernando* of Aualos, who had taken vpon them to defend it, they became maisters, from thence the King of Nauarre did write a letter vnto the King of Castile full of good counsel, accusing the constable of auarice, cruelty, tyranie, insolvency, and contempt of the Princes and Noblemen, yea of the King himselfe, having presumed to kill a squier in Arcualo; and a groom, to tie his fury, hauing cast himselfe at the Kings feet, as in a most assured Sanctuary, he had beaten him almost in his bosome, stretching his armes ouer the Kings shoulders, without any respect to his dignity, whom euery man (to the great dishonor of his royal person) said he had enchanted: and to conclude, if he did not chafe him away and punish him, he could not be honored nor serued by the Princes, and Noblemen of Castile, who could not endure such indignities from an vpstart, whose beginning was scarce knowne. The King knew well that many things contained in these letters were true, yet being governed by such as fauored the constable, he made no answer: wherevpon the confederats sent the Earles of Haro and Benauent vnto him, who after many Negotiations, concluded with the Kings council, that they should make an assembly of the Estates at Vailledolit, whereas the deputies of the townes and Prouinces of Castile and Leon should meet, and determine of that which should be held expedient for the quiet of the realme, so as the Archbishop of Seuille, and his Nephew the Earle of Alba did remaine at their houses. Before the execution of that which had bene concluded, the Infant *D. Henry* entred Toledo with three hundred and fifty knights, through the fauor of *D. Pedro Lopes* of Ayala the Gouvernor, and made himselfe maister thereof, hauing good correspondency with the King of Nauarre his brother, whose faction was very strong at that time in Castile, his friends and confederats holding the chiefe townes of the realme: for besides that he had vnder his command the towne of Auila, and his brother that of Toledo, the Earle of Ledesma held Burgos and the castle: *Pedro* of Quignones was maister of Leon: *Ruy Diaz* of *Mendoza* commanded Segobia, with the fort: *D. Henry Henriques* the Admirals brother had Zamora, and the castle: Salamanca was in the hands of *John Gomes* of Anaya: Guadalajara of *D. Inigo Lopes* of *Mendoza*, Lord of Hita: Plaifance of the Earle of Ledesma: Vailledolit of the Earle *Pedro Nugnes*: other places were held by other Knights of that party, the which did much trouble the King, and his constable. To make the assembly of Vailledolit more easie, the Earles of Haro and Benauent returned to Bonille, where it was againe concluded that the Kings and the Noblemen should retire their troupes; and there was a general passport giuen to al them that should come to Vailledolit, with assurance of their goods; yea to the constable, who remained in his house at Escalano, where by an ill presage, the greatest part of the castle had some few daies before bene burnt with lightning; notwithstanding the King would haue the passport serue also for the constables person. In this assembly it was decreed that the cities and townes held by the confederats, should bee left free at the King of Castiles dispose, but there was not any thing effected, and the more to trouble the realme, *D. Henry* Prince of the Asturia's, perswaded by his spouse, and the confederat noblemen, began to ioyne with the King of Nauarre, his future father in law, retreating himselfe vnto the Admiral *D. Frederics* lodging, wherewith the court was much troubled; and the King sent the Earle of Castro, and *Ruy Diaz* of *Mendoza* to the King of Nauarre, to vnderstand the cause of this alteration; who answered that he knew it not: and withal went with them to the Admirals lodging, to vnderstand the reason. The Prince answered, that he had required himselfe therether, by reason of Doctor *Perjuetez*, *Alphonso Perez* of Biuro and *Nicholas*

*J. Soleymer* of the Constable of Castile made knowne vnto the King.

A *Nicholas Fernandes* of Villanar, of the Kings council, being vnworthy of that ranke, and beseeching the King that he would chafe them away, else he would retire himselfe. The King promised to dismisse them, wherevpon the Prince was pacified, and came to the Kings palace, after midnight, the King of Nauarre accompanying him. The Prince *D. Henry* was governed by a yong gentleman called *D. John de Pacheco*, sonne to *Alphonso Telles Giron*, Lord of Beaumont, who was preferred to his seruice by the constable, and was afterwards made Marquis of Villena, and maister of the Order of Saint James. The King at the Estates of Vailledolit, setled some order for Iustice, which was but badly executed in Castile, and some thing to pacifie the Princes and Noblemen that were mutined, and to diuert their armes, hee thought it now time to celebrate the marriage of *D. Henry* and the Infanta of Nauarre, being three yeeres since they were made sure, and either of them being fiftene yeeres old: the bond of consanguinity, which might hinder it, was dissolved by Pope *Eugenius* the fourth. The Infanta being sent for, she entred into Castile, in the yeere 1440. beeing accompanied by Queene *Blanch* her mother, the Prince of Viana her brother, and many noblemen, prelates and knights of Nauarre. Shee was receiued in the towne of Logroño, by *D. Alphonso* of Carthagena, Bishop of Burgos. *D. Inigo Lopes* of *Mendoza*, Lord of Hita, and by *D. Pedro* of Velasco, Earle of Haro. From thence the Prince *D. Charles* returned into Nauarre with his Gouvernor. *D. John* of Beaumont, who in the Princes name gouerned the realme, the Queene mother being absent.

*D. John de Pacheco* gouerns Prince Henry.

An. 1440.

C The Princeesse with all her traine being come to Vilhorado, a house belonging to the Earle of Haro, she was entertained with sumptuous feasts, great sports and rare inuentions; and much more at Birbiefca, by the Earle himselfe. *D. Pedro* of Acugna did the like at Duegnas, whether the Prince *D. Henry* came to meet his spouse, whereas he presented her with many rich jewels, and shew him: who hauing bene some foure and twenty howers with the Ladies, he returned to Vailledolit, whether they went. There went forth to meet them, the Kings, and al the principall Noblemen of the court, who made a stately entry into the towne, and the Queene and Princeesse went to the King of Nauarres lodging, whose brother *D. Henry* came from Toledo to assist at the marriage, the which was celebrated with a royall pompe, *D. Pedro* of Ceruantes Bishop of Auila, performing the ceremony. But the vnfortunate hap of this Princeesse was such, as the Prince *D. Henry* proued vnable to consummate the marriage, the which she did vertuously conceale for many yeeres. To honor the marriage, the noblemen ran at tilt with sharpe pointed lances, but the sport was so dangerous, as the King was forced to forbid it, for *Pedro Porto Carrero* a Knight of Torroy, and *John* of Salezar lost their liues, and others were fore hurt in these incounters. This royall feast (which had continued many daies) being ended, the Princes and Noblemen of the court being disperced, the Prince *D. Henry* was conducted to Segobia by *D. John de Pacheco* his great mignon, who through a courtesars Ingratitude, fortified the King of Nauarres party, and that of the Noblemen confederated to ruine the constable, by whom hee had bene aduanced working so, as the Prince his maister ioynd with them, who reuiuing their old quarrels, sent to beseech the King, that without any more delay he would cause the constables processe to be made, degrading him of the honour and dignity which he held, and of the gouernment of the realme. The King was much troubled to see new seditions which he thought had bene suppressed, and wonderfully incensed against his sonne, would not make any direct answer to this demand: besides he had still some of his counsell which defended the constables cause: wherefore in the yeere 1441. the troubles began more violent then before. *Mary* Queene of Castile sister to the King of Nauarre tooke then his part, which she had not done before.

40  
Cardinal of Saint Peter.

Marriage of the Prince of Castile and the Infanta of Nauarre.

F The Infant *D. Henry*, brother to the King of Nauarre, being after the marriage returned to Toledo, hee tortesied himselfe there, and receiued *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, contrary to the Kings commandment: where contynuing in his accustomed rebellions, he staid the Ambassadors which the King had sent vnto him, to perswade him to take a better course, yea the King being in person to Saint Lazaro, without the walles of the city, vpon the way to Madrid, onely with thirty horses of his household and traine, the Infant

*Preiudges of  
the Earles of  
Ribadeo.*

Infant fallied forth, and presented himselfe in battaile, vsing threats and proud speeches, A  
so as the King was forced to returne speedely. There was in his company *D. Roderigo*  
of Villandrado Earle of Ribadeo, who in this voiage obtained a goodly preiudge for  
him and his family, which was, that the roabe which the Kings of Castile put on the first  
day of the new yeere, should belong to him, and that hee should that day eate at the  
Kings table, leauing this preiudge to his posterity in the King of Castiles court. As  
soone as the King came to Torijos from Saint Lazaro, he beganne to proceed against the  
Infant *D. Henry*, for the detention of his Ambassadors, and so he retired to Auila. The  
constable and his brother *D. Iohn* of Crezuela Archbishop of Toledo (against whom  
all this warre was intended) sent to beseech the King to send some of his counsell vnto  
them, to the end their might be some order taken for so many inconueniences, the which  
being done, they concluded that the King should send vnto the confederate Lords, to ad-  
uise them to obserue the accord made at Bonille de la Serra, and the more to ease the  
country, they should dismisse their souldiers.

That to determine all quarrels betwixt them and the constable, they should choose  
Iudges, who should examine where the fault was, and should appoint punishment for  
them that were found culpable: and that if they thought it fit, there should be a gene-  
rall assembly of the Estates called to that end. The Kings offred all these things to the  
confederats, who were for the most part in Arcualo: but they answered, that there was  
no meanes of pacification, if the constable who was newly come to Auila, did not dis- C  
lodge from court. The King hearing this answere, sought to retire his sonne *D. Henry*,  
who being counselled by the King of Nauarre, and the Queenes of Castile and Na-  
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more, then to mediate a good peace: where after some small stay, he returned to Seg-  
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*D. Diego of  
Valera giues  
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In the meane time the King receiued letters from *Diego de Valera*, a wise Knight and  
of great experience, who had seene and frequented the courts of forraigne Princes, seeking  
(according to the custome of Noblemen of that age) honour by armes, at Tournayes  
and combats, beginning for pleasure, and ending many times with death, or some o- D  
ther misfortune; yet he had alwaies beene fortunate, and had wonne much honour and  
reputation, both in Spaine and else where. These letters contained many graue admo-  
nitions, and profitable counsell, both for the King and his Estate. Being read in open  
counsell, *D. Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo Archbishop of Toledo, without any great con-  
sideration, stept forward to answere for all the rest. Bid *D. Diego* said he, send vs men and  
money, for wee haue not any need of counsell. The King to gratesie the Prince his  
sonne, gaue vnto him the towne of Guadalajara, the which by this meanes he thought  
to wrest out of the hands of *D. Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, Lord of Hita and Buytrago: but  
they made resistance in the taking of possession. This hapened at such time as he came  
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ria de Nieua, where *D. Iohn de Pacheco* was also present: they conferred long together  
about the pacification of the troubles, without any great conclusion.

From thence there was sent vnto Auila, *Alphonso Telles Giron* Lord of Beaumont,  
father to *Iohn Pacheco*, and Doctor *Valdenebro*, a prior, that to make matters more easie,  
he should approach to Arcualo, where vnto the King would not yeeld, wherein hee was  
ill counselled by some, who feared they should loose their credit and authority, by the  
accords which might be made there.

Matters beeing broken off the confederats sent the Admirall *Don Frederike*,  
the Earle of Benaunt, *Don Pedro* of Quignones and *Roderigo Manriques*, with F  
good numbers of men, beyonde the mountaines, into the Countrie of Toledo, who  
ranne as farre as Escalona, and presented battaile vnto the constable, and to the Arch-  
bishop his brother, who came from Illesca to ioine with him, when as their enemies were  
retired: these Lords of the league returned to Toledo without any blowes, whether came  
some men of authoritie from the King, to stay them from fighting. At that time the In-  
fant

A fant *Don Henry*, at the Earle of Benaunts, and the Admirals request, deliuered the Am-  
bassadors: but he did not forbear to spoile the Constables and the Archbishops coun-  
tries, putting all to fire and sword. The Archbishop abandoned Illesca in the night, go-  
ing towards Madrid, whereof the Infant *Don Henry* beeing aduertised, he followed him  
with all speed, and hauing onely ouer-taken and spoiled his baggage, hee returned and  
seized vpon Illesca: The Archbishop saued himselfe in Madrid, where hee was receiued  
by the Kings commandement: the Admiral and the Earle of Benaunt after these light  
exploits, returned to Arcualo. About that time *Don Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, one of  
the Lords of the league, hauing surprized the towne of Alcala de Henares; *Iohn de Ca-*  
rillo Gouvernor of Casoria, a Cap taine of the Archbishop of Toledos and the Consta-  
bles faction, approached neere vnto the place with sixe hundred horse, and one thousand  
two hundred foote, which he laid in ambush in certaine valleys, and sent some to runne  
in view of the towne, to draw *Don Inigo* forth, who failed not, yet not with such order  
and strength as he ought, wherefore he hemd him in, in such sort, as hauing lost most of  
his men, himselfe being soare hurt, hee could hardly recouer Alcala. To recompence  
this losse, the Infant *Don Henries* men, did cut some of the Constables troupes in pec-  
ces, in Grifmonda, where notwithstanding he lost *Laurence d'Aualos* his Chamberlaine,  
nephew to the Constable *Don Ruy Lopes d'Aualos*.

The Infant hearing this, went presently to field, marching towards Toledo with sixe  
hundred horse, ouer-running the country of Escalona, thinking that the Constable  
would fight with him, but hee stirred not, finding himselfe too weake: wherevpon hee  
sent to haue the Archbishop his brother to come, and beeing ioyned together, they  
went to charge the Infant at Torrijo, who then kept himselfe within his fort, and whilest  
that they spoiled the Country, euen vnto the gates of Toledo, killing men, and carrying  
away the prey, he aduertised the King of Nauarre, and the other confederat Lords of his  
estate, who parted presently from Arcualo and Ontiueros, with one thousand two hun-  
dred men at armes, and light horse to succour him. The King of Castile being much  
incensed against the confederates, resolved to seaze vpon the lands, rents, and reuenues  
of the King of Nauarre, beginning by *Medina del Campo*, neither did the protestations  
and threats of the King of Nauarre and his confederates, preuaile any thing, to whom  
D the King of Castile made no other answer, but that they were all in armes contrary to  
his commandements, and carried themelues as rebels.

### Don Alphonso the fift of that name, and twelfth King of Portugal.

D Vring these tumults in Castile, the realme of Portugal was not without some trof-  
les. After the death of King *Edwara*, his sonne *Don Alphonso* succeeded him, at  
the age of six years, vnder the government of the Queene *Donna Leonora*, according to  
the Fathers testament: but many townes of the realme reiecting the government of a  
woman, especially a stranger, they intreated the Infant *Don Pedro*, Duke of Coimbra,  
that, as the eldest brother among the Infants of Portugal, hee would take vpon him the  
sole government of the realme. Many others, more modest, who would not altogether  
breake the will of the deceased King, were of opinion that hee should gouerne with the  
Queene. Of the first opinion, were the Infants *Don Henry* Master of *Christus*, and *Don*  
*Iohn* Maister of Saint leames, *Don Pedro* excusing himselfe of this charge, he perswaded  
*Don Iohn* to gouerne with the Queene Mother, wherewith he should be well satisfied:  
but *Don Iohn* answered him freely, that it was not for him, who was the youngest amongst  
the brethren, to gouerne: but that hee *Don Pedro* and *Don Henry*, should aduise to take  
the government of the realme vpon them, as Princes of Portugal, and worthy of such  
a charge, and that they should not suffer a strange woman to rule ouer them, being an  
infamous thing, vnworthy of the house of Portugal, and preiudiciall to the realme:  
and that they must not regard that which the deceased King had ordained if it were  
found

it  
Portugal.

Government  
of a woman  
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*Priviledges of  
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father to *Iohn Pacheco*, and Doctor *Valdesebro*, a prior, that to make matters more easie,  
he should approach to Arevalo, where vnto the King would not yeeld, wherein hee was  
ill counselled by some, who feared they should loose their credit and authority, by the  
accords which might be made there.

Matters being broken off the confederats sent the Admirall *Don Frederike*,  
the Earle of Benauent, *Don Pedro* of Quignones and *Roderigo Manriques* with  
good numbers of men, beyonde the mountaines, into the Countrie of Toledo, who  
ranne as farre as Escalona, and presented battaile vnto the constable, and to the Arch-  
bishop his brother, who came from Illesca to ioyne with him, when as their enemies were  
retired: these Lords of the league returned to Toledo without any blowes, whether came  
some men of authoritie from the King, to stay them from fighting. At that time the In-  
fant

A fant *Don Henry*, at the Earle of Benaunts, and the Admirals request, deliuered the Am-  
bassadors: but he did not beare to spoile the Constables and the Archbishops coun-  
tries, putting all to fire and sword. The Archbishop abandoned Illesca in the night, go-  
ing towards Madrid, whereof the Infant *Don Henry* being aduertised, he followed him  
with all speed, and hauing onely ouer-taken and spoiled his baggage, hee returned and  
seized vpon Illesca: The Archbishop saued himselfe in Madrid, where hee was receiued  
by the Kings commandement: the Admiral and the Earle of Benaunt after these light  
exploits, returned to Arevalo. About that time *Don Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, one of  
the Lords of the league, hauing surprized the towne of Alcala of Henares; *Iohn de Ca-  
villa* Gouvernor of Casoria, a Cap taine of the Archbishop of Toledos and the Const-  
ables faction, approached neere vnto the place with siue hundred horse, and one thousand  
two hundred foote, which he laid in ambush in certaine valleys, and sent some to runne  
in view of the towne, to draw *Don Inigo* forth, who failed not, yet not with such order  
and strength as he ought, wherefore he heind him in, in such sort, as hauing lost most of  
his men, himselfe being soare hurt, hee could hardly recouer Alcala. To recompence  
this losse, the Infant *Don Henries* men, did cut some of the Constables troupes in pec-  
ces, in Grismonda, where notwithstanding he lost *Lawrence d'Aualos* his Chamberlaine,  
nephew to the Constable *Don Ray Lopes d'Aualos*.

The Infant hearing this, went presently to field, marching towards Toledo with sixe  
hundred horse, ouer-running the country of Escalona, thinking that the Constable  
would fight with him, but hee stirred not, finding himselfe too weake: wherevpon hee  
sent to haue the Archbishop his brother to come, and being ioyned together, they  
went to charge the Infant at Torrijo, who then kept himselfe within his fort, and whilest  
that they spoiled the Country, euen vnto the gates of Toledo, killing men, and carrying  
away the prey, he aduertised the King of Nauarre, and the other confederat Lords of his  
estate, who parted presently from Arevalo and Ontiueros, with one thousand two hun-  
dred men at armes, and light horse to succour him. The King of Castile being much  
incensed against the confederates, resolved to seaze vpon the lands, rents, and reuenues  
of the King of Nauarre, beginning by *Medina del Campo*, neither did the protestations  
and threats of the King of Nauarre and his confederates, preuaile any thing, to whom  
D the King of Castile made no other answer, but that they were all in armes contrary to  
his commandements, and carried themselues as rebels.

### Don Alphonso the fift of that name, and twelfth King of Portugal.

Dvring these tumults in Castile, the realme of Portugal was not without some trof-  
les. Alter the death of King *Edward*, his sonne *Don Alphonso* succeeded him, at  
E the age of six years, vnder the gouernment of the Queene *Donna Leonora*, according to  
the Fathers testament: but many townes of the realme reiecting the gouernment of a  
woman, especially a stranger, they intreated the Infant *Don Pedro*, Duke of Coimbra,  
that, as the eldest brother among the Infants of Portugal, hee would take vpon him the  
sole gouernment of the realme. Many others, more modest, who would not altogether  
breake the will of the deceased King, were of opinion that hee should gouerne with the  
Queene. Of the first opinion, were the Infants *Don Henry* Master of *Christus*, and *Don  
Iohn* Master of Saint Ieames, *Don Pedro* excusing himselfe of this charge, he perswaded  
*Don Iohn* to gouerne with the Queene Mother, wherewith he should bee well satisfied:  
F but *Don Iohn* answered him freely, that it was not for him, who was the yongest amongst  
the brethren, to gouerne: but that hee *Don Pedro* and *Don Henry*, should aduise to take  
the gouernment of the realme vpon them, as Princes of Portugal, and worthy of such  
a charge, and that they should not suffer a strange woman to rule ouer them, being an  
infamous thing, vnworthy of the house of Portugal, and preiudiciall to the realme:  
and that they must not regard that which the deceased King had ordained if it were  
found

11  
Portugal.

Gouernment  
of a woman  
cause of con-  
tention.

found vnreasonable and vniust. They that held the party of the widow Queene Donna A Leonora, were D. *Alphonso* Earle of Barcellos, with his sonnes D. *Diego* Earle of Oren and Marquis of Valencia, and D. *Fernand* Earle of Arrojolos, and Marquis of Villauiciosa, and with them the Archbishop of Lisbon, whose sister D. *Constance*, the Earle D. *Alphonso* had taken to his second wife; D. *Nugno de Goyz* prior of Saint Iohn, and D. *Alphonso* Lord of Cascais: who with many others their adherents, who aduised the Queene not to giue ouer the government in the which the King her husband had placed her: vpon which quarrell the Estates of the realme were called, by the Princes and Noblemen, holding the chiefe dignities, where by the diligence of the Infant D. *Henry*, there was this order taken. That the Queene mother should be gouernesse of her childrens persons, and of their reuenues and patrimonies, estates and Offices of the Kings house: and that the Infant D. *Pedro* should haue care of the defence of the realme, and of armes, and D. *Fernand* Earle of Arrojolos, of matters belonging vnto Iustice: This did nothing please the Queene, being desirous to command alone: wherefore the contention being greater then before, they made many new assemblies of the Estates: so as the last conclusion was, that the Infant D. *Pedro* should gouerne alone: the which was instantly required of all men in generall: so as the Queene was wholly dispossessed of the authority, whereof she might haue retained a good part: Being thus frustrate, with extreame griefe, she had recourse to womanish practises, complaints and accusations, as well to the Noblemen of the Realme, as to the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon her brethren: and in the end the came sorrowfull and discontented to the King of Castile, her cousin and brother in law, this yeere 1441. to complaine of the Infant D. *Pedro*, and to craue aide against him. She found the king at *Gomes Naharra*, a Borrough of Medina del Campo, troubled with the quarrels of the King of Nauarre, and other Noblemen, against the constable, so as she could not obtaine any thing.

Castille.

It was at such time when as the King of Nauarre, and the confederat Lords were gone into the Realme of Toledo to succor the Infant D. *Henry*, who hearing that the King proceeded against them with rigour, repast the mountaines, and came towards Medina del Campo, and Olmedo, townes belonging to the King of Nauarre, whereof he of Castile had seized. Approching neere to Medina, and wasting the time in demands and answers, they of Olmedo receiued the King of Nauarres men, whose army encreasing daily, he came to lodge within two bow shootes of Medina, into the which the constable, the Archbishop of Toledo his brother, and D. *Iohn* of Soto Major Maister of Alcantara, entred the night following with 1600. horse, so as for many daies there were diuerse skirmishes amongst them, in the which many good men were slaine and hurt. The Queenes of Castile and Portugall, sisters, and the Prince D. *Henry* propounded certaine conditions of peace, whereon there was long debate, without any frute. But whilest they were busie intreating and debating of these Articles, the King of Nauarre (who had Aluaro of Bracamont and *Fernando Rejon*, Knights well affected to his seruice in Medina,) delt so with them, as one night the constable and his brother beeing in gard and not caring to goe the round themselues, but relying vpon an other, they gaue him entry by a place called Our Lady of Antigua.

Medina del Campo surpris-  
ed by the con-  
federat Lords  
and the Con-  
stable a most  
taken.

The confederats army was then growne to be aboue fise thousand men at armes and light horse, and a great number of foote: wherefore the King of Nauarre and the confederate Lords, entred furiously into the towne with these forces, against the which there was no offer to make detence, for the King knowing well that they had no quarrell but to the constable, he commanded him, his brother, the maister of Alcantara, and others of his faction, to saue themselves by an other port, opposit to that where their enemies entred, wherein they shewed themselves nothing obstinate. These being gon, the King retired himselfe to the place of Saint Antolin, without any care or trouble for them that entred, who came presently to kisse his hands, first the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, and other Noblemen and capitaines; then the King of Nauarre, who as a King, made onely a reuerence, but did not kisse his hand, at which time there was no signe of discontentment, but the King did looke of them all with a cheerefull countenance. The constables lodging and of the rest of his faction were sackt: and the Queenes of Castile and

A and Portugall, sisters, did aduertise Don *Gomes Gutiere* of Toledo. Archbishop of Se-  
uile, and his Nephew Don *Fernando Aluarez* of Toledo, Earle of Alba, the first of that  
house which carried that title, and Don *Lopes* of Bariato Bishop of Segobia, that they  
should retire from Court, for that they were too much affected to the Constables  
party, the which they did the next day, and all the Officers which had beene preferred  
vnto the King by the Constable were dismist. And to make a good end of these trou-  
bles, the Kings of Castile and Nauarre, and the other Princes and Noblemen which  
were at Medina, made a compromise in the hands of *Mary* Queene of Castile, Don *Hen-  
ry* Prince of the Asturias, the Admirall, and of Don *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, who con-  
cluded as followeth. That the Constable Don *Aluaro de Luna* Earle of Saint Stephens,  
B should absent himselfe from Court for the space of sixe yeeres next ensuing, appoin-  
ting him for his aboade, his houses of Saint Martin of Val d'Eglise, or Riaca: That  
he should not write any letters to the King, but concerning his owne businesse, where-  
of hee should send a coppie vnto the Queene of Castile and to the Prince her sonne.  
That during the said time, hee should not make any league nor confederacie: That  
all Knights which had followed him should retire to their houses, and none to remaine  
about him but his household seruants: Notwithstanding the Constable, and the  
Archbishop of Toledo his brother, might retaine for the space of thirty daies after  
notice giuen them of this sentence, either of them fifty men at armes: And for the  
C execution thereof, the Constable should leaue in deposito the castles of St. Stephen,  
Aillon, Maderuelo, Ganga, Rojas, Maqueda, Montalban, Castle of Bayuela and Escal-  
ona, which places should remaine during the said sixe yeeres in the custody of certaine  
Knights. And for a greater caution, the Constable should deliuer Don *Iohn de Luna*  
his sonne and heire in hostage to the Earle of Benauent, during the said time: That af-  
ter the Constable should haue accomplished the aboue mentioned conditions, the  
townes and places which the confederats held, belonging vnto the King, should be yeel-  
ded vp, and the garriions depart: That the King should restore priuate men to their  
goods, honours, and dignities, whereof hee had deprived them, by reason of these trou-  
bles. All gifts and grants made by the King, since the first of September, in the yeere  
D 1438. vnto this present yeere 1441. should be reuoked and held for void, except to  
certaine persons of respect: That all that were partisans to the Constable, should be put  
out of the Kings councill, who should be named by the King of Nauarre, the Earles of  
Ledesma and Beneuent, *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoza: That all  
souldiars should presently retire, and no longer hold the field: That the King of Castile  
should recompence him of Nauarre, for the losses he had sustained in his lands in Ca-  
stile, during the seditions and that he, should pay the souldiars which the King of Na-  
uarre and his partisans had brought by reason thereof. These with some other Articles  
were concluded the third of Iuly, this yeere 1441. and were confirmed by the king of Ca-  
stile, thinking thereby to end the confusions, whereinto he like a yong Prince, had plun-  
E ged his Estate, by fauoring and supporting his mignon to much, who was both indis-  
creet and insolent, to the contempt of the Princes of his blood, and the chiefe Noble-  
men of the Kingdome, who notwithstanding vnder collour of providing for the pub-  
like good, tended all to their priuate. Soone after the King beeing at Castro Xeris, the  
Licentiate *Alphonso Ruiz* of Villena came vnto him, with procuration from the Con-  
stable, who allowed and accepted of the sentence, requiring to haue men sent to receiue  
the hostages. Afterfall this the Kings went to Burgos, where they spent some time in  
feasts and sports, and to auoide all ialousie which might cause troubles and diuisions  
amongst the Noblemen they made an accord amongst them that not any one should  
F affect to be more familiar with the King then an other: notwithstanding the Admirall  
D. *Federic* began to be very gracious with the King of Castile, not without ialousie of  
the King of Nauarre, who would willingly haue raised some stirs, after the accustomed  
manner, but his impaciency was restrained by the Earle of Castro, his ancient and faith-  
full seruant, who gaue him to vnderstand, that it must needs redound to his proffite, and of  
other Noblemen of the league.

And to make a stricter bonde, hee aduised him, seeing that Queene *Blanche* his wife  
was

Nauarre.

Death of D.  
Blanch Queene  
of Nauarre.

Castile.

1442.

A bound as-  
tempt of the  
Constables fa-  
uours.

was newly deceased, to marry D. Joane the Admirals daughter: and he propounded vnto A him an other marriage, betwixt the Infant D. Henry his brother, and D. Beatrice daughter to D. Rodrigo Alphonso Pimentel, Earle of Benauent: these Noblemen still practising the Constables ruine, which in the end they saw.

Blanch Queene of Nauarre after that she had conducted her daughter to the Prince of the Asturia's into Castile, she parted no more thence. In the absence of the King her husband, and hers, D. Charles their sonne gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, being assisted by good counsell. She was a religious Princeesse, and much giuen to deuotion, and pilgrimage, especially to places dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whether shee made some voiaiges during the aboue mentioned troubles, wherein spending her time, it happened that she died at Santa Maria de Nieua, in the yeere 1442. It is doubtfull amongst the Spaniards where her body was interred, for there is not any marke or menumont found in Spaine, although she ordained that it should bee carried to Santa Maria of Vxue, and that the priory of Ayuar should be annexed to that Church, the which notwithstanding was not done. The Authors of the History of Sicile write, that shee died in that Island, in the Monastery of Saint Nicholas des Arenes, at the foote of Mount Etna, and that she is buried at Catania, in Saint Francis Church. By the death of this Prince the succession of the realme of Nauarre fell vnto her sonne, Don Charles Prince of Viana, who at that time was full twenty yeeres old, bred vp by the Lords of Beaumont, whereof Lewis was the chiefe, who afterwards beeing made Constable of Nauarre by King C John, was the first of that house that was aduanced to that dignity.

The Constable of Castile bearing his exile from Court with the losse of his authority, very impatiently (wherein hee might haue maintained himselfe, if hee could haue knowne himselfe) beganne to make new practises, to grow into fauour with the confederates, submitting himselfe to John de Pacheco, that hee might bring him into fauour with Prince Henry his maister: but the wound was to fresh, so as nothing was done at that time.

The Estates beeing assembled that yeere 1442. at Toro, they did graunt vnto Don John King of Castile (though with great difficulty) to furnish him with foure score millions of Marauidis, payable at two termes, that yeere and the next following. There D the confederate Lords beeing aduertised, that D. Pedro de Acunyas sought all meanes to restore the Constable to fauour, the Admirall sent to take him prisoner in his house at Duegnas, but soone after he was deliuered: and then there was an enterprise for defcouering, which made the Constable much more odious, then hee had beene: for some of his friends were so hardy, as to make a mine in Toro, the which did come vnto the Kings lodging, and to the castle, by the which hee would secretly draw in armed men, and kill, or take the King of Nauarre, the Infant his brother, and the confederate Lords, whilst they were in counsell. The Estates beeing ended, the King came to Vailladolid, where as he gaue vnto Don Pedro of Estuniga, Earle of Ledesma, the City of Plaisance, in recompence of Trugillo, which he demaunded, for that it had bene promised him by the King.

There beeing great contention growne betwixt the Earle of Castagneda, and Don Luis Lopez of Mendoza, about the limitation of their iurisdiccions, and vassals, in the lands which they held in the Prouince of Alaua by reason whereof their armed men, keeping the field, did spoile and oppress the poore people: wherevpon many Commonalties did rise in armes, against these two Lords, making sharpe warre against them, hauing obtained leaue from the King to doe it, to the end they might suppress those insolencies which were committed vnder colour of their quarrels, which they might and ought for to haue ended by iustice, and not by armes. This yeere died F Don Lobo of Crezuela Archbishop of Toledo, the Constables brother, to the great hindrance of his affaires, in whose place Don Gutierrez Gomes of Toledo Archbishop of Seuile, was chosen, by the meanes of the King of Nauarre, to whom the house of Toledo was reconciled.

At that time there was a change of the Bishops of Spaine, euery one aspiring to that which was richest and of greatest dignity; the which is the greatest care of most of the

A the pastors in these latter times. The Archbishopprike was giuen to D. Garcia Oforio Bishop of Ouidoe, Nephew to the Admirall, the Bishoprike of Ouidoe to the Bishop of Orense; that of Orense, to Doctor John of Torquemado, of the Order of the preaching friars, Cardinal of Saint Sixte, a great Doctor in the Cannon law.

At that time in Biscay there were descouered some followers of their opinion, whom they called Fratricelli, men condemned by Pope Boniface the eight, in the yeere 1290. and afterwards by John the two and twentieth, for heretikes, and followers of all impurity and abuses, hauing had their beginning at Ferrara in Italy, by one called Herman. The King of Castile sent Francis of Soria a Franciscan friar, and D. John Alphonso Cherino Abbot of Alcala the royall, one of the Kings counsell, to informe of their deeds, doctrine and manners: and it was found by the informations which they brought to Court that he which had reuiued, and newly practised this Doctrine of Fratricelli, was a Franciscan friar, called Alphonso de Mella, and that many men and women were infected with this error, in the towne of Durango and there abouts: wherefore the King ordained that they should be apprehended, sending two Prouosts thether, well accompanied, who brought away a great number, some to Vailladolid, some to Calçada, where they were burnt. The friar Alphonso de Mella, the reuiuer of this sect, escaped, hearing that they informed, and past into the Moores country, with many yong strumpets, which were taken from him, and himselfe condemned, and made a slave, where hee ended his miserable daies.

C The King of Castile being sollicitd by the Queene mother of Portugal, to be a means that the might be restored to the authority, in the which the deceased King her husband had left her by his will; he sent Ambassadors to the young King D. Alphonso, and to his vnkle D. Pedro, and to the Estates and counsell of the realme, to perswade and intreat them, to leaue the gouernment of the King and realm, to the widow Queene, according to the last wil of the deceased king Edward, whereof they did ho. selfly excuse themselves, especially the counsell, yeelding many reasons why they could not consent therevnto. At that time hapened the death of D. John of Portugal, maister of Saint James, & second Constable of the realme, being 43. yeeres old, who was a great friend to Aluaro de Luna, Constable of Castile, who was also administrator of the Maistership of Saint James in D Castile. This Infant was grandfather by the mothers side, to the Queene D. Isabella, the heire of Castile and Leon, who was wife to King Ferdinand the fifth called the Catholike.

The same yeere Ambassadors came from D. Alphonso King of Arragon, to the Court of Castile, to condole with King John for the troubles and seditions of his realme, and giuing him counsell in their maisters name, as a Prince that was his allie and friend, to loue the Princes of his blood, and to win them with fauours and good vsage, admitting them into his counsell of State, and gouerning his realmes by their aduice, and of the Noblemen of the greatest and most ancient families of Spaine.

The Ambassadors did also make him a relation of the happy successe the King their maister had in the warre of Naples: where after diuers light exploits of warre betwixt E Rene of Aniou and him, he had besieged Naples the second time, in the which Rene was: and that by the good seruice of a certaine Mason, who had bene denied iustice by Rene, he had brought into the city by an old conduit, or sinke, about two hundred Spaniards, to seize vpon some port, and giue entry to the rest of the army, who beeing descouered and pursued, had fortified themselves in a great Tower, where during the fight hee had caused a scaldoe to bee giuen, and by that meanes put so many men into the towne as hee became maister of Saint Genaios gates, which hauing forced, they drew in all the armie of Arragon: That of the men of warre of the Angeuine, party had made great resistance, yea there was Rene himselfe, fighting verie valiantly, in his owne person, euen vnto the last extremity, so as hee had like to haue bene taken prisoner, hauing bene staied by some certaine souldiars of Carrelagne, from whom hee freed himselfe, cutting off the hand of one them called Espejo, who held the Rheines of his horse-bridle, and with great difficulty hee saued himselfe in the fort of Castle Nouo, which held for him; so as Rene beeing escaped, and his souldiars retired where they could, hee remained maister of the city, and soone

Change of Bi-  
shops in Spaine.Fratricelli  
reuiues reli-  
gion.

Arragon:

Success of the  
warre of Na-  
ples.



after receiued the forts of Capuana and Saint Hermo by composition; And that *Rene* A finding that he had need of new forces, leauing a good garrison in Castle Nouo, and a Geneuois called *Anthony Caluo* to commaund there, had gone to the Florentins, and to *Pope Eugenius*, his confederats in Italy, from whom not being able to draw any suffici. ent aide, he sent word vnto capitaine *Caluo*, that if he could not hold the fort, he should yeeld it with the best conditions he could, the which was done, and by that meanes the King their maister remained absolute Lord of the chiefe city of the realme, and of the castles, where he had beene receiued and acknowledged by the Neapolitans for their King, with great pompe and triumph, his aduersary being retired to Marfeilles, after that he and his wife had held that realme in suspence and troubles by the space of sixe yeeres. B These newes were pleasing to the King of Castile, who with milde and friendly words seemed to take in good part the admonitions and counsell which the Ambassadors had giuen him in the King of Arragons name. Thus King *D. Alphonso* remained peaceable possessor of the realme of Naples, in the yeere 1442. after that he had contended for it one and twenty whole yeeres, from the time that he was called from Corsica by *Queene Ioane*. And soone after this conquest, making his peace with *Pope Eugenius* who had need of his assistance and aide, for the recouery of the Marquisate of Ancona, the which *Cont Francis Sforza* held, by the meanes of Cardinal *Lewis* of Padoua, and of the Patriarke of Aquileia, the Pope graunted the inuestiture of the realme to him and his, making *D. Fernand* of Arragon, base sonne to King *Alphonso* Legitimate to that effect, hoping to succeed in the realme of Naples, and disanulling all other Inuestitures which had beene made by him or his predecessors Popes, to all other Princees whatsoever. In regard whereof, the King did aide the Pope with his forces, against such as opposed themselves in the Marquisate, and made him to enioy it quietly. The King of Arragons Ambassadors did admonish the King of Nauarre priuately, to keepe friendship with the King of Castile, and to doe him seruice: the like admonitions they gaue to the Infant *D. Henry*, hauing such charge from their maister.

*Alphonso King of Arragon inuaded in the realme of Naples.*

Castile.

*Polley of the Bishop D. Lopes of Barrientos.*

*Kings of Castile and Nauarre visit the Pope.*

The Noblemen of Castile hauing with such contention plunged the Constable and them of his party in a gulph of miseres, and the Courtiers hell, which is the disgrace of their Prince, and decay of their authority, they gaue him meanes by their negligence and baseness, to resolute and to returne to that dignity, from which he was fallne: for every one respecting more his priuate profit, then the publike good, or the maintenance of their league, followed that which he held to be most profitable for himselfe, beginning to iarre, and to haue factions amongst themselves, whereof the Constables friends that were in disgrace, could make vse; wherefore Doctor *Pero Ianes*, and *Alphonso Peres* of Biuro, very much affected to the Constable, had meanes to returne to Court. *D. Lopes* of Barrientos, Bishop of Segobia, besides that he was a very deere friend to the Constable, hauing or fearing to haue some quarrell with *D. Iohn de Pacheco*, fauorite to Prince *Henry*, hee exchanged his Bishoprike for that of Auila, with the Cardinal *D. Pedro* of Cerbantes, for that the Prince did ordinarily remaine at Segobia, it may bee hee would haue this exchange serue for a collour for that which he polittikely pretended, making shew to hate and flie the Prince *D. Henry*, when as he had most desire to bee in fauour with him, to restore the Constable, and to retire him from the King of Nauarre and the confederats league. Soone after *D. Pedro Suarez* of Toledo, sonne to *D. Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo Lord of Oropesa, being fauored by *D. Henry* Prince of Castile, who was but of a turbulent spirit, fortified himselfe like an enemy in Talauera, the which being made knowne to the King of Castile, who was then at Santa Maria of Nieua, with the King of Nauarre, to celebrate the Annuiersary of *D. Blanch* Queene of Nauarre deceased; the two Kings marched thether with some troups, and hauing caused the Infant *D. Henry* to come vnto them, they forced them that held Talauera to yeeld, which place they gaue in regard to *D. Fernand* of Crezucla, Archdeacon of Toledo. From thence they went all together to Toledo, where by the way they did visit the Constable *D. Aluaro de Luna*, at Elca-lona where the King and Queen were his Gosspits to a daughter, who was called *Ioane*, the which did wonderfully discontent the Admirall *D. Frederic*, and the other confederate Lords. The Commonalties of the Prouince of Alaua, who had taken armes against the Earle

A Earle of Castagneda, and *D. Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça; did much harme vnto the gentlemen of the country, and others, ruining their houses and committing many insolencies, as a brutish people is accustomed to doe, being a meere folly to arme them, how iust so euer the cause be: yea they proceeded so farre, as they did beseege *D. Pero Lopes* of Ayala, Lieutenant and Gouvernor of Guipuscoa in the towne of Saluatierra of Alaua, which did belong vnto him, who seeing himselfe pressed, sent to intreat his Neighbour and kinsman, *D. Pero Fernandes* of Velasco, Lord of Haro, being then at a village of his, to come and succor him, who hauing seene *D. Pero* of Ayala letter, he endeoured with all speed to releue him, gathering together in lesse then foure daies about foure thousand footie and five hundred Launces, with which forces he marche towards Saluatierra. The Commons being aduertised of his coming, dislodged, yet not so speedily, but he tooke many, whom he either slue or carried away prisoners, hauing chased the rest home vnto their townes, and burnt many of their houses.

*Dangerous counsel to arme a multitude.*

*Influence of the commons punished.*

1434.

In the yeere 1443. *D. Lewis* of Guzman, maister of the Knights of the Calatrava died: so as the King of Nauarre obtained that place of the King of Castile, for a base sonne of his called *D. Alphonso* of Arragon: whereof the King hauing written to the Commanders (to whom the election did belong) *D. Fernando* of Padilla treasurer of the Order (who had great credit among them, and the greater, for that he held *D. Iohn Ramirez* of Guzman great Commander of that Order prisoner euer since the ciuill warre, and would neuer deliuer him, neither by the Kings commandement; nor for the threats of the Princes and Noblemen) wrought so, as without respect to the Kings letters, or to anything else, he caused himselfe to be chosen maister of the Calatrava, disappointing *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, and the King of Nauarre his father, of their pourture, who for that cause made great Instance vnto the King, and obtained many letters and commandements to the Commanders, to disanull this election which was fraudulent, violent and against their Orders: for this new maister being chosen, had freed the great Commander, but hee had first made him to allow of his election, and to sweare fealty and homage vnto him, as to his Superior, and maister of the Order. All this preuayling nothing, the King caused the rents and reuenues of Calatrava to be seized on, forbidding all their subiects and vassals, to obey or acknowledge *D. Fernand* of Padilla, who notwithstanding was fauored and supported by *D. Henry* Prince of Castile, & other Noblemen, who were somewhat iealous of the King of Nauars greatnesse. Moreouer the King sent the Infant *D. Henry* of Arragon, with an army, who did beseege this vsurper in the fort of the Conuent of Calatrava, where he spent some daies, being defended by a good garrison. At the last the war ended, by an accident which happened to *D. Fernand* of Padilla, who died, being shot vnadvisedly by one of his Squiers, who ayimed at the enemy. They that defended the place, hauing lost their maister yeelded vpon composition. The Infant *D. Henry* did write againe vnto the Commanders to choose *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, the which was done, but he enioyed it little.

*Election freely possessed made.*

*Usurper enioyes his masters subptiles.*

*D. Alphonso of Arragon base sonne to the King of Nauarre, maister of Calatrava.*

The Court removing from Toledo, to come to Madrigal, the King being at Ramaga, the Prince *D. Henry* his son did solicit him to imprison *Alphonso Peres* of Biuro, *Fernando* James of Xeris, *Iohn Manuel* of Lando, and *Pedro* of Luxan Grome of the Chamber, for crimes whereof he accused them, and the King of Nauarre did the like, which was an occasion to chafe againe from Court all the Constables friends, fauorers and dependants, and to change many of the Kings household seruants, yea to giue him so many gards, as he was discontented, yet he had no wil to redresse it, for he was faint-hearted, and had no royall resolution, yea hee endured that *D. Henry Henriquez* the Admirals brother, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça were continually in his Chamber, to obserue what hee did, and to aduertise the King of Nauarre, and his sonne in law the Prince *Don Henry*. It is credible that this was the practise of *Don Lopes* of Barriento, lately Bishop of Segobia, and now of Auila, who sought to giue the confederats some occasion to vse the King rigorously, whereby it should appeere that they held him in vnworthy seruitude, wherewith the King, his sonne the Prince of Asturia's, and others whom hee would make friends to the Constable, might bee discontented, as it happened,

for this Bishop, being a very polletike man, vsed such means, as he wonne *D. Iohn de Pacheco*, who was the heart of *Prince Henry*, procuring him to let the Prince his maister vnderstand, how vnworthy a thing it was for him to continue in their league, who intreated his father so vnworthely, who hauing chased from court by their seditious armes, the constable, and other most faithfull seruants to the crowne of Castile, vnder collour of some youth, but in effect it was for that they opposed themselves against their tyranie, which they did build vnder a shew of the publike good, they held the Kings person as it were in captiuitie, to whom it was not lawfull to speake, see, nor heare, but by their Organes, no not to conuerse priuately with the Queene his wife, nor with him his sonne, without witness and guards, who went and reported all to them that he did and said: a shamefull thing, and full of contempt, the which he should not suffer, who should be the support of his father, and the hope of all faithfull subiects, louing the greaunesse of the crowne of Castile, and the honour and reputation of their Kings; with such perswasions hee induced the Prince *D. Henry* to leaue the league, the which he did cunningly, as he was counselled by the Bishop; who vsed the happy endeuors of *Iohn de Pacheco*, and by other diuises and means, hee drew vnto the constables friendship (who was almost in despaire, and resolu'd, seeing himselfe so pursued, to passe into Portugal) the new Archbishop of Toledo, the Earle of Haro, Alba, Castagneda and Ledesma, who now intituled himselfe Earle of Plaisance, *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, *Pero Aluarez Osorio* and other great Noblemen. The better to couer this practise, being also necessary for the Archbishop of Toledo to dissemble, hauing not yet receiued his Bulls from Rome for his Archbishoprike, hee and his Nephew, the Earle of Alba made a new league, with the King of Nauarre: but the Bulles receiued, and being in quiet possession of the Archbishoprike, they left the league, and ioyned with the constable.

The effects of the Bishops of Auilas practises beganne now to appeere, the Earle of Haro hauing complained of the subiection wherein they held the King, vsing some word of threatening that he would remedy it: going to Curiel to the Earle of Plaisance to conferre with him about it: whereupon the King of Nauarre sent after him to take him, and he had bene taken, notwithstanding that he went by vnknowne waies, if hee had not bene very well mounted, and escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse, into his owne country, where hee leaued men, and inuited all his friends to ioyne with him in so honourable an enterprise, to free the King from the oppression wherein they held him, so as within few daies hee had gathered together one thousand horse, there being ioyned with him the Earle of Castagneda, and D. *Pedro Sarmiento*: against whom Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre sent fiftene hundred Launces, led by the Admirall and the Earle of Benauent, who led Prince *Henry* with them, who did not yet descouer himselfe, but onely kept these two parties from fighting, making them in some fort friends, and satisfied at that time one of an other, and then hee returned to Segobia. Whilst that the Admirall and Earle of Benauent were absent in this voiage, hauing left the Kings in Tordesillas, *Pero Aluarez Osorio* of the Bishop of Auilas faction, came and presented himselfe before the towne, being accompanied with many souldiars, and did endeour to enter, but he could not, whereupon he retired.

These things made the King of Nauarre, and the confederats very ielous, that there was some great conspiracy against them, and not able yet to discouer who were the conspirators, to bee the better certified, they sent to intreat the Prince D. Henry to come to Tordefillas, that they might aduise what was to bee done for the totall ruine of the Constable, as they had concluded together.

The Prince hauing therein the Bishops aduice, who demanded nothing more, came with an intent to make knowne vnto the King his father the league which he had newly made, to free him from Government, and to comfort him. Arriving at Tordesillas with the Bishop of Auila, *John de Pacheco* and many other Noblemen, they were receiued by the King of Nauarre, with great demonstration of ioy. At that time there was no meanes for to conferre together, nor to treat of any affaires, for they were readie to celebrate a marriage betwixt the King of Nauarre,

A Nauarre, and the Admirall *Henriques* daughter, which were preparing with great state, at the tower of Lobaton, whither all men went.

This marriage was accomplished to the great griefe of Don *Charles* Prince of Viana, to whose prejudice the king *D. Iohn* his father, dayrned the Realme of Nauar, and wold not leaue it, although it were his inheritance by his mother, which was the cause of great troubles. This Princeesse *D. Ioane* was of the bloud royall of *Castile*, for the Admirall *Don Frederick* her father, was sonne to *Don Alphonso Henriques*, and grand-child to *Don Frederick* Master of Saint James, who by the commandment of *Don Pedro* the cruelli, his brother, was slaine at Seuille. At the same time *Don Fernand* of Aualos, Chamber-laine to the Infant *D. Henry*, was sent to bring *Donna Beatrix*, sister to *Don Alphonso Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, to Cordoua, being promised to the Infant his master: in which citie that mariage was celebrated, of whom came *D. Henry* of Arragon, called the Infant of Fortune, or the Fortunate, who came to be Duke of Segorbe.

The Court being returned to Tordeffillas, they began to treat of matters against the Constable, whereupon the Prince told the king of Nauarre, that it were good all they of the league were together, to determine of matters of so great importance, the which pleased the king of Nauarre, whereupon there were letters and messengers sent to them that were absent to draw them to Court: and for that Tordeffillas would not serue to lodge fo great an assembly, the towne of Arcualo was appointed. The Bishop of Auila was very desirous, that the king and the Prince, father and sonne, might conferre freely together, the which was very difficult: for there were spies set by the king of Nauarre about the kings person in his chamber, and in all other places, who did obserue what he sayd or did, and yet the king could not helpe it: yet the bishop found meanes to aduise him, that he should faigne himselfe to be somewhat sicke, and that vpon this occasion, the Prince, vnder colour to visit him, and to do his duty, might deliuer many things vnto him which might please him. The king kept his bed for a time, whereby the Prince had opportunity to discouer the new league vnto him, and to assure him, that the Constable whom he had chased away, should yet deliuer him from the captiuitie wherein they held him: wherewith the king was so ioyed, as he could not containe himselfe, but he did outwardly shew the hope which he had conceiued, which made the gards suspect, that the father and the sonne had had some discoufse of great consequence, whereof they did aduertise the King of Nauarre, who was very ielous of the bishop. They caused the Admirall to aske the king, what good discoufse the Prince his sonne had vsed, wherewith he was so ioyed. The king wisely concealing what he knew, answered, that they were tales of the follies of youth.

This busines having succeeded wishfully for the Bishop, the Prince tooke his leave of the two kings, his father and father-in-law, and so returned to Segobia, to attend (sayd he) the time of the assembly at Arevalo: but it was the least of his thoughts, for he had a special desire to breake it if he could: whereof having conferred by the way with the bishop of Auila his Councillor, he (who was a cunning politicke man) found this expedient: he went to Arevalo, being a towne of his Diocesse of Auila, with a great trayne, and finding the lodgings alreadie marked, for the Noblemen that should come thither, he caused some to quarrell with the harbingers, and with such of the traine as were already come, so as he put the towne into a great confusion. Many of those which were already lodged, were forced to depart, and to give place to my Lord Bishop and his men, and then seeking for other lodging, there grew other contentions among them of the Court, so as the king of Nauarre being aduertised thereof, hee was much discontented, and growing more suspicious, he would not go to that assembly, fearing some practise against him. The Prince having what he demanded, he wrote vnto the king of Nauarre, complaining much that he was not come to the assembly at Arevalo: wherefore they sent the Admirall Don *Frederick* vnto him to Saint Mary de Nyeua to draw him to another assembly, whereunto the Prince pretending some excuses, the Admirall told him, that if he came not, it would seeme, that he meant to withdraw himselfe from the vnion of the king of Nauarre and the confederate Lords.

The Prince pretended many reasons hee had for it, but he dissembled his intent : the Admirall

14  
Nauarre.  
*Marriage of the  
king of Nauar  
with D. Joane  
Henriques.*

Admirall intreated him for an enterview with his father in-law at Olmedo, whereof hee A excused himselfe as honestly as he could, and sent backe the Admirall very much discontented: for he spake not but as he was aduised by the Bishop of Auila, who wished him not to enter into Olmedo, nor into any place belonging to the king of Nauarre. The Bishop being vigilant and aſtiue to do any thing that might giue forme and effect to his enterprise, for the restoring of the Constable to his first fauour and authoritie, posted to Alba de Tormes, whereas he made the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Earle of Alba his Nephew good friends and seruants to the Prince Don Henry, aduertising them of all that had beene done, and he gaue order in Alba, that the like aduice should bee given vnto Don Inigo Lopes of Mendoza, Lord of Hira and Buytrago, and being returned B to Segobia, he caused the Prince to write vnto him, and to promise to fauour him in the question he had with the king of Castile for the Asturia's of Santillana. During these praſises in Castile, the Infant Don Henry hauing seized vpon the cittie of Cordoua, he sought to draw the townes of Andalusia into the Confederats power, and had attempted to seaze vpon Seuille; where finding resistance, he layed siege vnto it, and did greatly presse it, at such time as the Prince D. Henry did publish his resolution openly in the citie of Auila, which was, to continue vnder the obedience of the king his father, and to seeke to free him from them that did oppresse him: wherefore they of Seuille, vpon this newes, tooke courage, and did valiantly repulse the Infant. The Earles of Castagneda and Haro, with many other Knights, hearing of this resolution, sent instantly to present C their seruice vnto the Prince.

The king of Nauarre seeing this storme approach, sought by all meanes to pacifie the Prince, promising him all that he had formerly demanded, and not obtayned, but it was too late. He that carried this message vnto the Prince for the king of Nauarre, was a wise man, called Aluar Garcia of Saint Mary, who hath written part of the Chronicle of this King of Castile. The king of Nauarre and his confederates seeing the Princes desires, and that they must come to force, they assembled men from all parts, and so did the Prince: for the Constable, the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Earle of Alba came presently to him to Auila, whereas they might haue some fiftene hundred horse, not sufficient to beseege Tordeſillas where the king was: wherefore they resolved to go towards Burgos, to ioyne with the Earles of Haro, Castagneda, and Plaisance, and with Don D Inigo Lopes of Mendoza: whereof the King of Nauarre being aduertised, hauing already leuied about two thousand horse, he led the king to Portillo, and hauing there left him in the guard of the Earle of Castro, he marched with his troupes towards Burgos, being resolved to fight with the Prince and his men, and he came and camped at Pampega in the territorie of Burgos. The Prince who was within the citie, and had already about three thousand horse and foure thousand foote, sallied forth, and came and lodged with in view of his father-in-lawes armie. They expected nothing but a bloudie battell betwixt these two factions: but they retired without any blowes, but only a light skirmish, the which happened, whilst they did capitulate, at the sollicitation of some good religious men: at which treatie the king of Nauarre did in a manner yeeld to all that the Prince required, leauing the king of Castile in full libertie to restore his Officers, and to do what he pleased. The king of Nauarre finding no meanes to make an accord being the weaker, he dislodged in the night, without sound of trumpet, and retired to Palenquela. The king of Castile being ill guarded in Portillo, vnder colour of going a hunting escaped from the Earle of Castro, and came to Vailledolit, whither the Bishop of Auila came presently vnto the Princes and the Confederates campe, which was neere vnto Palenquela. The king shewed the best countenance he could vnto the Bishop, and acknowledging the good seruice he had done him in his deliuerie, he made him infinit promises. The King of Nauar, the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, D. Pedro of Quignones, and other heads of their faction, seeing themselves low, and at their enemies mercy, they resolved to retire themselves, euery one to his house, and there to attend the euent: wherefore the K. of Nauar, who for some yeares had not seen Nauar, went thither to provide men and meanes, to enter speedily with great forces into Castile, against his aduersaries.

15.  
Nauarre.

King of Castile  
deliuered.

King of Na.  
uarrs league  
dispersed.

Being come into his Realme, he first of all furnished his fronter places, with all things necessary

A necessarie, to resist the king of Castiles attempts: who had no great desire to pursue him into Nauarre, but onely to spoyle him and his, of that which they held in Castile, and first of all he tooke Medina del campo, and Olmedo: then the towne of Pegnasil was taken by force and sacked, and the castle yeelded by composition, Roa and Aranda of Duero opened their gates vnto the Prince, who with the Constable (hauing nothing that made head in Castile the old) past into Andalusia, against the Infant Don Henry, and forced him to flee into the country of Murcia, where he fortified himselfe in Lorca, vntill that the Prince was retired into Castile, and then he passed into Arragon, and so ioynd with the king of Nauarre his brother, who leuied men to returne into Castile. In the yeare 1445. dyed the Queenes Leonora of Portugall, and Mary of Castile, sisters to the king of B Nauarre, not without suspicion of payson: the Queene of Portugall was carried from Toledo, where she dyed, to the Monasterie of S. Mary of the battell: and Queene Mary dying at Villacastin a burrough of Segobia, was interred in the Monasterie of Guadalupe. Almost at the same time dyed Lope of Mendoza, Arch-bishop of Seuille, whose place was given to Don Aluaro of Oforno, Bishop of Cuenca, and his Bishopricke was conferred to Don Lopes of Barriento bishop of Auila, the which was given to Alphonso of Fonseca, such changes made the Pastors of Spaine, seeking the best reuenues. In the spring-time the king of Nauar entred into Castile by Atiença, with foure hundred horse, and fixe hundred foot: where at his first entry, he tooke Torrija, Alcala oi Henares, Alcala the old, and Saint Torquat, whither the Infant D. Henry his brother came with 500 C men at armes.

These newes made the king go from Medina into the Realme of Toledo, where hauing gathered together all the souldiers he could, hee marched that way, whereas hee thought to find the King of Nauarre, and comming neere to Alcala of Henares the towne was yeelded to him. There the King of Nauarre presented himselfe to fight, but he of Castile would not accept the battell: wherefore the King of Nauarre, and Don Henry past the port or mount of Tablada, and led their army to Olmedo, where as the gates being shut, and resistance made, they entred by force, and hauing caused informations to be made against them that were culpable, Doctor Fuente, and two other Gentlemen were condemned to dye, and were executed. The King of Castile following the king of D Nauarre, came and camped at the milles of the Abbey, within a little league of Olmedo, hauing in his army the Prince his sonne, the Constable, the Earle of Alba, D. Inigo Lopes of Mendoza, Don Lope of Barrientos, newly made Bishop of Cuenca, and then the Earle of Haro came and ioynd with him. On the other side the Admirall, the Earles of Benauent and Castro, Don Pedro of Quignones, D. John of Tobar, being sent by the K. of Nauarre, entred into Olmedo with a thousand horse, the which being ioynd to them which the king of Nauarre and the Infant had brought, and gathered together, made about fife and twenty hundred horse.

Matters being readie to be decided by an inenitable battell, the king of Nauarre hauing no will to hazard himselfe, hee demaunded a parle of the king of Castile, of some E Knights of either part, the which being granted, the Admiral and the Earle of Benauent of the one side, and the Bishop of Cuenca, and the Constable on the other, conferred together many times, the King of Nauarre in a manner demanding no other thing, but that they should restore to him the Infant D. Henry, the Earle of Castro, and others of the league, their lands and estates: but as for the gouernement of the Realme, and quarrels with the Constable, hee made not any mention. The Bishop vsing his accustomed pollicy, prolonged this treaty all he could, knowing that D. Guttiere of Soto-major master of Alcantara, should come within few daies to the campe with fixe hundred horse, by which supply the king of Castile being euery way the stronger, he did hope to see his enemies wholly defeated, and forced to yeeld to his and the Constables mercie. The F conference being ended without any conclusion, the king of Nauarre, and the confederates, sent Lope of Angulo, and the Licentiat Cuellar his Chancellor, to the campe, to acquaint the king of Castile with the miseries and losses which do follow a battel, whereunto the Constable, respecting only his priuate interest, aspired tyrannously, for the fruits which he gaped after by the death of the best Knights of Castile: wherefore hee should do

An. 1445.  
D. John of Tobar  
Queenes  
sister, poisoned.

EA. name of  
B. St. p. 100.

Confederats  
besieged in  
Olmedo.

Demand of the  
confederats of  
the King of  
Castile.

Prince Henry  
made to ymagine  
cruelty.

Battel of Ol-  
medo lost by  
the King of Nauarre

Death of Don  
Henry Infant  
of Arragon.

League of the  
king of Nauarre  
wholly dissol-  
ued.

do a thing worthie of himselfe, to chafe away this man, arrogant of the authoritie which he held vnworthily, and decree that they might bee heard in iustice, in some citie or other place of the Realme, whither they shold come like men of peace, not bringing with them aboue ten men vpon moyles: else they protested, that they would make their complaints vnto the Pope, and that the miseries which should follow, should be by his fault. The king answered, that he would take order, requiring to haue this demand in writing. Two dayes after Prince Henry going to view Olmedo, with certaine light horse, he was charged by the enemies who sallied out of the towne, who made him to flie shamefully to the campe, the which did so much displease the king his father, as instantly refusing to heare any more speech of an accord, he caused his Standard to be displayed, and his men to be put into battell; the Constable leading the forward with eight hundred men at armes: the Prince the battell with foure hundred men at armes, and the king the reere-ward with fixe hundred men at armes, besides the light horsemen, which were very many and diuided into these ordonances, the which hee made to stand firme aboue an hower, in view of Olmedo, to see if the king of Nauarre would come forth: who being wonderfully incensed at this bravado, although he had not equall forces to his aduersarie, yet like a couragious Prince, he would needs go forth to fight, contrarie to the aduice of many, it being late, opposing his Squadron, and that which the Earle of Castro led against Prince Henry, and the Infant his brother, the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, Pedro of Quignones, and Fernand Lopes of Saldaigne, with the rest of the forces against the Constable of Castile: and so began the battell about two houres before Sunne-setting, whereas the king of Nauarre and the confederates, notwithstanding their endeauours, were vanquished: and it was happie for them that approaching night parted them, and kept the victors from pursuing of their enemies: so as notwithstanding that they did fight with great resolution and obitinacie, yet there were but seuen and thirtie slaine vpon the place, and about two hundred dyed after, of such as had bene wounded in the battell. The King of Nauarre and his brother D. Henry (who was fore hurt in the left hand) retired to Olmedo: the Earle of Benauent fled as farre as Pedraza: the Admirall was taken by a Squire called Peter of Carera, who notwithstanding brought him to his owne house, at the tower of Lobaton: many Noblemen and others, in number aboue two hundred were taken. Among which the chiefe were, the Earle of Castro, and a sonne of his called Don Pedro of Sandouall, Alphonso of Alarcon, D. Henry Henriques, the Admirals brother, Fernand of Quignones, Diego of Londogno sonne to Sancho Rodrigo of Aualos, nephew to Don Ruy Lopes of Aualos, sometimes Constable of Castile, and Don Pedro of Quignones, but he found meanes to escape. The rest of the confederates armie fled to diuers parts, and was not pursued by reason of the night.

The King of Castile much pleased with this victorie, sent commandement throughout his whole Realme, that they should make bon-fires in signe of ioy, and hee caused a chappell to be built vpon the place of fight, which he named the holy Ghost of the battell, and hauing the day after sent Guttiere Sanches of Aluarado prisoner to Vaileddolit, he caused his head to be cut off. Before midnight the king of Nauarre, and the Infant his brother going out of Olmedo, with such forces as they had, they tooke the way of Portillo, and by Fonte Duegna they came to Daroca, and from thence to Calatajub, where as the Infant Don Henry dyed of the wound which he had receiued in the hand, it being inflamed: his bodie was at that time layed in the chappell of D. Iohn de Luna, in that city, and afterwards transported to Poblete, whereas the king Don Fernand his father lyes. He left his wife Donna Beatrix with child, who was afterwards deliuered of a son, who was called Don Henry of Arragon, and by surname the Fortunate Infant. His death was the more grieuous to the King of Nauarre, for that it happened in an vnseasonable time, after the losse of a battell: besides, seeing himselfe depriued of such a brother, it did but increase his griefe for the late death of his two sisters, the Queenes of Castile and Poygall, there remaying not any of so many children which the deceased King Fernand his father had left, but onely he and Don Alphonso king of Arragon, who was in a manner continually resident at Naples, and had no lawfull children. By this losse the king of Nauarre was wholly abandoned by the confederate Lords of Castile, who retired home to their

Condemnation  
ons against the  
confederates.

Constable resto-  
red to fauor &  
made Master  
of S. James.

Beginning of  
the kings na-  
tured against  
the constable.

Pardon gran-  
ted to the con-  
federates fled  
into Nauarre,  
and other pla-  
ces.

A their houses to settle their affaires: but the King of Castile pursued them with all rigour of iustice, causing them to be proclaymed Rebels, and forfeiting their lands to the crown, without respect of any: yet the Prince D. Henry laboured so, as the Admirall was put out of the roule of them that were condemned, but not without difficultie. In the castell of Medina of Rio-secco was Donna Theresa of Quignones, with Donna Joane wife to the King of Nauarre. The king being come thither, he receiued the place, and vied the Ladies graciously, by the Princes intercession, who persued the Admirals goods, estates, and family, vpon condition that he should returne to the kings seruice, within foure moneths: notwithstanding Queene Joane remayned in the king of Castiles power: and the League against the Constable was so disperfed, as there was not any towne or castle, but was yielded vp into the kings power, nor any man of name that durst oppose himselfe: but some retired into Nauarre, and others into remote places, and little frequented by the Court: The Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, Don Diego Manrique, Gouvernour of Leon, Don Pedro of Quignones, and Iohn Tobar, went towards Nauarre: by reason whereof the King fearing some enterprise of that side, came to Burgos. Don Aluaro de Luna, the Constable being freed from so great enemies, grew to be in greater credite then euer, and whereas he had bene but administrator of Saint James, he was made Master of that Order, which honors were but baytes of misfortune which did follow him, to plunge him in extreme miserie.

C He entertayned friendship with the Princes of Portugall as his last refuge: and in the time of this warre had procured for the king of Castile a succour of 1600. horse and the Infant Don Pedro, Regent of the Realme, a young Prince but seuentene yeares old, brought to Majorca after the battell, where they were receiued and feasted with great ioy: but for that there was no vse for them, they were sent backe payed and well satisfied. In this voyage, the Constable treated with the Portugals, to haue the King his master, (whose Queene was dead fixe moneths before) to marrie with Donna Isabella daughter to the Infant D. Iohn deceased, who had bene Master of Saint James in Portugall, where with he had not made the king in any sort acquainted, so much hee presumed of the power he had ouer him. This marriage with some other things, were afterwards the cause that the King did hate him mortally.

This Prince D. Henry, and many other knights considering how great a losse it would be, if so many great Lords and worthie men should be estranged from Castile, they delt so with the king (who of himselfe was patient and tractable) as they obtained a generall pardon for all such as had carried armes with the King of Nauarre: vnto the which these Articles following were annexed:

That a pardon was granted to the Admirall, who should returne into Castile, when he had leaue from the king, and should retire vnto the tower of Lobaton, in the which, and the limits thereof, he should remaine confined two yeares: The Earle of Benauent had the like sentence to remaine in his house at Benauent two yeares: and that he should take into his charge and guard Donna Joane Queene of Nauarre, and not suffer her after the two yeares expired, to depart without the kings commandement, and the consent of Prince Henry, and after that the Earle himselfe, and that the Admirall had taken an oath of fealty vnto the king, to serue him against all men, according to the lawes of Castile. These things being thus concluded, the King being at Burgos, he gaue the title of Marquis of Santillana, to Don Inigo Lopes of Mendoza, for his good and acceptable seruice: to Don Iohn de Pacheco in fauour of the Prince, the title of Marquis of Villena: the gouernement of the castle of Burgos, held till that time by the Earle of Plaisance, was giuen to Iohn de Luxan. Not onely the king of Nauarre, but his sonne the Prince Don Charles, yea Don Alphonso of Arragon, Master of Calatraua, lost at this time all they had in Castile. Don Pedro Giron, brother to Don Iohn de Pacheco, was made Master of Calatraua by the king, being at Auila, and Don Alphonso, who was retired into Nauarre with his father, depriued thereof: yet D. Iohn Ramirez of Guzman great Commander of the Order, tooke vpon him the title of Master, against D. Pedro Giron: which contention was afterwards reconciled by the Princes authority and others.

## The generall History of Spaine.

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In the meane time they did write out of Murcia to the king, that they suspected the A Moors would make some attempt: wherefore it was necessarie to provide for that frontier, but it was a briere without effect, for that King *Mahumet Alien-Azar*, then reigning, was forced to defend himselfe in his owne Realme, against another called *Mahumet Alien-Ozman*, called *Coxo*, his nephew, who had rebelled against him, to deprive him of his Realme, as he did, hauing intelligence with many Morish Knights of Granada, by whose meanes he seized of the citie, and of Alhambra, and tooke King *Mahumet* his vnckle, who at that time lost his Realme, beeing the third time, and neuer recovered it more, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, forty and siue, hauing reigned thirteene yeares and three moneths.

Castile

The King of Castile went into Extremadura, and forced D. *Fernand* of Aualos, sonne to the sometimes Constable D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, to yeeld him vp the fort of Albuquerque and others, which had belonged to the Infant D. *Henry*, in consideration of some recompence which the deceased Infant his Master did owe him. The king beeing at Toledo, he tooke the Gouvernement of the cittie from *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, who was a partisan to the King of Nauarre, and gaue it to *Pedro Sarmiento*. There were many complaints made by the Officers, and lesser Magistrates of the cittie, the which the king dissembled: for that the Prince fauoured him, and was much discontented for that hee was put from his gouernement of Toledo. In the meane time the King of Nauarre, (who was also as Regent in Arragon, in the absence of King *Alphonso* his brother) provided money, and all other meanes to renew the warre in Castile, whereas hee yet held two strong places, Atienza and Torrijo, and by the meanes of *Gaston* Earle of Foix his sonne-in-law, (who had married D. *Leonora* his second daughter, to whom afterwards the succession of the Realme of Nauarre fell) he pretended to draw some great succours out of France. In Atienza *Roderigo* of Rebollo was Gouernour, with a garrison of two hundred horse and foure hundred foot: who by their continuall alarmes, killing, burning and carrying away all they encountered, whereof there came daily complaints vnto the king of Castiles eares: wherefore there were some troupes of horse sent to restrain their courses, vntill there might be a sufficient armie raised to beseege the place: and the better to attend this warre, the King reconciled certaine pettie quarrels, which the Prince his sonne did cause; and he granted libertie to the Admirall, and Earle of Benauent for their persons, restoring them to their Lands and Estates freely: and moreover he suffered that Queene *Isabe*, wife to the king of Nauarre, should be deliuered into her fathers hands, and kept by him, vntill that the king of Castile should determine of her deliuerie to the king her husband. D. *Diego* *Gomez* of Sandoval was also pardoned, the King retayning his forts still for two yeares: the like pardon was granted to his sonnes, and to D. *John* of Tobar, Lord of Berlanga: the fort of Berlanga did also remaine two yeares in the kings hands.

Siege of Atienza.

These things beeing thus ordered, the king went in person to the siege of Atienza, the which was furiously battered and assailed with engins of warre, and also with some iron Ordinance: for the casting of brasse Ordinance was not then vsed in Spaine: so as *Roderigo* of Rebollo, Captaine of the Garrison, seeing himselfe thus prest, gaue the King of Nauarre to vnderstand, that if he were not releued, he could not hold it long: whereupon the king of Nauarre, (who was not in case to rayse the siege) sent to propound some meanes of a truce with him of Castile, the which was granted vpon condition, that the townes of Atienza and Torrijo should be deliuered into the hands of *Mari* Queene of Arragon, for a certaine time limited: during the which they should conferre of the meanes to make a good peace betwixt the two kings: and if their quarrels could be determined, then the Queene should restore those two places to her brother-in-law the king of Nauarre.

Choler of the King of Castile

All hostilitie ceasing by this meanes, the king entred into Atienza, whereas moued by some vnknowne occasion, without regard of that which had bene capitulated, hee caused some houses to be sacked and ruined, and others to be consumed with fire, so as a good part of the towne was burnt: whereat the King of Nauarre was much offended, and would no more stand to the accord, nor deliuer the Castles and places to the Queene of

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A of Arragon, reproching the King, that he had broken his promise, and giuing commandement to his souldiers, that they should vse all acts of hostilitie, and commit what spoiles they could in Castile, the which they did, and with such excesse, as the king of Castile sent backe in the yeare 1446. Don *Charles* of Arcellan, Lord of los Cameros, a great and famous Captaine, to suppress the robberies and insolencies of the Nauarrois in Atienza: and against them of Torrijo, Don *Alphonso* *Carillo* of Acugna, newly made Arch-bishop of Toledo, by the death of Don *Gutierre* *Gomes* of Toledo; either of them hauing three hundred Lances: but they of Torrijo made no great esteeme of the Arch-bishop nor of his followers, making roades daily into the countrey, and bringing great booties into their forts. They of Atienza were held more short and curbed by *Charles* of Arcellan.

The Arch-bishop hauing bene often beaten by the Nauarrois, and lost many of his men, the King commaunded Don *Inigo* *Lopes* of Mendoza, that taking the Arch-bishoppes forces, with some new that were assigned him, he should continue the siege of Torrijo, the yeare 1447. beeing well aduanced: The siege was long, notwithstanding that the towne was battered both with Artillerie and Engines, for *John de Puellas* who defended it, was a valiant and couragious Captaine, and of great experience: yet the continuance did so tyre him, as finding daily the want of men, victuals, and other necessarie munition, to endure a siege, and beeing out of hope of succours from the king of Nauarre, hee resolved to yeeld vp the place vpon very honorable conditions, and retired his men and baggage safe into Arragon: the towne and castle of Atienza remayning still in the power of the Nauarrois, who in despite of *Charles* of Arcellan, issued forth and spoiled the country; and moreover they tooke Pegna of Alcazar, a fort in the territory of Soria, from whence they did forrage, and carry away abundance of cattraile and other things, which they sent to sell in Arragon, where they had a safe retreat, as in a country belonging to their Princes brother, who was then at Naples, well aduertised, to his great griefe, of all the troubles of Castile, and the successe thereof, doing what hee could to pacifie them, both by letters and Ambassage, yet fauoring his brother D. *John* King of Nauarre.

This yeare 1447. the King of Castile was married at Madrigal, to D. *Isabella*, daughter to the Infant D. *John* of Portugal, Maister of Saint Iames, who was sonne to the King D. *John*, who was maister of Auiz. This marriage was the Constables ruine, the Queene being his enemy. The King of Nauarre being come to the Estates of Arragon, which were held at *Saragozza*, at that time, there to preside as Gouernor General in the absence of the King his brother, he was summoned by Doctor *Surban*, and a Prouost of the Court, sent Ambassadors from the King of Castile, to deliuer vp Atienza, as it had bene concluded: which Ambassadors complayned to the Estates, that they that spoiled the countrey of Castile, had their retreat into Arragon: whereunto answer was made that they would send an answer to the King of Castile by expresse Ambassadors: and soone after they dispatched Don *Iames de Luna*, Bishop of Tarrasone, and Don *John* of Ixar, who found the king at Soria, hauing charge to treat of a peace betwixt the two kings: The King of Castile appointed them to follow him to Vailledolite, whether he was prest to go, the which they would not do, and so they returned to Saragozza, without any conclusion.

In the meane time the Captaine, who had suffered Pegna of Alcazar to be surprized, beeing ashamed to shew himselfe before the King, by reason of his error, hee sought to repaire it, and surprized the fort of Verdejo in Arragon, the which he gaue to the king his master, who hauing set good garrisons vpon the frontiers of Arragon, hee went in great hast to Vailledolite.

This yeare dyed Pope *Eugenius* the fourth at Rome, who had bin condemned by the Councell of Basill, and in his place *Amadeus* D. of Sauoy was chosen, who at that time was Deane of Saint Maurice of the congregation of Saint *Augustin*, the hermitage of Ripaille, in the Diocesse of Geneua, who carried himselfe as Pope, all the time that *Eugenius* liued, notwithstanding that hee had retayned his dignitie: after whose death *Nicholas* the sixt being chosen at Rome, he renounced his Popedom, hauing held it 9 yeares

R r r

and

1446.

Torrijo besieged.

Second marriage of Don John King of Castile.

Amadeus of Sauoy called Pope Felix.



and five moneths, the rest of his dayes hee passed with the title of Cardinall of Santa A Sabina.

1448. The reason which drew the king of Castile in such hast to Vailledolit, was, for that hee had beene aduertised there were some knights would stirre vp new troubles: thither came Ambassadors againe to him from Arragon, in the beginning of the yeare, 1448. who hauing treated of many things, in the end they concluded a truce for seuen moneths, betwixt Castile and Nauarre: whereof the garrisons of Nauarre, beeing not aduertised in time, they continuing their hostility in Castile, they surprized the towne of S. Cruz of Campeço by scalado, it belonging to *Lope* of Rojas, whom they carried away, with his wife and many others. And moreouer, the Gouvernour of Albarazin seized vpon the castell of Huclamo, in the Bishoppricke of Cuenca, the which hauing beene ill guarded by the Castillans, was well worke by these, so as *John Hurtado* of Mendoza, recovered it by the meanes of a Castilian souldier, who was there in gouernement among the Nauarrois.

The king of Castile sent into Nauarre to summon Prince *Charles* in consequence of the truce, to deliuer Don *Lope de Rojas*, and the towne of Santa Cruz, the which was done. At that time a knight of Bourgondie called *James* of Lalain, did fight a combate, without any cause of quarrell, but onely to make triall of his valour, as it was the maner in those times, against Don *Diego de Guzman*, brother to the Lord of Torrija, at Vailledolit Don *Diego* was fore wounded in the fore-head with a battell-axe, after which they closed, but the King casting his staffe, parted the combate, and did great honour to the Bourguignon.

Ambition and couetousnesse, as they say, haue neither bounds nor bottome: the which shewes it selfe chiefly in such as haue the gouernement of great Estates, whereof at that time Don *Aluaro de Luna*, Constable of Castile was a notable president, who not content with the happinesse to haue seene a dangerous League, conspired to his ruine, by so many Princes, and great Noblemen broken, himselfe restored to the Princes fauour, and to triumph ouer his enemies, but hee would plunge them into the like miserie, as hee had escaped, and wholly gouerne the king and Realme with Don *John de Pacheco* the Princes Minion, and so diuide all the honours, fauours, and greatnesse of Spaine betwixt them. Don *Alphonso* of Fonseca, newly made Bishop of Auila, was an apt Counsellor for their desleigne, who was of opinion, that they should cause some of the great ones, who were offensive vnto them, to be committed to prison. Hauing therefore mediated an interview of the king and Prince betwixt Tordeillas and Villeverd, the Court beeing very great and stately, there were apprehended the Earles of Benauent and Alba, Don *Pedro* and *Suero* of Quignones, and Don *Henry* brother to the Admirall Don *Frederick* (who was also vpon the rowle, but beeing ill disposed, he came not to this interview) so as hee escaped, and so did Don *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, Earle of Castro Xeris, who beeing either aduertised, or doubting of some practise, stayed at home: and afterwards hauing aduice, that the king came to Aguilar del campo, and the Prince to Lerma, to take the Admirall and him, they both left their houses, and retired to Nauarrete, and from thence passed to Tudela, where the King of Nauarre was, whose faction was the accusation and colour of these imprisonments: the Constable saying moreouer, that they had conspired to kill him.

The Admirall and Earle of Castro, were very kindly enterrayned by the King of Nauarre, who led them with him to Sarragossa, where it was resolved, that the Admirall should go to Naples to the King of Arragon, to acquaint him with the gouernement of Castile, and to sollicite him to come into Spayne, to ayde them to recouer their ranks, dignities and lands, or else that he would giue them leaue to vse his forces of Arragon. According to this Councell the Admirall embarked at Barcelona, and went to Naples. The king of Castile hauing no great confidence in Don *Diego Manrique*, who had the guard of the frontier of Nauarre, he forced him to leaue the forts of Ocon, Nauarret, and Treugno, and gaue them himselfe in guard to the Earle of Haro his Brother-in-law for one yeare. These things thus done, all the lands of them that were absent were seized on, and put into the kings hands, many Noblemen in Court beeing offen-

A combate.

Practises of  
the Constable  
D. Aluaro de  
Luna.

A offended at these violences: but about all others they found the Earle of Albas imprisonment very strange, who had alwaies shewed himselfe a faithfull seruant to the king, and a partizan to the Constable: and euery man examined his conscience: many beeing terrified, remiembering that they had offended the King, or the Prince in some light matters: so as there were retreates made daily from Court without leaue, with other confusions, which made the king to see from whence the mischiefe came: besides, throughout all Spaine they spake plainly and boldly, that the Constables ambitious desire to raigne in Spain, had caused this tumult in Court, and so wronged the Noblemen that were prisoners. Don *Alphonso* King of Portugall, sonne to Donna, *Leonora* sister to the king of Nauarre, beeing dead in Castile, as it was thought, of payson, beganne to apprehend it: yea the King of Granado stirred in fauour of them that were so vnworthily pursued by the Constable: wherewith the king of Castile beeing moued, hee had a desire to seize vpon the Constable: yet distrusting the inconstancie of the Prince his sonne, he durst not do it.

There were some troupes of horse and foote sent to the frontiers of Nauarre and Granado, especially against the Moores, who spoyled the Countrie of Murcia, King *Mahomet* *Aben-Ozman* beeing solicited by the King of Nauarre, to do the worst hee could to this of a Christian Prince, yet vsuall among the Princes of this world, that are at warre, who oftentimes make religion a vaile to couer their couetous, and inordinate passions and affections.

18.  
Moores of Gra-  
nado incited by  
the king of Na-  
uarre against  
Castile.

### Mahomet Coxo, the 17. king of Granado.

D T His *Mahomet* called *Coxo*, beeing come to the Crowne of Granado, by the violence hee vsed against his vncle *Mahomet*, maintained himselfe with the like art, wheremany of the Knights of Granado beeing incensed, they retired themselves to Montefrio, a place which onely reiected the command of this tyrant, beeing held by *Andalbar*, who had beene high Marshall to King *Mahomet* the left-handed, who enterrayned an enemy to King *Coxo*, to dispossesse him of the Crowne, as hee had done his vncle.

It was the Infant *Aben Ismael*, who hauing followed the warre in the seruice of the King of Castile, had retired himselfe, with his leaue and fauour, to Montefrio, to this Marshall, and there had beene saluted for King, yet weake, and ill provided to make any attempt against Granado, and the Alhambra, the seate royall, which was held by *Coxo*: but God prepared him the meanes, and stirred vp occasions in time. King *Coxo* embracing the confusions and quarrels of Castile, which made them neglect the guard of the frontiers, and animated by the factions of Nauarre, entring into Andalusia, had taken the towne of Banamaruel by force, and carried away *John de Herrera*, who commanded in the place, with many other Christian prisoners, after that hee had slaine many: hee then besieged Bancalema, which was defended by *Aluaro* of Pecellins, the which he forced in like manner, putting all hee found in it to the sword: for which losses the Capitaines were not to bee blamed, for wanting pay they could not keepe the Garrisons of those forts full and compleat: and moreouer, hauing demanded succours from them of Izen, Vbeda, and Baeca, they could not obtaine it, by reason of the diffusions and quarrels betwixt the King and the Prince, father and sonne, which could not be so well and conveniently compounded, but vpon euery occasion they brake: so as the time beeing fauourable for the Moorish King, hee made daily and ordinarie roades into Castile, carrying away infinite spoyles of men, and innumerable multitudes of cattell and other goods, besides the taking and sacking of the Townes of Arenes, Huecar,

Exploits of the  
Moores in An-  
dalusia.

Places upon  
the frontier of  
Castile aban-  
doned by bad  
councils.

Velez the white, and Velez the red, with their forts and castles, all through the negligence of such as had the managing of affaires about the kings person, whereof some were so ill advised, as to give their opinions in counsell, that they should not trouble themselves for those petty places, which cost more the keeping, then they were worth, and that it was more for the profit, and the ease of his treasure, to suffer them to bee lost: for with that which should be spent in keeping them, they might fortifie other places of greater importance.

This yeare 1448. after the former losses, King *Mahomet Aben-Ozman*, was newly entred into the country of Murcia, making cruell spoiles: wherefore Don *Alphonso Telles Giron*, cousin to Don *John de Pacheco*, being newly made Gouvernor of Hellin and Chumilla, desirous to make triall of his good command, went hastily to field, where finding some of the Moores troups disbanded, he charged, and cut some of them in peeces, where the souldiers began presently to spoyle the dead, not caring to keepe any order or discipline, or to see if all danger were past. The Moores which escaped, and others that were not farre off, being aduertised of this defeat of their men, came vnto the place where the fight had beene, and finding the Christians dispersed like beasts, and busie at the pillage, they charged them furiously, so as most of them were slaine. Don *Alphonso Telles* with some few knights saved themselves by flight in Hellin, and by this route giuen vnto the Christians, the way was open for the Moores to spoyle and burne the countie at their pleasures.

Christians be-  
ing victors, &  
lost at the  
spoile, are van-  
quish'd.

Castile.

The King of Castile could hardly preuent these miseries, beeing continually afflicted with seditious and mutinies in his Court and house, the Prince Don *Henry* giuing him infinite crosses, and for light occasion: the which did much displease the Constable, fearing that their discord would redound to his losse and prejudice, wherefore hee made ring that they should together at Tordeillas. At that time the Estates were held at Vaileddolit, where the King hauing declared, that hee went to see the Prince his sonne, to haue him concur with him, to the end they might punish Rebels, and reward the good, euery man hauing spoken something concerning that matter, *Diego* of Valera, Deputie of Cuenca, a wife Knight, did highly commend the Kings holy resolution, to seeke the vniou of his royall house, and to put in practise the act to distribute rewards and punishments in equal proportion, according to euery mans merits: but hee did aduertise him, as a faithfull vassall, that to do it without error and misprision, hee must take the course of iustice, and examine euery mans actions, and iudge with good aduice, the parties being duly called and heard, both present and absent.

The King tooke great delight in *Diego's* speech, and much more in a letter which hee writ vnto him afterwards vpon this subiect, full of good and wholesome counsell and aduertisements, whereof there were infinite copies taken by the Noblemen in Court, who dispersed them ouer all Spaine: but this wisdom was offensive to the Constable and his faction; wherefore *Diego de Valera's* recompence was, that the King took from him a pension which he before had giuen him, and moreover, hee was disappointed of his entertainment for the voyage hee had made to the Estates at Vaileddolit, with *Gomez Carrillo* of Albornoz, as Deputie of the Diocesse of Cuenca, to teach him to bee a Courtier, and not so zealous of the good of his Prince and country.

This good Knight was receiued into house by Don *Pedro* of Estuniga, Earle of Flaisance, who made him Gouvernor of his Nephew Don *Pedro*, supplying with his owne, the Kings ingratitude: who hauing seene the Prince, and somewhat reconciled their disioynted affaires, past to Ocagne in the Realme of Toledo, where hee was aduertised, that the Earle of Benauent had escaped out of prison from Portillo, and retired into his country, where hee had put a garrison, armes and victuals into his Castle of Benauent, and other places: Wherefore seeing himselfe engaged in a new warre, hee came discontented to Arcualo, and sent for his souldiers and vassalles to come thither, meaning to go against the Earle, who stayed not in Castile, but retired to Morgadojo, a fort of Portugall, where hee was well entertained by the commandement of King Don *Alphonso*, who did not greatly like the gouernement of Castile.

Ciuiil dissensions make many attempt: things against reason, and oftentimes such

19  
Ciuiil warres  
corrupt the  
best men.

as are in shew honorable, and of good conuersation, who otherwise would not undertake any thing that were dishonest: the which appeared at this time in Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, Lord of Ognate, a Knight of great authority in Spain towards the North seas, who desirous to seize vpon the towne of Mondragon, in the Prouince of Guipuscoa, by reason of the seditious of Castile, he vsed such practises and meanes as hee thought would serue him: wherein he found the inhabitants contrarie to his will, incensed and supported by *Gomez Gomales* of Butron, a Knight of great alliance and power in Biscay, of the Ognazin faction, contrarie to Don *Bertrand*, who held the partie of *Gambayn*, who seeing himselfe disappointed of that which hee pretended, fell into such hatred of them of Mondragon, as he caused the towne to be fired in diuers parts, by some that he

had set on: so as he made in a manner all to be most inhumanly burnt. Don *Bertrand* being apprehended by the kings commandement for this fact, and accused to haue set fire of a towne belonging to the Crowne, was in danger to haue lost his life: yet as in a time of confusion, money and fauour can do more then iustice, he had his life saved, making satisfaction to them that had beene burnt and dammified: to value the which there were arbitrators appointed, who by sentence adiudged most part of Don *Bertrand's* lands to the towne of Mondragon, and more they had giuen, if the foure arbitrators, chosen for the Inhabitants, had not beene corrupted with money. This towne of Mondragon endured this calamity, for that it would not bee alienated from the Crowne, for that they maintayned their liberties better so, then in beeing subiect to any subalternall Lord: and without doubt if Don *Bertrand* could haue seized thereon, he would haue kept it, in this time, full of reuolts and excesse, when as the confirmation or the pardon, had beene easie to haue beene obtained by a peace or otherwise. In cleargie matters this towne hath alwaies beene stout to maintaine her rights and priuiledges, still refusing to accept any Lay patron, as well in that which concernes the fruits, as the right of presentation in the towne and iurisdiction.

In the yeare 1449. the truce betwixt Castile and Nauarre beeing ended, the garrisons of Atienza and of Pegna of Alcazar went to field, and made the cruellest warre that might be. The King of Nauarre being exceeding glad that the Earle of Benauent had escaped into Portugall, he fortified himselfe with the fauour of king Don *Alphonso* by his meanes: and hauing drawne out of Nauarre and Arragon, and from the Moores in the Realme of Valencia, which were subiects to Arragon, a good number of fighting men, sent them vnder the conduct of Don *Pedro* of Vreca, Don *John Fernandes* of Heredia, *Rodrigo* of Rebollo, Don *Fernand*, and Don *Diego*, sonnes to the Earle of Castro, and of the iustice of Arragon, against the towne of Cuenca, making his base sonne Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, late Master of the Calatraua, Generall of this armie: the which ioyning with the troups which *John Hurtado* of Mendoza, and *Lope* of Mendoza his brother, sonnes to Don *Diego*, had rayfed for his seruice, for that they were entred into quarrell with the Bishop of Cuenca, and were become his enemies, might amount to fixe thousand men horse and foot: with these forces the citie of Cuenca was besieged, the which was defended by the Bishop Don *Lope* of Barriento, a better souldier then a Diuine, although he had some fame for that facultie in Spaine, and by *Alphonso Chierino* son to *Fernando Alphonso Chierino*, Syndic of the citie, and by *Lopes* and *John* of Salezar brethren, Captaines of the garrison, and the Inhabitants who made such resistance, as notwithstanding that the Nauarrois had taken Saint *Anthones* tower, at the bridge, and giuen great assaults in other places, yet they defended the place, and repulst the enemy, who despayring to take it, raised the seige, the which they did the rather, for that they were aduertised, the Constable came with great forces to succour it. Towards Requena and Vtiel, the king of Nauarre sent Don *Baltazar* sonne to the Earle of Huelua, with 200 horse and 500. foot, who running along the riuer of Xorquera, tooke a bootie of about 10000. head of small cattell: and the Inhabitants of Requena and Vtiel going forth to rescue the prey, they were incountred and defeated, thirty of their Knights beeing slaine vpon the place, and seuentie caried away prisoners by the Nauarrois, and the rest were all dispersed.

These were the King of Nauarres exploites, attending the returne of the Admirall

Rrr 3

Don

19.  
Ciuiil warres  
corrupt the  
best men.

Ognazins and  
Gambayns, fac-  
tions in Gui-  
puscoa and Bisc-  
cay.

20  
Exploites of  
war betwixt  
the Nauarrois  
and Castilians.



Accord be-  
twixt the  
King of Ca-  
stile and Na-  
uarre.

Houses of  
strength re-  
troais for  
theeues ruined  
in Guipuscoa.

22  
Birth of the  
Infanta D.  
Isabella who  
was Queene  
of Castile and  
Arragon.

23  
Nauarre.

some (who was light and inconstant) vnited vnto him, cutting off all occasions of A  
factions and leagues, which might distraet him, attending a fit opportunity to make  
the Constable feeble his iust indignation: whereist this was working, *D. Henry Henriquez*,  
the Admirall brother, escaped from his prison of Langa, slipping downe by a rope tied  
with many knots. The Ambassadors of the two Kings being met, it was concluded that  
the Admirall and the Earle of Castro should returne into Castile, to whom and to *D.*  
*Henry* their goods should be restored; *Iohn* of Tabor de Luna should bee restored, and  
*D. Alphonso* of Arragon put againe in possession of the Maistership of the Calatrava, the  
which *D. Pedro Giron* held, against whom the King and all others would aide and sup-  
port *D. Alphonso*, if he would not leaue it. These matters agreed vpon, were partly ef-  
fecte, for *D. Pedro Giron*, being in possession of the places which belonged to the mai-  
ster ship, and well assisted and followed, was the stronger.

In Guipuscoa, they of the towne of Montdragon, being not yet well pleased with *D.*  
*Bertrand* of Gueuara, did ruine, by a Conuocation of the Commons, and the Kings  
permission, the tower and strong house of this Knight, which was in a meadow called Cal-  
diybar, which is to say, the valley of horses, whether many theeues and bandoliers re-  
tired themselves, whereby the towne was much damnified, and *D. Bertrand* was condem-  
ned in a thousand florins of gold, for their paines that were there assembled. The like  
was done vnto an other house belonging vnto the said *Bertrand*, neere vnto the towne  
of Salinas, two leagues from Montdragon. Many of *Pedro Sarmientos* souldiars being C  
laid hold on, in diuers parts of Castile, they were executed, yea a Gonner who had shot  
at the herauld, which the King had sent to summon the city of Toledo, who was drawne  
and quartered.

In the yeere 1451. *Queene Isabella* was deliuered of a daughter at Madrigal, who was  
also named *Isabel*, shee was Queene by inheritance of Castile and Leon, and wife to *D.*  
*Fernand* King of Arragon, a Princeesse indowed with great vertues. The accord made  
betwixt the King of Castile and the Noblemen did not hold long, for the Prince *D.*  
*Henry* had his priuate opinions, supporting *D. Pedro Giron*, Maister of the Calatrava,  
against *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, which made his attempts to returne into the Maister-  
ship vaine. *D. Pedro* at the instigation of the Toledans, seized vpon *Torrijos* and *Orgas*, D  
places belonging to *D. Alphonso* of Guzman, chiefe Marthal of Seuille. The Admirall  
and the Earle of Castro, finding no safety for their persons in Castile, returned into Na-  
uarre, and the rather for that they performed little, of many things which they had pro-  
mised them. The Prince *D. Henry* caused the Earle of Alba and *D. Pedro* of Quig-  
nonnes to be conducted to the castle of Toledo, commanding they should bee well kept:  
for whole deliuey the people of Toledo, being turbulent, made great stirres, but with-  
out effect, yet within few daies hee deliuered *D. Pedro* of Quignones, making him to  
swear that he would follow him, and serue him well and faithfully: for they prepared to  
make warre against Nauarre, causing him to promise to imploy himselfe, to draw the  
Admirall and the Earle of Benauent to his seruice, who had either of them married a sis-  
ter of *D. Pedros*. The Court being at Zamora, the King propounded to his Councell,  
in the presence of the great men of Castile, an accusation against *Pedro Sarmiento*, who  
was, by the aduice of them all, condemned as a rebell and guilty of high treason: which  
sentence being confirmed by the Pope, they did confiscate all his goods, and they did  
seize to the Kings vse vpon Salinas of Agnana, Ocio, Pont Lara, and other places of his  
in Guipuscoa, Alaua, Biscay and elsewhere in Castile. From Zamora the King came to  
Toledo (being at it seemed in good termes with the Prince his sonne) to goe and make  
warre against the King of Nauarre, giuing the Government of that city to the Consta-  
ble, who at his departure left *D. Lewis de la Cerde*, one of his breeding vp there, and  
did accompany the Prince, who marched towards the frontiers of Nauarre.

The Castilian army entred into Nauarre by Viana which they could not force; the  
King of Nauarre hauing well furnished and fortified the places of the frontier, and there-  
fore they past to Torralba, where the garrison making a furious sally vpon the Castil-  
lans, had almost put them in disorder, and to flight, *D. Iohn* of Beaumont prior of Saint  
*Iohn* in the realme of Nauarre, being Governour in Torralba. Finally he defended it so  
well,

A well, as they left it, and going through the territory of Berrueca, they went and besieged  
Estella, whereas *Lope* of Baquedan was Gouvernour for the King of Nauarre. There  
the King of Castile came and ioynd with the Prince his sonne, bringing a great power  
with him.

It is likely that the castle of Buradon was taken and razed at this voiage: whereat  
the Prince *D. Charles*, who with the royall counsell gouerned the realme in the absence  
of the King his father, was so greued, being the best fort of Nauarre, as hee held the  
whole realme to be lost: and they say, that as one out of hope, hee tooke a deuice of two  
grey-hounds gnawing of a bone, signifying, that the realme of Nauarre, figured by the  
bone, is scituated betwixt Castile and France, and that the Kings of these realmes, which  
B were the two grey-hounds did either of them deuour of his side. The city of Estella  
being furiously battred and assaulted, the Prince *D. Charles* was of opinion to goe and  
speake with the King and Prince, in their campe; hauing therefore obtained a passport,  
he was courteously receiued by them, and his well-spoken reasons so fauourably heard,  
as they were in a manner forced by his modesty and good behaviour to raise the sege,  
the which a great army could hardly haue done: so great force hath vertue, which is  
fashioned by good education, in a Noble disposition: and in truth, there was not to bee  
found (according to the report of Authors) in that age, a more generous Prince nor bet-  
ter taught, then *D. Charles* of Nauar: for besides the naturall gifts of beauty, mildnesse,  
C affability to al men, and greatnesse of courage at need, he was learned in the Scriptures,  
which gouerned his manners, hauing also the knowledge of many good & commendable  
sciences, by the which he was admirable in his life time, and famous after his death: Hee  
loued poeie, hee was well read in Histories, and a subtil Philosopher for his young  
yeeres: so as he translated *Aristotles* Ethikes into the Castilian tongue, turned into La-  
tin by *Leonard Aretin*, who florished at that time: wherein hee shewed great dexteritie  
and iudgement, treating of that subiect in such fit termes, as without all doubt *Aristotle*  
hath not written better in Greeke, nor *Aretin* so wel in his traduction in Latin: this book  
was dedicated by him to his vncler *D. Alphonso* King of Arragon. Moreouer hee did  
write a breefe Chronicle of the Kings of Nauarre his Progenitors, beginning with the  
D most ancient time, vnto King *D. Inigo Arista*, and from thence hath continued the Hi-  
story vnto the reigne of King *Charles* his Grandfather, which Chronicle is to bee found  
at this day in written hand, but full of errors, made by them that haue copied it, for it  
was neuer printed. He did also write some verses, imploying the time which he could  
spare in the government of the realme, in these honest exercises: so as this Prince was  
cherished, beloued and blest of euery man but of his own father, of whom he demanded  
the realme of Nauarre, being his mothers Inheritance, which bred him great troubles,  
and aduersity, wherein he made prooffe of his courage and singular patience, the which  
was better knowne and lamented after his death.

The King of Castile and the Prince his sonne hauing raised his sege from before E-  
stella, left Nauarre, without doing any other harme, and returned to Burgos, from  
E whence soone after they led an army against Palençuela, whereas *D. Alphonso Henriquez*,  
the Constables sonne, had fortified himselfe, and committed infinite spoiles round a-  
bout. The sege being before this place, the Constable going neere the walles, to  
view the scituation thereof, a seruant of the Admirals, called *Fernand Tremigno*, sallied  
out of the towne, with thirty men well armed, who came and charged the Constable and  
them that were with him (being vnarmed) so sodainely, as they put them all in daunger  
of their liues. It behoued the Constable to shew his resolution, who like a valiant and  
hardy Knight (as in deed hee was) with his rapier and cloake, made head against this  
troupe, and the rest by his example putting themselves also in defence endured the  
F charge, vntill that succors came vnto them from the next lodging of the army; which  
made the enemies to turne head; and retire towards the towne with some losse, the  
which yeelded afterwards vpon composition. From thence the King went vnto Ma-  
drigal, where hee had newes that the affaires vpon the Moores frontier succeeded ve-  
rie well.

King *Mahumet Aben Ozmen*, called *Coxo*, that is to say, the Halting, had made offer to Moores.  
the

Deuice of two  
grey-hounds  
gnawing of a  
bone carried  
by the Prince  
of Nauarre.

Vertues of *D.*  
*Charles* Prince  
of Nauarre.

Writings of  
Prince *Charles*.

The Constable  
charged and in  
danger so bee  
saue.

Moore's defeat  
and newe unto  
Arcos.

An. 1452.

An other de-  
feat of Moore's.

24  
Nauarre.

An. 1453.

25  
Castile.

the King of Nauarre, to fauour his quarrels, promising that when he should inuest Ca-  
stile by Nauarre and Arragon he would enter by Andalusia, and assaile the city of Cor-  
doua with all the power of his realme. This Moore hearing afterwards that there had  
beene some accord made betwixt the Christian Princes, did not forbear to make warre  
on his part withall violence, sending troupes of horse and foot diuers waies to spoile,  
whereof a band of six hundred horse and eight hundred foot were incountred nere vnto  
Arcos, by D. *John Ponce de Leon*, Earle of Arcos, who made a notable slaughter. This  
Nobleman beeing somewhat sickly in Marchena, had beene aduertised of the disorder  
which these spoilers caused by a Christian renegado, sometimes called *Benedict* of Chin-  
cilla, and then he was named *Menfarres*: wherevpon drawing together about 300. horse  
and 600. foot, he went that way, being led by his spy, where hauing marcht foureteene  
leagues that day and night, he came the next day where the Moores were, who expected  
him not, who hauing put their foot-men before, to recouer some place of safety, the  
horsemen made head against the Christians, and fought long, whilst that their footere-  
tired: but in the end the Earle of Arcos had the victory, there being aboue foure hund-  
red horsemen slaine vpon the place, and siue and fifty taken prisoners, with a hundred  
good horses offeruice. The Moores fainted not for this route, but within a while af-  
ter, and the same yeere 1452. they entred by Murcia, hoping to haue better successe in  
that country, being six hundred horse and fifteene hundred foote, who hauing ruined a  
great part of the country, vsing al kinds of cruelty, they draue away aboue 40000. head of  
cattaille great and small, and about fifty prisoners: whereof D. *Alphonso Fajardo* being  
aduertised, hee wrote speedily to D. *Diego* of Ribera, Gouvernor of Murcia, Marshall of  
the Kings lodging, that he should come forth of the city with all that were fit to beare  
armes, the which he did presently, and came to Lorca with seuenthy horse and siue hund-  
red foote, whereas D. *Alphonso Fajardo* met him with two hundred horse and 1500.  
foote, with these forces they went to affront the Moores, and charged them, breaking  
them three times, but they rallied themselves twice againe together, yet at the third they  
were victors, with the slaughter of aboue eight hundred of their men, and twelue cap-  
taines; and of Christians there were forty slaine vpon the place, and aboue two hundred  
wounded: by which victory, the booty was rescued. There is no other mention made  
in our Histories of the deeds of this King *Mahumet Aben Ozmen* the Lame, but that hee  
was depriued of his Realme by the Infant *Aben-Izmael*, who kept at Malaga, being as-  
sisted and fauored by the King of Castile, but the yeere is not certaine.

D. *Frederic Henriques* Admirall of Castile, being retired againe to his sonne in law  
the King of Nauarre for that they kept not the promises made in the aboue mentioned  
accord, did also thinke that it was lawfull for him to say, that for his part hee would not  
be bound to performe to the King of Castile that which he had sworn and promised:  
wherefore he led with him Queene *Isabe* his daughter, and deliuered her to the King her  
husband. This married couple being together, it was not long before the Queene was  
with child, she remayning at a place called *Fresne* in Arragon: where King *John* beeing  
exceeding glad of these newes, he caused her to goe into Nauarre, there to be deliuered.  
She made her residence in the towne of *Sanguessé*, the remainder of the yeere 1453.  
and there she applied her selfe, with the Prince *Don Charles*, and the Councell of the  
Realme, to the government of the State, the King her husband consenting therevnto,  
but it was not very pleasing to many Knights of Nauarre, who were affectionate ser-  
uants to the Prince, namely to the family and faction of Beaumont: holding that the  
authority of a mother in law could neither be good nor profitable for the Prince nor  
Realme.

The time of the Constables punishment did now approach, the measure of his villa-  
nies being full, whereof he himselfe did seeke Iustice, by his impudency, and vnlymited  
desire of reuenge. He hated D. *Pedro* of Estuniga Earle of Plaisance deadly, and was  
in like manner hated by him. The Constable laied an ambush for this Earle, to take  
him prisoner, which was the greatest matter he could doe to be reuenged his mighty en-  
emies; for being once taken, it was easie for him who had the authority and force of  
the Realme in his power, to finde them guilty.

The

A The Earle being aduertised of this practise, he did impart his defeigne to the Prince, the  
Marquis of Santillana, and to the Earles of Benauent and Haro, with others: which was,  
to loose his life, or to make the Constable loose his. The Prince *Don Henry* made him  
no answere, as the rest did, who by the negotiation of *Diego de Valera*, laied a plot a-  
mongst them, that the Earle of Plaisance and the Marquis of Santillana, should send  
their eldest sonnes with siue hundred Launces, vnder pretext of a quarrell which was be-  
twixt the Earle of Benauent, and D. *Pedro Aluarez Osorio*; and that passing neere vnto  
Vailledolite, whereas the King and the Constable were, they should finde means to seize  
vpon a gate, & drawing their men into the town, they should take or kil the Constable,  
publishing, that it was done by the commandement of Prince *Henry*. But it succeeded  
not, for the Constable beeing aduertised hee caused the King to dislodge and led him to  
Burgos. These things beeing imparted by the King of Castile to Queene *Isabel*, who  
was no friend to the Constable, she embraced this occasion, and induced the King to let  
these Noblemen doe what they had resolved, the which was easie to effect for that the  
King was already distast of his Constable.

The Queene did not only this good office, but she did sollicite the confederates to make  
halt, whilst the time was fit; sending the Countesse of Ribadeo vnto them, vnder col-  
our to visit the Earle of Plaisance her vnkle, who had fortified himselfe in Bejar, carry-  
ing letters of credit, who did informe them, as shee was commanded, of the time, place,  
and meanes they should hold, to seize vpon the Constable, or to dispatch him. This  
C Ambassage deliuered vnto the Earle, reioyced him much: and for that he was lame him-  
selfe, he presently sent D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga his eldest sonne, with *Diego* of Valera, a Se-  
cretarie and a Page, to leauy men in Curiel, where they could not for the shortnesse of  
time assemble aboue seuenthy Launces, with the which D. *Aluaro* went towards Burgos:  
and going before vpon a Mule, with one man that did attend him, hee entred into the  
Castle of Burgos, commanding his men to follow after, giuing it out in the Country,  
that they did belong vnto the Constable, but aboue all, that they should so obserue the  
time, as their comming into Burgos should bee by night, and that they should not offer  
to come into the castle, vntill they had newes from him; the which was duely executed,  
and these seuenthy Knights entred into the castle on Monday at night, the first of May in  
the yeere 1453. whereas D. *Aluaro* had already drawne in the same night two hundred of  
his friends of the towne well armed.

The day following there was an vncertaine brute, that the Constable should bee ap-  
prehended, who had many other presages of his ruine, if hee could haue fore-seene it.  
The King being priuy to all these matters, had a conceit that this apprehension could  
not be made without great scandale, and therefore he sent commandement to D. *Aluaro*,  
that hee should returne to Curiel, for that he could not execute that, for the which hee  
was come, but D. *Aluaro*, a valiant and hardy Knight, made answere, that vpon his life hee  
would seize vpon the Constable, and deliuer him vnto him, so he would be pleased to giue  
him a decree, or warrant to apprehend him, the which the King caused to be made in this

E forme. D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga, my Alguazil Maior, or Marshall, I command you to appre-  
hend the body of D. *Aluaro* de Luna, Master of Saint James, and if he offer to defend him-  
selfe, that you kill him. And moreouer the King commanded the Rectors and Alder-  
men of the city, to put the people in armes, according to their regiments and bands, and  
to keepe them in battaile in the Bishops place, at the breake of day. At which time D.  
*Aluaro* going out of the castle, to inuest the Constables lodging, and to take him, hee re-  
ceiued diuers commandments from the King, that he should not fight, but onely beseege  
him, and set gards about his lodging, that he might not escape, which did much discon-  
tent him. Comming neere the place, his men beganne to cry, *Castile, Castile, for the*  
F *Kings liberty*: At which noyse the Constable came to the windoe, and his men put  
themselves in defence, many shot, both with bowes and harguebuses, wherewith there  
were some slaine, and others hurt. D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga sent often to intreat the King,  
that hee would giue him leaue to fight, for they slue his men from the windoes of the  
Constables lodging, but he would neuer grant it. Therevpon arriued D. *Alphonso* of  
Carthagea Bishop of Burgos, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoza Lord Steward, to whom the  
Constable,

Queene Is-  
abel sues the  
Lords against  
the Constable.

Presage of the  
Constables  
end.

Warrant to  
apprehend the  
Constable.





Death of D.  
John King of  
Castile.

where the Queene his wife was, leauing the whole government of his Realmes, to the 2<sup>d</sup> A  
boue named Bishop and Prior. His sicknesse increasing, he made his testament, and left  
to Queene *Isabel* the city of Soria, with the townes of Madrigal and Arenal, and to his  
sonne D. *Alphonso* the administration of the Maistership of Saint Iames, whom hee  
would willingly haue made heire of his crowne, and King of Castile and Leon, if it had  
beene lawfull, so much he did mislike Prince *Henry* his eldest son, for his disobedience and  
lightnesse. To his daughter D. *Isabella*, he gaue the towne of Cuellar, with a great quan-  
tity of gold for her dowry. He did not long suruiue his Constable, but died of the vio-  
lence of his quarten ague, at Vailledolit, in Iuly the same yeere 1454. hauing held the  
Realm 47. yeeres, being 49. yeeres old and fiue months: his body was for that time lied in B  
the Monastery of St. Pablo of Vailledolit, to be transported to the Carthusians of Mire-  
fleurs at Burgos, as he had ordained by his testament. The Constables death had recon-  
ciled the King of Nauarre vnto him, and restored all the other Noblemen to fauour, yea  
the Admiral D. *Frederic*, who was then fled into Arragon: notwithstanding hauing made  
to much hast to re-enter into Castile, without an ample licence from the King, hee had  
commandment to goe backe, and not to returne into Castile, vnlesse he were sent for, ype-  
on great penalties. This King had resolved to make warre against D. *Alphonso* King of  
Portugal, for the descoueries which he made vpon the Westerne coast of Affrike, be-  
yond Cap Verd, towards Guinee, saying these conquests did belong to the crowne of  
Castile, but death brake of this desleigne, and continued the peace of Portugal.

27  
Portugal.

The Estate of which Realme after the death of King *Edward* had beene governed by  
the Infant D. *Pedro*, in quality of a Regent, chosen by the Estates, by reason of King Don  
*Alphonso* young yeeres. D. *Pedro* had for his greatest Aduersary his brother D. *Alphonso*  
Earle of Barcellos, and his sonnes, the Earles of Oren and Arroyolos, notwithstanding  
which contention, King D. *Alphonso* beeing come to the age of sixteen yeeres, married  
at Saint Iren, with Donna *Isabella*, daughter to the Infant D. *Pedro*, receiuing the nuptial  
blessing from the hand of D. *Fernand* Archbishop of Braga. D. *Alphonso* Earle of Barcel-  
los, sonne to King *John*, had obtained in the yeere, 1448. of his brother D. *Pedro* Regent  
of the realme, although they were in quarrell, the Estate of Branganca, in title of a  
Dutchie, and the castle of Lotero, by the decease of Don *Gonsalo*, who held all those D  
places.

This good turne was ill required by the new Duke: for he seeing him make no shew  
to giue ouer his Regency, notwithstanding that the King had beene declared capable to  
gouerne his realme himselfe, and being married, he put a conceit into the Kings head,  
that the Infant D. *Pedro* had caused Queene *Leonora* his mother, to be poisoned in Ca-  
stile, and that he sought to doe the like to him, that he might seize vpon the crowne. For  
this cause the king did persecute D. *Pedro* his vnkle: so as he forced him to retire to  
Coimbra, of which hee was Duke. Being much incensed at this iniury, hee had certaine  
practises with them of Lisbon, to giue him entry and support in that city, with his par-  
tisans and friends, whereof he had many, meaning to rebel against the king his Nephew. E  
These practises being discovered, the king gathered together all the men he could with  
great secrecy, to surprise D. *Pedro* vpon the point of the execution of his enterprise: and  
came and incountred him as he was comming to Lisbon, at a place called Asorrobei-  
ra, where hauing fought with him, vanquished, and slaine him, hee ended those troubles.  
It may be the Infant was innocent of the death of Queene *Leonora*: but if it be true that  
he caused poyson to be giuen her, hee was paid with the like money, for hee was slaine  
with a poisoned arrow. There died many good knights in this battaile, and amongst o-  
thers D. *Aluaro* of Almada, Earle of Abranches.

Defeat and  
death of the  
Infant D. *Pedro*  
Duke of  
Coimbra.

They did for a long time refuse to burie the Infants bodie in the royall Monastery  
of the battaile, an argument of the kings great harred, and of the Duke of Bragan-  
ca's against him: yet they had cause to lament him, for they wanted him in the Go-  
uernment; The duke of Braganca soone after demanded the City of Porto, and  
the towne of Guimaranes of the king, the which hee gaue him: Guimaranes re-  
ceiued him, but Porto would not in any sort: for they would maintaine themselves  
for the king, and so did Portalegre, which the king had giuen vnto the Earle Don  
Sancho

A *Sancho* of Logroño, brother to D. *Constance*, the Duke of Braganca's second wife, be-  
ing sister also to D. *Pedro* Archbishop of Lisbon.

In the yeere 1451. Donna *Leonora* the Kings sister was married to the Emperor *Fra-  
deric* the third duke of Austria, and the betrothing was in the city of Lisbon, by the No-  
blemen that were deputed by him, hauing full power and authority, who afterwards con-  
ducted their Emperre by sea to Pisa, being accompanied by the Marquis of Valencia, by  
D. *Lewis* Contin, Bishop of Coimbra, D. *Lope* of Almada Earle of Abrantes, and other  
Noblemen of Portugal: whose marriage was celebrated at Siena, the yeere following  
1452. In the which King *Alphonso* had a sonne by his wife, called D. *John*, which liued lit-  
tle. That yeere the body of the Infant D. *Pedro*, vnkle and father in law to the King, was  
B taken from Alberca where it had beene interred, and transported to the castle of A-  
brantes, or at the least his bones.

Marriage of  
the Emperor  
Frederic the 3<sup>d</sup>  
and D. *Leonora*  
of Portugal

The coast of Affrike, towards the Westerne and South seas, were at that time disco-  
uered by the Portugals, who brought gold from Guinny, whereof King D. *Alphonso* cau-  
sed a certaine coyne to be made, which hee called Croisats, by reason of the Croisadoe  
granted by Pope *Nicholas* the fifth to make warre against the Infidels. D. *Aluar* *Gonzales*  
Bishop of Lamego, was the bringer of this Croisadoe into Portugal. D. *John* the second  
King of Castile, being growne iealous of these nauigations and conquests, as I haue  
said, sought to hinder them, sending word vnto the King *Alphonso* that they did belong  
vnto the crowne of Castile, and therefore he did forbid the Portugals to goe thither a-  
ny more, else he would make violent warre against him. King *Alphonso* answered his  
C Ambassadors (who were D. *John* de Guzman, and Doctor *Fernand* *Lopes* of Burgos) very  
mildly, that he had alwaies held that the conquests and descoueries of those coasts did  
belong vnto the Realme of Portugal: yet he would alwaies, if need were, submit him-  
selfe to iudgement, and would desist, if it were said, that it did belong to any other: and  
therefore he intreated him that, without good information, hee would not breake the  
peace betwixt the two realmes: Herevpon the King of Castile died, in the yeere 1454.  
at which time King *Alphonso* had a daughter borne, called D. *Isabe*, which was a very ver-  
tuous and religious Princesse.

Descouerie, of  
the coast of  
Affrike, by the  
Portugals  
which discon-  
tented the  
Castilians.

In the end, the body or bones of the Infant D. *Pedro*, hauing remained some time in  
D the castle of Arantes, and removed from thence to Saint Eloy at Lisbon, they were bu-  
ried, at the intercession of the Pope, the Duke of Burgundy, of the Duchesse his wife, and  
of the Queene D. *Isabella*, and of many Noblemen and Prelats, in the Monastery of the  
battaile: so great account they made of a small matter in these ceremonies, as the whole  
world must of force bee therein employed. The funeralls were celebrated with great  
pompe and solemnity.

The end of the nineteenth Booke.

SS 2

THE



## THE TWENTETH BOOKE of the Generall History of Spaine.

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Here follow the names of the Princes raigninge  
in Spaine in this twentieth Booke.

E CASTIL, and LEON. ARRAGON and NAVARRE.

19. D. Henry the 4. and XL.

18. D. Iohn 2. --- himselfe.



King Iohn the second being dead, his sonne Henry the fourth of that name succeeded him in the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon: who by diuers was surnamed the liberrall: for he was not onely bountifull, but a great water and prodigall, the which he did inherit from the King his father. The surname of vnhabable was giuen vnto him, by reason of his naturall weakenesse, being in the company of women, the which his Queenes had experience of: and yet those which haue written of his stature and proportion, say, that he was strong and bigge, of a manly aspect, fierce and hairy.

This Prince was light-headed, variable & inconstant: yet for all that offaire demeanure, courteous and affable to his familiar friends, in so much as he neuer said thou to any one

Stff 3

Surnames of  
liberrall and,  
vnhabable.

Qualities and  
manners of the  
King D. Henry  
the fourth.

he did euer maintaine his gravity with Princes: he was a louer of peace and did naturally put of from himselfe the managing of matters of State. Hee would at one time be bold and confident, without suspicion, and within a while after contrary to himselfe, solitary, and an enemy of company; most of which qualities he had by inheritance from his father. He did take great pleasure in hunting, in musick, and in buildings of houses of pleasure, and he did likewise erect monasteries with other religious houses: he would oftentimes sit and sing in Churches with singing men: he was a great eater, but he did neuer tast any wine. By his bounty and liberality he raised diuers to great honors and riches who were issued from base and obscure families. Thus King Henry, at the age of one and thirty yeeres was proclaimed King at Valiodolit in the presence of D. John of Pacheco Marques of Villena (his most priuate and familiar friend) and his brother D. Pedro Giron Maister of Calatrua; D. Ruy Diaz of Mendoza, great Maister of the household to the late King D. John. D. Pedro d' Aguilar, Lord of Priego and of Cagnette, the Marshal D. Diego Fernandes of Cordoua Lord of Baena, and other Noblemen which were then at the Court.

The beginning of his reigne was very plausible, by reason that he did enlarge of his owne accord, without being thereunto solicited by any one, D. Garcia Aluares of Toledo Earle of Alua; and D. Diego Manriques Earle of Treuigno, restoring them to all their former riches honours, and dignities; and hauing made a certaine speech to the Lords that were then about him, they gaue him great and humble thanks, reputing that demonstration of his clemency as an high fauour, and so with al reuerence kissed his hands. He displaced none of all those which were in any office or place of dignity during the life of his father, but received them into his seruice in the selfe same quality that they were in before. In regard whereof all men thought the Kingdome happy being fallne into the hands of so good, so courteous and liberall a Prince, and they did yeeld infinite thanks vnto God, the only giuer of so desired and necessary a fauour for the Realmes of Castile and Leon.

Diuers great Lords so soone as they heard of the death of King John, came in all hast to mourne with him for the same, to do him reuerence and to take the oth of allegiance due to the new King. The Ecclesiasticall persons were, D. Alphonso Carrillo d' Acugna, Archbishop of Toledo, D. Roderigo de Luna Archbishop of Saint James, D. Alphonso Fonseca Archbishop of Seuill, D. Alphonso de Carthagena Bishop of Burgos, Friar Lopes de Barriento Bishop of Cuenca, D. Alphonso de Madrigall, called Tostado the most renowned Bishop of Auila, D. Pedro Baca Bishop of Leon, D. Pedro of Castile Bishop of Palenca, D. Goncallo of Illesca Bishop of Cordoua, D. Lewis d' Acugna Bishop of Segobia, D. Inigo Manrique Bishop of Ouedo with diuers other prelates. The secular Lords were D. Fernand de Velasco Earle of Haro, D. Alphonso Pimentell Earle of Benauent, D. Gaston de la Cerde Earle of Medina Celi, D. Diego Manrique Earle of Treuigno, D. John Manrique Earle of Castagneda, D. Roderigo Manrique Earle of Paredes, D. Galvriel Manrique Earle of Oforno, D. Aluaro of Estuniga Earle of Plaisance, whose father was newly dead, much about the time of the Constables decease, D. Pedro Aluares Cisorio Earle of Transamara, D. Pedro d' Acugna Earle of Valencia, another D. Pedro d' Acugna Lord of Duegnas and Tariago, brother to the Archbishop D. Alphonso Carrillo, D. John de Sylus Standard-bearer to the King, and many others, who with the deputies of townes and Prouinces there assembled, swore to the Kings fealty and homage after the accustomed manner.

Now the King being desirous to suppress al fore-passed quarrels, and to settle a firme peace in his dominions, did at his comming to the crowne send Ambassadors to the King of Nauarre, who greatly complained because of the confiscation of all his goods in Castile, whereupon it was concluded that in recompence of all the wrongs that hee could pretend, he should haue certaine yeerely pensions assigned him out of the ordinary reuenue of the Kingdome of Castile, in regard of which assignation he should deliuer vp into the King of Castiles hands, the townes of Atienza, La Pegna de Alcazar: it was likewise agreed vpon that the Admirall D. Frederic, D. John of Tourar Lord of Berlanga, the children of the Earle of Castro lately dead, and all the Knights and others which were

The King of  
Nauarre and  
other Lords  
pacified, re-  
compensed &  
repealed by  
the new king  
D. Henry.

A were fled out of the Kingdome by reason of the late warres, should be repealed and restored to all their goods and lands. These things were soone effected, and the Admirall with the rest returned to Valiodolit to kisse the Kings hands, who received them very graciously, and yet for all that did put them in minde of the faith and obedience due to Kings, to the end they might the better remember it afterward, and so with his free pardon dismissed them. And besides all this, the better to confirme his peace on all sides with Christian Princes, he sent Ambassadors into Italy to Alphonso King of Arragon, to the end to renew the leagues and antient alliances betwixt the crownes of Castile and Arragon, who were received and entertained with great honour; a notable argument whereof was, that as the Ambassadors of Castile and the Commissioners of Arragon stood vpon termes who should be first named in the instruments and writings, the King D. Alphonso decreed that the precedency should be giuen to Castile, in regard that he himselfe reigning ouer the Arragonois was a Prince issued from the stocke of Castile, an antient race of the Kings of Gothes: so that in all the writings which did concerne the league and alliance, the King of Castile was first named, the which his Ambassadors at their returne certified to him and his counsell to their exceeding ioy and contentment.

But notwithstanding these good beginnings, if the reigne of the late King John was turbulent and troublefome, and if euer Spaine was scene to be shaken with furious tempests, it was now most of all by the miserable gouernment of his sonne King Henry, whose clemency and carelessse gentleness was the onely cause thereof, making him to forget the other part of the duty of a Prince which is Iustice, by means whereof he fell into the contempt of the great ones of his Court, and namely of his most priuate minions, so that both hee and his Kingdome fell into very dangerous streights. At the beginning he and his affaires were gouerned by D. John de Pacheco Marquis of Villena, a wise, rich, and discreet person, and one well scene in the manning of state-affaires, likewise by the Archbishop of Seuill, D. Alphonso de Fonseca, a prelate of an excellent wit, but lesse graue then befecemed the place and ranke he held; by whom for certaine yeeres space the Kingdome was well gouerned to the contentment of all men.

The first martiall enterprife attempted in the reigne of King Henry was against the Moores of Granado, ouer whom reigned Ismael, the same who had taken the crowne from Mahomet the Lame: for the execution whereof King Henry assembled the Estates of his Kingdome in the city of Cuellar, vnto whom hauing propounded what he ment to doe, D. Inigo Lopes de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana in the the name of them all, answered him in such eloquent and discrete termes, as did highly please and content him. The warre beeing resolu'd and decreed in that assembly, every man went home to his house to make preparation, and in the beginning of the yere 1455. they began to march towards the frontiers of Andaluzia. The King parting from Segobia ordained viceroys in Castile and Leon for matters of Iustice, D. Alphonso Carrillo Archbishop of Toledo and D. Pedro Fernandes de Velasco Earle of Haro, who should keepe their residence at Valiodolit. The army being in a redinesse entred into the Moores country, being in number five thousand horsemen, and a great company of footmen making great spoile euen to the wallies of the city of Granado, notwithstanding that Ismael had bene established King by the helpe and fauour of the King of Castile D. John deceased. On the fourth day the Christian army returned to Eccia, and some few daies after went towards Malaga, burning and spoyling as before, albeit that a great company of Moorish horsemen did oftentimes present them the combat, which the King by the wise and discrete counsell of his captaines did euer more refuse, and brought backe his army in safety to Cordoua laden with all manner of spoiles.

This yere the sure begonne many moneths past betweene king Henry of Castile and Ladie Blanche of Nauarre his wife) was ended before Pope Nicholas the first, of whom hee entreated to be divorced from her, and to take another wife, because, as he said, she was barren. The Pope granting his request, separated them, albeit it was very well knowne that the fault was in himselfe, and not in the Ladie, who with great griefe returned home into Nauarre, hauing lost the title and dignity of Queene of Castile: but King Henry,

Castile pre-  
ced before Ar-  
ragon.

3  
The contentment  
of a Prince, is  
accompanied  
with iustice &  
mercy, a bold  
heart, and his  
estate.

4  
Moores and  
Castile.

5  
Castile.

not

Second marriage of the K. Don Henry the 7th.

not being contented with the experience which he had made of himselfe with this Ladie, would needs make proofe of another, and by D. *Fernand* his great Chaplaine caused a marriage to be treated of betwene him and the Infanta Donna *Joane* of Portugall, sister to king Don *Alphonso*, and daughter to the late king Don *Edward*, a Princeesse of great beauty, who was betrothed vnto him, notwithstanding she had sufficient notice of the kings infirmities, yet she consented thereunto, being tickled with a desire to beee Queene of Castile. The king Don *Henry* without receiuing any thing with her, did endow her with an hundred and twenty thousand florens, to be leuyed vpon cite Real, Omedo, and their lands, and for her ordinarie expences, a million, and 500000. marauadis then currant. It was also agreed, that the Infanta his next wife might bring with her a douzin Ladies of noble parentage, vnto whom the King would giue husbands fitting their degrees, and of these the Ladie *Beatrix de Norogno* should be gouernesse, who for her part had leaue to bring with her foure yong Gentlewomen, with like hope. All these things promised and confirmed by the king, Don *John de Guzman* the first Duke of Medina Sidonia, and Earle of Niebla, was sent to meet the Infanta, who brought her to Cordoua where the marriage was solemnized with great magnificence: the Arch bishop of Tours being then Ambassadour in the Court of Spaine for the French king *Charles* the 7. performed the ceremony. All manner of pompes, shewes, and pastimes accustomed at such feasts were there performed, sauing that in the opinion of all men, the Bride remained the next day as pure a virgin as she was borne of her mother. Both King *Henries* Queenes were his cousin germanes once remoued, daughters, the one to the king of Nauarre, the other of Lady *Leonora* of Arragon his sister, cousin-germaines to his father.

About this time Pope *Nicholas*, by his death, gaue place to a Spaniard borne in Xatua, a towne in the kingdome of Valencia, called Don *Alphonso Borgia*, Cardinall of the title of S. *Sixtus*, who was named *Calixt* the 3. a man of 77. yeares of age, who had beene a Counsellor to *Alphonso* K. of Arragon. By him was made Cardinall a nephew of his named *Rodrigo Borgia*, yet he was not of the family of Borgia, but of the Lançoles, a noble family in the kingdome of Valencia, sonne to Don *Jeffrey Lançol*, Lord of Canales, and to a sister of Pope *Calixt*, he did intitle him Cardinall of S. *Nicholas in carcere Tulliano*, who afterward attayned the Papacie.

Ambition of D. Joane of Portugall.

Whilest that the marriage lasted at Cordoua, great numbers of souldiers were drawne from all parts of Castile into Andalusia, the number of them amounting to about foureteene thousand horse, and fourescore thousand foot, whose chiefe Commanders were the Admirall *Frederic*, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Santillana, hee of Villena, the Earles of Alba de Tormes, Benauent, Arcos, S. *Estephan*, Alba de Lista, Valence, Cabra, Castagneda, Oforno and Paredes, and the Arch-bishop of Seuille, besides others of lesser note: with these forces the king entred into the Moores country, and with out dis-banding his army, or giuing aduantage, or hope to the enemy to come to battell, hee made roades vp and downe for 20. dayes space, so as it was thought, that the Moores would not be able in many yeates to gather any profit or fruit in their country, the which the king thought to be the surest and easiest way vnto the ruine & ouercome them. Hauing brought backe his army to Eccia laden with spoiles, not long after, he discharged the greatest number of them, and dismissed the Marquis of Santillana, the Earles of Benauent, Alba, Plaisance and others home to their houses, he himselfe remaining in Andalusia with the people of the country, and the town garriisons did make continuall roades vpon the Moores all that Sommer, at the latter end whereof he returned to Auila and Segobia, to giue order for the war of the yeare following.

Wars against the Moores.

*Alphonso* king of Portugall hauing by the marriage of his sister confirmed the peace and auncient alliances with the Crowne of Castile, determined with himselfe to vex the Moores in Affrica: the same yeare in the city of Lisbon was born vnto him a sonne, who at his christening was named Don *John*: the baptisme was solemnized by Don *Fernand* Arch-bishop of Braga, the Infant was carried by Don *Fernand* his vnckle, his Godfathers were the Earles of Arroyolos, and Don *Vasco* of Ataydo, Prior of S. *Johns*, and D. *Payo Correa*: the godmothers, the Infanta D. *Catherine* the Kings sister, and the Ladie *Beatrix de Meneses* one of the Queenes chiefe Ladies.

In

A In these times began the troubles and calamities in Nauarre, occasioned by the factions in that kingdome, after this manner. The Prince of Viana Don *Charles* was in his flourishing age, and in the absence of his father had, very vertuously, with great iustice, and to the liking of all men, gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, by the good counsell of the Lords of the countrey: and namely by the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont: now the king his father hauing married to his second wife the Ladie *Joane Henriques*, daughter to the Admirall of Castile, would haue made her a partaker in the gouernment, the which was distastful by many, who did stirre vp the Prince, being lawfull heire of the Kingdome, not to suffer his mother-in-law to thrust her selfe into the command of his possessions. The desire of rule which tickleth all great and magnanimous natures: did so farre possesse the Prince Don *Charles*, hitherto obedient to his father, as hee declared vnto him the purpose that he had to enioy alone the right of his mothers inheritance, in which his mother-in-law had no part, and thereupon made preparation to send her forth of the countrey, and to resist the king his father, if he opposed himselfe against his determination, and in conclusion to haue by way of armes that which he purposed. From this pernicious quarrell, which proued so successeles to the sonne against the father, did spring the two factions of those of Beaumont and Grammont, which so many yeares did infect the kingdome of Nauarre, names taken from two mighty families, to wit, that of Beaumont beyond the Pirenean hills, and that of Grammont on the hither side neere vnto France, albeit that the house of Beaumont had his originall from Normandy, and was first of all called *Lusa*, neuertheless both of them of old issued from the blood royall of Nauarre, the which the armes of both those houses do witness, and namely, the chiefe of the faction of Grammont, who are the Marshalls of the kingdome, the Marques of Cortes, do not intitle themselves of Grammont but of Nauarre. Now the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont Constable of Nauarre, being chiefe of his house, he and all his followed the Princes: on the contrarye, the house of Grammont and their adherents, did maintain the Kings quarrell against his sonne, and of this house were chiefe, the Lord *Peter* of Peralta, who by reason of these tumults was made Constable, and the Marshall Don *Pedro* of Nauarre. The sonnes reasons were, that being sonne and lawfull heire to Lady *Blanche* the right Queene and heire of Nauarre, he ought to gouerne, seeing that the king his father had made a second marriage, which barred him from any pretence of right or claime. On the contrarye the king sayd, that by agreement of his first marriage, it was concluded, that whether he had any children or no by his wife *Queene Blanche*, that he should raigne during his life: to the which article the Lords and States of the kingdome were sworn, and therefore it ought to take place.

Nauarre. Don Charles cannot endure his mother-in-law partaker with him in the regimēt.

The desire of rule, an affliction of a magnanimous nature.

Factions of Beaumont and Grammont in Nauarre.

The house of Beaumont called of old, Lusa.

The Prince disputed against this poynt, as being made to his preiudice, not good in law, and therefore of no force: for as by the lawes of the Realme, two being married, the suruiuer enioyeth the goods of the partie deceased, so long as they continue in widow-hood, but so soone as they marrie againe, they lose that right. Now the question was, whether the condition agreed vpon in the contract of marriage, in the behalfe of K. *John*, made against the lawes of Nauarre, and to the preiudice of the Prince his sonne, were good or no: but how iust so euer it was, they fell to armes. *Queene Joane* remaining in Estella, being aduertised of Prince *Charles* his conspiracie, gaue forth with notice thereof to the king her husband, who came out of Arragon into Nauarre with a great company of men at armes, vnto whom those of Grammont ioyned themselves. First of all he tried by messagers and ambassadors, if hee could diuert the Prince his sonne from this dishonorable pursuit, whereby (as he sayd) he did blemish the shining luster of the races of Nauarre, Castile, Arragon, and France, from whence he was descended: the question betwixt the father and sonne was brought to very good termes, by the reasons alleged by King *Johns* Ambassadors, had not the counsell of the chiefe of the part of Beaumont hindered it, who kept the Prince in his first resolution, to haue the absolute rule of his kingdome without any exception: and those of Grammont did incite the king against his sonne, both parts thinking (as it is very likely) to increase their honours, riches, and dignities rather by these troubles, then by the peace of the kingdome.

All treaties and negotiations of peace ceasing, the Prince assembled his forces, as well Knights



An. 1456. Knights as the common people of his partie, and carried himself asking the year 1456, A  
 The Prince of  
 Viana Don  
 Charles caused  
 himselfe to bee  
 called king of  
 Navarre.  
 giving gifts, priuiledges, and liberties, with other royall acts, the letters and writings  
 whereof were found in these times in the citie of Toralba, and other places of the coun-  
 try: he called also from Castile diuers of his friends, of whom certaine troupes entring  
 by Logroño into Nauarre were ouerthrowne neere to Viana, by the King Don *Isabell*,  
 who like a wife and a discreet Capitaine went and met them, not suffering all his sonnes  
 forces to ioyne together, before that he had fought with them: after which exploit there  
 were diuers encounters betwixt them with doubtfull victorie, neere to Estella, Pampe-  
 lona, Olite, and Lombieri: so as the last battell of this first ciuill warre, was fought neere  
 to the citie of Ayuar, in the which, by the prowesse and valour of *Peter* of *Peralta*, and  
*Lopes* of *Castillo*, and others of the faction of *Grammont*, those of *Beaumont* were van-  
 quished, and Prince *Charles* taken prisoner, who was carried to *Tafalla* by the command-  
 ment of the king, who came thither soone after, and did labour to bring him to some  
 agreement of peace, the which the sonne (being ill aduised) did contemne: and that  
 which was worse, he going about to incite his neighbour kings to take in hand the de-  
 fence of his cause, a packet of letters was taken which he sent to king *Alphonso* of *Portu-  
 gall*, wherein diuers matters were discouered, by reason whereof hee was shut vp in the  
 castle of *Mont-Roy*. Hereupon the factions were so fensed one against the other, as  
 through all the cities of the kingdome, betweene neighbors and town-men, whole fa-  
 milies did so bandie themselves, that infinite cruelties, murders, burning of houses, and  
 other insolencies and impieties of ciuill warres were committed. The imprisonment of  
 the Prince was so irkefome to the Lord *Lewis* of *Beaumont*, Earle of *Lerin*, as he did not  
 cease by all meanes, and assurances that he offered, till that he had obtained his deliuerie  
 of the King, for the which he himselfe (so dearly did he loue him) gaue his owne person  
 in hostage, and remained in prison the space of seuen yeares. But when the Prince was at  
 libertie, he wanted no counsellors to animate him to a new warre: for the desire of rule  
 will not be bridled, especially in Kings children. Leaving then the Earle of *Lerin* as ho-  
 stage, hee ranne to armes, and entred the field the second time, and then the factions of  
*Beaumont* and *Grammont*, returned euery one to his side, and made more cruell and  
 barbarous warre then before, which the Realme did feele many yeares after. The end  
 was, the Prince was againe defeated neere to *Estella*, and his people disperfed, but hee  
 escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse, and hauing resolved neuer more to pursue this  
 warre, he went to Naples to the king *Alphonso* his Vnkle, leauing his friends in *Nauarre*  
 in great trouble and danger, where the seede of discord betwixt the two factions did en-  
 crease and spring vp diuers times afterward.

Arragon.

The Prince Don *Charles* passing thorow France and Italy, was euery where received  
 with great honor, and namely at Rome by Pope *Calixtus* a Spaniard: but chiefly his vn-  
 cle *D. Alphonso* did feast and welome him, admiring his graue wisdom and kingly qua-  
 lities, answerable in euery point to the report that had bene made of him: and being  
 desirous to see him reconciled to the King Don *John* his father, hee laboured very much  
 therein, performing thereby all the Offices of a louing kinsman and Christian Prince: for  
 he did daily put him in mind of the duty of children towards their fathers, whereunto  
 Princes are more bound than other men, in regard that their subjects do commonly fa-  
 shion themselves after their examples: and on the other side, hee did write to the King  
*D. John*, alledging all reasons that might be auaylable to induce him to loue and desire  
 the presence of his sonne: but this good and vertuous king had not the meanes to ac-  
 complish so holy and laudable a work, being preuented by death, which seized on him  
 in the new castle of *Naples*, the year 1458. hauing reigned two and fortie yeares and  
 two moneths in *Arragon*, and foute and twenty yeares in *Naples*, in the 65. yeare of  
 his age.

This Prince, after that *Renée* of *Aniou* had retired himself into France the yere 1442,  
 finding himselfe master of the whole kingdome of *Naples*, had contention with the *Ve-  
 netians*, in the behalfe of *Philip Maria* Duke of *Milan*, then against his sonne-in-lawe  
*Francis Sforza*, who was duke of *Milan*, and last of all against the *Venetians*, *Geneuois*,  
 and *Florentines* in league together, in which wars he alwaies maintained the reputation of

A of a great and excellent Capitaine. And againe, in the year 1453. he had some likelihood  
 of a future warre about his kingdome of *Naples*, against *Renée* of *Aniou*, who had repas-  
 sed the mountaines, and was come downe into *Lombardy* accompanied with *Lewis* the  
 Dauphin of France, with two thousand men at armes, hoping by the fauour of the duke  
*Francis Sforza*, and the *Florentines* to be able to re-enter into his lost kingdome, and to  
 driue *Alphonso* out of it, but that iourney proued vaine: then the King *D. Alphonso* being  
 aking in peace, purchased the friendship of the Duke *Francis Sforza*, and contracting al-  
 lyance with him, he caused *D. Alphonso*, sonne to his son *D. Fernand* of *Arragon*, duke of  
*Calabria*, to marry with *Hippolita Maria* daughter to the Duke *Sforza*: and hee did be-  
 troth *D. Leonora*, daughter to his son *Fernand*, to *Sforza Maria* son to the same Duke  
*Sforza*, notwithstanding that his second marriage took no effect, for *D. Leonora* was after  
 wards married to *Hercules de Este*, the second Duke of *Ferrara*. The king *D. Alphonso* be-  
 ing in league and friendship with the most part of the Potentates of Italy, Pope *Calixtus*  
 a Spaniard borne in *Xatua*, his subiect, and one that had bene of his counsell, did euer  
 carry a particular hatred against him, the which hee declared by the answer which hee  
 made to the kings Ambassadors at Rome, at such time as they came to congratulate his  
 assumption to the papall dignity: for they asking him in their masters name, how they  
 should carry themselves one toward another: the Pope sayd; Let him gouerne his king-  
 dome, and let me alone with my Popedom. And he did more openly manifest it alter  
 the death of *D. Alphonso*: for hee did as much as in him lay, to minister all hinderances to  
*D. Fernand* his son and successor in the kingdome of *Naples*, disputing with him about  
 his right therein, saying, that *D. Alphonso* his father could not appoint a king in the king-  
 dome of *Naples*, which held of the Church, and that it was in the Popes power to inuest  
 therein whome he pleased: and the king *D. Fernand* could neuer haue other remedie of  
 him, who afterward was confirmed and established by Pope *Pius* his successor. Now *D.  
 Alphonso* had bene absent halfe the time of his raigne out of his kingdome of *Arragon*,  
 leauing his wife *D. Maria* of *Castile* Gouernor in his Realmes and Dominions in Spain,  
 a vertuous and chaste Princeesse, assisted by his brother *D. John* of *Nauarre*. By this Lady  
 he had no children, and he parted from her the second time in great anger, by reason of  
 D her ielousie wherewith she was greatly possessed, the which made her to commit an act  
 inhumane, cruell, and in no sort royall: for shee vnderstanding that the king her husband  
 made loue to one of her Ladies, named *D. Margaret* of *Xar*, she caused her one night to  
 be strangled in her bed, being with child in the citie of *Valencia*, the king being at that  
 time for his pleasure abroad on hunting, which was a speciall cause that hee cared neuer  
 after to liue with her. By other wiues he had *D. Fernand*, who succeeded him in the king-  
 dome of *Naples*, *D. Maria* of *Arragon* married to the Marquis of *Ferrara*, *D. Leonora*  
 of *Arragon*, Princeesse of *Ruffano* wife to *Martin Marzan*. At his death hee left for heire  
 in his kingdomes of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, *Sardynia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Sicill*, his bro-  
 ther the King *D. John* of *Nauarre*.

E The gifts and qualities of this Prince comprehended in few words, although they de-  
 serue a great volume, were these: concerning the bodie, he was of meane stature, actiue  
 and well proportioned, of colour somewhat pale, quicke-sighted, and gracious, he had a  
 hawke nose, a signe of an haughtie nature: hee was briefe and luccinct in his speech, but  
 neat and eloquent, sweet and amiable in his answers, and oftentimes quicke and plea-  
 sant: few kings had their minds more disposed to goodnesse then he: the Religion accord-  
 ing to those times, and the ceremonies belonging thereunto hee had in singular re-  
 commendation, so that it is reported of him, that being on a time at Masse, by meanes  
 of a great Earth-quake the church wherein he was, was so shaken, as the people fearing  
 to be slaine by the fall thereof, fledde out at the doores, hee onely remayned vnmooued  
 and fearelesse. And seeing the priest which sung Masse readie to runne away for compa-  
 nie, hee stayed him and enforced him to make an end of his seruice. He was liberal to all  
 men, and magnificent in gifts, especially to Princes and their Ambassadors: Hee was a  
 louer of iustice, and yet neuertheless mercifull, full of commiseration, and slow to con-  
 demne any man to death, the which he could temper so well, as his clemencie profited,  
 and redounded to the benefite of diuers: yet offenders were punished and corrected, in  
 such

The great loue  
 of the Earle of  
 Lerin to the  
 Prince Don  
 Charles.

Ingratitude of  
 Pope Calixtus.

A cruell act.

Genealogie of  
 Arragon.

Disposition of  
 King D. Al-  
 phonso of Ar-  
 ragon the 5.

such sort, as his Realmes were neuer since his time so well gouerned, and cleansed from all manner of violence and outrage. When hee had ouercome his enemies, hee did all waies shew himselfe meeke and gentle, hee tooke delight in all excellent things, vsing alwaies great modestie therein: hee was sumptuous in moueables, in gold and siluer plate, iewels, and other ornaments of rare esteeme, except about his owne royall person, which was euer apparessed according to the common vie and fashion of his Gentlemen, not delighting in rich and costly stufes, nor new fashions: hee was stately and magnificent in martiall playes and shewes, which were frequent in his Court, and no lesse in buildings, whereof the royall pallace, the bridge, and great Hospitall of Sarragossa do make mention.

The new castlle at Naples, brought into the forme which now it is, is a worke of hishe made the fortresse of the Egge habitable and commodious: hee caused the marshes about the citie to be dried vp: hee builded shippes of no meane greatnesse, which seemed like castles vpon the sea, hee entertaigned a great number of huntsmen: but his chief delight and pleasure was in hawking. And beeing a warlike Prince, hee made two enterprises into Barbarie, the one to Zerba, anciently called the Isle of the Lotophages, the which hee tooke, and defeated in battell *Butifer* king of Tunis, who came to driue him thence with aboute an hundred thousand Moores: the other against the towne properly called Affrica, the situation whereof hee very well viewed, hauing a purpose to returne thither, where he burned all the shippes and vessels that he found in the haven: when hee was at peace in the kingdom of Naples, he gaue ayde and succour to the Despotto of Acarnania assailed by the Turkes, and to *Seanderbeg* Prince of Albania warring vpon the same nation, where his souldiers gaue sufficient prooffe of braue warriours, which did greatly redound to the Kings honour. A man would scarce beleue what honour and respect hee did beare to learning and learned men, beeing oftentimes wont to say, *That a King without learning, was like a crowned Ass*, the which sentence hee had read in the pre-*King without learning, was like a crowned Ass*, the which sentence hee had read in the pre- face before the Spanish Translation of *Saint Austens* booke *Of the Cittie of God*, and therefore hee employed part of his time in the study of letters, although hee were of good yeares before hee beganne: and hee did neuer neglect the reading of Bookes, nor his conference and disputations with learned men, how great affaires of State or warre soeuer hee had.

Learning and  
beloued men  
Don Alphonso  
Sentence of D.  
Alphonso.

Beeing well stricken in yeares, hee euer had in his company an old Grammarian called Master *Martin*, with whome hee delighted greatly to discourse both abroad and at home, and hee did so profit at his studie, that hee did translate *Seneca's* Epistles, a worke very hard, intreating of morall Philosophie, into the Spanish tongue: hee tooke such pleasure in reading the holy Scriptures, as hee would often vaunt, that hee had read the old and new Testament fourteene times ouer. To shew the singular affection hee did beare to learning and learned men, hee gaue for his Deuice in armorie an open booke, and hee would say, that Bookes were Princes best Counsellors, with protection, that hee had receiued best counsell of the dead, meaning of his bookes.

In the deuastations and spoyle of Citties during his warres, hee reserued for his part of the spoyle, bookes, which were carefully sought for and brought vnto him, hee would read with great delight *Titus Linius*, and *Casars* Commentaries, so that besides the sundry reparations of Schooles and Auditories, where hee assigned pensions to the Doctors, Regents, and schollers, his Court was daily frequented with the learnedst men of his time, to wit, *Bartholomew Facio*, *George of Trebizonde*, *Laurentius Valla*, *John Arispa*, *Antonio of Palermo*, and others. Hee did honour the great Captaines and worthie men in the Art militarie, of what nation soeuer they were, likewise Grauers, Architects, excellent Engineers, skillfull Marriners, and generally any man of worth and desert in what art or science soeuer: so that hee left behind him the eternall and euer-during memorie of a Prince truly vertuous, valiant, bountifull, and esteeming vertue as it rightly deserued.

Learned men  
belong to K.  
Alphonso  
Court.

Now King Don *Alphonso* beeing dead, and his sonne Don *Fernand* beeing in trouble at his first comming to the Crowne, diuers citties, and some great Lords of the kingdom of Naples, did moue and stirre vp the Prince Don *Charles* of Nauarre to take

A to himselfe the same Crowne which they offered vnto him: but he made them such an answer, as they perceiued thereby, that he had learned to be modest, to follow equity and right, and not rashly to cast himselfe into another mans possession. And for that hee would not giue any euill suspicion of himselfe, hee went into Sicill, a Kingdome fallen by the death of Don *Alphonso* to the King his father, with those of Arragon, Sardynia, Majorca, Minorca, Valencia, and the Principalltie of Cartelogne, in the which by right belonging to the eldest sonnes of the Kings of Arragon, hee obtrayned in esse the principalltie of Girona; and the right of succession in all these Kingdomes afterwards: He remained and continued a while in Sicill, greatly honoured and beloued of the Sicillians, during which time hee was amorously familiar with a very fayre and beautifull Gentlewoman of a meane of Spring and parentage, named *Capa*, on whome hee begate two children, the one named Don *Philip* of Nauarre and Arragon, who was Master of the Order of Monteca, and dyed in the warre of Granado in the seruice of the King Don *Fernand* his Vncle: the other was called Don *Iohn*, who was Bishoppe of Huelca. Hee had also a daughter named *Donna Anne* of Nauarre and Arragon, who was Dutchesse of Medina Celi, and wife to Don *Lewis de la Cerde*: but it is vncertaine whether shee was borne of this mother.

Genealogie of  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

As the aboue-named tumults and dissentions continued in Nauarre, the Princes of Guipulcoa and Biscay beeing neere-bordering neighbours, and wrapped vp in one selfe same ayre, entred into ciuill or rather vnciuill dissentions, hauing likewise their factions of the Gamboines and Ognazines, who could not bee repressed by any forme of iustice. Therefore the King Don *Henry* was aduised to go thither in person, the which hee did, and there by the aduice of his Councell, and vpon information made of those troubles and outrages, he razed and ouerthrew diuers towers, and strong houses belonging to the chiefe of the Factions, which serued for places of retreat and harbour for murderers and euill-disposed persons, who committed infinite insolencies and outrages in the Countrey. In which number were the tower of Olago in the iurisdiction and confines of Elgoiuar, the house of Lescano, the house of *Snigo de Saldibua* in the Cittie of Tholosa, that of *Fernand D'Alagarrin* in the towne of Guettaria, and others in the Countrey of Anduayn, in the towne of Vergara, and else-where, as well in Guipulcoa, as in Biscay, in which journey hee tooke into his seruice in the Cittie of Durango, the sonne of an Inne-keeper, named *Fernuco* of Munfaras, who afterward became a man of great repute and estimation.

8.  
Castile.

Strong houses  
in Biscay and  
Guipulcoa  
ouertrowne.

So soone as hee came to Victoria, hee called before him out of euery towne of Biscay and Guipulcoa, two or three men depured, with whome hee intreated about the gouernement and iurisdiction of the same countrey, hee confirmed diuers and sundrie Liberties and Priuiledges graunted by the Kings his Predecessours, and left there for Gouernour and Commaunder *John Hurtado* of Mendoça, one of his priue Councell: Notwithstanding all these demolishments, with that of the strong and inexpugnable Castle of Montdragon, the murders, thefts, deuastations, factions, and rebellions in Biscay and Guipulcoa did continue, countries in all times infamous, because of these matters, vntill the raigne of the King Don *Fernand* the fifth, and Queene *Isabell*, who rooted out the factions of Gamboines and Ognazines: by meanes whereof iustice began to take place there.

At the Kings departure from Victoria, hee came by great iourneies to Cordoua, hauing a great desire to the warres of Granado, into the which Kingdome he made a furious entrie, finding often resistance by the Moores who kept his armie close, not suffering them to straggle, who vpon a day did surprize certaine Castilian troupes, where amongst other of note, *Garciago de la Vega*, a valiant Knight, and welbeloued of the king, was slaine: by reason whereof hee commanded, that all the vines, oliue trees, and all other kind of trees bearing fruite throughout the whole territorie of Granado should bee cut downe. Hee besieged and took the towne and strong castle of Ximena, and did such hurt, that King *Ismael* was constrained, not being able to resist, to begge a truce, and to submit himselfe to such tribute, taxation, and other conditions as should best please him.

9  
Moores.

Truce between  
Granado and  
Castile.

It was then agreed vpon that the Moore King should pay to King Henry twelue thousand A doubloons of gold for tribute, and should become his vassall: that hee should giue him yearly during the time of the truce sixe hundred Christian prisoners, and where they were wanting as many slave-Moores to be deliuered as Cordoua at a day appoynted: And that the waite should continew open on the side of Iacn: In regard of which things, and the present payment of the first yeares tribute, the Christian army discharged the residew of his army. Albeit he vsed great diligence in these warres against the Moores, yet it was not of so great importance as the wars made by his predecessors, B whether it were through the Kings negligence, who was soone weary of businesse, or through any other occasion, so as he began to fall into the contempt of his owne people, The Earle of Castagneda left vpon the frontiers, to repress the inuasion of the Moores, was a Lord as castlesse and negligent as his maister, and there-withall couetous, by the reason whereof, within a while he found himselfe very meanely accompanied which the Moores vnderstanding they laid a strong ambush for him, into the which they craftily drew him, hauing sent some to forrage the fields, who being pursued by the Earle, hee perceaued himselfe, to bee hem'd in on euery side, and so with great losse of his people he himselfe was taken prisoner, whereof the King being aduertised sent in his place another Captayne called *Michael Lucas de Franço*, with commission and charge to C change the truce made with King *Ismaell*, into a peace, provided the payment of the tribut-mony agreed vpon by the truce, the which did greatly please the Moore King: and so ended the warres of Granado, the Earle of Castagneda being redeemed with a great summe of mony.

A sword blessed by the Pope on Christmas Eve.

The King contemned by his subjects.

Gifts giuen by King Henry the fourth.

Pope *Celestus* taking pleasure in these warres against the Moores did about that time send to the King *Don Henry* a Hatte and a Sword, which they yle to bless vpon Christmas Eaue, at night, laying them vpon the Altar where they say Masse, which they terme the Masse of the Cocke: and hee did write vnto him, exhorting and animating him to pursue so holy a warre. About this time died *D. Alfonso* of Carthagea, Bishoppe of Burgos a Prelar highly esteemed of the Spaniards, who wrote an History of Spaine D intitled *Anacephaleosis* with other workes.

Now the small estimation of the King was manifest ouer all Spaine and came vnto his owne eares, which made him become suspicious, and hee began against his nature to distrust the great ones, to counterpose whome, hee advanced diuers of his seruants of base and meane degree to great honours, and authority. Hee made *Gomes de Caceres* and *Solis*, Maister of Alcantara, and gaue the City of Coria to a brother of his: he made *Bertrand de la Cueva*, Sonne to *Diego de la Cueva* of Vbeda, great Maister of his house and Viscount of Huelma, who hauing bene his page, and carried his lance, became one so greedily in his fauour, as no man so much. The office of Constable was giuen to *Michael Lucas* of Franço borne in Beaumont, a meane gentleman, and with that the towne of Agreda, the Castles of Verato and Volsmedian, with the Captainehip of Iacn, the towne of Andujar, with other rents and possessions: and to one of his brothers the commandery of Montizon, and that of Orjea to another: which are the best places belonging to the order of Saint James: he gaue the Priory of Saint John, to *John de Valenquela*, the Bishoppe-ricke of Iacn to *Alfonso de Peleas*, and that of Auila to *Martin de Vilches*, euery one of these places to bee surrendered so soone as they should be voyde.

The Marques of Santillana *Don Inigo Iopes de Mendoza* being dead, who was also Count de Real de Mançanares, his Sonne *Don Diego Hurtado* was confirmed by the King in his Fathers dignities, but hee was compelled to come and stay at the Court, and to bring thither his brethren, *Don Pedro Gonçales de Mendoza*, Bishoppe of Calaorra, who was since the Arch-Bishoppe of Toledo, and Cardinall. *Don Inigo Iopes de Mendoza*, *Don Lorenzo Suarez*, *Don John Hurtado*, who hauing killed the kings hand, were with the Marquis commaunded not to stirre from the Court.

Being

A Being at Madrid the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, fifty eight, where hee celebrated with great cost and royall magnificence, the Funerals of the King *Don Alphonso* of Arragon, dead at Naples, hee committed an act in the behalfe of the Marquis of Villena, scarce well digested. This Marquis in regard of the affaires and gouernement of the kingdom had the same power, and almost equall boldnesse which the Constable *Aluaro de Luna* had in the time of the King *Don John*, and hee would let nothing fall to desire which was profitable or commodious for him or his: Now hee had a great desire to make a marriage betweene his eldest sonne *Don Diego Lopes de Pacheco* with the Countesse of Saint *Stephen de Gormas*, daughter and heire to *Don John de Luna*, and Grand- child to the Constable *Don Aluaro*, who at that time was in the gouernement of an vn- C cle of his named also *Don John de Luna*, Nephew to the Constable, who was Captaine of Soria, and the Marquis did not onely practise the marriage of his eldest sonne with his Neece, but also to dispossesse him of his Captainehip of Soria, with other lands which he held: For the obtayning whereof, hee caused the King to haue him in suspicion, saying, That hee was one of the conspiratours which were ioyned in league and confederacie against his seruice.

Violent marriage of the Countesse of S. Stephen de Gormas, and D. Diego Lopes Pacheco.

The King did easily and willingly belecue this report made by the Marquis, and feigning to ride on hunting, hee came to Aillon where *Don John de Luna* kept his residence, who did receiue and feast both him and his trayne very sumptuously, and with great magnificence, who riding amongst the rest of the companie, hee was no sooner entred into the fields, but he was arrested as prisoner, without knowing any cause or reason thereof. In the end hee was enioyned to dispossesse himselfe of Soria, and other fortresses and places of strength, and to receiue into them such garrisons as should please the king: whereunto hee must needs obey, on paine of loosing his head, so as hee did not onely yeeld vp Soria, but all that which did belong to the Countesse his Neece, and her person also: and so the Marquis had that which he desired.

The contempt of this Prince encreasing daily, *Don Alphonso Fajardo*, the chiefest Knight of Murcia, holding a long time Carthagea, Lorca, and other places against the Kings will, and these that ruled and gouerned him, had likewise in a manner taken D himselfe by force, the Master-shippe of Saint *Lamies*, and the Marquisate of Villena, committing many outrages and insolencies vpon the lands and reuenues belonging to the King and Marquis, being ayded and releued sometimes by the Moores of Granado. Against him *Gonzalo de Sabañeda* was sent with sixe hundred horse, by whose care and diligence, *Don Alphonso* lost all that which he held of his owne and other mens, and so became a poore and miserable Knight, hauing nothing left him but onely his sword and his cloake, accounting and esteeming it for a great fauour and extraordinarie kindnesse to haue his life saued.

Don Alphonso Fajardo, a contemptuous rebel chastised.

This man had his deserts, and the King continued in his carelesnesse, so as he was no more feared. About all the townes of his Kingdome, the abode at Segobia and Madrid pleased him best, because hee louing hunting better then affaires of consequence, E this Countrey being woody was very fit for it, as also abounding in victuals and provision for his Court, which was very great: for hee did daily carrie about with him, a guard of horse-men to the number of three thousand and sixe hundred Lances, with an incredible expence, wherewith his reuenues was charged to the vttermost; the which his chiefest Treasurer *Don Diego Arias*, like an honest and faithfull seruant, put him in mind of on a time, beseeching him to cut off so superfluous an expence: you spoake (quoth he) like *Diego Arias*, but I will liue like a King, and that was all the answer hee could receiue. By his bountie and liberality he was well serued and attended on by diuers, and in those dayes those of his Councell, Chancerie, and Iudges, did discharge their duties very sufficiently. In Arcualo one of his Secretaries named *Pedro de Tieda* was put to death, and others of his complices, for counterfeiting the Kings letters, and selling them for great summes of money. Being in the cittie of Leon, hee caused certaine Gentlemen to bee brought out of Galicia which had dispossessed a Knight of his house, hauing commanded their processe to be made, they were there for the same put to death. Such iust executions were sometimes done, but hee did greatly faile in other matters.

The Kings Guard borne thus, and Superfluous.

An answer of R. Henrys (said) King of small judgement.

T t t

The

At the end of the yeare 1458. Queene *Isabe* made hir magnificent and royall entrie into A the Cittie of Leon: then they came to keepe Christmasse at Escalona, where the Kings chiefe delight and recreation was in hunting, and singing in the Church, where he himselfe in his owne chappell would beare a part, which in those dayes was the best furnished with cunning and experienced Musicians of any one particular place in the whole world.

Portugall.

The same yeare Don *Alphonso* King of Portugall led his armie into Affricke, where he tooke the towne of Alcazar, distant fixe miles from Ceuta, his Vncle Don *Henry*, and his brother Don *Fernand* Duke of Visco accompanying him in that expedition. Alcazar was taken by meanes of certaine honest conditions, and Don *Edward de Meneses* bastard B sonne to Don *Pedro de Meneses*, Earle of Viana, who succeeded his father in the Earldome, was left there as Gouvernour. After the kings returne into Portugall, the Moores did indeauour, but in vaine, to recouer the place: for the repaying and fortifying whereof, the King caused a great quantitie of ground, betweene the towne and the sea, to be of, enclosed with a great and strong wall, defended and guarded with towers, the stone, lime, and other prouisions necessarie for such a worke of worth, was by him brought from Portugall.

Castile.  
An. 1459.

The yeare 1459. the King Don *Henry* of Castile, sent Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza*, sonne to Don *Inigo*, and brother to the Marquis of Santillana, Ambassadour to the Councell held at Mantua by Pope *Pius* the second, before times called *Eneas Sylvius* C *Picolomini*, who had newly succeeded *Calixtus* the third. There with great deliberation and hope, the warres against the Turkes was debated, which in the end came to nothing, and Don *Inigo* returned into Castile, carrying home onely a Iubile of full remission of finnes, the collections whereof were so great and inestimable, as hee therewith builded and erected the Monasterie of Saint *Anne de la Pegna*, in his towne of Tendilla, of the Order of Saint *Jerome*. The King beeing returned to Madrid, entertayned himselfe there a long time with feasts, playes, and shewes, where the Arch-bishop of Seull Don *Alphonso de Fonseca*, hauing feasted the King, Queene, and the Ladies, among other singularities, there was serued in after dinner for the banquet, two plates filled with rings of gold, set with rich and pretious stones for the Ladies, amongst whom Donna *Guimar* D was held, next the Queene, to be the fayrest and most beautifull Ladie of Spaine without compare: to her the king shewed many amorous fauours at this feast, which the Queene perceiuing, grew very iealous, and euer after vsed the Ladie vnkindly and rigorously, by reason whereof the King shewed himselfe strange to her, and appoynted her a Court and trayne aparr, not suffering her to come neere his Court by two leagues: Whereunto the Arch-bishop of Seuille, who was well seene and experienced in such busineses, did willingly employ his best endeaouours in the behalfe of *Guimar*: for whatsoever the king did, was but fayned and imaginarie shewes, who was so farre from beeing offended and displeased with his friends in such affaires, as hee was content to spare them his owne wife: for the common rumor was, that not beeing able to endure E men should esteeme him vnapt for venereall acts, which he reputed a great and ignominious disgrace, hee dealt with the Queene his wife to receiue Don *Bertrand de la Cueva* into her bed, (his base and degenerate mind desiring and consenting that this Knight should lye with her, to the end shee might prooue with child by him, and so by that meanes suppose an heire to the kingdome in his owne name, though vnlawfully begotten by another.)

Insefulness of K.  
Henry the vn-  
able.

It was credibly reported, that at the first the Queene would by no possible meanes be drawne to agree and giue her consent to so vile, detestable, and dishonorable a deede, but yet afterwards, shee had more neede to haue beene curbed in with raines and bridle, then of spurs. Now Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, was a gallant and most accomplished Knight in all points belonging to an excellent Courtier, and so esteemed and beloued of the King, as for his sake, because he so valiantly, and with such an vndaunted courage, defended a passage at the arriual of an Ambassadour of Brittain: hee builded a Monasterie on the high way from Madrid to Pard, which for him was named, the Monasterie of Pas.

The

A The King the better to couer his owne naturall weaknesse, made shew of loue to diuers Gentlewomen in sundry places: for before he made loue to Ladie *Guimar*, he had professed himselfe seruant to another Ladie, named *Catherina de Sandoval*, whom he had oftentimes entertained priuately, but shee not contented with his vaine embraces, and beeing desirous to furnish her selfe with a more able Knight, shee grew familiarly acquainted with a young Gentleman named *Alphonso de Cordona*, whom she kept company with a long time secretly, which turned to his destruction: for the King hauing notice thereof, commanded *Alphonso* to be beheaded at Medina del campo. In this sort did this King behaue himselfe in his most priuate affaires, giuing occasion to all men to speake euill and vncharitably of him, which beeing reported vnto him, hee entred into distrust B and hatred against the great persons of his Realme, and oftentimes for sleight occasions he would rayse great troubles.

And not beeing pleased, that Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of Santillana should hold the cittie of Guadabajara, where hee did not onely commaund the towne and castle, as Gouvernour both in matters of State and warre; but also had authoritie and preheminance to bestow publike Offices, hee caused him to be taken by the Commander *John Fernandes Galindo*, who entred into the towne with fixe hundred men at armes, by meanes of intelligence that he had with one of the Marquis his Captaines, called *Alphonso de Gaona*, who was corrupted with money, and the Marquis was compelled to leave that Governement to the Kings dispose, hauing giuen him no iust nor C lawfull cause of offence or iniurie, and so hee retired and withdrew himselfe to Hita: Soone after, the King and the Queene came thither, and left *Alphonso de Gaona* Gouvernour there.

### Don Iohn the second of that name, and the eighteenth King of Arragon.

D W Hilest these affaires continued in Castile, the King Don *Iohn* of Nauarre took quiet possession of the kingdome of Arragon, fallen vnto him by the death of his brother: vnto whom came Ambassadours from the Prince Don *Charles* his sonne, to beseech him that all faults past might be forgotten, and that it might please him to receiue him into grace and fauour: the which request the father easily graunted, for he was very kind and gentle to his children, but especially to the Prince Don *Charles*, who beeing daily sollicitated by those of the faction of Beaumont, who continued and maintayned the warres in certaine forts and strong holds in Nauarre, not beeing able without him to bring their businesse to effect, hee desired to returne into Spayne, either to helpe them to make their peace, or to defend them by force of armes.

13  
Nauarre,  
and  
Arragon.

E Hauing then had a pleasing answer from the King his father, hee departed that yeare 1459. from Sicill, beeing accompanied with a great number of Sicilian Lords and Gentlemen, and landed at Barcelona, where beeing welcommed and receiued with great pompe, magnificence, and honour, by the Barcelonois, hee dealt so wisely, that for his sake the King pardoned those of Beaumont, and declared that his pleasure was, that all former matters of what kind foeuer, should be buried in perpetuall obliuion: those of Cattelogna beeing sureties for the sonnes faith and obedience to his father, and for the fathers loue and good-will to his sonne.

Agreement  
betweene the  
King D. Iohn  
of Arragon, &  
his sonne Don  
Charles.

This reconciliation beeing made to the great ioy and contentment of the whole kingdom, the King D. *Iohn* knowing himselfe to be a mightie Prince, thought vpon fir and convenient meanes how to recouer his lands which were confiscate in Castile: for the effecting whereof, hee entred into league and confederacie with Don *Alphonso* King of Portugall, and agreed vpon a marriage betweene the Prince his sonne, and the Ladie *Catherine* of Portugall, sister to King *Alphonso*, and to Donna *Isabe* Queene of Castile: into the which league entred Don *Alphonso Carrillo*, Arch-bishop of Toledo,

New assignees  
to robble Castile.

the Admirall Don *Frederic* father-in-law to King *John*, Don *Pedro Giron* Master of Calatrava, and all the *Manriques* of Castile; with others: whereof when the King of Castile Don *Henry* had notice, by the advertisement of Don *Alphonso de Fonseca*, Arch-bishop of Seville, he was advised by his counsell, to send the bishop of Cité Rodrigo, and *Diego de Ribera* Ambassadors into Arragon, vnder pretence of congratulating in his name the welcome home of Prince *Charles*, and his reconciliation with the King his father: but they had commission to deale vnder-hand secretly with Prince *Charles*, to offer him all friendship, and to treat of a marriage betweene him, and Donna *Isabella* of Castile, the Kings sister.

The Ambassadors hauing cunningly executed their commission, possessed the mind of Prince *Charles* with new thoughts, and made him hope to bee able by means of his marriage with Castile, and friendship that he should gaine thereby, to obtaine his kingdom of Nauarre. Therefore hee did forsake the Infanta of Portugall, who for griefe thereof retired her selfe into the Nunnerie of *S. Clare* at Lisbene, where shee spent her time in Virginitie, dying soone after, when as shee was betrothed to *Edward* the fourth, King of England. Also this other marriage came to no effect, by reason of the shortnes of Prince *Charles* his life, God hauing ordayned that Princeesse to be wife to his younger brother.

Prince *Charles* vpon hope of ayde from Castile, began againe to encourage those of the faction of Beaumont, and to sollicite certaine of Cattelogna to begin new troubles in Nauarre and Arragon: for the mind of man being once bewitched with the desire of rule, cannot be contained in any bounds. In these times the Cardinall *Bessarion* learned man, a Greeke by nation, was perpetuall administrator of the church of Pampelona, by the death of the Bishop of *D. Martin* of Peralca.

14.  
Castile.

The King Don *Henry* of Castile, hauing with wife counsell and discretion broken the league of Portugall, determined to persecute those of his kingdom which had any hand therein. And because hee was assured, that the Master of Calatrava was of the number, hee shewed very bad countenance to his brother the Marquis of Villena, but hee was so wise and cunning, as he soone excused himselfe to the King, and wiped out of his mind all suspicion conceiued against him. That was the occasion why the two brethren, the Marquis, and the Master of Calatrava did conceiue such mortal hatred against the Arch-bishop of Seville, who about that time obtained for a nephew of his named also *Alphonso Fonseca*, Deane of Seville, the Arch-bishoppricke of Saint James: but vnderstanding that Don *Lewis Oforio*, sonne to the Earle of Transmarara, had intruded himselfe into the same, with the fauour and support of the whole Countrie of Galicia, he made a feigned bargain with his Nephew, and resigned to him the Arch-bishoppricke of Seville, taking that of Saint James for himselfe, with this condition, that matters being pacified, they would each of them returne to their former dignities: for the vncke thought that by means of his great credite and authoritie hee should be best able to deale with Don *Lewis Oforio*.

1460.  
An importunate manner of reforming Nunnies in Castile.

The yeare 1460. the King Don *Henry* did expell the Abbess of Saint *Peter de las Dueñas* out of Toledo, named Donna *Marquesada de Guzman*, a Ladie of a religious and holy life, saying, That he did it to reforme the Nunnies of that place, who had the report to liue dissolutely, and he gaue them for their Abbess and Gouvernesse, the Ladie *Catherine de Sandoval* his quondam Mistris, wherewith the Arch-bishop and the whole Clergie being offended, the house was interdicted, and diuers of the Clergie degraded and banished, but the King made an end of the matter.

15  
Nauarre, and Arragon.

The K. of N. and Arragon advertised of all the enterprizes of Prince Charles.

This yeare running on, king *John* of Nauarre and Arragon did assemble the Estates of the principallitie of Cattelogna at Lerida, and assigned those of Arragon to meete at Fraga. At the assembly at Lerida, the Prince Don *Charles* arrived, where whilest they consulted of the affaires, a Gentleman named *John Carrillo*, presented letters of credit to the King, from the Admirall of Castile Don *Frederic* his father-in-law, and he was by him advertised of all that which had passed betweene the Prince his sonne, and the king Don *Henry*: adding thereunto, that those of the faction of Beaumont, incited and stirred vp by the Prince Don *Charles*, did prepare to armes, and addresse themselves for

A for the warres, vnto whom the Cattelans ioyned themselves, the which did greatly trouble the King who hauing had therevpon the aduice of his most priuate and faithfull counsellors, he caused the Prince to be called into a Chamber a part, and there hauing declared vnto him what he knew of his dealings and practices, he did sharply reprehend him, saying, that he thought that he had begotten a fury, who did torment and trouble his Kingdomes, falling so often into rebellion, and abusing his fatherly pity and meeknesse, but that now the time was come, wherein it behoued him to vie fit remedies to repress his madnesse, and to punish him in such sort, as the vnhappy example of a father, liuing in continuall feare and suspicion of his sonnes treacheries, should now cease in his family: wherevnto the Prince would haue replied, but he could not bee heard; and by the appointment of the King his father, being arrested, he was condemned to close prison in the castle of Mirauet: Neuertheless at the earnest request of diuers great Lords, vnto whom it seemed ouer rigorous, hee was committed vnder sure keeping to a more easie prison in the Aljaferia of the city of Saragossa, to the great discontentment of the Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon, and likewise of the King of Castile, who being in the towne of Madrid was soone after advertised of the durance of Prince *Charles*. With him was likewise imprisoned Don *John* of Beaumont, brother to the Constable Don *Lewis*.

Imprisonment of Prince Charles.

The Cattelans who were sureties for the reconciliation made betweene the father and the sonne at Barcelona, hearing those newes, sent speedily fiftene men of great authority in Ambassage to the King, to know of him the reason of the Princes captivity, because it seemed to them that the King therein had infringed the assurance which they had giuen for him, and that his promise was to intreat him lovingly like a father. Hauing heard by the King that it was for conspiracy and intelligences with his enemies, against his Estate and person, being the third time that he had fallen into open rebellion, they vsed many prayers and intreaties for the behoofe and deliury of the Prince: but seeing it to be in vaine, they returned with the Kings answer to them that sent them. Then the Cattelans being very much moued, added to these fiftene Ambassadors, three score more, and sent them backe to Lerida to the King, vnto whom the Abbot of Ager (being chiefe) hauing shewed with great liberty how grievously the Cattelans did take the imprisonment of his sonne the Prince of Viana and Girona, who expected to haue bene well and kindly intreated by him, vpon the promises and surety which they had giuen for him, and did hope thereby to haue bene sufficiently defended against the slanderous and malicious attempts of his Aduersaries, chiefly of the Admirall *D. Frederic*, who openly and by all means did labour to extirpe the eldest sonne and lawfull heire of the Realmes of Nauarre, Arragon and other Dominions annexed to the same crowne, to the end to raise and aduance to those dignities his daughters children against all right and piety, and he protested that the whole state of the principallity of Cattelogna would employ their goods, liues, meanes, and friends (which he knew to be very great in that Prouince) to defend Prince *Charles* from wrong, and to deliuer him from so vniust a captiuitie: wherefore he besought him to consider thereof with a fatherly affection, and at their requests to set him at liberty, and to heare how he could iustifie himselfe, and not to trust so much to his owne opinion in affaires of so great importance onely to please the Queene his wife and her father, and to prevent by wife and good counsell the great troubles and miseries which might thereby ensue. To this rough discourse, full of threats, the King answered with great grauity and moderation, concluding, that hee knew how to doe Iustice, and that hee was not determined to giue ouer his purpose in punishing his rebellious sonne, who had so often abused his clemency, for any passionate or importunate soliciting of his subiects.

The Cattelans intercede in vaine for the Prince.

A free remembrance of the Cattelans to their King.

The King of Nauarre and Arragon his answer to his subiects of Cattelogna.

F The Ambassadors hauing writen and sent backe this answer, there followed forth with a manifest reuolt of the Cattelans, who hauing leauied a great company of men of warre, and obtained by their Ambassadors, sent to Segobia, aide from King *Henry* of Castile, of fiftene hundred horse, vnder the conduct of the Commander *Gonsalo de Saucedra*, they aduanced their forces towards Lerida, with intent to seaze vpon the Kings person, and to put to death all those of his priuy counsell. And for the more easie execution



execution of their enterprife, they had ſecret intelligence with diuerſe courtiers, the A chiefe of whom were *Francis de Eſpla*, *Gerrard Ceruillon*, and *Iohn Agullen*: but God preſerued the King and his from ſo furious a conſpiracy, diſcouered at the inſtant when it ſhould haue bene executed, and yet ſo happily as the King had leaſure to get away thorough the gate of the preaching friers, notwithstanding that *D. Pedro d'Yrrea* Arch-biſhop of Tarragon, one of the Ambaſſadors of Cattalogna had counſelled him not to leaue the towne of Lerida, but there to make head againſt his enemies, whoſe aduiſe was approued by all the other Lords there aſſembled. The King was ſo ſooner gon, but the conſpirators entred the pallace with intent to haue committed their purpoſed maſacre, but to their great diſcontent they found it empty. The King retired himſelfe B to Fraga, whether the Ambaſſadors determined to haue followed him, and to try once againe if they could induce him to forgiue his ſonne, hoping that the taſt and new beginning of the troubles, which he had ſcene, would make him more mild: but they altering their purpoſe returned home into Cattalogna. The rebels forces marched towards Fraga where the King was, who from thence went to Saragoſſa, and left them the ſpoile of that place.

In the meane time thoſe of Barcelona tooke their Gouvernor *D. Lewis de Requeſens* priſoner, thoſe of Valencia, Arragon, Sicil and Majorca, aſſiſting them, and ioyning with them for the Princes deliuey. But aboue the reſt, the faction of Beaumont in Nauarre ſhewed themſelues violent in the purſure of their enemies of Grammont which held the C Kings party, cauſing ſuch ruines and calamities in the Kingdome as can hardly be expreſſed, the mindes of the multitude of each ſide being ſo inflamed againſt their contrary faction, as they knew not vpon what termes, nor for what occaſion, they had taken arms: for if one ſhould haue demanded of thoſe of Beaumont or Grammont, wherefore they were ſo animated one againſt the other: they could make no other anſwere, but that they did it becauſe their neighbours, friends and kinſ-folkes did the ſame. The ruines and deſolations increaſing on euery ſide King *Iohn* feeling himſelfe touched in conſcience, as if ſuch troubles had ſalne vpon him by the iudgement of God, who would haue him to taſte and ſee in his owne Kingdomes, that which he the yeeeres before had cauſed the Realme of Caſtile to endure, he did therefore harken, to the admonitions D which were newly made to him by diuerſe wiſe men, namely by a Charterhouſe Monke of the Monaſtery of Scala Dei in Cattalogna, held at that time for a Prophet, whoſe name is ſuppreſt or forgotten by the Authors, and through their perſwaſion he did reſolue to ſet the Prince at liberty, and to giue him to the Cattelans who did ſo earnestly deſire it: He was then taken from the Aljaferia of Saragoſſa by his mother in law Queene *Joane*, who by the commandement of the King went with him into Cattalogna, and in the City of Villa-franca deliuered him vnto them: The common and conſtant report was, that from the time the Prince came forth of priſon, hee neuer had one daies health, but his life did daily conſume and decay, and diuerſe did impute the cauſe thereof E to Queene *Joane*, who (as they ſay) poiſoned him, to the end to aduance and raiſe her ſonne *D. Fernand* Duke of Momblancke, to the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome of Arragon and dependances of the ſame, a certaine ſtranger phyſitian being actor of ſo impious a deed, and the ſickneſſe wherewith the Queene was ſoone after afflicted, being an vicious canker ouer her whole body was attributed to the iuſt iudgement of God, who did puniſh her for committing ſo execrable an act: others, reiect this accuſation as falſe, and counterfeited by thoſe of the faction of Beaumont, who notwithstanding the Princes deliuey, continued in armes againſt thoſe of Grammont, namely in the towne of Lombier, which by *Charles d'Artieda*, in the name of Prince *Charles*, was taken: againſt whom this King ſent his ſonne *D. Alphonſo* of Arragon Duke of Villa Hermoſa with a great number of ſouldiers, who beſeaged the towne, and ſoone after the King came thither in perſon, with thoſe of Sanqueſſa and other townes of the faction of Grammont. *Charles* of Artieda perceiuing himſelfe to be ouerlaid with numbers, demanded aide of the Caſtillians, who forthwith marched thither, to meet the troupes of the Commander *Gonſalo de Sabaucdra*, and thoſe of Rodrigo de Marchena, who raiſed the ſeige. The King *D. Iohn* hauing put garriſons into Pampelona, Lerin, and other places belonging to

*Don Charles* Prince of Viſtina, deliuered out of priſon, but poiſoned by his ſtep-mother.

*Queene Joane* puniſhed by the hand of God.

A to them which he diſtruſted, came to the Eſtates at Catalajub, leauing the gouernment of Nauarre to his children *D. Iohn*, and *Alphonſo* of Arragon, fearing and foreſeeing the warre againſt Caſtile.

During theſe ſtirres in Nauatte and Arragon, the country of Andeluzia was aſſailed by *Mulei Albohacen*, or as ſome others termed him *Hali Muley Hacen* eldeſt ſonne to *Iſmael* King of Granada, contrary to the peace betwixt the Realmes of Caſtile and Granada, which his father King *Iſmael* deſired ſincerely and inuolubly to obſerue and keepe. This young Prince impatient of reſt, with ſitcene thouſand footemen, and two thouſand five hundred horſemen came into Caſtile ouer-running and burning the country of Eſtepa, from whence heeled away many Chriſtian priſoners, and a great number of cattail: to repreſſe whoſe ſpoile and robberies *D. Roderigo Ponce* of Leon, eldeſt ſonne to the Earle of Arcos, and *Lenis de Pernia* captaine of Oſuno, came in all haſt to Eſtepa, with about two hundred and threeſcore horſe, and ſix hundred choſen footmen onely; who being come to the riuer of las leguas, eſpied the Moores going vp the hills of Madrogno, who hauing diſcouered this ſmal Chriſtian troupe, they ſent out two thouſand three hundred horſe in three Squadrons to make head againſt the, commanding the reſt of their people to goe on their iourney with the priſoners and ſpoile: the Chriſtians at the firſt were amazed at their enemies force; but being encouraged by the captaines, they marched brauely againſt them, and charged them ſo valliantly as they brake them and put them to a ſhamefull flight, with an incredible ſlaughter: for the dead bodies C being viewed, there was found ſlaine on the Moores part foureteene hundred, and of the Chriſtians onely thirty horſemen and a hundred and fifty footmen. The little victorious army of the Chriſtians hauing reſted and rallied their troupes, at the fountaine of ſtone, perceiued the herds of cattail as they returned toward the places of their accuſtomed paſture, being forſaken by the flying Moores; the which they tooke and brought backe, with their booties and ſpoiles, which were great and rich: and ſo they returned home to their garriſons and houſes, bearing along with them in great toy and triumph, the colours, trumpets, and drums of the Moores: for the which victory, public & general proceſſions were made ouer al Spaine: King *Iſmael* on the other ſide was D much grieved for the great loſſe of his raſh and vnexperienced ſonne: but moſt of all, for the breach of the peace betwixt him and the King of Caſtile, which was the occaſion of the totall ruine of the ſtate of the Moores in Granada, as ſhalbe hereafter declared.

*D. Henry* King of Caſtile did graunt this yeere to diuers vallicies and places of Guipulcoa, the rights and cuſtomes of the towne of Saint Sebastian of the ſame Province, correcting and reforming thoſe which they had of olde times, as the royall priuiledge of the yeere 1461. dated at Segobia doth teſtifie, ſigned by *Garcia Mendes*, ſecretary to the King. I rom Segouia the Court remooued to Sepulueda, where the King reſtored *D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of Santillana, to the rights which he claimed in Guadalajara, as he had enioyed them in times paſt, with this condition, that his brother *D. Pedro Gonſales de Mendoza* Biſhop of Calaterra, with the eldeſt ſonne of the Marquis *D. Iohn de Mendoza*, ſhould follow the court: which things were practized and brought to paſſe by the Archbiſhop of Siuil, *D. Alphonſo de Fonſeca*, and by *D. Iohn de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena. Theſe two were the principal perſons about the King, by whoſe counſel the whole Kingdome was ruled; and yet for all that they were enemies, and extremely iealous the one of the other, as it is ordinary among great men in court: as alſo for the reaſons, which we haue heretofore mentioned. Now the Marquis being deſirous to driue the Archbiſhop, his coriual, from the Court, the better to manage his affaires alone, he ſolicited the King his maſter to make warre vpon King *Iohn* of Nauarre and Arragon, ſeeming therein to agree with the Archbiſhop, who had counſelled the ſame E euer ſince the impriſonment of Prince *Charles*, which was by reaſon of the league which hee had with Caſtile. For the effecting whereof, it behoued him to take ſome aſſurance of the Admirall *D. Frederic*, and the Archbiſhop of Toledo, *D. Alphonſo Carrillo de Acuna*, who remained together at Yeſpès, making ſhew to fauour the King of Nauarre and to be of that party.

16  
Moores.

The Moores deſtroyed at Madrogno.

17  
Caſtile.

*D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* reſtored to his rights in Guadalajara.

The

The Queene of  
Castile gotten  
with child by  
D. Bertrando de  
la Cueva.

18  
Nauarre,  
The King of  
Castile makes  
warres vpon  
Nauarre.

The Marquis laboured to bring them to agreement with the King Don Henry, and A  
did promise that his brother Don Pedro Giron Maister of Calarraua, should bee ready  
to doe him all seruice; but that it did behooue him to leaue some one of great authori-  
ty at Valiodolit, as Gouvernor and Viceroy, knowing very well that this charge could  
belayd on none other but the Arch-Bishoppe of Siuill. These things were brought to  
passe in Aranda of Duero euen as the Marques had deuised and aduised: for the King  
gave credit to whatsoeuer he sayd, and was wholly ruled by him. About this time Don  
Pedro of Castile Bishop of Palencia departed this mortal life, Don Gutierrez de la Cueva  
being promoted to the same dignity: hee was brother to Don Bertrando de la Cueva  
the King and Queenes chiefe minion, who at that time prouoed to be with child, to the B  
Kings great ioy and content, albeit hee knew very well, that Don Bertrand had done the  
decede, hee himselfe being altogether vnable to performe such an act.

Don Pedro Giron Maister of Calarraua arrived at Aranda with two thousand five  
hundred horse, which forces beeing ioyned with King Henry his great gard, made vp  
the list of a mighty army, wherewith the king marched towards Logroño wher hee  
assembled all men fit for the warres out of the Prouinces of Alaua, Biscay, and Guipus-  
coa, from the age of twenty to threescore yeares, declaring by his ordonances and pro-  
coas, from the age of twenty to threescore yeares, declaring by his ordonances and pro-  
clamations, that hee did vnder take that warre in his owne person in the behalfe of his  
wellbeloued Cousin Charles Prince of Viana, the proper heire of Nauarre. The Kings  
forces were so great as the Nauarros which held the part of the King Don John, being C  
terrefied with so mighty an army, did yeeld vp diuers places without any fight at all,  
specially la Garde, Arcos, and Saint Vincent: As for Viana it was furiously battered  
and assailed, and as brauely defended but in the end, Don Pedro of Peralta at that time  
Constable of Nauarre, was forced to yeeld it vp to Don Gonzall de Sahaedra generall  
of the Kings army at that siege, a Nobleman very expert in the art of warre: the Con-  
stable being in mourning habit went out at one gate, and at another the Castilians  
entred, in which place the King appointed Don John Hurtado de Mendoza to be gover-  
nor; The Prince Don Charles remayned at that time in Barcelona, reuerenced and well  
entertayned by the Cartelans, who vnderstanding the successe of that warre of Nauarre, D  
sent a Gentleman of Cattalogna called John Trailas to the king Don Henry, with  
charge to conclude the Articles of the marriage betweene him and the Infanta  
Donna Isabell the kings sister: the which this knight hauing effected, beeing accom-  
panied with the Bishop of Astorga, by the Kings leaue hee passed on to Areallo,  
where the Infanta lay with Queene Isabell her Mother, whom in the Princes name  
he visited; and so returned: but not long after, Prince Charles languishing euer since  
his last imprisonment, dyed, not without suspicion of beeing poysoned by the practises  
of his mother in law Queene Ioane, as hath beene already declared. The Barcelo-  
nois perceiuing the Princes end to draw on, did entreate him to marry La Capi his  
concubine, by whom hee had two sonnes, Don Phillip, and Don John, to the end that  
by the same marriage, they might be legitimated, and so consequently become ca-  
pable to inherite after him, the which tooke none effect. There was no manner of  
vowes, prayers, or pilgrimages omitted for the recovery of the Princes health, but  
there was no remedy, natures debt must be payed, and so hee departed this life, to  
the great grieve of the Cartelans. It is reported that vpon his death bed he did confesse to  
haue greasly offended in banding himselfe against his father, vnto whom hee owed his  
estate, goods, and his proper life, crauing pardon of him before sundry witnesses: for-  
giue likewise all those which in any sort had offended him: he died in the fortieth yeare of  
his age, and his body was interred in the monastery of Pobleta, where the ancient Kings  
of Arragon were wont to be buried. A litle before his death, by agreement made betwixt  
him and the King his father, by the meanes of Queene Ioane his step-mother, hee had  
obtainned the gouernment, iurisdiction and reueneue of the principality of Cattalogna  
referring onely to the King, the title of soueraigne: and by the same agreement, were  
deliuered out of prison by exchange, Don John of Beaumont on the one part, and Don  
Lewis of Requesens on the other. By the decesse of Don Charles, the Principallity  
of Viana, with the right of succession in Nauarre, returned backe againe to the  
Lady

A Lady Blanche his sister the some time Queene of Castile, diuorced from King Henry then  
reigning, and his brother the Infant Don Ferdinand Duke of Montblanc, sonne to King John  
by his second wife Lady Ioane became here apparant to the crowne of Arragon.

The King D. Henry being aduised of the Princes deathe, made account to keepe B  
still the towne of Viana, and continuing the warre, hee went to besiege the towne of Le-  
rin, which place by reason of the inextinguishable scizorion there, hee could not take:  
wherefore hee brought backe his army to Logroño; halting lost veraine of his troupes  
as they foraged the country, who were incumbrd and defeated by D. Alphonso of Ar-  
ragon, and other capitaines committed to the guard of Pamplona, and the country  
neere to Albarazán. From Logroño the King went to Aranda of Duero, where the  
B Queene lay, vnto whom hee gaue that towne: there hee desired letters from D. John Pa-  
chico Marquis of Villena by the which he certified him, that by his endeauor, the Arch-  
bishop of Toledo and the Admirall, were returned to his seruice, by reason whereof  
he aduised him to come backe to Madrid: to which place D. Alphonso of Bohica, Arch-  
bishop of Siuill came; beeing weary of so long absence from the Court, but finding  
his entertainment to bee cold, hee returned much discontented to Valliodelit: for the  
King had wholly abandoned himselfe as a prey to the Marquis, at whose surrey hee  
came to Ocagna, whither the Archbishop of Toledo came first and kissed his hand,  
bringing along with him all the Mamiques.

These being gonne backe to Yespes, the Admirall Don Frederic came likewise to  
salute the King, who receiued them all very graciously and promised them all fauour.  
The Archbishop of Toledo, returned to Court to be of the Kings Council, and it was  
decreed that once every weeke vpon the Friday, the councillers iustice should be held  
in his house: which was continued a while, with great hope that iustice would flourish  
in Spaine more then euer: but as these Courtiers intent were not iust and pure, but on-  
ly shewes and maskes to couer their enuies and emulations, this lasted not long, and the  
Realme was as badly gouerned and troubled as before: the Marquis of Villena and the  
Archbishop of Toledo practizing nothing more, then to remooue him of Siuill.

Now the King being returned to Madrid, hee sent Rodrigo of Marchena to Aranda  
to accompany and bring thither the Queene, to the end that she might there be deliue-  
red of child, whither she came with a great traine; the King and the whole Court going  
forth to meet her, of whom she was receiued with great ioy, and loue of all those which  
knew not her behauiour; which continued, till by her vndiscreet and open carriage, she  
discouered her filthy life. The Infant Don Alphonso and the Infanta D. Isabella were  
likewise by the councill of the Marquis and the Archbishop brought to Court, the go-  
uernment and bringing vp of the Infant was giuen to Diego de Riura, and the Infanta  
remained in the palace in the company of the Queene, the King making great shew of  
brotherly loue to them, albeit that a litle before, hee had continually placed a gard of two  
hundred horse about their persons.

In the beginning of the yeere 1462. the Queene was deliuered of a daughter, with  
E hard labour, betwene the armes of Don Henry Earle of Alua de Lista: the King, the  
Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena being present; for ioy of whose  
birth, great triumphes were made ouer all Spaine: the eight day following shee was  
christned in the chappell of the Kings house, by the Archbishop of Toledo, accompanied  
with the Bishops of Calorra, Ossa and Carthagea, and shee was called Donna Ioane  
by her mothers name: her Godfathers were the Earle of Armignac, Ambassador at that  
time in the Court of Castile for the French King Lewis the eleuenth, and the Marquis  
of Villena; the Godmothers were the Infanta Donna Isabel, and the Marquesse of Villena,  
the child was carried and held at the font by the same Earle of Alua de Lista, with great  
pompe and royall magnificence.

And the better to recompence Don Bertrando de la Cueva, who acted the chiefe part  
in this Comedy, the king, by the aduise of his councill, who knew that it was his plea-  
sure, did create him Earle of Ledesma: the office of great Maister which hee held, was  
giuen to Andrew of Cabrera, a young man, very wise and discret: The new Earle was  
inuested and receiued into the number of the Lords of the councill, with the fauour of  
all

1462.  
Queene Ioane  
deliuered of a  
daughter.

Don Bertrando  
de la Cueva  
created Earle  
of Ledesma,

The Infanta  
D. Isabella newly  
borne, sworne  
and delivered  
to the  
kingdome.

all men: and being a noble and bountifull Knight, he kept open Court for certaine daies A with great feasting and pompous shewes. The Infanta being scarce two moneths old, the Kings pleasure was that she should be sworne and declared Princesse, and inheritrix of his Realmes in the assembly of the generall states assembled at Madrid for the same purpose; the Infants *D. Alphonso* and *Donna Isabella* his sister, being the first that did swear in this solemnity: there grew a contention at this parliament about the precedence of the cities, who should first swear: but the Kings pleasure was that Segobia should swear first before any of the rest, without prejudice to their rights and pre-rogatives. The Court remained certaine months at Madrid and Segobia, the King taking great delight to hunt in those woody countries: from thence he went to Alvaro, to treat of the affaires of Nauarre and Arragon, and hee left the Queene at Segobia three B monthes gone with child, but she miscarried soone after the Kings departure, being flied with a strange fire kindled in her haire by a beame of the Sunne, as the fate in her chamber, which burnt part of her lockes, a rare thing, but yet proceeding from certaine ointments apt to kindle, wherewith she used to die and colour her haire, a thing ordinary amongst amorous Ladies, whose only care and study is, to correct and amend the naturall forme of their bodies, with artificiall receipts, to make them seeme the more lovely: this abortiue child was a sonne.

Fire kindled in  
Queene Isables  
haire by the  
Sunne beames.

Nauarre,  
and  
Arragon.

Peace be-  
tweene Castile  
and Arragon.

20  
Sedition in  
Cattalogna.

Queene Isabe  
besieged in  
Girona.

King *Henry* being at Alvaro, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Admirall *D. Frederic* began to mediate a peace betweene the two Kings of Castile and Arragon: and for that purpose King *Iohn* came to Tudela, vnto whom the Marquis of Vallena was sent, the King of Castile hauing first taken *D. Iohn* of Arragon as ostage for him. At Tudela, diuerse meanes were propounded for the conclusion of the peace, which taking no effect, it was thought fit that the Marquis should goe with King *Iohn* and the Queene his wife to Saragossa to consult more amply of those affaires. The Marquis made summe stay there, but King *Iohn* had occasion to goe in all hast into Cattalogna: in the meane time the Queene did entertaine him very sumptuously, and among other fauours, she caused him to eate at her owne table, which as then was serued onely with Ladies and gentlewomen without any men at all. At the Kings returne to Saragossa, the peace was concluded, vpon the deliuey of ostages and certaine places for assurance on each side, to wit La Gardo, Saint Vincent, Arcos and Larraga by the King of Arragon, and on the part of Castile, Lorca in the Kingdome of Murcia, and Comago in the territory of Soria. The Nauarrois were discontented that King *Iohn* should giue any places of the Realme of Nauarre in pawne, rather then those of the Kingdome of Arragon: but of necessity it behoued them to bee content therewith. The Cattelans also were reconciled to the King and they did acknowledge by oth the Infant *D. Fernand* being then nine yeeres old, for heire and lawfull successor to the crowne of Arragon, who from thenceforth was intituled Prince of Girona.

This peace, betweene King *Iohn* and his subiects lasted not long, whether it were because they were certified of the Princes vntimely death whom they did so deereely loue, and which they desired to reuenge, or for any other occasion: but it fell so out that in the country of Rosillon, Ampurdan and other places of Cattalogna, there arose great tumults and mutinies, the Earle of Pallars being chiefe of that rebellion: there was a rumor spread abroad, that Prince *Charles* his ghost did nightly complaine in the streets of Barcelona, craving vengeance on Queene *Isabe* his step-mother, who by poison had parted his soule from his body.

The Queene to resist those disorders came to Girona, where she was forthwith besieged by the Earle of Pallars, and constrained, with the Prince *D. Fernand* her sonne, to fortifie her selfe with great daunger of their liues in the tower of the Cathedral Church of the same city. At the same time the Barcelonnois did driue al the Kings officers forth of their city, and as many as did loue and affect him, resolving neuer more to obey him, but to become subiects to the King of Castile. The Inhabitants of Girona did greatly fauour the besieged Queene, who vnder the conduct of *Du Puy* master of the order of Montesa made great resistance, but the Earle of Pallars entred the city by force, and did furiously assaile and batter the strong tower, desirous to take the Queene and the Prince her sonne: but

A but they one her side vsed such dilligence as the Earle was beaten out of the towne with great losse of his people.

The King being much troubled with the reuolt of the Cattalans, and other places also of his Kingdomes, sent into France, to intreate of King *Lewis* aide of men and money, vnto whom he engaged, for the summe of three hundred thousand crownes of gold for the payment of his souldiers, the Earle dome of Rosillon and Cerdagne. He obtained of him two thousand five hundred horse, amongst whom were seuen hundred Launces furnished, of which forces, *Gaston* Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearn, sonne in law to King *Iohn* was Generall. In this warre, which was long and troublesome, diuers B Knights of the faction of Grammont did good seruice to the King, the chiefe of whom were Don *Peter* de Peralta, Constable of Nauarre, *Sanches* of Londogno sonne to the Marshall of Nauarre, *Fernand* of Angulo *Stephen* of Garro, *Roderigo* of Puelles, the Viscount *Bertrand* of Armendaris, *Iohn Henriques* of Lacarra, and *Gyles* de Aualos, *James* Diaz of Armendaris Lord of Cadreita, *Pedro* of Ansa, *Iohn* of Aquerra, and *Sansho* of Erbiti furnished the obstinate, who did beare for his motto or deuise, *So, or no*: glorying in that he was contentious: by reason whereof, this Knight had in his time many quarrels to maintaine. The coming of the French, caused the Earle of Pallars to raise his seige from before Girona. So the Queene being freed, ioyned with the army of the Earle of Foix, and pursued the Rebelles, causing diuerse of them to craue pardon.

C The King hauing leauied men at armes, sent them vnder the command of his sonne Don *Alphonso* of Arragon to ioine likewise with the Earle of Foix his forces: hee himselfe following after, staid a while in the City of Bellaguer to appease the tumultuary Inhabitants, into the which towne he entred in armes, and there receiued newes of the yielding vp of Tarraga, whether he forthwith went, but soone after he was constrained to dislodge from thence, being aduertized that Don *Iohn* de Agullon with certaine Regiments came thitherward to surprise him, and so he returned to Bellaguer. Those of Barcelona, moued with extreame hatred against their King, did by publike proclamation declare him enemy of their country, saying that they did iustly withdraw themselves from his obedience, he being the murderer of his own son, an oppressor of his subiects, D breaker of his faith and promise, and one that did violate their rights, priuiledges, and ancient liberties: and they sent the acts and formall proceedings thereof to Rome to the Pope then reigning, who was called *Pius* the second, a Siennesis of the family of Piccolomini. And by a decree of the three Estates of the country, they sent an Ambassage to the King of Castile, to the end they might be receiued, maintained and defended, by him against the power of King *Iohn*.

The Ambassador was a Gentleman very learned, named *Copus*, who in disguised habit past into Castile, and found the King Don *Henry* at Atienza, who came thither to recreate himselfe, after the marriage made by him of the youngest daughter of the Marquis of Santillana, with his Minion. *Bertrand* de la Cueva Earle of Ledesma and one of his priuy counsell. The Ambassador spake with the King, and declared vnto him the cause of his coming, which was to giue him notice of the title which hee had to the principallity of Cattalogna as also to the crowne of Arragon, the which was much better then King *Iohns*, because hee was issued from the eldest sonne of Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, Queene of Castile, whereas King *Iohn* and his brother King *Alphonso*, came of the younger sonne, and that he had now a fit occasion offered him for the recovery thereof, by the meanes of the Cattelans, iustly prouoked by the wrongs and tyrannies of the King *D. Iohn*. The King hauing heard these things, referred the Ambassador to his counsel at Segobia, whither he shortly came, and propounding there in the open assembly of the great Lords, and of his counsel, that which the Ambassador of Cattalogna had declared vnto him, their opinions were diuers. In the end the Ambassador was called, and being asked wherefore he came, hee told them that hee was sent to request two things, to wit, that it might please the King of Castile to receiue the Cattelans for his subiects, and to aide them with certaine number of souldiers to defend them from their enemies, shewing the charge and commandment which he had from the three Estates to take the oth of obedience to him in their names.

John of Arragon  
gon purpose  
Refused to  
Lewis the  
French.

D. John declar-  
ed enemy by  
the Barcelo-  
nois, and de-  
clared his  
right in that  
principality.

Castile.

Nauarre.

The councell perceiuing that these offers did please the King, did wholly consent there-  
vnto, and two thousand five hundred horse were appointed to succour the Cartelans,  
whose capitaines were *D. Iohn* of Beaumont, Prior of Saint Iohns of Nauarre, and *Iohn*  
de Torres a Knight borne in Soria. These forces being sent away King *Henry*, fauoring  
this warre, came to Agreda.

Thither came an Elquier of Nauarre dwelling in Tudela, who told Don *Bertrand*  
de la Cucua, Earle of Ledesma, that if King *Henry* would well reward him, he would de-  
liuer vp into his hands the city of Tudela: promise was made to this Squire of certaine  
lands neere to Agreda, and according to the agreement made, at an houre appointed,  
*Pedro* de Guzman was sent, with twenty braue souldiars to seize vpon one of the gates, B  
and by the same to let into the towne a certaine number of souldiars which should fol-  
low after him. *Pedro* de Guzman and his men were no sooner entred into the city, but  
they were all taken, whereat King *Henry* being greatly moued, sent his troups to spoile  
all the contry round about Tuleda, with commandement to burne all places, and to  
put the people to the sword: but this spoile soone ceased by reason that they of Tudela  
deliuered the prisoners.

The King Don *Iohn* being aduertized of all these things, fortified himselfe on e-  
uery side, and had in readinesse an army sufficient to assaile the rebells, with their allies  
and protectors, Don *Iohn* Archbishop of Tarragon the Earle of Prades, Don *Ma-*  
*thew* de Moncada, Don *Anthony* of Cardona, Don *Guillen Arnau Cernillon* and ma-  
ny other Cartelan Knights being ioyned with him. Therevpon hee came and besee-  
ged Lerida, which they of Tarraga endeauoring to releue, they were defeated by Don  
ed *Lerida*, which they of Tarraga endeauoring to releue, they were defeated by Don  
*Iohn* of Arragon, who was sent by the King his father to incounter them, who led a  
way diuerse prisoners with him to the campe: Neuerthelesse the King raised his seege  
from before Lerida, being aduertised that a capitaine called *Martimon* came to the aide  
thereof with tenne thousand souldiars; and that in another place *Iohn* de Agullon  
was in field with forces, for the same purpose, and that Don *Hugo* of Cardona held  
his seege before Miralcampe, a strong towne and greatly importing the affaires of  
Arragon, wherefore with all speed hee hastened thitherward, but Don *Hugo* was depar-  
ted from thence, not being able, by reason of the great heate in those parts, to continue  
his seege: then the King ioyned his forces with the troups of Don *Alphonso* his sonne,  
who held *Iohn* d' Agullon beseege in Casteldas: thither also came the Earle of Foix  
with the French men at armes. By these forces the towne and castle of Casteldas were  
so beaten, as *Iohn* d' Agullon was constrained, for all his propounding of diuers condi-  
tions, to yeeld himself to the Kings mercy, who caused him, with other capitaines, to be ex-  
ecuted by forme of law at Bellaguer: and he committed the towne to the keeping of D.  
*Iohn* de Londogno.

21  
Complot be-  
tweene King  
Iohn and his  
sonne in law  
Gaston de Foix  
to the hurt  
and ruine of  
Lady Blanche  
the true wife  
of Nauarre.

*Gaston* Earle of Foix had married Donna *Leonora* the second daughter to King *Iohn*,  
by his first wife Queene *Blanche* of Nauarre; and because the succession in that King-  
dome, by the death of Prince *Charles* did belong to Donna *Blanche* her eldest sister, E  
who was married and diuorced from *Henry* King of Castile, because shee had no chil-  
dren, the father in law, and the sonne in law practised together, how they might keepe  
this forsaken Queene of Castile from marrying any more, that shee might haue no chil-  
dren, by meanes whereof the Realme of Nauarre should fall to the Lady Donna *Leo-*  
*nora* and to the house of Foix: wherefore she was deliuered into the hands of Earle *Gas-*  
*ton* her brother in law, who sent her into France to the towne of Lescar, vnder the power  
and keeping of the Countesse *Leonora* her sister.

Among the capitaines which did serue the King Don *Iohn*, there was a Castilian cal-  
led *Iohn* of Sarauia, who did greatly annoy the enemy, who found a time to surpris-  
e him: for vpon a day as hee spoiled and ouer-ranne the country neere to Cervera, hee  
was charged by *Hugo* of Cardona, accompanied with about foure thousand men as  
well horse as foote, so as hee was constrained to leaue his booty, and to assure him-  
selfe in the castle of Rubinate, where hee was furiously beseege and beaten with  
store of Artillery and Engins: hee fearing to be forced to yeeld vp the castle, found  
meanes to aduertise the King of his necessity, who came thither with all his forces: F  
by

A by reason whereof Don *Hugo* hauing left five hundred of his people at the seege of this  
castle, retired himselfe to a strong hold; from whence euery day he offered the King bar-  
raile, being come to fight the victory remained for a while doubtfull on either side,  
but at the last it fell to the King: there died as well in this incounter, as in the skit mis-  
es of the seege, more then fifteene hundred of the enemies, and very neere as many on the  
Kings part: so as hee had small occasion to reckon this victory in the number of his  
happy ones. From thence the Kings army marched to the aide of the Archbishop of  
Tarragon whom those of Lerida and Cervera held beseege in a place very discom-  
modious, who freed him from thence. In another place Don *Alphonso* of Arragon ob-  
tained a great victory neere vnto the towne of Saint Colomba, with whom the Kings  
B army ioyning, that place yeelded: besides this the towne of Ceriall was taken by force,  
and all the country thereabout whilst the Queene and the Earle of Foix in another  
place, tooke the towne of Moncada by assault, with many other places which for feare  
yeelded vnto them.

Whilst the affaires of King *Iohn* succeeded well in Cattalogna, the King of Castile  
made open warres vpon the frontiers of Granada, since the defeat of the Infant *Haly*  
*Mah-Hacen*, wherein Don *Iohn* de Guzman the first Duke of Medina Sidonia, sonne  
to Count *Henry* of Niebla, who was drowned before Gibraltar, made excellent proofe  
of his valor and good conduct, and he had the good hap to subiect the city of Gibrat-  
tar to the crowne of Castile, which his father had attempted in vaine. The newes of  
C this conquest were so pleasing to King *Henry* as amongst his other titles hee would bee  
called King of Gibraltar: for this city had bene the chiefe in the Kingdome of Abome-  
lech the Infant of Marocco, sonne to King *Albasen* of the kindred of the Merins. This  
happie exploit was accompanied with the taking of the City of Archedona by the  
Maister of Calatraua Don *Pedro Giron*, brother to the Marquis of Villena. The keep-  
ing of Gibraltar was committed for that time to *Pedro* de Poiras.

About this time diuers Princes and Potentates sent their Ambassadors to the King  
of Castile, namely from his cosin King *Fernand* of Naples, from Pope *Pius* and the  
Colledge of Cardinals, and from the Venetians, who desired his perpetuall friendship  
and confederacy. The Geneuois offered him fealty and homage, and withall to be-  
come his subiects: but King *Henry* contenting himselfe with his owne estates, not being  
D by nature ambitious, did not desire to meddle in those forraigne businesses, albeit there  
wanted not diuers of his councell to animate him thereto.

King *Iohn* hauing at Moncada, ioyned his army with that of the Queene his wife,  
and his sonne in law the Earle of Foix, the councell thought it fit to send to beseege  
the City of Barcelona, and it was so concluded, notwithstanding that the King was  
of a contrary opinion. The Barcelonois had receiued the aboue mentioned aide from  
Castile, and resoluing neuer more to obey the King of Arragon, they had set vp the ban-  
ners of Castile: the city was very rich, and greatly furnished with men and munition,  
E very strong in their wallles and towers, and excellently wel provided of all things belong-  
ing to the sea, by reason whereof they made sundry sallies and skirmishes with the  
Kings army, to the great losse and hinderance thereof as well by land as by sea: and  
namely they gaue chase to capitaine *Vilago*, who kept the sea from them with eight Gal-  
lies of Arragon: so as the King thought it the best way to raise his seege, after that hee  
had bene before it by the space of twenty daies, causing his sonne Don *Alphonso* of  
Arragon to spoile the country round about the city. From thence the army march-  
ed to Villa-franca, which was taken by force: and there the King caused to be execu-  
ted by order of law foure hundred of the Inhabitants, being prouoked thereto by the  
death of two French capitaines which were slaine at his entry into the towne, which be-  
F came such a terror to the rest of the townes thereabouts, as diuerse yeelded, without any  
resistance at all.

They beseege the city of Tarragon, which at the first made resistance yet neuer sallied  
forth of their wals: but when they beheld their fields burnt, and the continual battery and  
assaults of the enemies, their courage began to shrink, especially when the aide, which  
was sent them from Barcelona, was at their landing constrained to flie backe to their  
Gallies;

A bloody fight  
betweene the  
Kings army,  
and that of D.  
Hugo de Coo-  
dona.

Moore.

Gibraltar ta-  
ken by the Cas-  
tilians.

Castile.

Nauarre,  
and  
Arragon.

Barcelone-  
receiues the  
banners of Cas-  
tile.

Tarragon recei-  
ued to the  
King.

Gallies, then with very easie conditions they yeclded to the King, who left *Roderigo* of A Rebollo for their Gouvernor, he himselfe going backe to Ballaguer.

The Cattellans thus distressed, sent new Ambassadors into Castile, one of them was the Archdeacon of Girona, who being ioyned to the Ambassador resident with King *Henry*, made new offers of submission and full obedience vnto him, beseeching him to intitule himselfe King of Arragon and Earle of Barcelona, seeing that hee was assured that those dominions did by all diuine and humane right belong vnto him, and that now the voluntary consent of the people did inuite him therevnto, requesting moreouer aide of fouldiars. The King of Castile, beside this publique Ambassage, was solicited therevnto by sundry Lords, and other cities of Valencia and Arragon; and to speake truly, hee did greatly incline to their demaunds; but the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, the Kings chiefe counsellors, after whose appetite the whole affaires of the Kingdome were gouerned, were of a contrary opinion, and peraduenture they had intelligence with King *John* of Arragon, but it was not certainly knowne whether it were so or no; wherefore the businesse beeing debated on by the counsell, the Ambassadors receiued this answere, that if they ment to haue any aide of fouldiars, it did then behoue them to bring store of money with them, and as for the title to the crowne of Arragon, and county of Barcelona, King *Henry* would consider thereon with more mature deliberation.

The Ambassadors replied, that if it would please the King to take their cause in hand, C and to shew himselfe openly in their defence as his subiects, they would venture their heads, if within threescore daies after, they did not bring into the Kings coffers the summe of seven hundred thousand florins of gold. This seemed a dreame to the Archbishop and the Marquis, for the summe was exceeding great for those times; and they two hauing an other purpose, wrought so well, as king *Henry* not onely refused their offers, but withdrew himselfe wholly from the warre of Arragon: giuing them to vnderstand, that he had rather with the helpe of the French King, mediate a good peace for them.

Now the Marquis and the Archbishop did purpose, and hope to deale in such sort, as the Realme of Nauarre, or a great part thereof, should by the treaty of peace fall D to the crowne of Castile: To giue a certaine forme wherevnto, they sent word to King *John* and to the Earle of Foix, to send vnto them certaine French captaines, of thole which were in Catalogna, to conferre about meanes of agreement with the King of Castile; and they vsed other practizes to giue the French a distast of that warre, seeking their owne profit, vnder collour of making an agreement betweene the King of Arragon and his subiects: whilest the broiles continued in Catalogna, the Earle of Pallars, and the Lord of Cruillas, with a great number of fouldiars, hauing againe beseged Girona, were ouerthrowne and put to flight by *Peter* of Roquabertin Gouvernor of the City, and they lost many of their people with their baggage. The French marching E towards Morella, brought diuers places on the coast of Vrgel vnder the Kings obedience, but meeting neere Ixar with the Castillians, hauing good meanes to charge them, it is said that they gaue them to vnderstand, that in regard of the friendship and perpetuall confederacy betweene the Kings of France and Castile, they would couch their Launces against the Castillian standard, and thereof they excused themselves to the King of Arragon, saying that they were so commaunded to doe, and therefore besought him to take in good part, if they went about to appease the differences betwixt them.

The King of Arragon fashioning himselfe to their aduice, and hauing great hope in the good iudgement of the French king in those busineses, hee did consent that one of the French captaines should passe into Castile to the towne of Mountagu, where the king *Henry* should meete to conferre with him about fit meanes to compole all those differences: the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena brought the king thither vnder collour of hunting; and it was agreed vpon, that the French king should be entreated, to send an Ambassador into Castile, to cause the warre to cease. The captainie being returned, related to the king of Arragon and to his sonne in law the Earle

The King of Castile attempts to receive the Barcelona, and king John likewise.

The French refuse to fight with the Castilians

A Earle of Foix, what hee had concluded with the King of Castile; and at their entreaty the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, sent an Ambassadour to the King of Castile, who found the Court at Almazan; and hauing had audience, a day was taken for the interview of the three Kings of France, Castile, and Arragon, vpon the frontiers betweene Fontarabie, and Saint *John de Luz*: and in the meane time there was a cessation from armes on all sides; the Cattellans were excluded from this accord remaying doubtsfull betwixt hope and feare, attending the issue of that interview.

The King *Don John* allowing all these things, came to Saragossa, with intent to meet at the day appointed for the Kings interview. The Earle of Foix, the presumptiue heire of Nauarre in the right of his wife went thither, being very honourably receiued, B especially of the Beaumonts faction.

Now the time of the interview being come, the King of Arragon, for diuers reasons, could not, or would not appeare, relying in the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, with the King of Castile, and vpon his sonne in law *Gaston* of Foix, who knew very well how to maintaine his honour and to increase his profit with the French King. About the end of March in the yeere 1463. the King *Don Henry* arriued at Saint Sebastians in the Prouince of Guipuscoa, and king *Lewis* came the same time to Bayonne, vnto whom were sent as Ambassadors from the king of Castile, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, with *Aluar Gomes* of Ciudad-reall, his principall secretary (they hauing so councelled him) to the end to treat with him about the agreement and pacification of the troubles betweene the kings of Castile and Arragon, the vncle and Nephew, and betweene the king of Arragon and the Cattellans his subiects. It is reported, that the Marquis of Villena made an agreement with the French king, being by him recompenced with a yeerely pension of twelue thousand crownes.

The Marquis of Villena, being commeth pensioner to the King.

Matters beeing then thus handled by them, king *Lewis* as Iudge and arbitrator betweene both parties, set downe his sentence in this manner: That King *Henry* of Castile should wholly abstaine from meddling in the businesse of the Cattellans; that within twenty daies hee should call all his fouldiars out of Cattalonia and that for the D expences which hee had bene at in the same warre the King of Arragon should giue vnto him the towne of Estella with all the demaines belonging therevnto, which is one of the fve members of the Kingdome of Nauarre, with a certaine summe of doubions of gold, all which he should be bound to performe within sixe monthes, in which meane time, Queene *Isabe* of Arragon should bee held as ostage in the towne of Larraga vnder the safe keeping of the Archbishop of Toledo: That the Cattellans should become obedient to their King, vnto whom a generall pardon should bee graunted of all that was past; for assurance whereof King *John* should giue them sufficient ostages. This sentence, hurtfull to the Kingdome of Nauarre, odious to the Cattellans, and little to the King of Castiles honour, was allowed of and receiued by the three E Ambassadors aboue named, who wrote to King *Henry*, aduising him to set forward with his Court and traine to Fontaraby, and at that instant the Marquis of Villena arriued, bringing along with him the Earle of Comminges Admirall of France, who came from the King his Maister to entreate the King of Castile that they might see one another vpon French ground; the which they had before concluded vpon at Bayonne.

King *Lewis* beeing come to Saint Iohn de Luz, the two Kings met at the riuer of Vidalo, which in that place parteth both the Kingdomes: the which riuer (as the Spaniards say) which all that which the flowing of the sea couers, belongs to Spaine. King *Henry* with diuerse great Lords and Knights beeing in diuerse boates did passe F the riuer, amongst whom were *Don Pedro Gonzales* of Mendoza Bishop of Calaoarra, *Don Iohn de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena, *Don Gomes* of Caceres Maister of Alcantara, *Don Iohn* of Valençuela Prior of Saint Iohns, *Don Lewis* de Acugna Bishop of Burgos, *Don Bertrand* de la Cueva Earle of Ledesma, with others verie brauely and richlie appointed: The French King and his Courtiers beeing meanly clothed, were by the Spaniards derided and scorned. These two great Princes hauing

Interview of King Lewis the eleuenth and King Henry the fourth of Castile, at Endaya.



lously saluted and imbraced one another vpon the shoare, with diuerse kinde speeches A  
and ceremonies vsuall at such times; King *Henry* speaking first, they went to a village  
called Endaya belonging to the French King, where in the presence of the two Kings,  
the arbitratie sentence was read by the Secretary *Aluar Gomes*, the Ambassadors being  
present: and after sundry complements, and friendly speeches, they departed the one  
from the other with great content, and so returned each of them into his owne terri-  
tories.

The Cattelans  
complaine of  
the sentence  
and treachery  
of the king of  
Castile.

23  
Castile.  
A few collec-  
tor to the  
king's revenues  
suing in Gui-  
puscoa by the  
nobility.

24.  
Nauarre,  
and  
Arragon.

The king of  
Castile, think-  
ing to deceive,  
is himselfe de-  
ceiued.

King *Henry* being come to Fontaraby called the Ambassadors of Cattalonia into his  
presence, who had followed him in that journey, and declared vnto them the contents of  
the sentence, and that which they were bound to doe by the same, whereat they were B  
much amazed and discontented; so that being ouer-come with impatience, by reason  
of the indignity which they thought was offered them, they vttered in choller many  
proude and high words, prefiging misery and future calamity to the Realme of Castile,  
accusing the King of carelesnesse, for consenting to the same sentence, and his counsell-  
ors and Ambassadors of treason. According to this sentence, the King withdrew his  
souldiars from Cattalonia, and did wholly giue ouer the warre.

Whilest the King remained at Fontaraby, it happened that a certaine Jew named *Ga-*  
*on*, who was a farmer of his reuenues, coming from the towne of *Victoria* where he  
dwelt, to exact, by reason of the kings presence, the tribute called *Pedido*, in the Prouince  
of *Guipuscoa* (which was euer denied and resisted by the nobility of the country) was C  
slaine in the city of *Tolouse*, the gentlemen being moued to commit such an outrage,  
to the end it might serue as an example to other exacting receiueurs, not to attempt vp-  
on their ancient liberties and priuiledges: whereat the king was greatly offended so as af-  
ter the interview, he came to *Tolouse* with diuers men at armes being resolu'd seuerely  
to punish such an act: the Inhabitants being very fearefull, left the city and retired them-  
selves into the mountaines giuing place to their Princes fury, who at his first arrivall in-  
to the towne, commanded that the house wherein the Jew was murdered, should be o-  
uerthrowne to the ground: but proceeding on, hee was fully and certainly informed,  
that the tribute, then in question, was a thing not due, nor neuer paid by the gentlemen  
of that country, so as hee conuerted his wrath into clemency, and gaue a generall par-  
don to them all, decreeing, after the example of the Kings his predecessors, that  
from thence forth on account should be made of such like money; and hee did  
for euer acquit his receiueurs, treasurers and exactors of his reuenues, of any such  
receipt.

Having ordered the affaires of that Prouince, he went to *Segobia* and the Archbi-  
shop of *Toledo* came to *Larraga*, a towne in the Kingdome of *Nauarre*, there to re-  
ceiue the Queene *Donna Ioane*, who, according to the sentence of King *Lewis*, was to  
remaine in his keeping, till the King of *Arragon* her husband had fully performed all  
that which by the same hee was bound vnto. The Estates of *Nauarre* were much dis-  
pleased with the alienating of the towne of *Estella*, it being a portion of the Kingdome: E  
but they knew not the drift thereof, for none of the parties did gaine so much by the  
sentence, as the king of *Arragon*, who held himselfe assured of the King of *Castile*,  
by meanes of the good offices which the Archbishop of *Toledo* and the Marquis of  
*Villena* performed for him, they being wholly at his deuotion: in so much as hee tooke  
no great thought for the committing of the Queene his wife into their hands. As for  
*Estella*, he neuer ment to giue it to the King of *Castile*, and the better to couer his in-  
tent, he caused the whole body of the Estates to protest against that sentence, as giuen  
by an incompetent Iudge, the parties being not heard, and directly preiudiciall  
to the patrimony of the crowne of *Nauarre*: Therevpon Don *Pedro* of *Peralta*,  
who was Constable of *Nauarre*, seized vpon the towne and castle of *Estella*, F  
as though it had rebelled against the King: then the king of *Castile* beganne to bee  
very highly displeased with his counsell, and in some sort to discouer their practices,  
greatly repenting that hee had forsaken the Cattelans. The Archbishop of *Tole-*  
do and the Marquis of *Villena* hauing had experience of his choller, thought for to  
redresse all by giuing the king and the Archdeacon of *Girona* (who was one of the

A the Cattelan Ambassadors) to vnderstand, that all was well, and that now there was  
greater hope of good successe, then at any time before: Wherefore the Arch-deacon  
was sent away to carry that newes to the Cattelans, and to encourage and assure them  
in the King of *Castile* name, that they should shortly receiue greater ayde from him then  
they had done in times past: but the Arch-deacon arrived too late: for the Estates of  
*Cattelogna* being greatly discontent, that King *Henry* had so deceiued them, had aban-  
doned all hope of helpe from *Castile*, and put themselves vnder the protection of the  
house of *Portugall*, electing Don *Pedro*, Constable of that Realme, for their king, who  
was grand-child to King *John* the first, and sonne to the Infant Don *Pedro* Duke of *Co-*  
*imbra*, being descended by the mothers side from the kings of *Arragon*, for his mother  
B was daughter to *Lames* Earle of *Vrgell*, and to *Donna Leonora* of *Arragon*, daughter to  
King *Peter* of *Arragon* the fourth of that name.

Don Pedro of  
Portugal, all de-  
scended of  
Arragon.  
Descent of  
Portugal.

The Marquis of *Villena* on the other side, acquainted King *Henry* with the reuolt of  
those of *Estella*, and with the difficulties which hindred the execution of the sentence,  
propounding other recompences to be made, rather then to fall out vpon so slight an  
occasion: the which the king did not very well taste, yet for all that being desirous to  
play with least losse, hee sent into *Nauarre* Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, Earle of *Ledesma*,  
and Don *Pedro Gonçales* of *Mendoza* Bishop of *Calaoorra*, who afterward was Cardinal,  
and Arch bishoppe of *Toledo*, to deale with King *John*, and the Queene his wife about  
C these matters, who excused themselves by reason of their subiects rebellion, which (as  
they sayd) was the cause why they could not performe that which they had purposed:  
they discouering these dissimulations, aduertised King *Henry* thereof, who aduised them  
to negotiate as well as they could; who after diuers conferences returned without do-  
ing any thing at all, disposing the King of *Castile* to a truce, which soone after was ef-  
fected.

The King of *Castile* being at *Madrid*, an obseruant Friar named *Fernand de la Place*, 26  
with other of his zealous companions, did greatly trouble him and his Council, by gi-  
uing forth, that diuerse Christians of his country were become *Apostata's*, forsaking  
the holy Catholicke faith, and were become *Iewes*: whereof if hee would make diligent  
D search, the crime would be auerred. And this audacious Monke did constantly affirme  
in one of his Sermons, that hee had in his keeping more then an hundred fore-skins of  
Christians children, which had bene circumcised, crying out, that the king ought to pu-  
nish them very grieuously: the King caused him to be brought into his presence, and  
commanded that he should deliuer vp those fore skinned: the Friar sayd that hee had  
them not, but that he was so informed by diuers of good name and place, the king willed  
him to tell their names, the which he could not, or would not doe, and so was dismissed  
without any other punishment, then to be held a notorious liar.

The Arch-bishop of *Toledo* Don *Alphonso Carrillo* of *Acugna*, and the Marquis of  
*Villena*, being returned from *Nauarre*, where they had left Queen *Ioane* at libertie, per-  
E ceuying that the King did finally fauor them, beganne to fore-see some future mischief  
to light vpon their states, honor, and persons: to preuent which, they entred into leagues,  
which the king vnderstanding, did dissemble, committing in the meane time the go-  
uernement of his affaires to Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, and to the Bishop of *Calaoorra*,  
whose Neece Don *Bertrand* had married. The Court being at *Seuille* was very much  
troubled with a popular tumult, occasioned by two Prelates, namely, the old Arch-bish-  
of the same citie Don *Alphonso* of *Fonseca*, and his nephew, who had made betwixt  
them a fained exchange of the Arch-bishopricks of *Seuill* and *S. Iames*, for the reasons  
before mentioned, the nephew being at that time in possession of that of *Seuill*, the  
F which he ought to haue yeilded vp to his vnckle, who had caused him peaceably to enioy  
that of *S. Iames*, till then held by *D. Lewis Oforio* and his faction: Now *Alphonso* of *Fon-*  
*feca* hauing brought all matters to the passe which he promised, thought to re-enter in-  
to his former dignitie of Arch-bishop of *Seuill*: but the nephew, who found himself well  
at ease, would by no meanes leaue it, albeit that the Pope vpon paine of Excommunica-  
tion had enioyned him so to do, so as thereupon arose a very dangerous sedition, each  
of them hauing his partakers amongst the Nobility, Clergie, and the common people, the

Contentions  
and seditions  
caused by two  
Arch-bishops,  
the vnckle and  
the nephew.

27  
An outrage of  
a Moore com-  
mitted in Seuil  
unpunished.

the vulgar sort in generall held with the Nephew, and had seized vpon the great church A and other strong places of the cittie, holding it against the Gentlemen, and the Clergie, who fauoured the old Arch-bishoppe, and the rascall multitude had well-neere gained the haue with the Galleys that lay there, intending to fight both by sea and land, had not the King speedily preuented it, who hauing made inquirie of the matter, apprehended fundry of the Rebels, who were seuerely punished: the Nephew Arch-bishop was committed to prison in his owne house, and within sixe dayes after, the old Arch-bishop was restored to his former See, and diuers of the offenders were hanged out at the win-  
dowes of their owne houses, and some others sent to receiue punishment at Madrid. An  
other outrage was there committed at the same time, which did incite and stirre vp di-  
uers against the king: for his Court beeing greatly frequented with Noblemen Moores, whome he did highly fauour, one of them named *Mosarras*, (who did lodge in the house of an honourable Citizen called *Diego Sanchez* of Orihuela) was so farre transported with a libidinous appetite, as his host and hostesse beeing absent, hee rauished and carried away with him into Granado a very beautifull daughter of theirs; keeping her with him so long as he pleased. The sorrowfull father and mother at their returne home finding their house disturnished of their best ornament, accompanied with diuers of the best Citizens, went to make their complaynt to the king, who told them that the fault was their owne, in leauing their daughter behind them, and so put them off with this impertinent answer: whereunto the parties grieued did reply, craving iustice, but the King beeing displeased with their importunate exclamations, commaunded that they should be thrust out of his gates, set vpon asses, and publicly whipped vppon and downe the Cittie: this vniust sentence should haue bene executed, had not the Earle D. *Gonzal* of Guzman, gone to the King and asked him, what reason the Officer should giue to the multitude for the whipping of those innocent people: then the King finding his owne errour, was ashamed thereof, and went into his chamber, making him no answer at all, the Moores fault remayning unpunished, to the great scandall not onely of that Cittie, but of the whole kingdome.

Not long after, the King made a iourney to Gibraltar, newly conquered and sacked, where he gaue another prooffe and testimonie of a mind little fauouring of equitie, for he tooke away the gouernement thereof from *Pedro de Porras*, whome hee had placed there at the request of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who had taken the same cittie, and did giue and appropriate it to Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, Earle of Ledesma, who placed there for Gouernour *Stephano de Villacreses*, who had married an Aunt of his: the which the Duke tooke very impatiently, and so it continued all the time of the troubles of the kingdome, vntill he had brought it againe vnder his owne power and iurisdiction, and ioyned it to the other possessions belonging to the house of Medina Sidonia, who hath alwaies enjoyed it, till the entire conquest of the kingdome of Granado: at which time it was for euer annexed to the Crowne.

The same time the King Don *Alphonso* of Portugall making warre vpon the Moores E of Affricke, came from Ceuta to Gibraltar at the intreatie and perswasion of King *Henry*, where these two Princes remayned and continued together the space of eight dayes, eating at one table, and shewing great tokens of loue and brotherly friendship one to the other.

28  
Portugal.

This yeare 1463. the Infant Don *Henry* of the house of Portugall, the kings Vnde, Master of the Order commonly called of Christ, of the age of three-score and seven yeares, dyed in the cittie of Sagres in Algarbe, who was buried in the Church of Lagos, and afterwards translated and carried away from thence to the Abbey of Battayle, built by his father king *Iohn* the first, and they report in Portugall, that this Prince dyed a virgine: he out-liued all his breethren that were legitimate, to wit, Don *Iohn* Master of Saint Iames, Don *Fernand* Master of Auiz, and Don *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra: their elder bastard-brother Don *Alphonso* Duke of Bragança dyed also not long before, leauing behind him for his successours in the Dutchie, his sonnes Don *Fernand*, Earle of Arrojos, and the Marquis of Villa viciosa, who was (by lawfull succession, and by the right of inheritance) the second Duke of Bragança, begotten on Donna *Beatrix*, daughter

House of Bragança.

A daughter to Don *Nugno Aluares Pereyra* Earle of Barcellos, and first Constable of Portugall: Now the losse of these great personages was very grieuous to the King Don *Alphonso*, who at that time by reason of his warres against the Moores, had great need of their helpe and Council: hee had conducted a great army into Affricke against the city of Tanger, beeing followed by all the Nobility of Portugall, namely, by his brother the Infant Don *Fernand* Duke of Visco, his brother-in-law Don *Pedro* the third Constable of Portugall, sonne to the Infant Don *Pedro*, Duke of Coimbra aboue-mentioned, D. *Edward de Meneses* Earle of Viana, Don *Gonzal Coutin* the first Earle of Marialua, the Earle of Villa-reall, and other great Lords: but Don *Pedro* the third, Constable of Portugall, was at that time solicited by the Cattelans to name himselfe King of Arragon, for the reasons heretofore declared, who consented thereunto, and went with the Ambassadors of Cattelania to the cittie of Barcelona, where he was proclaimed King of Arragon, and Earle of Barcelona, vnto whom the Estates were sworne: but hee had to deale with a boysterous aduersarie, passing ouer his dayes in difficult warres, and finishing them by poyson (as it was thought) as shall be hereafter more at large declared. After the departure of the Constable Don *Pedro*, the King Don *Alphonso* came to Gibraltar, and in his absence his people receiued an ouerthrow as they went about to scale the towne of Tanger, where diuers men of worth were slaine and taken. Among the prisoners were the Earle of Marialua, and *Gomes Freyra*, who were afterward redeemed for great ranfomes.

Expedition into Affricke against the city of Tanger.

C After his returne from Gibraltar into Affricke, hee entred in person into Penaea, a mountainous and woddie cuntry, from whence hee was constrained to retire to his great losse, where he left behind him D. *Edward de Meneses* Earle of Viana, who to saue the kings life being in great danger, lost his own. The Earle of Villa-reall did at that time, by his valour, saue the army, fighting brauely in the rere-ward, defending it against an infinite multitude of Moores: infomuch as the king beeing desirous to acknowledge his prowesse, did publikly prayse him, and gaue him the honor of beeing the shield and defender of the faith the same day: or to speake more properly, Gods instrument for the deliuerie and helpe of the Portugals. These aduerser fortunes caused King *Alphonso* to returne into Portugall with small honor, where he applied himselfe to vovew and pilgrimages, thinking hereby to appease the Saints, patrons and conductors (as he thought) of his vnhappy and disastrous enterprises.

King Alphonso's misfortune in his expedition into Affricke.

D King *Henry* of Castile at his departure from Gibraltar, came to Eccia, where he gathered together all the cauallerie of the garrisons and countreies neere about, ioyning them to his great armie, which he commonly carried about with him, wherewith he entred into the territories of Granado, where the Ambassadors of king *Ismael* the Moore met with him, and presented vnto him the tribute, with fundrie other gifts, so that he passed on no further, but dismissed his forces, and came to Iuen, whose Gouernor was the Constable Don *Michael Lucas d'Irançu*. At Iuen remayned Don *Pedro Giron*, Master of Calatrava, who beeing desirous to offend the Earle of Ledesma, and to set him at variance with the Constable Don *Michel Lucas*, he told the King that he heard say, that he meant to bestow the Mastership of S. Iames, (which the Infant Don *Alphonso* held onely in name) vpon the Earle of Ledesma: and thereupon shewed him diuers reasons to perswade him to giue that dignitie rather to the Constable, who was a valiant Knight, and one greatly affected to his seruice: but the King seemed to giue no eare to his speech, knowing very well whereunto it tended. Don *Pedro* perceiued by many other reasons, that he was not very welcome to the King, who (as he supposed) did suspect him to bee of the league with the Marquis of Villena his brother, and the Arch-bishop of Toledo: wherefore he returned thence, and then began they to treat of great leagues and confederacies, to the preiudice of the estate of Castile, prefaged by great tempests of wind, which at Seuille did ouerthrow a great quantitie of the city walls, and did blow away a great bell out of the Church of S. *Augustine*, aboue a bowes shot from the place where it did hang, tooke vp into the ayre a payre of Oxen yoked together at the plough, and plucked vppe by the rootes diuers sorts of trees, scattering them here and there in very fearefull manner: In the ayre was scene the proportion of armed men fighting, and three

29  
Castille.

Prodigious winds and other tokens of future calamities.

Eagles

Eagles striuing together, with great furie fell downe dead to the ground. Matters standing in these tearmes, the King returned to Madrid, where he continued still carelesse of that which concerned the good of the Realme: there was no audience nor admittance for petitioners, nor any administration of iustice: he permitted his porters, and those of his guard to offer indignities to such as he did not loue and to those that did sue vnto him, and he would winke at them when as many times they would shut the gates against the Arch-bishoppe, and the Marquis of Villena, who were oftentimes sent from thence with many iniurious speeches. These things with other of greater importance would he giue ayme to, so as he willingly made a readie way to the greatest miseries and calamities that could be imagined. And hearing that the king Don *Alphonso* of Portugall was entered into Castile to visit, for deuotion sake, the Monasterie of Guadalupe, he departed from Madrid with the Queene his wife, and the Infants his brother and sister, and went to meet him at a place called the Arch-bishoppes bridge, not making the Marquis of Villena, nor the Arch-bishop of Toledo acquainted with any thing to be treated of in that interview.

Interview of  
the kings of Ca  
stile and Por  
tugall at Gua  
dalupa.

There were newly strengthened and confirmed the auncient leagues and allyances betweene the two kingdomes, by the agreement of future marriages with the king Don *Alphonso* who was a widdower, and Donna *Isabella* sister to the king of Castile, and betweene the Infant Don *John* of Portugall, eldest sonne and heire to that Crowne, of the age of eight yeares, and the Queene of Castiles daughter, who was tearmed the Princeesse *Joane*. These things promised and agreed vpon, the king of Portugall returned to Guadalupe to finish and performe his vow, and from thence into his owne country. In the meane time the Arch-bishop and the Marquis beeing forewarned by the tokens of disgrace, which they well perceyued, and by their own consciences, absented themselves from the Court, fearing to be taken and punished, and with-drew themselves to Alcala of Henares, where they sollicit their friends, and strengthened their league, into the which, by the meanes of the Arch-bishop, entered very secretly the Admirall Don *Fredericke*, the Earle of Benauent, Don *Alphonso Pimentell* sonne-in-law to the Marquis, Don *Roderigo Manrique* Earle of Parcdes, Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of Coria, with all his breethren: on the other side the Marquis of Villena went in person to draw into their league Don *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, Earle of Alua de Tormes, and Don *Aluaro* of Estuniga, Earle of Plaisance, whom he drew into the number. In like manner the Master of Calatraua played his part thorough the whole countrie of Andalusia, with great secrecie: for their desseigne was to get the Infants, Don *Alphonso*, and Donna *Isabella* from the Court into their power, to serue for a colour to their proceedings, not caring at all for Donna *Joane*, who was tearmed the Princeesse of Castile, whom they all held to be begotten in adulterie by Don *Bertrand de la Cueva* of the Queene. The king wanted no aduertisement and information of the progression of these matters, but he was negligent and carelesse.

D. Joane borne  
in adulterie,  
shee subject of  
all the Kings in  
Castile.

At his returne to Madrid hearing of the Arch-bishoppes and the Marqueses retreat, hee beganne to thinke vpon their dangerous practises, and sent to commaund them to come to the Court, to vnderstand what hee had agreed vpon and concluded with the king of Portugall, but they excused themselves, and desired to talke with the king in a place and companie not suspected. The King and the Marquis did see one another, and talked and conferred together betweene Madrid and Alcala of Henares, without any conclusion.

Soone after it was decreed, that the Marquis of Santillana, and the Earle of Haros sonne should be giuen as hostages to the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo for the Marquis of Villena his safe-comming to the Court, who gaue the king to vnderstand, that he would not come, vnlesse hee would commit the Arch-bishop of Seuille Don *Alphonso* of Fonseca to prison, for the reasons which hee had shewed vnto him: endeavoring by his persecution, to keepe the rest of the kings seruants in suspition, the which came to passe: for the King who did already distrust the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, sent *John Fernandes Galindo*, Governour to the Queene to take him, who beeing aduertised thereof by the Marquis himselfe, who played with both hands, escaped, whereat all the Lords of the Councell,

A Councell, and others which were employed and negotiated in matters of State, were greatly offended: and then the violences and tyrannies which did afflicke the kingdom during this kings life, began to appeare.

After this trick the Marquis came to Court, and with him the Earles of Benauent and Parcdes, and Don *Alphonso Henriques*, eldest sonne to the Admirall, euery one of them well accompanied with their acquaintance, friends, and seruants, with intent and purpose to seize vpon the persons of the King, the Earle of Ledesma, and the Infants. The King, as ill aduised as he was, did distrust them, and therefore caused the Infants to be shut vp in the tower of homage, with sufficient guard: and as hee was doing hereof, the confederates, who should execute that enterprize, came hastily to the Pallace, and violently breaking open the gates, entered into the hall: then the King fearing and distrusting what might happen, withdrew himselfe by a priuie way, with the Earle of Ledesma, hauing made the Infants safe. The Marquis who was wise and subtil, perceiuing their proiect and purpose to faile, with a stedfast and assured countenance, as though he had had no hand therein, presented himselfe to the King, and was one of those that did sollicite him rigorously to punish such an offence, which the King might easily haue done in himselfe, if he had bene possessed with an heroicke spirit: but all that hee sayd vnto him, was: How now Marquis, do you thinke that this which is attempted in my house, is well done? assure your selfe that I will be now no longer patient. The Marquis who was thoroughly acquainted with his humour, found meanes to appease him, and so returned to his lodging. But this senselesse King thought that he should be sufficiently reuenged if hee should giue sharper spurres to those who were already to much gauled with enuie and emulation to see the Earle of Ledesma so honored, aduanced, and enriched.

His determination then was, in despite of all his enemies, to honour him with the Mastership of Saint Iames, which was kept, since the death of the Constable Don *Aluaro de Luna*, by the King Don *John*, and by this King Don *Henry* his sonne, as an appendix to the Crowne, with the dispensation of the Popes *Nicholas* the fifth, and *Calixtus* the third, vntill that time. And for to obtaine the consent and Bull of Pope *Pius* the second, he dispatched one of his Chaplaynes called *Suero de Solis* to Rome, who caried with him fourteene thousand golden *Henryes*, to get expedition. Before this Chaplayne returned, the Secretarie *Aluar Gomez*, who had writen the Kings letters to the Pope, went and reuealed it to the Marquis, whose familiar friend and partisan he was, the which did the more enflame the confederates to the ruine of the King, his Minion, and the whole kingdom.

The Marquis who was very expert in all points belonging to a cunning Courtier, perswaded the King to remooue to Segobia, saying, that there the affaires in hand might be better managed then at Madrid: but the truth was, he did it of purpose to haue him neerer vnto the countries of the Confederates, if the matter should happen to come to strokes. And he dealt in such sort, making so great a shew of distrust, as the Bishoppe of Palenca, brother to the Earle of Ledesma, was giuen in hostage to the Master of Calatraua, and kept in the towne of Pegnasel. When they were all come to Segobia, the Marquis fained to beare a great grudge to the Earles of Plaisance, Alua, and others: in which meane space arriued the messenger from Rome, bringing with him the Popes Bull for the Master-shippe of Saint Iames for the Earle of Ledesma, whereat the king greatly reioyced, and told the Marquis that now he must needs allow and tolerate the Popes graunt to the Earle: who answered, that hee was well contented so to do: neuertheless hee shewed vnto him diuers reasons of the manifest and apparent wrong done therein to the Infant Don *Alphonso*, the which the King sleightly passed ouer, and did not regard: and the day following hee did inuest the Earle in that place and dignitie, giuing and willingly surrendring vnto him the Ensignes and Ornaments thereunto belonging.

This deed did so highly displease the Marquis, as from thencefoorth hee did sollicite the Confederates to arme themselves, and to practise how they might take the king, Queene, her daughter, together with the Infants Don *Alphonso*, and Donna *Isabella*, and

Conspiracie  
against the K.  
Queene, her  
daughter, and  
D. Bertrand,  
de la Cueva.

and to kill the new Master of Saint Iames: and the better to execute their plot, they A dealt with a Captaine of the Kings named *Fernand Carrillo*, that his wife (who was one of the Ladies attending on the Infanta Donna *Izabella*) should in the night open a doore of the Queenes lodging: and it was decreed amongst them, that the Earle of *Paredes* should take the King, the Earles of *Plaisance* and *Alua* should seize vpon the Queene and his daughter *Ioane*, the supposed Princeesse, the Marquis should leade away the Infants, and his brother, the Master of *Calatraua* should dispatch the Earle of *Ledesma*. These matters thus concluded, they were discovered and reuealed to the King some three howers before they should haue bene executed, who was as slacke in redressing this, as other former matters, for if he had so pleased, hee might easily haue taken or slaine the Marquis beeing in the Court: but he sayd, that he would keepe the promise which hee made him, and so he onely sent *Gonzal* of *Sahauedra*, and the Secretarie *Aluaro Gomes* vnto him to reproch his trecherie, which did much trouble the Marquis, who neuerthevnto him to keepe the same, and not intending any more to enter into the Cittie, so that if the king meant to talke with him, it behooued him then to come forth willingly and meete C him.

The Confederates perceiuing this enterprife of theirs to prooue vaine and of no effect, did intreate the King to heare the Marquis speake, and to come forth of the cittie into some place not suspected, but their intent was to seize vpon him abroade in the Countrey, since they could not bring it to passe in the cittie: The King consented, and appointed to meete them betwene *Villa Castin*, and the Monasterie of *Saint Peter de las Duegnas*, to the which Monasterie the King came, but he had there notice given him of two things: the one, that the Admirall *Don Frederick* had in *Vailledolit* erected banners in the name of the Infant *Don Alphonso*, naming him king, and that the towne had withstood it, and in such sort resisted the Admirall, and his people, as they had driuen D him thence: The other was, that hee should by no meanes go on to meete with the Marquis of *Villena*, because the Master of *Calatraua*, and diuers of the Manriques were in the fields with fixe hundred horse to take him.

The king beeing highly moued at these practises, did prouide a remedie in time: for hee dispatched *Gonzal* of *Sahauedra* with five hundred horse of his owne Guard for to succour those of *Vailledolit*, and for the present danger, he sent the Bishop of *Calaorra* to *Villa Castin*, and the Licentiat *Diego Henriques del Castel*, his Councillor and Chronicler to the Earles of *Plaisance* and *Alua*, to discover that which was done there. These hauing met with others, who came to waite the king of the selfe same danger, they se- E parated themselves, and the Licenciante returned with speed to the Monasterie, to cause the king to dislodge, who at that instant departed from thence and returned to *Segobia*, entring into the cittie with five thousand men gathered together from the places thereabouts. The Bishoppe went on, and met with the Earles, who marched in Armes and military Order, with whome he had some speech and conference to no purpose, and so returned to *Segobia*. The new Master of *Saint Iames*, besides his owne people, hauing with him the kings Guard, came neere to the Master of *Calatraua*, beeing in a place fite for a fight, and was resolu'd to charge him, if the night had not hindred him, notwithstanding that he had commandement from the king not to do so, wherefore he brought backe his troupes to *Segobia*.

The knights of the League seeing their enterprises to bee discovered, marched towards F the Cittie of *Burgos*, the Castle whereof was vnder the command of *Don Aluaro* of *Estuniga*, Earle of *Plaisance*, one of the Confederates. The Cittie being moued with these strange newes, would not consent to ought that they propounded: but *Don Iohn de Pacheco* Marquis of *Villena*, could so well set forth the iustice of his cause in eloquent tearmes, as they did belecue that hee and his complices were in the right, but diuers of

Treason discovered: but not punished.

Burgos in the power of the confederates.

A the inhabitants who were of good iudgement, did very well perceiue, that each of these confederate Lords, was carried away with enuie, hatred, ialousie, and other diseases of Court, and with a desire of their owne priuate good, rather then that of the Common-wealth.

Now at the request of the Marquis certaine chiefe men of the cittie met together, who signed the letters which they wrote to the King, which contained foure principall accusations, which they required to haue redressed: The one was, that the king kept ordinarily in his Court Moores which were enemies of the faith, whome hee did animate to commit infinite out-rages which were vnpunished: as the rape of the daughter of *Diego Sanchez* of *Orihuela* d' *Seuill*. Again that the places of Iudges with other Offices were bestowed vpon persons wholly vnworthy of them, by meanes whereof diuers exactions and tyrannies were committed: Thirdly, that to the manifest contempt and hinderance of the Infant *Don Alphonso*, vnto whome that dignitie did belong, he had bestowed the Master-ship of *Saint Iames* vpon *Bertrand de la Cueva* Earle of *Ledesma*: The fourth, and most important, which could not be excused, was, that hee caused *Donna Ioane* to be sworne vnto, as Princeesse and heire of the kingdomes of *Castile* and *Leon*, whome hee very well knew to be none of his daughter, highly wronging the Infants *Don Alphonso*, and *Donna Izabella*, by depriving them of their patrimonie and inheritance: to remedie which, it was requisite to cause the Estates of Spaine to make a new oath, in the behalfe of the Infant *Don Alphonso*, and to restore to him the Master-ship of *Saint Iames*. These C reasons were indeed of great moment, if they had bene prosecuted by lawfull and iust meanes, and with a true zeale of the good and reputation of the Crowne of *Castile*, but there is seldome any good order kept in such rash proceedings.

The letter was presented to the King at *Vailledolit*, whither he was come with a great traine: but notwithstanding that most of the articles containd matter of truth, wherein his honour was highly touched, he neuerthelesse made such small account thereof, as most of his Councill, and seruants were greatly ashamed thereof: yet for all that he had then about him forces sufficient to dissolue and scatter that league without any danger at all: but it was Gods will to punish both the king and the people. The chiefe poynt D that the Confederates stood vpon, was, that *Donna Ioane* the supposed Princeesse, wrongfully reputed Princeesse of *Castile*, should be declared to bee the daughter of *Don Bertrand de la Cueva*.

The opinion of the Bishop of *Calaorra*, of *Friar Lopes de Barriento*, of the Master of *Saint Iames*, and others which were present at the reading of the letter, was, to go presently and find out the rebels, and to offer them battaile, alleading diuers reasons, as namely the small forces which they had then together: but the King would not consent thereunto, desiring perhaps to bee reputed meeke and gentle, rather then warlike and valiant: wherevpon the Bishoppe of *Calaorra*, told him plainly, that hee very well perceyued, hee did not desire to raigne peaceably, seeing that hee made so small account E of the defence of his honour, in not reuenging the wrongs and injuries which were done vnto him, and that for his part he did verily belecue, that hee would neuer leaue behind him the fame and report of a generous and magnanimous King, but that he was assured, that hee would become the most vnhappy King that euer reigned in Spaine, and that he would repent his cowardize when it was too late. Notwithstanding this free admonishment, hee remayned cold, and gaue eare to the agreements which they offered him: Hee sent word to those of the League to meete at *Duegnas*, the which they did, and thither came the Admirall, and the Arch-bishop of *Séuill*. There they beganne to treat of diuers matters: but the better to conferre, it was thought fit and conuenient, that the King should come to *Cabeçon*, and the Confederates to *Cigales*: and places thereabouts, which beeing done, the King and the Marquis of *Villena* spake and conferred together in the open fields, each of them beeing accompanied with three persons, and fiftie horse on each part, to discover, visite, and make sure the Countrey round about.

After long conference together, it was concluded, That the king within twelue daies after, should deliuer into the Marquis his hands, the person of the Infant *Don Alphonso*, who

X x x

Accusations propounded by the colleagues.

The king reproached with the adulterous birth of *Donna Ioane*.

The King will rather seeme meeke than rigorous.

Sharp speeches of the Bishop of *Calaorra* to the king.

who should be acknowledged for Prince and heire of the kingdome of Castile, and oath A made vnto him in that natur at the same instant according to the custome of Spaine, by the Lords and Deputies of the townes and Prouinces that should be there present: and that the Lords and Knights should promise, that the Infant Don *Alphonso*, who was then eleuen yeares old, should marrie Donna *Joane* the Queenes daughter, so soone as shee should come to age: againe, that the Earle of Ledesma should giue ouer the Mastership of Saint Iames, the which should be restored to the Infant Don *Alphonso*: That for the gouernement of the affaires of State, and other great busineses of the kingdome, two Knights of each side should be chosen, Don *Alphonso* of Oropeça Generall of the Iero- nomites should be as vmpire betweene the two parties: on the Kings part for the assu- B rance of the deliuerie of the Infant, should be giuen in hostage for the kings fidelitie, the Master of Saint Iames, and the Earle of Benauent for that of the confederates.

These things beeing agreed vpon, the King came to Segobia, in the castle of which cittie, the Queene and the Infants lay, and he caused the Infant Don *Alphonso* to depart thence to be deliuered to the Lords of the League, albeit it was fore-told him, that the Infant should be declared King of Castile: but the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes*, who was wholly at the Marquis his deuotion, assured him of the contrarie: vnto whome the charge to conduct the Infant to Sepulveda was committed, where he deliuered him into the hands of the confederate Lords. The King returned to Valiodolit, from whence the next day, he returned to Cabeçon. The confederates on the other side, brought the Infant into C the fields, where he was sworne vnto, and acknowledged Prince and heire of those kingdomes, being eleuen yeares of age.

The Prelates and Knights of the league which were present at this ceremony, were D. *Alphonso Carrillo* of Acugna, Arch-bishop of Toledo, Don *Alphonso* of Fonseca Arch-bishop of Seuille, Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of Coria, Don *Frederick Henriques* great Admirall of Castile, Don *Aluaro* of Estuniga Earle of Plaisance, Don *Garcia Aluaro* of Toledo Earle of Alua, Don *Rodrigo Manriques* Earle of Paredes, the Earles of Saint Marra and Ribadeo with others, who promised that the marriage betweene the Infant, and Donna *Joane* should be accomplished. And on the Kings side to consult vpon the administration of the affaires was chosen, Don *Pedro* of Velasco, eldest son to the Earle D of Haro, Don *Pedro Fernandes* of Velasco, and *Gonçal* of Sahauedra: the Confederates appointed the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Plaisance: and for a third person Friar *Alphonso* of Oropeça was named.

The King beeing come backe to Valiodolit, did handle the matter so with the Earle Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, as he for quietnesse sake renounced the Master-shippe of Saint Iames, and yelded it vp into the Popes hands: For which deed of his, the King vsing his accustomed bountie, gaue him in recompence the towne of Albuquerque, with the title of Duke, with the townes of Cuellar, Roa, Molina, Atiença, la Pegna d'Alcaçar, and besides all this, three millions and five hundred thousand Marauidis of yearly rent, to be leuied vpon Vbeda, Baeça, and other places of Andalusia: we will therefore hereaf- E ter call him Duke of Albuquerque, and Earle of Ledesma.

Those things beeing accomplished, the king went to Olmeda, and the Iudges or arbitrators which were chosen to Medina del campo, where whilest they conferred and disputed about the affaires, the Confederates had inuented new meanes to continue the troubles. The Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Admirall Don *Frederick* made shew to be displeased with the Marquis, and made a craftie reconciliation with the King, making him beleue, that they had both will and meanes to ruine the Marquis: the King recey- ued them very fauourably, and for ioy thereof sent to Don *Gomes* of Cacetes, Master of Alcantara, and to Don *Pedro Puerto Carero* Earle of Medellin, whome hee very much F trusted, to come to him with as many souldiers as they could leaue. Thereupon hee was aduertised, that the arbitrators had giuen vp their sentence, by the which there remay- ned nothing to him but the name of King onely: for the Marquis beeing a man very wife, eloquent, and well experienced, did so handle the other Deputies, as he made them to condescend to whatsoever he pleased, hauing the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes* wholly at his deuotion, by whose meanes he drew *Gonçalo* of Sahauedra to his party.

The

A The King being greatly troubled therewith, sent for *Aluaro* and *Gonçalo* to come and speake with him: but they beeing kept backe with shame, and their owne euil conscience, durst not appeare in his presence, but secretly tooke an other way, where by chance they met with the maister of Alcantara and the Earle of Medellin who were going to the King with a thousand horse, whom these two run-awaies made beleue, that the King had giuen charge to take them, and that he did greatly distrust them, and therefore adui- sed them not to shew them-selues vp in a place from whence they could not escape at their pleasures.

They knowing the king, by many like examples, to be apt enough to do such a mar- ter, did easily beleue what the secretarie and *Gonçalo* had told them, and at their intreaty B they went altogether and ioyned them-selues with their confederats, the which did won- derfully trouble the King, who had great cause to complaine of the ingratitude of *Aluar Gomes* de Cité Reall about the rest, because hee had trusted him with his greatest secrets, and had highly aduanced him, hauing giuen him the Lordshippe of Maque- da, and enabled him, by meanes of his fauour, honours and offices, to purchase Saint Siluester and *Torrejón* de Velasco, and other waies aduanced him: although hee were of no Noble parentage. Apprehending then this treason of *Aluaro*, hee confiscated all his goods, and gaue the towne of *Torrejón* de Velasco, to *Pedro Artur de Auila*, sonne to *Diego* of Segobia, his high treasurer. And afterward made an edict, whereby hee C declared the deputies and arbitrators, assembled at Medina del Campo suspect, and ene- mies to his crowne, reuoking, and declaring their sentence to bee of no force. After- that, hee came to Segobia, and the confederates went to Playfania, carrying with them the Prince Don *Alfonso*.

Matters being broken of, the Maister of Calatrava went into Andalusia to drawe the Lords of that country into the league. In the meane time the Arch-Bishoppe of Toledo and the Admirall, the better to assure the king of their fidelity, remayned in their houses, making no shew of cleauing to any side in those latter tumults, and they sayd, that they stayd there expecting when the King would send for them: Now the King, the better to oblige them to his seruice, had promised to giue vnto the D Archbishop la mora of Medina del campo, and the City of Auila, and to the Admirall the Captenthship of Valiodolit, and of Val de nebro, with a certaine summe of Henries of gould to pay their soldiours, to weete the Arch-Bishoppe foureene hundred Launces, and the Admirall eight hundred, the which they obtained within few daies after. The king hauing left in Segobia, with a good and sure guard, the Queene his wife, with her daugh- ter, and the Infanta Donna *Isabell*, hee went to Madrid whether the Arch-Bishop came as it were flying, because, (as hee sayd) the *Marchiones* of Villena had caused him to bee pursued by the commandement of her husband, and the other confederates: beeing re- ceaued and welcomed by the whole Courte, the King, the day following, held a counceill, wherein hee complained of the disobedience and rebellion of the Marquis E and his confederats, who had made sundry attempts against his person, & the welfare & quiet of his realmes, which was wholly diuided in armes, & was so troubled, that without a fit and speedy remedy, both he himselfe, who was King, & the Lords, Citties, and other estates, should bee exposed to the appetite of such as gaped after their liuings, places, and dignities: wherefore hee craued aduice what was to bee done in a time so trouble- some, wherein hee himselfe, with his faithfull friends, and counsellors, were ready to fall into extreame daunger.

The Arch-Bishop as a Prelate of greatest authority, & who was the mouth of the rest, answered, and gaue the King counsell to demand the Prince Don *Alfonso* of the con- federate Lords, saying that hee should liue better according to his dignity, beeing with him than in their company, seeing that the troubles were encreased by means of his deliuey vnto them, were as peace and quietnesse was expected: and if that they should refuse to send him, that then the King should proceed against them by rigor of armes, as rebels and guilty of treason.

This counsell was receyued and allowed of them all: and therefore the King went to- wards

Articles agreed  
vpon for the  
pacification of  
the troubles.

Don Alphonso  
the kings bro-  
ther acknow-  
ledged heire to  
the crowne.

The King be-  
trayed on all  
sides.

Aluar Gomes  
perfidious and  
disloyall to his  
King.

The King dis-  
trusts the ar-  
bitrators (sen-  
tence for the  
peace.

King Henry ill  
advised giueth  
his enemies  
meanes to way  
vpon him.

Don Bertrand  
de la Cueva,  
created Duke  
of Albuquerque



The Earle of Alua forsaking the League, reconciled to the King.

wards Salamanca, supposing to take the Rebels vnprovided. By the way, the Earle of Alua, who was in his house, lodged and enterdayned the King and his Court very sumptuously, and with great magnificence, and did sincerely reconcile himselfe vnto him, vtterly forsaking the League, vnto whome the King promised to forget what was past, and to great fauours in time to come: The fourth day after hee went from thence and came to Salamanca, with the Arch-bishop of Toledo, the Bishop of Calorra, the Duke of Albuquerque with others of his priuie Councell, from which place he did write to the confederate Lords, according as he was aduised by the Arch-bishop of Toledo. Then did the Arch-bishop sollicite the King to giue vnto him and the Admirall, Auila, and the other places, with the money promised for the leauing and payment of their men at armes: But the King promised him the places, and willed them in the meane time to assemble their forces.

The Lords of the League who were at Plaifance, hauing receyued the Kings commandement, answered him, that they would serue him no longer, and there-withall aduised him not to marrie the Infanta Donna Izabella to the King of Portugall, without the consent of the three Estates of the Kingdome. The letter beeing read, diuers told the king that he should well consider the tenour thereof: for albeit the Confederates sayd, that they would no longer serue him, it was euident by the discourse thereof, that they did not intend to sequester themselves from the seruice of the Crowne, but onely from that of his owne person, and that they would for a certaine elect his brother Prince Don C Alphonso for their King. And moreover, they did aduise him not to trust ouer much to the Arch-bishop of Toledo; for they were sufficiently aduertised, that the Admirals intent and his was, so soone as they could get the castles and places, which they demaunded, in their owne power, to retire then with all their forces, to his enemies: but the King who was not suspicious, but by accident, and by nature credulous, did for all that giue the Arch-bishop whatsoever he demanded. And moreouer, they did aduise him, that A-reuallo should bee beseged, a citie belonging to the Confederates, who before they would loose that place, would perhaps come to any honest agreement: this being so let downe, the Arch-bishop was sent away to gather his forces together, with commande-ment, that he himselfe and the Admirall should with their troupes meete before Arcua-  
lo: in the meane space the Bishop of Calorra, and the Duke of Albuquerque remayned at Salamanca, to giue order for things necessarie for the sege: that beeing done, the King departed thence accompanied with the horse-men of his guard toward Medina del Campo, but before his coming forth of Salamanca, there arose so terrible a tempest of wind, as blew vp the whole rooffe in the great place there, bearing it more then a stones-cast from thence, the which was held prodigious by the Mathematicians and Astrologians of the same place.

Prodigious wind.

The King caused the Queene his wife, and the Infanta Donna Izabella, to come to Medina del campo, and Donna Ioane his supposed daughter was left in the castle of Segouia, vnder the keeping of *Perucho* of Musarras, Gouvernour and Captaine thereof. The King came from Medina del campo to the campe before Arcualo, and perceiuing that the Arch-bishop came not, he sent one of his Secretaries to bid him make hast. This Secretary called *Fernand Badajos*, found the Arch-bishoppe with his troupes going towards Auyla, where after he had deliuered his message, the Arch-bishop sayd vnto him, *Tell your King from me, that I am wearie both of him and his affaires, and that shortly the true King of Castile shall be knowne.* The Secretary hauing reported these speeches to the King, at the same instant newes came, that the Admirall Don *Fredericke*, had made himselfe Master of Vailladolid, where he had openly proclaimed Don *Alphonso* King: and that the Marquis of Villena, and all the Lords which were in the citie of Plaifance, there to make the Prince *Alphonso* King. Then this miserable and infortunate King *Henry*, being touched with the feeling of his offences, and acknowledging the iudgement of God, all sorrowfull and humbled with-drew himselfe apart, (as the Licenciare *Diego Henriques* who wrote his life and deedes doth report) kneeling vpon the ground, and lifting vp his hands to heauen, he prayed in this manner:

O Lord

The Arch-bishop of Toledo betrayseth the king his master

K. Henry distressed with humane helpe, hath recourse to God.

A O Lord God vnto whome belongeth the defence and protection of Kings, and by whome they raigne, I recommend my cause vnto thee, and commit my life into thy hands: I yeeld thee infinite thanks; for that it hath pleased thee to punish mee in this sort for mine offences, which are worthie of a sharper scourge, and I confesse that the same which I suffer is very small in respect of my delerts: May it please thee (O Lord) that these troubles may diminish the paines which are due to my soule in regard of my sins, and if it be thy will that I shall passe thorough these miseries and afflictions, I beseech thee from the bottome of my heart to giue me patience to endure them, and reason and vnderstanding to guide my selfe in them.

This prayer beeing ended, he commaunded to sound to horse-backe, and rode to Medina del campo, from whence hauing taken the Queene his wife, and the Infanta, hee came backe to Salamanca. At the same time the Arch-bishoppe was busied in taking of Auila, whether the confederates came, to wit, the Marquis of Villena, the Master of Alcantara, the Earles of Benauent, Paredes, Plaifance, and Medelin, with others. There in a playne field without the citie a great scaffold was set vp, vpon the which was placed an effigie or picture representing King *Henry* in a mourning habite, sitting in a regall throne, the Crowne vpon his head, the Scepter in his hand, and the sword laid before him. Into the same fields the Lords and Knights of the league came, bringing the Prince Don *Alphonso* with them: the Marquis, the Master of Alcantara, the Earle of Medelin, *Gonsalo* of Sahuedra, and the Secretarie *Aluare Gomes*, stood a great space from the scaffold: the rest went vp, and standing round about the statue, a certaine writing was read, by the which King *Henry* was degraded, and condemned to loose his royall dignitie; contayning foure chief points, according to which, and as each of them were reading, the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, did first take the Crowne from his head, as deferring to bee deprived from the dignitie of King: then the Earle of Plaifance rooke away the sword, when they read the Article, that he was no more worthy to administer iustice: afterward, the Earle of Benauent, euen as the Cryer pronounced, that he was vnfitte to gouerne the kingdome, took the scepter out of his hand: and finally, when they came to the chiefe point, which did deprive him of his royall throne, the statue was thrown down from his seate, with many vnworthie and outragious speeches, by *Diego Lopes* of Suniga, or Estuniga brother to the Earle of Plaifance. After that this ceremonie was ended, the other Lords drew neere with the Prince *Alphonso*, and mounting the scaffold, they tooke and lifted him vp on their shoulders, and began to cry, Castile, Castile for the king Don *Alphonso*: then the trumpets did sound, and they all were to kisse his hand, as their King.

King Henry shamefully degraded in effigie before Auila.

D. Alphonso the king: brother declared king of castile.

This was done in the moneth of Iune, in the yeare 1465. which when King *Henry* vnderstood, he tooke it very patiently, and rehearsed the verse of the Prophet *Esay*: *I haue nourished and brought vp children, and they haue despised me*: but although these trecherous and disloyall seruants, haue so wronged and scorned me by the statue which they haue degraded, and throwne away all respect and duty which they owe vnto me: yet they cannot keepe me, who am the true king from hauing strength and courage to chastise and disperse them: for I hope in our Lord Iesus Christ, which is the iust Iudge of Kings, that their wickednesse shall be destroyed, and my innocencie made knowne to the whole world. Then he wrote to the three Estates, citties, and communalities of Castile, concerning these disorders, and leauied men at armes from all parts, promising exemptions, liberties, priuiledges, and recompences to such as would serue him in that extremity; for he knew very well, that Toledo and Burgos had erected Don *Alphonso*'s banners, and that the Master of Calatrava, who was strong in Andalusia, had caused Seuille and Cordoua to rebell, and had drawne the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Earle of Arcos, and Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar, with many others, to their league: wherefore this poore vnfortunate King would oftentimes say: Naked I came out of my mothers wombe, and the earth must receiue me naked: no man can become so poore as he was born: and if God do now chastise me for my finnes, he will comfort and preserue me hereafter, for his infinite power killeth, and giueth life, hurteth and healeth, giueth kingdomes, and taketh them away, listeth vp kings, and throweth them downe againe euen as he pleaseth.

as patience of King Henry.

Xxx 3

Whilest

31  
Arragon.  
and  
Nauarre.

Whilest that Castile was thus troubled, the kingdome of Arragon was not at rest: A for King *John* hauing made a truce with the King of Castile, since the yeare 1464. being contented to liue at peace on that side, albeit he was deprived of that which was adiudged him by the sentence of the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, he did notwithstanding since continually presse the Cattelans, and other Rebels by force of armes, to the end to reduce them to their former duties and allegiance: This truce was sworne vnto by Commissioners on either side, namely, by *Gaston* the Earle of Foix, in the name of the king *John* his father-in-law, and by Donna *Leonora* his wife, heire to the Crowne of Nauarre, who to obtaine the right of succession (if we may beleue the Spanish Authors) was not affraid to cause Donna *Blanche*, the Queene of Castile, her eldest sister, to be poysoned, B who was kept for a time by her and her husband prisoner at the towne of Lescar in the Countrey of Earne, by the consent of King *John* her father, to the end to keepe this poore Princeesse from marrying any more.

A cruell appe-  
tise of rule in  
the Countesse  
of Foix

32  
Continuance of  
the warre of  
Cattlogne.

As concerning the warres of Cattlogne, the estates of that Country did not faint; although they were forsaken by the King of Castile, nor abated any sort of their hatred against their Prince, but reiecting him as a wicked murderer of his owne sonne, they chole (as hath bene already sayd) Don *Pedro* the third Constable of Portugall, sonne Don *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra, vnto whom for the same effect they sent Ambassadors to Ceuta, where he remayned with the King Don *Alphonso* of Portugall, warring vpon the Affricane Moores: whilest they attended his comming, (the Spaniards sent to their ayde by the king Don *Henry*, not being yet departed) the warre continued cruely in the countries of Cattlogne and Arragon with variable successe.

The Knights of the Order of Montesa taking the Kings part, did greatly trouble the towne and countrey of Tortosa, and tooke the cittie of Esmereta, which the Castillans had wonne in the last warres, who had given many ouerthrowes to those of Tarrassona and Borja, and others which were on K. *Johns* side. Those of Barcelona, being masters of the sea, and strong enough by land, did obtaine sundrie victories, and defeated the Prior of S. *Iohns*. Those of Lerida rebelling againe, constrained the king to besiege their towne, wherein commanded as chiefe *Pedro de Deza*, who dared to offer the king battell, where they fought so valiantly, that albeit the king obtained the victorie, yet hee lost more men then the beseege, who made diuers furious sallies vpon the Kings armie, leaving still behind them bloudie marks: but in the end being constrained by famine, they yeelded with condition, to haue their liues and goods saued, which the king graunted them, because he would not appeare ouer rigorous, and to the end that hee might bring others to do the like, by that example of clemencie. *John de Lazcano* a Knight born in Guipuscoa was left Gouvernour of Lerida; the army marching against Ceruera, to inuest which place Don *Alphonso* and Don *John* of Arragon the kings bastard sons were sent before. In the meane time, D. *Pedro* of Portugall being arriued, receiued, and crowned King at Barcelona, according to the vsuall ceremonies of Arragon, hee determined with the forces which he found in Cattlogne, those which he had brought from Portugall, and with certaine Castilian Knights who of their owne accord remayned in that countrey, to succour Ceruera: but being come to Igualada, and vnderstanding by his spies, that his forces were not sufficient to raise Kings *Johns* army from before that place, he returned to Barcelona with great difficultie. Afterward to diuert the Earle of Pratas, who did furiously batter the towne of Tarraga for King *John*, he brought his army into his countrey, where he tooke Pratas, and committed diuers spoyles there, which king *John* hauing notice of, he caused the Earle to depart from before Tarraga, and sent him more souldiers, conducted by his sonne Don *Fernand*, with commaundement to meete with Don *Pedro*, whose armie consisted of fixe thousand and fise hundred men at the most, being Cattelans, Portugueses, Nauarrois, Burgondians and others: with these forces he came forth of Pratas, and met with the enemy about Calaf. As both the armies were in sight, an infinite multitude of storks appeared flying in the ayre, which troubled the minds of all men on either side, reputing it as prodigious: The battayles being ioyned, D. *Pedro* was ouer-come, and saued himselfe by fauour of the night in Pratas, where he had left a sufficient Garrison.

Don Pedro of  
Portugal crown-  
ed king at  
Barcelona.

Don Pedro and  
the Cattelans  
defeated neere  
to Calaf.

To

A To this battaile of Calaf came Don *Henry* of Arragon, sonne to the Infant D. *Henry*, and Lady *Beatrice Pimentel* who was surnamed the fortunate Infant. D. *Pedro* who intitled himselfe King, left Pratas; and retired himselfe to Manresa, from whence he sent a captaine named *Bertrand* of Almendrades, to the succour of Ceruera, and he himselfe entred into the Prouince of Ampurdan, where he fortified his campe with new succours from the towne of Besalu; he battered and tooke Tibrana, and came to beseege Bisball, the which hauing beaten to no purpose, and spent many great shot, hee raised his leege, and came to Poblin: thither on euery side came King *Johns* people in such numbers, as D. *Pedro* was constrained to fight againe, where againe he was ouercome, and lost a thousand foot men, and two hundred and threescore horse.

D. Pedro and  
the Cattelans  
againe defea-  
ted before  
Poblin.

B As these exploits were performed in Cattalonia, the Earle *Gaston* de Foix who gouerned Nauarre, with his wife Donna *Leonora*, called the Princeesse of Viana, by the aduise of those of his counsell, resolved to enterprise something vpon Castile, in counterchange of the townes of La Garde, Arcos and Saint Vincent, which the Castillans had withheld since the last warre, against the sentence giuen by the French King. Hauing then with great diligence and secrecy assembled great forces, he forced easly and without losse of his people, the City of Calaoarra to yeeld, wherein he did a thing very pleasing and agreeable to the confederate Knights against King *Henry*, which were within Auila with Prince Don *Alphonso*, whose Ambassador remained in the Court of Nauarre.

Calaoarra taken  
by Gaston de  
Foix from the  
Spaniards.

C This being done, the Earle was aduised to send to the King of Castile, to giue him to vnderstand, that what he had done, was not to breake the peace betweene Castile and Nauarre, but onely in manner of reprisall, in steed of the aboue mentioned townes, which hee withheld, belonging to the Kingdome wherevnto he had right: and if it might please him to lend some one or other to him, to agree vpon some good composition, according to right and equity, he would then submit himselfe therevnto. King *Henry* sent forthwith thither the licenciati *Diego Henriques*, who spake proudly and audaciously to the Earle and the Princeesse his wife about the taking of Calaoarra: They were chiefly ruled by the counsell of *Nicholas*, of Echaurri Bishop of Pampelona, and by his aduise *Diego Henriques* was sent backe, and with him an other of the same coate, to intreate King *Henry* to redeliuer the three townes of La Garde, Arcos, and Saint Vincent and that Calaoarra should be forthwith restored backe: and besides, that the Earle and the Princeesse should aide him with forces from Nauarre against his owne rebels, and would in no sort fauor nor aide them. This Ambassage deliuered to the King of Castile, at Segobia, did much content him, and he sent backe the licenciati *Diego* with the Ambassador of Nauarre to accomplish these restitutions, so that for assurance of what the Earle and the Princeesse should promise, they should giue their children D. *John* and Donna *Mary* for hostages: The two Ambassadors being on their way, he of Castile staid at Logrogno, and he of Nauarre came to the Earle, vnto whom hee gaue account of his charge: and according to that which was set downe, the Earle and *Diego Henriques* met since in a certaine place, yet they agreed vpon nothing, the Earle of Foix being importuned to the contrary, by the league of Castile.

The Castilian Ambassador foreseeing that the Earle ment to beseege Alfaro, hee gaue order speedily, that a hundred horsemen, with store of victuals, should enter into the same towne: within a while after, the Earle being at Tudela, he sent for the Castilian Ambassador, to the end to treat againe with him about an agreement, and he caused the Bishop of Pampelona, and *Martin* de Peralta to deale with him; but there was lesse done at this meeting then before, for the Bishop vsed many inuiolous speeches against King *Henry*, so as all men were ashamed of him: but the Ambassador of Castile did carry himselfe so modestly, and did refute the Bishops words with such good reasons, as in the end he made him to acknowledge his fault, and to excuse himselfe. In conclusion, the end of their diputation, was, that the Earle would not send his children, and that if the King of Castile would not yeeld vp the towne, which hee held in Nauarre, he would then beseege Alfaro: with this resolution the Ambassador departed, and in foure daies space that he remained at Alfaro, he caused it to be fortified with rampiers and defenses,

as

as much as his short stay would giue him leaue : from thence he went into Soria, and lea- A  
 uied souldiers there, for the defence of the same place. Alfaro being beseegeed and furi-  
 ously battered by the Earle, did hold out, notwithstanding that it is situated betwene  
 Calaoorra and Tudela, wherein were great garrisons of French-men and Nauarrois, so  
 as within the space of twelue daies, the succors of Castile appeared, consisting of one  
 thousand three hundred horse, and five thousand footmen, conducted by *Alphonso* de  
 Arellan Lord de los Cameros : by reason whereof the Earle raised his seige; and  
 brought backe his people to Tudela : and soone after he receiued newes that the Inha-  
 bitants of Calaoorra had massacred the French Garrison there, and returned to the obe-  
 dience of their Prince King *Henry*. These disorders did greatly displease the Earle, the B  
 Constable Lord *Peter* of Peralta, and others, who laide the whole fault vpon the Bishop  
 of Pampelona who was the cause that the townes of La Garda, Saint Vincent and  
 Arcos, which of old times belonged to Nauarre, haue euer since remained in the power  
 of Castile.

King *John* after the victory, which his sonne had obtained at Poblin, receiued diuerse  
 Inhabitants of the Prouince of Ampurdan, which yeelded to him, some willingly, others  
 for feare. And desiring straightly to beseege Ceruera, a strong place by nature, hee  
 sent thither the troupes of *D. Alphonso*, and those which the Queene held before Valde-  
 cona, a towne seated within a mile of Tortosa : but *D. Alphonso*, before he marched to the C  
 campe, vnderstanding that the Inhabitants of Igualada were at dissention among them-  
 selues, some of them cleauing to the new King *D. Pedro*, the others to King *John* : hee  
 drew nere to it, and found meanes to take it whilst they were at variance: Having got-  
 ten in, he vsed them kindly that held with King *John*, the others hee seuerely punished:  
 then he went to Ceruera, which was so speedily battred and assailed, as in the end it yeel-  
 ded vpon composition to haue their liues and goods saued, and their priuiledges entire-  
 ly maintained: the which was graunted. The gouernment of that place was giuen to *John*  
 de Carraxona, then they went to Pratas, where the new King *D. Pedro* had left a garrison,  
 he himselfe being retired to Barcelona : Pratas was yeelded, and Rodona likewise vpon  
 conditions, and the army passed on to Tortosa, the Prince *D. Fernand* conducting the D  
 foremost troupes, who beganne to encampe before Amposta, hauing with great diffi-  
 culty passed the riuer Ebro, hich was greatly swelled and risen. The seige of Ampo-  
 sta was long and difficult, winter drawing neere, which proued that yeere so exceeding  
 cold, beyond the custome of the country, as it is reported that wolues came into the sol-  
 diars tents and cabanes as though they had beene tame: and great numbers of sundry  
 sorts of snakes were found in the fields, which did no hurt at all, which did greatly amaze  
 the souldiers who held those things for strang prognostications: so as King *John* was  
 constrained to comfort and animate his people with orations and friendly speeches,  
 wherein a Sicillian Gentleman named *Scipio Patello*, who was wife and eloquent, did him  
 good seruice. By the great labour of the souldiers, and extreame diligence of the  
 captaines, Amposta was taken by force, where the King executed some of the principall E  
 Inhabitants, and pardoned others, as namely the Gouernor who with diuers others had  
 taken the castle.

After this they beseegeed Tortosa which the King greatly desired, who sent thither *D.*  
*Alphonso* his son, to shut in the Inhabitants, and to prepare things in readinesse to bat-  
 ter it. The townes-men perceiuing it was in good earnest, sent forty of their Citizens  
 to the King, to perswade him to desist from that enterprize, and to assure him that Tor-  
 tosa would not rebel against him, if the other townes of Catalonia would compound  
 and yeeld: therefore they entreated him to go to some other place, and to leaue them in  
 peace; other-wise, he should thinke, that if the taking of Amposta cost him so deere, that  
 Tortosa, which was much stronger, and greater, would stand him in no lesse. The King  
 knowing that the Tortosans were none of the valiantest, answered them, that if they did  
 not submit themselves to his obedience, he would seuerely punish them: which they re-  
 fusing, the warre beganne to be very sharpe in euery place about the City, with the day-  
 ly losse of many on either side: the towne was battered with great fury on all parts,  
 and the beseegeed made diuerse braue sallies vpon the enemies. *D. Pedro* who named  
 himselfe

The B. ship of  
 Pampelona  
 causeth the  
 townes of La  
 Garda, Saint  
 Vincent and  
 Arcos, to re-  
 maine under  
 the power of  
 Castile.

Igualada sur-  
 prised by  
 meanes of the  
 discord of the  
 Inhabitants.

A cold winter.

Snakes among  
 the army in  
 the dead of  
 winter.

Amposta taken  
 by King John.

A himselfe King, did desire to succour Tortosa; but being with his forces on the way, he  
 died by poison (as it is reported) in the City of Granol, five miles distant from Barcelo-  
 na. King *John* being aduertized of the death of his enemy, did not dissemble the ioy  
 that he felt, nor the Barcelonoiis their griefe and sorrow: but those of Tortosa were e-  
 specially greued for the hope of succor which they expected from him: so as being out  
 of hope of helpe, and extremely beaten euery day, they yeelded vpon reasonable  
 termes.

These things were done in Catalonia, at the same time that the Prince *Alphonso* was  
 proclaimed King of Castile at Auila, and King *Henry* degraded by the confederate  
 Lords, vnto whose seruice and readuancement, from sundry parts of the Realme diuers  
 Noble men resorted: but Don *Garcia Aluarez* de Toledo Earle of Alua de Tormes was  
 he that shewed the greatest loue and affection towards him; for he brought to his aide  
 one thousand footmen, three hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horse or  
 genets: he dwelt nere to Salamanca. The King sent the Earle of Alua and his troupes to  
 Zamora with *John Bernand* Galindo, who had command of the residew of the army:  
 he himselfe with the Queene, and the Infanta *Isabella*, went to Ledesma; where he was  
 sumptuously entertained and feasted by the Duke of Albuquerque for the space of eight  
 daies: from whence hauing assembled three hundred men at armes and two hundred  
 genets, they accompanied the King to Zamora. The Queene and the Infanta *Isbell*  
 went into Portugall to request aide of the King, whereof there was great need, but their  
 labour was in vaine. At Zamora daily arriued great numbers of souldiers for the Kings  
 seruice. The Earle of Translamara brought thither two hundred men at armes, and  
 two hundred genets, the Earle of Valencia, a hundred men at armes, and two hundred  
 genets, others brought more or lesse according to their habilities. The King sent three  
 hundred Launces to Segobia, to accompany the Lady *Joane* his supposed daughter to  
 Zamora, where with great pompe hee entred the City vnder a canopy and in a King-  
 ly habit.

In the meane time the Maister of Calatraua, stirred vp all Andalusia for the contrary  
 part, and drew some by perswasions, guifts and promises, & others by threatnings, force  
 D and violence. Hauing done his best (but in vaine) to enduce *D. John* de Valençuela to  
 ioyne himselfe with the confederate Lords, he tooke him prisoner and would not re-  
 lease him, till he had snatched diuers fortresses from him, with the which not being satis-  
 fied, he tooke from him all the places belonging to the priory of Saint John, and gave  
 them to *D. Aluaro* de Estuniga third sonne to the Earle of Playfance; He dispossessed  
 also the Bishop of Iacn, the Kings faithful seruant, from all that he held, notwithstanding  
 that he vsed his goods and houses, boldly and familiarly as his guest. The Constable  
 of Castile *D. Michael Lucas* de Irançu, *D. Pedro* de Cordoua Earle of Cabra and his  
 children, the Marshall of Castile *D. Diego*; the Commandor de Estepa *D. Martin*, and  
*Martin Alphonso* Lord of Alcaudete, did oppose themselves against the Maister of Ca-  
 latraua. The intent of the confederate Lords was to goe and beseege Simancas, and  
 being gone from Valiodolit for the same purpose with great store of men and munition,  
 by the way they tooke Pegnaseur: where whilst they were busied, the King caused *John*  
*Fernandes Galindo* to enter into Simancas with three hundred horse: and not long af-  
 ter the towne beeing inuested by the enemy, it was a hard matter to say, whether the be-  
 seegers or the beseegeed were in most feare.

In the meane space whilst they lay before that towne, the knauish boies and lackies  
 which were within the same did gather themselves together vpon a day, and in derision  
 of the league, they made an image representing the Archbishop of Toledo, which they  
 named the new *D. Opas* the Apostata, in the daies of Count *Julian*, who brought the  
 F Moores into Spaine against King *Rodericke*: then they made one amongst them a  
 Iudge, who sitting in a seate, commanded the image should bee imprisoned: and after-  
 ward he pronounced sentence, which was, that *Alphonso Carillo* Archbishop of To-  
 ledo, following the steps of the old Bishop *Opas*, the ruine of Spaine, for that he had be-  
 traied the King his naturall Lord, rebelling against him, and detayning his money,  
 townes and fortresses which he had committed to him, was condemned to be drawne vp  
 and

*D. Pedro* of  
 Portugall soy-  
 soued.

Tortosa yeeld-  
 ed to King  
 John.

33  
 Castile.

*D. Pedro* Gy-  
 ran, Maister  
 of Calatraua,  
 stirrs in Ande-  
 luxia against  
 the King.

The Archbis-  
 hop of Toledo  
 chiefe of the  
 rebels derided.

and downe the streets, and publike places of Simancas, a trumpet going before, who A should proclaime, that the King did command this iustice to bee done to the traitor *O. pas*, as a recompence due for his treacheries and treasons, and that then it should bee burned. This sentence being pronounced aloud, the image was carried forth of the towne, accompanied with more then three hundred boies and lacquies, and burned nere to the confederats army and in their sight. The Lords of the league perceiuing that they could not take Simancas, did raise their seege and brought their forces backe to Valiolidit.

The Kings army which was assembled at Toro did daily encrease, to the which they ioyned the Earle of Medina Celi, with five hundred Launces, the Marquis of Santillana B with seuen hundred, *D. Pedro de Mendoza*, Lord of Almazan, with two hundred, and a great number of footmen; diuers others also came thither, so that there were reckoned to be foure score thousand footmen and foureteene thousand horse, as well men at armes as light horse; who were all of them very desirous to fight and to doe the King good seruice, who by the aduice of the Lords and capitaines of his army, caused the campe to dislodge, and to aduance towards the enemies, the Earle of Alua de Tormes leading the vanguard, and the battaille was conducted by *D. Pedro Gonçales de Mendoza* Bishop of Calorra.

The army marching neere to Tordeillas, a capitaine of the Vanguard, named *Garrí Mendes* of Badajos, disbanding with about two hundred horse, met neere to C Valiolidit with *John Carillo*, a Knight of the Admiralls, leading a band of fifty horse, whom he fought with, vanquished, and tooke, *John Carillo* prisoner, being grievously hurt, who was brought into a Chappel thereby, where hee entreated to speake with the King before he died, for he felt himselfe wounded to the death. The King at the intreaty of his friends came to visit the prisoner, whose end drew neere: he craued pardon of the King for beating armes against him, and told him that he was come from Valiolidit the same day, by the commandement of those that had power ouer him, to finde meanes to kill him; and he did moreouer reuale to the King sundry other vilde practises; the King said, that he pardoned him with all his heart, and prayed God to pardon him likewise, and he enquired further of him, who those were which fought his life, and which did D set him a worke; he entreated the King to send away them that stood by, and then in great secrecy he told their names, which could neuer after be knowne, for the King neuer told it to any man living: the next day after *John Carillo* died of his hurts. The King being at Simancas, his great and mighty army stretched it selfe euento the gates of Valiolidit, where the confederats did remaine; neuertheless the affaires were drawne out at length, without any matter of note. Thither came the Queene Donna *Ioane*, with the Infant Donna *Isabella*, who were returned from Portugall, where they had obtained nothing at all for the good of Castile: for notwithstanding that they had endeauored for to renew the treatie of marriage mentioned at the interview of the Kings at the Archbishops bridge, neuertheless the King Don *Alphonso* did abhorre E to marry his sonne to Donna *Ioane*, whose was begotten in adultery, of the Queene of Castile his cosin, by the Duke of Albuquerque Don *Bertrand* de la Cueva.

These things standing at a stay, the King and the Marquis of Villena did see one an other, and by the aduice of Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of Santillana, and of Don *Alvaro* of Estuniga, chiefe Iustice of Castile, called and chosen on both parts, it was concluded, that every man should lay by his armes and returne to his owne house: and that during the truce, which should continue for the space of some five monethes following, they should treat of a peace, and of the meanes how to giue content to all men; but chiefly, to cause the Prince Don *Alphonso* to renounce his royalty. This was proclaimed; through the campe, neere to Montejo F in the territory of Arevalo, signed and sealed by the King, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, and vnderneath by the secretrary *Garcia* de Arcarefo de Montdragon.

The King had small reason to yeeld to these things, hauing an army of a hundred thousand fighting men; whereas his enemies were very weake in respect of him, and vnprovided

The King  
hauing not  
time to profit  
himselfe by his  
great forces.

A vnprovided of money, victuals, munition and other things necessary for such an enterprise, but God would haue it so. The King being come backe to Simancas, dismissed his souldiars with liberall payment; then at Medina del Campo, whether hee came soone after, he recompenced the Lords after this manner: He gaue to *D. Pedro Gonçales de Mendoza* Bishop of Calorra the thirds of Guadalajara with the reuenue thereof: to his brother *D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of Santillana, he gaue the towne of Saint Andrew, ioyning to the lands of his Marquisat, with a yeerely pension of seuen hundred thousand Marauedis: to the other brother *D. Inigo de Mendoza*, and to Don Lorenzo de Suarez Vicont of Torreja, and to *D. John Hurtado de Mendoza*, pensions according to their degrees, to *D. Lewis de la Cerde* Earle of Medina Celi, the City of A B greda with the territory: to *D. Garcia Aluarez de Toledo* Earle of Alua, Carpia, with sundry places nere to Salamanca: to *D. Aluar Peres Osorio* Lord of Villalobos and Earle of Translamara, the City of Astorga with the title of Marquis, to *D. John de Acuña* Earle of Valencia, the Earldome of Pravia and Gijon, with the title of Duke of Valencia: to *D. Pedro de Mendoza*, Lord of Almazan, a yeerely pension of 300000. Marauedis, assigned him, on the hill of Mountagu: to *D. Alvaro de Mendoza*, capitaine of his men at armes, the City of Requenna, with the reuenue and profit of the port and hauen thereof. Other gifts and recompences did the King make to his Knights, the which, or at least the most part of them, haue euer since remained in their families.

Recompences  
made by the  
King to the  
Lords that  
followed him.

The end of the twentieth Booke.

THE



# THE ONE AND TWENTYTH Booke of the Generall History of Spaine.

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THE





The one and twentieth Booke of the History  
of Spaine.



Notwithstanding the agreement made at Montejo, the Kingdome of Castile was neuer the more at quiet: for the Infant Don *Alphonso* called himselfe King neuerthelesse; and in his writings and letters patentes (diuers of which are to be seene in Spaine at this day, as namely at Valiodolit and Arcualo) he named himself King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Siuil, Cordoua, Murcia, Iacn, Algarua, Algezire, and Gibraltar, and Lord of Biscay and Molina: neither did the confederate Lords lay downe their armes, according as they had sworne and promised: perceiuing very well that all King *Henries* great forces and meanes would come to nothing through his negligence and carelesnesse: by meanes whereof the Realme of Spaine grew infamous through the robberies and oppressions which the souldiars did dayly commit in euery place without any punishment at all.

**I** It happened on a day as the confederates went out of Valiodolit to Alfaro, they were no sooner out of the towne but the Inhabitants shut their gates against them, putting themselves againe vnder King *Henries* obedience, and did driue all those out of their city which had any correspondence with the league. The King being aduertized thereof, came sodainly thither, where hee was received with great ioy. In recompence of the losse of Valiodolit, the confederates made an enterprife vpon Simancas, thinking to haue taken it by scalado, but they themselves were taken, and diuers of them sent backe to Valiodolit, where they were cut in quarters. The King did for all this hearken to the agreement which had bin resolved among them, and did bend his care to whatsoeuer was propounded by the Marquis, whose onely drift was to take him, if hee could haue but drawne him into any place fit for the purpose: but the King hearing thereof, stood still vpon his guard, and when at any time there was any occasion of meeting to conferre, he alwaies sent the Bishop of Calaoorra and *Iohn Fernandes Galindo* vnto them. They concluded vpon nothing, so that many Lords which followed the Court, tooke their leaues, and returned to their owne houses. There remained continually with the King the Bishop of Calaoorra the Marquis of Santillana and his bretheren; the Earles of Haro, Valence, and Cabra, the new Marquis of Astorga, the Constable *D. Michael Lucas de Irançu*, and the Duke of Albuquerque.

**2** The King hauing left a good garrison in Valiodolit, returned to Segobia: at the same time the affaires of the confederates, were in bad termes, and if the King or they which were neere about him had truly vnderstood themselves, he might very easily haue dissolved that league, for the Marquis through want of meanes, was very badly: and vnwillingly followed by those which were about him.

The Prince Don *Alphonso* distrusting the end of their enterprises, would willingly haue made an atonement with the King his brother: but they held him very short, and threatned him, that if hee made but the least shew to bend that way, to present him with a cuppe of poison: therevpon by meanes of the Archbishop of Siuil, a very vnseemely agreement was made, to the which neuerthelesse the King gaue care willingly: which was, to marry the Infanta Donna *Isabella* his sister to Don *Pedro Giron* Maister of Calatraua vpon condition that hee should promise to cause Prince *Alphonso* to giue ouer the title of King, and to furnish a certaine summe of money with

*1* Most of Valiodolit free themselves from the confederates submission, and submit to the King.

*2* The Prince Don *Alphonso* chosen King, in miserable expectation in the keeping of the confederates.

An other agreement was vnwillingly made.

**A** with three thousand launces for the Kings seruice: besides this, it was concluded that the Bishop of Calaoorra and the Duke of Albuquerque should leaue the Court, who forthwith without any contradiction did so. The Infanta Donna *Isabella* was wonderfully afflicted with griefe when she vnderstood these newes, considering the inequality of the marriage, and the indignity offered her by the King her brother, and like a noble and courageous Princeesse, she determined rather to kill her selfe then euer to yeeld vnto it: but first of all, shee thought it fit to trie all possible meanes how to ridde this new husband of his life: shee had a very trusty Gentlewoman named *Beatrice* of Boadilla, who offered with the help of her husband *Andrew* de Cabrera, to kill the Maister vpon the wedding night, as soone as hee should offer to lye downe by the Princeesse: this Lady was by the Infanta at her coming to the crowne of Castile created Marquesse of Moya.

**B** These things being thus plotted; it happened that as the Maister *D. Pedro Giron* was on his way to the Court to solemnize his marriage, bringing with him great numbers of horsemen, he was taken with a greivous sicknesse, whereof hee died at Villa-rubia, hauing held the Mastership of Calatraua one and twenty yeeres: whether this happened accidentally, or otherwaies, it remains doubtfull; but his death was very displeasing to the King, who thought by meanes of this marriage to giue an end to all the miseries and troubles of his Kingdome, and to re-enter into his former authority and quiet. In his place, his sonne Don *Roderigo Tellez Giron* was chosen Maister of Calatraua, by vertue of a grant which he obtained from Rome, who was the last Maister of that order sauing one: a brother of his called Don *Alphonso Tellez Giron* succeeded in the Lordship and Earledome of Vruena, both of them remaying vnder the government and protection of their vncke *D. Iohn de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena. These things happened in the year 1466. at which time there were seene in Castile such huge numbers of Storms, as they did darken and hinder the light of the Sunne, the which did greatly affright the people, who did interpret it for a signe of misery and mishap to the kingdome.

**C** In these times liued *D. Roderigo Sanches* of Arcualo, who was very familiar with Pope *Paul* the second, and by him made capitaine of the castle of Saint Angelo, where he wrote an History of Spaine, which at this day is common with euery man, and is called the Palentine History, because a Bishop of Palença was author thereof, and it was dedicated to this King *Henry*. The city of Victoria, for that it had, during all the troubles, remained faithfull to the King, did obtaine this yeere a free market, once euery weeke vpon the Thursday, whose priuiledge was despatched by the Secretary *Pedro Arias*: it is one of the most frequented markets in the whole country.

**D** After the Maister of Calatraua's death: the troubles were a little calmed, by reason that no man was resolved what to doe: the Earle of Benauent acknowledging the offence which hee had committed against the King, did secretly withdraw himselfe from the league, and returned to his seruice: the King to recompence him, gaue him the towne of Portillo, which hee had taken a little before his reconciliation. About the same time, the Prince Don *Alphonso*, who was termed King, accompanied with the Archbishop of Toledo, and many other Knights, came to Portillo, where being received, hee was lodged in the castle, and the others in the towne: on the morrow as the Archbishop and the other Lords came to waite vpon the Prince at his rising, they found the gates shut against them, and they were willed to get them thence, for that Don *Alphonso* did no longer regard their company, whereat the Archbishop was greatly troubled, and from that time did conceiue an extreame hatred against the Earle, who had put that trick vpon him, the better thereby to insinuate himselfe into the Kings fauour: yet for all that the Marquis of Villena, who was very wise and subtil, and did desire for to maintaine the league vnited, vsed diuerse meanes to reconcile them, and to applie a plaister to that wound, which in some sort did heale outwardly.

**E** The Earle in recompence of the good seruice which hee had done to the King, demanded of him the Maistership of Saint Iames, at that time vacant, the which was granted to him: but perswading himselfe to make vse of the Marquis of Villena's fauour,

Y y 2

who

Magnanimity of the Infanta D. Isabella.

Death of Don Pedro Giron Maister of Calatraua.

An. 1466. A Prodigie.

who was his father in law, whom he made beleue that he was still of his side, he inwardly found the contrary.

The continuall robberies and outrages committed ouer all Spaine by these Lords and their followers, not onely suffred in the country, but euen in townes and houses, by reason the warres did constraîne the Inhabitants of the townes and cities to make societies, and fellowships, to oppose themselves against these tyrants and robbers; and the better to bring it to passe, they drew certaine chiefe points and Articles, and chose places to meet at, at daies appointed, the King backing and assisting them therein, notwithstanding that sundry of his followers, as well as of the league, did goe about to hinder so profitable an enterprise, whereby the Realme was defended from many euils; it being Gods pleasure that the King should persist in his determination to maintain his communalities, and to doe Iustice, which beganne to be sincerely administred. The conclusions of these societies were assembled, where that of Guipuscoa, most of all shaken by the factions of the Gamboins and Ognazins, did receiue the greatest benefite. They did establish captaines and gouernors ouer each of them: these are the Hermandades or brotherhoods (as they call them) who in some sort may be likened to the Prouincial prouost Marshalls in sundry places of France; but that they execute their duties with greater care.

During the assembly at Tordeillas, the King remained at Coca, a towne belonging to the Archbishop of Siuill, conferring with the confederates vnder the Bishops safe-conduct: but there was nothing of worth concluded on; so as the King returned to Segobia, and the league to Arcualo. An other assembly, at the request of diuers, was assigned at Madrid, the same towne being for sixe monthes giuen to the Archbishop of Siuill, to the end that euery man might come thither in safety and without suspicion: The King Henry, the Marquis of Villena, and the chiefe Lords of either faction did meet: the Prince D. Alphonso remained in the meane time at Ocagna, whether the Archbishop of Toledo (who was reconciled to him) had brought him: This other conference was as fruitlesse as the former. The Lady Leonora Pimentell Countesse of Playfancia came to Madrid, being called thither by both sides to mediate the peace: this Lady was held to be greatly affected to King Henrys seruice. The Lords being busied about these affaires, the Marquis being desirous to entertaine the troubles and to excheat discord from discord, went about to corrupt Pedro Arias de Auila the Kings good seruant: finding him firme and constant, he handled the matter so, as the Archbishop of Siuill, by slanderous and false reports, did excite the credulous King in such sort against him, as he committed him to prison being sore hurt, and caused him to bee shut vp in the base court of the castle of Madrid. And not contented therewith, the King went expressly to Segobia, thinking there to surpris the Bishop of the same City, called Don Iohn de Arias, brother to Don Pedro, but the Bishop hauing notice of what was done to his brother, retired himselfe thence: wherefore the King seeing that he was escaped, dissembled his intent; neuertheless all honest people were greatly offended to see the King without discretion to oppress his faithfull seruants, and not dare to lay hand vpon rebels.

The Deputies of the townes, and the captaines of the communalities made meanes for Don Pedro's deliuerance, which the King granted, all men being pleased therewith, except the confederates, who neuer left practicing with the King till they drew him to condescend to goe along with them to Playfance, there to conferre with more ease and better commoditie: which being allowed of by diuers of his counsell, hee would needs depart thence with the Queene his wife, the Infanta Donna Isabell, and Donna Iohane his supposed daughter, vpon the safe-conduct of the Earle of Playfance. This resolution being vnderstood by others of the Kings faithfull seruants, which were not made acquainted therewith, they assembled in the Church of Saint Gines, where it was resolved, that seeing that the King would needs goe on to his destruction, the lower Colonells or Captaines of the communalities, with foure other of his owne seruants should bee sent vnto him, to aduertize him of the daunger of such a conference, at the place

Hermandades, or brotherhoods in Castile, union of the Prouinces and communalities holding together for the administration of iustice.

Assembly at Madrid.

King Henry oppressed his trusty seruants, and dares not touch the rebels.

Tumult at Madrid.

A place whether he ment to goe and if he would persist in his determination, then to protest, that they would hinder his journey by armes. The King tooke this message in good part, and feigning to consent thereto, debated againe with those which did allow of that journey: wherefore holding his purpose, there arose such a tumult in the City as the Archbishop of Siuill and the Countesse of Playfance, fearing that the people would fall vpon them, in all hast ranne out of the towne, and waited for the King on the other side of the riuer, right ouer against the castle, accompanied with three hundred horse: the King being ready to come forth, the mutiny did so increase, as the people and those of the Court who were discontented with that journey, running to arme themselves, went out of the towne, crying out, kill those traitors that lead away the King, whom they compassed about and withheld by force. The Archbishop and the Countesse being in great feare, fled to Illesca, where the Infant Don Alphonso lay, with whom they passed ouer the mountaine, and retired to Arcualo. King Henry being brought backe to his lodging, received a garde to prevent the praizes of the confederates. The Court soone after remoued to Segobia, whether Pedro of Montibero was sent, by the league, hauing in charge to trie if hee could draw Pedro Arias de Auila to their party, but he lost his labour: and where force could not preuaile, treasons and deceits were set on foote of all sides, for Pedro de Silva captaine of Olmedo deliuered vp that place to the confederates, who presently lodged therein: by reason whereof the King sent to will the Marquis of Santillana to lie with five hundred horse at Saint Christofers, a Bourrough halfe a mile distant from Segobia. The King at the request of the Marquis, committed Donna Iohane, whom he maintained for his daughter, to the keeping of D. Inigo Lopez de Mendoza Earle of Tendilla his brother, who vnder good garde, placed her in the castle of Buytrago: the Marquis of Santillana, the Earle of Tendilla and the Bishop of Calaoarra brethren, were at that time of the counsell of State and did rule the Kingdome.

Those of Medina del Campo, being continually vexed by the garrisons of the confederats which held La Morte; demaunded aide; wherefore the King in their behalfe drew neere to Cuellar. Thither came secretly D. Pedro de Velasco, eldest sonne to the Earle of Haro, by the commandement (as hee said) of his father, who craued pardon of the King for offending him, protesting euer afterwards to become his faithfull seruant, and to bring seuen hundred horse to his seruice, three hundred of which should bee gennets; and a certaine number of footmen for the succour of Medina. The King, who of his owne nature was but to milde, and at that time had need of men, did freely pardon him, and sent him backe for those men which hee offered. Other Noblemen were also sent for by the King, namely the Earle of Alua who made no great hast.

Don Pedro de Velasco being returned with the seauen hundred horse, all the forces came to Cuellar. It is reported, that Don Pedro vsed these speeches to the King, *Sir, the Earle my father hath commanded mee to present this writing vnto you (it was a gift for the tennts at sea) beseeching you to signe and grant it, and to receaue from him this ayde of horse and foote: and if you shall refuse him this grant, hee hath put it to my choyce to doe as I shall thinke good.* The King did very easily yeeld to his request, considering what great need hee had of his seruice. By this time the Kings Armie was very stronge, and diuers of the great Lords of the Kings Counsell, being tired with such toyles which were to no purpose, and would neuer bee ended, vnlesse some violent proceedings might be vied, were of opinion to seeke meanes to come to blowes, and therefore they drew neere to Olmedo, prouoking the confederates (who had there assembled their forces) to battaile: the which was resolved and determined, albeit the King withstood it.

As the army marched to Olmedo, there arriued in the Kings campe a King at armes, sent by the Archbishop of Siuill to D. Bertrand de la Cueva Duke of Albuquerque, to giue him to vnderstand that there were forty Knights of the confederates of Prince Alphonso's traine, that had vowed vpon the daie of battaile to seeke him out in the middelt of the ranks, and to kill him: wherefore hee wished him to fight that day in disguised armor.

The king will be led by force and kept from the annoyances of his reuels wherinto hee beading ran.

The house of Mendoza at this time, gouerned the kingdome of Castile.

This valiant and generous Knight, whom King Henry with better reason might have made a sharer in his Scepter then in his bed; answered the Herauld, that he did highly thanke the Archbishop for the good will which hee seemed to beare him, but yet neuertheless he would not disguise himselfe: then he lead him vnto his lodging and shewed him the armour and coate of armes which he ment to weare on the day of battaile, saying that he esteemed his honour before any daunger, and therefore he intreated him to view and make dilligently the fashion of his armes, and the blason and deuices about them, to the end hee might make the better and more certaine report thereof to the forty Knights, who by that meanes should be sure to know him in the battaile: then giuing him a garment of silke with a good handfull of duckats, he dismissed and sent him backe, who did not faile to relate what he had seene, or heard the Duke say: Beside this, as King Henrys army drew neere within two small leagues of Olmedo, D. Garcia of Padilla being come forth of the towne, with fifty light horse to discouer their forces, the Duke sent to speake with a certaine Knight of that troupe who was borne in Vbeda, who with his capitaines leaue came and talked with him.

The Duke of Albuquerque desirous to come to battaile.

The Knight being come into the Dukes presence, was by him questioned what the confederate Lords in Olmedo ment to doe, and whether that to his knowledge they would come to fields to offer battaile: he answered him, that he did not onely beleue it, but that he did assuredly know, that if they came nere the city, they would then present them battaile: the Duke againe asked the same question, and was againe by him answered in the same manner: and if they doe so quoth the Duke, I will giue you ten thousand Marauedies of yeerely rent. The Knight accepted the offer, and gaue him great thanks, and was staied there, vntill the Kings whole army arriued, to the end that he might see it: Now the Duke had notice, that halfe the confederates forces were not ioyned, and therefore he was the more curious to vnderstand their resolution: but soon after there came vnto them the Admiralls troupes, with those of the Archbishop of Siuill, of the Earle of Playfance, and his daughter the Countesse of Belalcazar, they themselves remaining at home in their owne houses, whilest these things were a doing, the Marquis of Villena, who was a great vndertaker and very polittike in all his enterprises, hauing drawne the prior of Vdes and the thirteene Electors of the order of Saint Iames to Olmedo, he caused himselfe to be chosen Maister of the same order, in canonicall manner, without the counsell aduise or consent of King Henry, Prince Alphonso, nor the Sea of Rome, and without any approbation of the Estates of the Kingdome, and intituled himselfe Maister of Saint Iames, to the great admiration of the Earle of Benaunt, who laied claime therevnto by reason of the Kings promise: yet in processe of time the Marquis Don Iohn de Pacheco was confirmed therein by the Pope.

The Marquis of Villena D. Joaõ de Pacheco causeth himselfe to bee chosen Maister of Saint Iames.

The confederate Knights who were within Olmedo, with the Infant Don Alphonso, being assured that the Kings army came vnder the wallles of Olmedo with intent to giue them battaile, if occasion were offered, came forth to fields to make resistance, and then diuers messages and negotiations for peace were sent from side to side, but to no purpose.

The battaile of Olmedo.

Amongst those which endeauored to pacifie matters and to keepe them from fighting was Don Pedro of Peralta, Constable of Nauarre, whose daughter was married to Truyas Carrillo of Acugna sonne to the Archbishop of Toledo: all treaties ceasing, the two armies made themselves ready to fight, being deuided (as the manner then was) into sundry squadrons, the one following the other, the King was not there in person, but the Infant Alphonso appeared armed at all points, mounted vpon a strong braue courser, riding from troupe to troupe encouraging his army. The Archbishop of Toledo did weare vpon his armor a white stole, powdered with red crosses, leading a squadron of three hundred and threescore horse, where Alphonso standard stood, and that day hee approoued himselfe a better souldiar and man at armes then an Ecclesiasticall pastor, for he was hurt in the left arme, and yet for all that hee would not giue ouer fighting so long as he could sit on horse-backe, the battaile being cruell and furious for the space of three houres, inclining to neither side.

On the other side the Duke of Albuquerque behaued himselfe verie valiantlie; but

A but if he had not beene rescued in time by his father-in-law the Marquis of Santillana, he had remayned a spoyle to the Knights which had conspired his death, who did furiously pursue him: but he freed himselfe very nobly, and slue with his owne hand D. Fernand of Fonseca, who dyed within foure dayes after.

Those which write of this battell fought in the yeare 1467. two and twenty yeares and three moneths after another fought in the same place, do not certainly affirme whose side got the victorie: for they of the Kings part tooke Don Alphonso standard, with Don Diego de Mela that carried it, who was sore hurt: the Standards of the Earle of Plaisance, and his daughter the Countesse of Belalcazar, those of the Arch-bishop of Seuil, and Don Garcia of Padilla, who conducted the troupes of the Marquis of Villena, Master of Saint Iames then absent, fell likewise into the Kings power, diuers Knights of these bands were slayne, and about threescore and tenne taken, among whome was the Earle of Luna, and likewise Don Henry Henriques, third sonne to the Admirall Don Frederick. The Confederates also tooke King Henrys banner, although it was not displayed, but found wrapt vp among the baggage, a great part whereof they brought to Olmedo, and besides that, they tooke seauen other standards, they slue two hundred and eight horse-men, and tooke more than foure hundred prisoners, and yet for all that, the one side as well as the other, published the victorie for his owne, and bone-fires were made in token of ioy, as well at Medina del campo, as at Olmedo. All men affirme that they fought there in great disorder, and in manifest contempt of all martiall discipline: the footmen on either side were rascally people, who thought vpon nothing but pillage, or flight.

1467.  
An vncertaine victorie.

The King who was absent from the Battell, hauing gathered his people together, made the same night a triumphant entrie into Medina del campo, giuing rest to his souldiers who had need thereof, the guard of the towne being committed to the inhabitants, against those which held la More. The Ensignes and Standards which were won, were carryed by the counsell of the Bishoppe of Calaoarra, against the Kings will, into the Church of Saint Andrew and there left.

The victorie published and beleueed generally to bee on the Kings side, drew diuers Lords to his seruices: neuertheless others did ioyne themselves with the Confederates, in the number of whome was the Earle of Alua, whome the King had a long time expected in vaine, hoping to meet him at that encounter, who receiued of the Arch-bishop and the Marquis the townes of the Arch-bishops bridge, and Montalban, for the which he was greatly blamed. The Master of S. Iames, who was absent from the battell, being come from Ocagna to Olmedo, was greatly discontented that they had fought, and did greatly complaine of them that had giuen consent thereunto.

Certaine dayes after, Antonio de Veneris Bishop of Leon arriued at Medina del campo, sent as Legat from the Pope and the Consistorie of Rome, with ample authoritie, but no way limited, especially to treat about the pacifying of the warres of Castile: King Henry receiued him very honorably, and with great modestie and reuerence to the Sea of Rome from whence he was sent, he did answer his Legacie, telling him neuertheless that he doubted his iourney would proue fruitlesse, because of the rebels obstinacie. First of all the Legate enioyned both sides vpon paine of excommunication, to lay by their armes for one whole yeare, to the end they might the better treat of peace: but the Confederates thinking that these State-matters and temporal differences were no game for the Pope, made no account of Ecclesiasticall censures in that point. It was thought fit that the Legate should conferre with the confederate Lords betwixt Medina and Olmedo. The appointed day being come, the Legate came to the place, where with great insolencie, he was compassed about with about three hundred horse of the league, which did greatly amaze him, for he was none of the stoutest Prelats. Presently after, Don Iohn de Pacheco, Master of Saint Iames, the Earle of Luna, the Bishop of Coria, with other Lords of the same faction came in place, vnto whome the Legate shewed his faculties and authoritie, to do in Spaine what he thought good: Whereupon the Master of Saint Iames made him this answer, that those which had informed the Pope, that hee had any power or authority to dispose of the estate of the Kingdomes of Spaine or Leon, had deceived

5  
The Pope sends a Legate to treat of peace.

The confederate Lords, contemne the censures.

The Master of S. Iames contradicts the Popes authoritie over the temporal States

deceyued him: for that did belong onely to him, and to the other great Lords of the same countrie.

appeale from  
the Pope to the  
next generall  
council.

Infolenzie as  
gainst the Le-  
gate.

At this meeting, nor yet at another which was made nere to Montejo de la Veja, was there any thing concluded on: Wherefore hee beganne to proceed against the Confe- derates by Ecclesiasticall censures; but the Lords of the League did appeale to the first generall Councell, the Licentiate *John d'Alcoer*, and the Doctor *Alphonso* of Madrigal throwing in their appeales. The Legate perceyuing his labour to bee lost, would haue gone backe to Medina, but diuers of the Rebels followed after him, crying out, *Wee ap- peale, we appeale*, and with great outrages brought him backe to Olmedo: the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, and the Master of Saint Iames seeming to bee discontented there- with, tooke vpon them to defend him: Whilest the Legate was thus handled, the Con- federates practised how to draw to their side *Pedro Arias* of Auila, and the Bishop Don *John* of Segobia his brother, who beeing already offended with the wrong, which the King had offered them, (whereof wee haue spoken heretofore) were easily perswaded thereunto: the chiefe doers in this businesse were *Lewis de Mesa*, *Pedro Arias* his familiar friend, *Perucho* of Munfaras Captaine of the Castle of Segobia, Fryar *Rodrigo* of Mesa Abbot of Partal, and brother to *Lewis*, with other Monkes and Church-men, who did lay a plotte to deliuer the cittie of Segobia to the Confederate Lords.

The city of Seg-  
obia deliuered  
to the confede-  
rate Lords.

Queene *Joane*, Donna *Isabella*, with other Ladies and Gentlemen of great place, were lodged in the pallace of the same Cittie, where they had notice of this practise, some of them with great feare beganne to dislodge: the Queene withdrew her selfe into the Cathedrall Church, where thinking her selfe not safe enough, shee entreated to bee re- ceuyed into the Castle, with the Dutchesse of Albuquerque and other Ladies: but the Infanta Donna *Isabella* had no will to remooue: for beeing incensed against king *Henry* Infanta Donna *Isabella* had no will to remooue: for beeing incensed against king *Henry* her brother, shee had intelligence with the Prince Don *Alphonso*, and did wholly adhere to the Confederates, who entred into the Cittie in armes, through a false port of the Bishoppes lodgings, and made themselves master thereof without any resistance, to the great griefe of the Inhabitants.

The King for-  
saken of his  
people.

The Lords of the League went directly to the pallace to salute the Infanta, who com- mitted her selfe wholly into their hands. The king hauing notice hereof, departed very melancholy from Medina, with such troupes as hee could get about him, and marched towards Cuellar, where in the mid way, the Castle of Iscar was assailed (at the intreatie of the Earle of Treuigno) in which Castle the Earle of Plaisance kept the Earle of Treuigno's mother in dishonest manner: the place beeing taken, the Countesse was sent a- way prisoner by her sonne into his countrie. The losse of Segobia did much grieue the King: for his abode there pleased him aboue all other, as well because hee was brought vp there from his infancie, as for the wood of Balsain, and other places there- abouts fitte for hunting, and also in regard of his treasure which lay in the castle thereof: and the griefe and feeling of his aduersities, did so oppress him, as beeing desperate and almost besides himselfe, he was contented to be drawne by the deuices of the Master of Saint Iames to the towne of Coca, vnder the promise and assurance of the Arch- bishoppe of Seuille, not telling, or making it knowne to any of the Lords or Knights of his trayne, and taking but a very few of his household seruants with him.

Diego Henri-  
ques King Hen-  
ries Chronickler

Wherefore all men beeing discontented with these courtes, which did manifestly tend to the ruine of the King, and of those which did him seruice, they with-drew them- selves discontented to their owne houses. The Kings Officers and household seruants see- ing themselves forsaken and left in so pittifull and miserable estate, were ashamed to tell vnto whome they did belong, when they came to any place.

The Licentiate *Diego Henriques*, the Kings Chronicler, hauing obtayned a safe con- duct, came to Segobia, where hee had a house, wherein were diuers goods and papers of great consequence: but neuertheless he was taken, and ill intreated, his goods sto- len, and his writings scattered abroad, to the great danger of his person, if God had not drawne him out of their hands: for the Rebels were greatly moued against him, be- cause that in his written memories and chronicles hee had set downe the truth of their proceedings.

The

A The king beeing come to Coca, they changed the place, and their opinion was to conferre at Segobia, in the castle of which cittie hee was lodged and entertained by the Earle of Alua, and the Master of Alcantara, albeit that *Perucho de Munfaras*, Captaine of the place, was not well contented therewith.

The King and the Master of Saint Iames meeting afterward in the great Church, after diuers reasons on either side, it was agreed, that the king should consent, that the fort of Segobia should remayne vnder the command of the Master of Saint Iames, the kings treasures and moueables to be kept safe and restored to him, who should send them to the castle of Madrid, the Captaine-ship of which, with the keeping of those things, the King should graunt to *Perucho de Munfaras*: Moreover, that the Queene should bee gi- uen in hostage and left in trust with the Arch-bishop of Seuille for fixe moneths, within which time the King should be restored to all his former honour and dignitie. These ar- ticles were afterward performed, the treasures transported to Madrid, and Queene *Joane* was sent to the castle of Alaejos, where holding on the course of life which the King had taught her, shee fell in loue with a certaine young man, by whome shee had two chil- dren, which was the cause of many vnworthie outrages, as shall bee hereafter declared. After this treatie, the King beeing in as lamentable an estate as before, went vppe and done his kingdome, no otherwise than if hee had beene a poore Gentleman. In this meane equipage, he arriued in the territories of Don *Aluaro* of Estuniga, Earle of Plai- sance, who with the Countesse his wife did intertaine him very honorably, according to his degree, much compassionating his miseries and aduersities, wherewith beeing moo- ued, they comforted him as much as lay in their power: but it stood him in no stead against the power and obstinacie of the Master of Saint Iames.

Other agree-  
ment betwixt  
the king and  
the rebels.

Exill life of  
Queene Joane  
of Castile.

This yeare 1468. died Don *Fernand* of Buxan, Bishop of Siguença: the Deane of the same Church, named Don *John* of Madrid, seized both vpon the goods of the partie deceased, and vpon the Cittie likewise, and hauing learned that a good Bishoppricke is a thing worthe to bee desired, hee caused himselfe to bee chosen Bishoppe by the Chapter, strengthening himselfe with the partie of Don *Alphonso*, and the Confederates: but Pope *Paul* the second reiected this election, and gaue the Bishoppricke to the Car- dinall Don *John de Adella* Bishoppe of Zamorra, who pursuing the possession thereof by armes, (the Deane not obeying, and appealing from the Pope to a Councell) dyed. Then the Pope bestowed it vpon Don *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, Bishop of Calaoarra, the kings loyall and faithfull seruant, and excommunicated the Deane and his Chanons, graunting their benefices and Prebendships to others. For all this the Deane would not yeeld, but made greater resistance than before, notwithstanding that the King offered him, if he would leaue the Bishoppricke of Siguença, to giue him that of Calaoarra with the Abbey of La Huerta to boot.

An. 1468.

7  
Contention for  
the Bishopricke  
of Siguença.

Now seeing that neither right, force, threatnings, nor kind and louing proffers would preuaile with this Deane, a politticke deuise was thought vpon: for they practi- sed with an household seruant of the Deanes named *Gonçal Brane*, who on a night shold find meanes for *Pedro d'Almaçan*, Captaine of the Castle of Atiença, to scale the fort of Siguença, where the Deane and his brother were taken and brought to Atiença. The Bishop Don *Pero Gonçales* hauing notice hereof, posted thither in all hast, and made himselfe Master of the cittie and fort: the King confirmed to *Pedro* of Almaçan the Cap- taine-shippe of Atiença, and the Pope gaue him a good Channonrie in the Church of Siguença in recompence of the good seruice which hee had done to the king and the Apostolike see of Rome.

In the meane space that these Ecclesiasticall businesse were managed with such vio- lence, the Earle of Plaisance had oftentimes treated with the Marquis and the Confe- derates in the Kings behalfe, that the matters agreed vpon at Coca and Segobia might be performed, but they had no desire thereunto: Wherefore hee sent vnto them a gen- tleman of his, named *Pedro d'Ontiberos* to draw them to some conclusion, beeing then at Arcualo with the Prince Don *Alphonso*. This Gentleman brought backe no answer: for after that hee had negotiated with the confederate Lords, as hee returned towards Plaisance, hee was vpon the way assailed and slaine by *Gyles* of Biuero, the quartell beeing

*Garcia Men-  
dez de Bada-  
jos slain in  
Burgos.*

becing about their wiues, and at the same time *Garcia Mendez* of Badajos, one of the Kings Captaines, was slayne at Burgos by the people, for as he had made warre vpon the inhabitants, who held the part of the League, his friend *Pedro de Maçuelo* drew him into the towne to conferre together about the peace: his death did greatly displease his friends, and other good men, but the rude and tumultuous people could not be contained within any bounds.

Pope *Paul* hauing notice of the small respect which the Confederates in Castile had made of his Legate *Don Antonio de Veneris*, Bishoppe of Leon, was highly displeased therewith: but hee wrote neuerthelesse to King *Henry*, aduising him to pardon his rebels if they did acknowledge their faults, and returne to his obedience, comforting him besides, concerning his aduersities, by examples drawne from the holy Scriptures to the same purpose: he sent likewise a brieffe to the Confederates, enioyning them, vpon paine of his curle, no longer to call *Don Alphonso* King, but to acknowledge King *Henry* for their naturall and lawfull Prince, and to craue his pardon: The Confederates sent the Abbot of Paraces, and the commander *Fernand d'Arce*, the Infants Secretarie to the Pope, to giue him reason for what they had done, and to informe him of the iustice of their cause: but for certayne dayes space, the Pope would not suffer them to enter into the Cittie of Rome. At the last, vpon their great and earnest intreaties to haue audience, they were permitted to enter, vpon this condition, that they should haue a speciall care, in any of their speeches, not once to name *Don Alphonso* King. Hauing deliuered their message, they were by the Pope sharply reprehended, who threatened them and the Confederates more bitterly than hee had done by his brieffe, and it is reported, that in a Prophetical spirit, hee declared the death of the Infant *Don Alphonso* to be neere, after which hee told them, they would find themselves greatly perplexed: with such like speeches the Ambassadors returned into Spayne.

*8  
Sedition in To-  
ledo.*

The Cittie of Toledo taking part with the League, the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes* of Cité reall commanded therein, who stood excommunicate, by reason that hee was one of the chiefe of the League: it happened vpon a day, that he came into the great Church, at such time as the Priests sang diuine seruice, who perceyuing him, presently left off their singing: but hee sent vnto them, and commanded them to go on, which they refused, sending a certaine Clarke to him, who vsed many proud words, wherewith a souldiar of *Don Aluars* trayne, being moued, drew his sword, and thrust him thorough the bodie, so as hee fell downe dead in the place: wherupon arose such tumults and seditions in the Cittie, as after diuers murders, burnings, and other execrable outrages, the Clergie and their partakers remayned masters of the cittie, chasing away and banishing the opposites. Then they sent the Licenciate *Don Fernand Calderon* with a message to the Infant *Don Alphonso*, to intreate him to allow of that which they had done, and to request him to graunt vnto them the goods which they had seized on, and taken from those which were slayne in the tumult.

*Misanimities  
and iustices of  
Don Alphonso.*

The Prince hauing heard the demaunds of those of Toledo, albeit hee was but very young, made them a noble and iust answer: First he shewed the Licenciate, that it did very ill become him, who was a learned man, and therefore ought to be wise, to be employed in such a message: then detesting the outrages of the Toledains, he told him freely, that hee would neuer authorize their wickednesse, nor giue away other mens goods so vniustly: the Licenciate replied, and told him, that he vnderooke that message with a desire to do him seruice, and for to acquaint him with the good affection which those of Toledo did beare vnto him, who would not fayle to revolt from his obedience to the King his brother, if hee graunted not their request: Whereunto hee answered, that therein they might do as they pleased, for he was resoluéd neuer to commit so vnreasonable and dishonest an act, hatefull to God and man, and that they ought to bee satisfied and contented, that their offences were winked at and not punished, which perhappes time would bring to passe.

*The Infant  
persecutes in  
being iust.*

*9  
Desire to be  
rich, taken a-  
way all naturall  
and ciuill re-  
fuge.*

Wee haue shewed heretofore, how that *Don Alphonso Pimentell* Earle of Benauent, had bene disappoynted of the Master shippe of Saint Iames, wherunto he layd claime by his father-in-law *Don Iohn de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena: from thence arose deadly hatred

A hatred against them, which prouoked and stirred vp the Earle to lay diuers traynes to take away his life: and this yeare the Earle missed very narrowly of his purpose and determination, in the Infant *Don Alphonso's* house at Areualo, but the Marquis hauing intelligence thereof, did cuer after stand vpon his guard, and went abroad secretly, and well accompanied.

The Earle neuerthelesse dissembled, and spake kindly to his father-in-law, as though he had no such intent at all, still wayting for a fit time and place to dispatch him: then departing from Areualo, hee came to Plaisance, where King *Henry* did lye, and was there well and kindly enterrayned both by the King, the Earle *Don Aluaro*, together with the Countesse his wife. There the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, the Earles of Plaisance, Benauent and Miranda held a councell: for they had discovered how that the Marquis of Villena, Master of Saint Iames, sought by all meanes to deceiue the King, and namely, that hee practised with *Pernucho* of Munsarras, who was Captaine and Keeper of the Kings Treasures in the Castle of Madrid, to deliuer vp the place and treasure into his hands. In this Councell it was concluded, that they would all go thither, and carrie the King along with them, to disappoynt the Marquis of his desseigne. The Captaine who had some doubt, that they meant to bee ridde of him, stood vpon his guard, and would let the King come but seldome, and with a small company attending vpon him into the fortress.

*A practise a-  
gainst the Ma-  
rquis S. James*

C In the meane time, the Clergie of Toledo and their Faction, bearing no affection to *Don Alphonso*, because he was too iust, and did looke for greater modestie in them, then there was, practised among themselves to deliuer vppe the Cittie to King *Henry*. Wherefore they gaue order to *Don Pedro de Silua*, Bishoppe of Badajos, who dwelt amongst them, to trie if hee could winne or induce *Don Pero Lopes d'Ayala*, Gouvernour of the towne, who had married *Donna Maria de Silua* his sister, to lend a helping hand to their proceedings.

*10  
The Clergie of  
Toledo deliuer  
the city to K.  
Henry.*

The Bishop hauing sundrie times, with great pollicie, conferred with his sister thereupon, and thee being wholly gouerned and ruled by his councell, they two sent *Fernand de Rinadeneyra* to King *Henry* (not acquainting *Don Pero Lopes* of Ayala with any matter) to aduertise him what they had determined for his seruice, and to aduise him for the better effecting of their purpose, to come secretly to Toledo. Now their intent and determination was, to bring the King secretly into the towne into the Bishoppes house, and then vnder colour of other businesse, to send for *Don Pero Lopes* of Ayala, and to cause him to come suddenly into the Kings presence, thinking by that meanes to make him easily to graunt whatsoever the King would demaund: The King leauing the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, the Earles of Plaisance and Benauent in Madrid to looke vnto his Castle and treasure, came to Toledo, where hee entred by night disguised, by the gate called Cambron: but as hee went toward the Bishoppe of Badajos house, who dwelt in the Monasterie of Saint *Pedro Martyr*, of the Order of the Fryars Preachers, a seruant of the Marshall *Payo de Ribera*, who was greatly affectionate to the seruice of *Don Alphonso*, knew him, and went and told his master of it. The Marshall went instantly to find out *Don Pero* of Ayala, and gaue an alarme thorough the towne: the people put on armes, and came running in a confused manner to enuiron the house and Monasterie, where the King did lye, who was in great danger, and without all doubt hee had bene taken by the mutinous people, had not *Fernand de Rinadeneyra* employed his best inducements for his safetie and deliuerie: Then the Gouvernour sent his two sonnes, *Pero* of Ayala, and *Alphonso de Silua*, with *Peralfan* of Ribera, sonne to the Marshall *Payo*, to intreat the King to depart the Cittie, and to auoyd the present danger, assuring him that shortly matters would bee brought to better passe, and the Cittie restored vnto him: Whereunto the king yeelding most willingly, they found meanes about mid-night to put him out of the towne; and those three Knights kept him companie awhile vpon the high way to Madrid.

*Meanes deu-  
ised by the Bi-  
shop of Badajos  
and his sister,  
to bring the king  
en-vance into  
Toledo.*

*Indiscretion of  
King Henry.*

*VV'sedome of  
the Gouvernour  
Don Pero Ayala.*

Now before hee came forth of his lodging, the King who had ridden sixteene miles that day vpon his owne horse, intreated *Peralfan de Ribera* to lend him that which hee rode vpon, and to take his which was wearie, but hee like an vniuill and discourteous Knight,

*VV'mannerli-  
nesse of Peral-  
fan de Ribera.*



Knight, refused it, which the two breethren of Ayala vnderstanding, lighted on foote, and besought the King to take both their horses, one for his owne person, and the other for his Page, the which he thankfully accepted of: then these two brothers went with him out of the towne on foote, with *Fernand de Riadeneyra*, who would not go with him to Madrid, but told him that he would carrie at Toledo, where he would liue and dye for his seruice.

As soone as he was come backe into the cittie, the Gouvernour Don *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, committed him prisoner in the castle, and commanded the Bishop of Badajos to depart out of the cittie within an howers space: by these diligent meanes, hee like a wife and discreet person did appease the tumultuous Toledans. Not long after the king sent a graunt to the two brothers of Ayala, who had giuen him their horses, of a perpetuall pension of three-score thousand Marauidis, in recompence of their loue and loyalty towards him.

When all men had layd downe their weapons, and the citie at quiet, the Gouvernour returned home to his house, where he found his wife almost besides her selfe with griefe, for that the King, hauing come to Toledo by her perswasion, had bene so vnreuerently vsed and receyued, and constrained to flie away by night: but like a discreete woman shee gathered her spirits together, and did in such sort put her husband in mind of his dutie, as shee perswaded him to inuent some fitter meanes to reduce that Cittie vnder the obedience of King *Henry*, their true and lawfull Prince: which Don *Pedro* much affecting, after that hee had vnderstood the minds of the Sheriffes and Iurates of the Cittie, the first day after the Kings departure, hee commaunded the Marshall *Payo de Ribera* and his sonne, to get them home to their owne houses: Whereunto they yielded without any delay, and forth-with the whole Cittie beganne to cry, *God save king Henry*, and let the Rebels bee destroyed, so much power hath the presence and authoritie of one onely man to appease or stirre vp a multitude. The castle gates, bridges, and other strong places, being seized vpon by the Gouvernour, and furnished with people at his deuotion for the Kings seruice, *Fernand* of Riadeneyra being likewise set at libertie, the morrow after, the king came to Toledo, and was lodged in the Gouvernour Don *Pero's* house, where he gaue Donna *Maria* of Silua great thanks for the good seruice which shee had done him, and called backe the Bishop of Badajos, who was principall author of thar enterprise. After dinner, sundry mechanicall tumultuous fellows, two thousand in number, came before the kings lodging, crauing confirmation of the citties priuiledges, and to be freed from the tribute called *Alcauales*: the king desirous to be ridde of this insolent crew, graunted their petition.

The next day, the selfe same raskally companie returned, asking other confirmations of writings, gifts, graunts, and liberties: wherewith the king being moued, the Gouvernour who had assembled men at armes, by reason of the former dayes tumult, ioyned them with the officers of iustice, and ranne vpon the multitude, who after they had hurt and ouerthrowne diuers of them, and put the rest to flight, certaine of the principall were committed to prison, and afterward vpon enquirie of the matter, according to their deserts, some of them were hanged, and the residue lost their eares, and were whipped. This tumult being appeased, there remayned yet in the tower or steeple of the great Church, the Abbot of Medina, and other Channons, who took the part of the Arch-bishoppe Don *Alphonso Carrillo* of Acugna, who were beseeged by the Gouvernour, and enforced by famine to yeeld themselves, their liues being fauld.

All troubles being ended, the King confirmed Don *Pero Lopes* in his gouernement, enioyning the Toledans to obey him as his owne person, and so returned to Madrid, where hee beganne to thinke anew vpon the castle and his treasures, which were in the power of Captaine *Perucho* of Munfara, whome hee did not greatly trust, and not without cause: for the Master of Saint Iames, and the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, had wonne him to deliuer vp that place into their hands: But the king vpon a time finding meanes to enter into the castle, being well accompanied, *Perucho* was constrained to giue place, who notwithstanding that he had slayne the Porter, and begunne to rayse a mutinie, was neuertheless taken, and forced to begge pardon; the which, the king

A being mild and gentle, graunted vnto him, and gaue him leaue moreover to carry away what he would, and bestowed summes of money vpon him, sending him home to his owne house. These newes did greatly trouble the Infant Don *Alphonso*, who was termed King: but about all, the losse of Toledo did amaze the Marquis, and the Arch-bishoppe with their Confederates: Wherefore they departed from Arevalo, and tooke the ready way to Auila, giuing out that they went to beseege Toledo. The Infant *Alphonso* being arriued at Cardenoga, a towne neere to Auila, hee was stricken with the plague which infected the whole country, whereof hee dyed the fift day after, which was vpon the fift of Iuly, in the yeare 1468. hauing bene declared King three yeares before, hee dyed not without suspicion of poyson, the which was prodigiously published and beleued thorough the whole Realme three dayes before it was true: indeed by this accident Pope *Paulus* Prophecie was verified: for the Confederates at that time found themelues in great perplexity, and wonderfully destitute of counsell: his bodie for that time was kept in Arevalo in the Monasterie of Saint Francis, and since transported to Burgos to the Abbey of Mirefloure, where his father King *John* was buried.

The confederate Lords consulting vpon what was best to bee done, now that they had lost the Prince *Alphonso*, all of them in a manner were of opinion, that King *Henry* was to be resisted, and that Donna *Izabella* his sister, was to bee proclaimed and crowned Queene of Castile in her dead brothers stead: the Arch bishop of Toledo being depicted in all their names to go vnto her to exhort her, to receiue this honour and dignitie, who in a well-compofed Oration, hauing propounded vnto her the aduice of all the Lords of the League: the Infanta, who was endowed with great iudgement and singular pietie, made him this answer, that shee could not entertaine in her heart any desire of rule which might preiudice her brother King *Henry*, vnto whome both by diuine and humane lawes the Kingdome did appertaine: the which God had manifestly declared, confirming him therein, as well by the victorie of Olmedo, as by the death of the Infant *D. Alphonso*: neuertheless, shee did greatly thank them for their loues, which shee could feelee with more profite, and lesse labour, if it would please them, by agreeing with the King his brother, to procure him to declare her heire to his Kingdomes after his decease, and to commaund, that oath should bee made vnto her to the same effect, according to the custome of Spayne: the which shee propounded vnto them, not so much for any desire that shee had to raigne, as by that meanes to keepe the kingdome of Castile from falling into the hands of strangers, and into any other blood then that of Castile, meaning thereby Donna *Isaune*, who was borne in adulterie.

This wife and vertuous answer, was of so great waight and consequence, and so admired by all the Lords of the League, as changing their minds, they resolved to follow the Infantes aduice, and to trye if they could winne the King to condiscend thereunto, the Master of Saint Iames taking vpon him the managing of their businesse, and presuming to bring it to passe: for (quoth he) I know the kings nature, who doth easily forget things that are past, and I doubt not but he will accept of this condition, for to liue in peace, and to recouer his former dignitie, and will graunt a generall pardon for all that is past.

Vpon the newes of the Infant Don *Alphonso's* death, the Arch-bishop of Seuille, the Earles of Plaisance, Benauent, and Miranda, with others which were neere the kings person at Madrid, did make a new oath of allegiance vnto him, and messengers were dispatched to the Lords of the League, to admonish them to desist from their wicked practices, and to submit themselves to the Kings obedience: the confederates answered, that they would send some man of authoritie to the king, and soon after they did write to the Arch-bishop of Seuil, intreating him to come to Auila, to treat vpon the meanes of agreement, who with the Kings good liking went vnto them. In the meane season the citie of Burgos, by the meanes of *Pedro* of Velasco, returned to the Kings obedience. It was concluded in Arevalo, that the Confederates should intreat the king, that the Infanta *Izabella* might be sworne vnto, and acknowledged Princeesse and heire of his kingdomes, all other oathes made to the contrarie notwithstanding: Which being done, euery of them would willingly obey him: these things being related at Madrid by the

II  
Death of the  
Infant Don Alphonso

II  
Izabella receives the title of Queene of Castile.

D. Isabelles wife answer breaks the League, and procureth the peace of Castile.

The citie of Burgos yeelds to the king.

The Gouvernour D. Pero of Ayala putteth Toledo in the kings power.

Courtesie fully recompensed.

Arch-bishop of Siuill, the King called a Councell thereupon, where the opinions A were diuers, some affecting Donna *Ioane*, whom the King still called his daughter: but the Lord Steward *Andrew de Cabrera*, could so well ioyne reason to his opinion, as it was refused to graunt what the Confederates requested: then did they set downe these Articles:

Articles of peace agreed upon

The Lords of Mendoza and Colindres called to the Council of peace.

12  
Queene Ioanes dishonest life.

That the Infanta Donna *Izabella* should bee declared Princeesse of the Asturia's, and sworne vnto, as eldest heire to the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon: That pardon should bee graunted to the Master of Saint Iames, and to the other Lords his Confederates, for whatsoever they had committed against his royall Maiestie, and free and safe access should be giuen them to come to Court, with restitution of all that had been taken from them: That the King within foure moneths after should send backe his wife Queen *Ioane*, and Donna *Ioane* his daughter into Portugall, and to be diuorced from her by the Popes authoritie: and that the citties of Auila, Vbeda, with the townes of Medina del campo, Olmedo, and Escalona, and the Lord-shipp of Molina, should be giuen to the Princeesse Donna *Izabella*, who might not marrie with any one without the consent of King *Henry* her brother, whereunto she did sweare. Into this councell were not admitted the Marquis of Santillana, nor his brother the Bishoppe of Siguença, who were come to court to kisse the Kings hand, vpon the newes of the death of the Infant Don *Alphonso*, for they fauoured and much respected Donna *Ioane*, who was resident in the Castle of Buytrago vnder the keeping of the Marquis: therefore they returned male-content to Guadajara.

The Queene remayning in the Castle of Alacjos vnder the power of the Arch bishop of Seuille, (as hath beene sayd before) became enamoured on a young man, who had charge to keepe her, and as some say, hee was the Bishoppes nephew, called *Pedro*, by whome in time shee had two children, namely, Don *Fernand*, and Don *Aposol*, who were brought vp in the Cittie of Toledo, in the Monasterie of Saint *Dominick* the royal, by the Abbess of the house, who was Aunt to their father Don *Pedro*: and it is reported that the King hauing notice thereof, caused Don *Pedro* to be taken, to the end to punish him as he had deserued, but that the Queene shed so many teares, as shee saued his life, and begged him of the king, who in those matters was the most carelesse person D liuing.

Now these Lords of the house of Mendoza beeing departed discontented from the Court, thinking themselues to be disgraced, and on the other side, fauouring Donna *Ioane*, it happened that the Queene, hauing secret intelligence with certaine of her guard within and without, with Don *Lewis Hurtado* of Mendoza, sonne to *Ruy Diaz*, escaped from the Castle of Alacjos, causing hir selfe to bee let downe in a basket from the Castle walles: but the rope beeing too short, and those which let her downe, thinking that shee had beene neere to the ground, did let her fall a good height, so as shee hurt her face and one of her secte, indangering also her life: neuerthelesse Don *Lewis*, who was at the foote of the wall, tooke her vp, and layed her in a litter, standing there readie for the same purpose, and so brought her away, the next day, to the Castle of Buytrago, where her daughter remayned, who was called all ouer Spayne, *La Bertraneja*, because shee was reputed and supposed to bee the daughter of *Bertrand de la Cueva*, Duke of Albuquerque.

Donna Izabella declared Princeesse and heire of Castille.

The Arch-bishoppe of Seuille thought himselfe highly wronged by the violent and fraudulent deliuerie of the Queene, therefore hee hastily perswaded and procured the agreement to the Articles aboue-mentioned, and there was a place appoynted and determined, where the parties should meete, betweene Zebreros and Cadahalso, at a place called La venta du Tor de Guisando, neere to a Monasterie of Saint Hierome, the Arch-bishoppe beeing much displeased and discontented with the Queene. These met at Cadahalso vpon the day appoynted and set downe, the King, the Arch-bishop of Seuille, the Earles of Playfance, Benauent, and Miranda, together with others of the Councell on the one side: and the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, with the Confederates, mette at Zebreros, the chiefe of whome were, Don *Alphonso Carrillo* Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, Don *Lewis* of Acugna Bishoppe of Burgos, Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of

A of Coria, and the Master of Saint Iames, Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, euery one of these, on the nineteenth day of September, the same yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, sixtie eight, in the presence of the Popes Legate *Antonio de Veneris*, who afterward was Cardinall, with great solemnitie in the place aboue-mentioned, tooke the oath of allegiance and obedience to the King, and then they did sweare to, and declare, the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, Princeesse of the Asturia's, and eldest lawfull heire to the kingdomes of Castile and Leon, with all the dependances, reuenues, and lands annexed and ioyned therunto, the Legate Apostolicke dispensing and absolving all contrarie oathes, which had beene made in that nature before, and confirming the present.

B Great numbers and multitudes of people came running ioyfully, and with wonderful applause, from all parts of the Country to this solemnitie, hoping that peace and quietnesse should be established and planted in Spayne, and that all factions and oppositions of outrageous and ciuill warres ceassing, Iustice should euery where flourish. That beeing done and finished, the king with the Princeesse his sister, and the reconciled Lords came to Cadahalso, the Arch bishoppe of Toledo excepted, whose mind beeing not at quiet, returned to Zebrero, with the Bishoppes of Burgos and Coria. The King passing on, left his sister the Princeesse, and the whole Court at Casa Rubias, and went with the Master of Saint Iames to Pard, and to Ra'cafria; beeing come thither, hee caused *Pedro Arrias* of Auila, together with the bishoppe his brother, to leaue the cittie of Segouia, which greatly moued and discontented them, the gouernement whereof was giuen and made ouer to his Steward *Andrew de Cabrera*, one newly come into Castile, and borne at Barcelona, sonne to *Iohn Fernandes*, and Grand child to *Andrew de Cabrera*: Neuerthelesse for that time, hee commaunded no where but in the towne, for the fort remayned in the power of the Master of Saint Iames, and because the plague was very horre within the Cittie of Segouia, the King, nor the Master would not come into the towne, but retired and went backe to Casa Rubias, whither came Don *Lewis* of Mendoza, with a procuracion from Queene *Ioane*, as Protectresse of her daughter, in whose name hee protested, that the oath made to the Princeesse *Izabella* was of no force nor efficacie, and appealed to the Pope from the dispensations made by the Legate, but small D account was made thereof.

Now did the Master of Saint Iames consider with himselfe, that the discontentment of the Marquis of Santillana, and the other Lords of the house of Mendoza, with *Pedro de Velasco*, might produce and bring forth some bad effects: Hee who seemed to bee borne to commaund, tooke in hand to appease and qualifie them, and did inuite them to meete at Villarejo, belonging to the Order of Saint Iames, there to confule and determine about the affaires of State with the Kings Commissioners. Thither came Don *Pero Gonsales* of Mendoza, Bishoppe of Siguença, and Don *Pedro Velasco* on the one side: and the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, the Master of Saint Iames, and the Earle of Plaisance on the other: They did conclude, that the Princeesse *Izabella* should marrie with E *Alphonso* King of Portugall who was a widdower: and Donna *Ioane* with his eldest sonne, called Don *Iohn* heire to the Kingdome, and her coulin-germaine: with condition, that if the Princeesse *Izabella* by this marriage should haue no children, that then the issue of Donna *Ioane* should succeed in the Kingdome of Castile: for the conclusion and confirmation of which marriages, there should be an interview of the King and Queene of Castile, and the King of Portugall. This agreement did not please the Ladies: for the Princeesse *Izabella* had no desire to marrie with a widdower, and the Queen feared, that vnder color of this meeting the should be cast off, and sent home to Portugall, according to the treatie at la Venta du Tor de Guisando: wherefore both of them resisted this determination with all their power, by reason whereof the Lords of Mendoza and Velasco were F very angry with the Queene and her daughter. The Master of S. Iames solicited *K. Henry* to send Ambassadors into Portugal, to request the king to meet, thinking by his coming to win the Princeesse to condescend thereunto. And not long after, the bishop of Siguença, and Don *Pedro de Velasco* beeing with the king, perswaded him, notwithstanding the Queenes obstinacy, vnder hand to fauour D. *Ioane*, not acquainting the Arch-bishop of Seuille, nor the Princeesse *Izabella* therewith.

New treaties of marriage, set a foot by the Master of S. Iames.

These busineses beeing managed with such inconstancie, there arriued daily messengers at Court, who complayned, for that the King had caused this new oath to be made to his sister, which most men thought to be a beginning of greater troubles than before, and also because that diuers other great Lords of the Kingdome were not called to determine vpon a matter of so great consequence. And indeed all those which were discontented therewith, did ioyne themselves in league with the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, who thought himselfe to bee ill dealt with, for that he had not the Princeesse *Izabella* in his keeping, as in time before.

In the meane time, disorders were still committed in diuers Prouinces, especially in Andalusia, where this yeare Don *Iohn de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, and Earle of Niebla dyed, in whose goods, lands, and dignities Don *Henry de Guzman* his bastard-sonne succeeded. It hapned at the same time neere to Toledo, that as an husband-man of the countrie called *Pero Moro*, did reape a corne-field, at the very first stroake which hee gaue with his sickle, great quantitie of bloud issued forth of the stalkes, the which his sons perceyuing, who were at worke in the same field, came running vnto him, thinking that he had hurt himselfe, but seeing he had no harme, they returned to their labour, and cut downe the corne in the same place where their father wrought, and at euery stroake they fetched, great store of bloud issued, which they signified to the Lord of the place, who caused it to be recorded for a strange prodigie.

13  
Arragon.  
and  
Nauarre.

Whilest the affaires of Castile stood vpon these tearmes, King *Iohn* of Arragon being ridde of his enemy Don *Pedro* of Portugall, did labour by all meanes, after the taking of Tortosa, to reduce the Barcelonnois to their duties: but they, like obstinate enemies to their Prince, would not hearken thereunto. Great were the alterations which they had among themselves after the death of this Portugois: Some were of opinion to bring their state into the forme of a Common-wealth, like Genoa, Venice, and other places of Italy, and others counselled to returne to the obedience of King *Iohn*. Each of these opinions being reiected, they elected for their King *Renée* of Anjou, Duke of Lorraine, and Earle of Prouence, a Prince of the royall blood of France, who being already old and decrepite, yet neuertheless desirous of the title of King, did accept the offer, and hauing (with the consent of King *Lewis* the eleuenth) leauied souldiers in France, sent his sonne *Iohn* Duke of Calabria or Lorraine into Spaine, who at Manreça ioynd with the Cattelans: and hauing drawne diuers of the County of Rossillon to his deuotion, he went and besieged Girona, where *Peter* of Rocabertin was Gouvernour, who forthwith aduertised King *Iohn* thereof, who by reason of his indisposition and blindness, could not come thither in person to ayde them, but sent his son Prince *Fernand*, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights, vnto whom, about all other things, hee recommended the Princes person: beeing on his way from Tortosa towards Girona, Queene *Joane* his mother, who loued him dearely, followed him the next day after: vpon the newes of the Princes comming, the Duke of Calabria raysed his seege, and retired himselfe to Denjat, from whence he went to Barcelona, and then returned with succors in great secrecie, and no lesse danger. The Prince *D. Fernand*, desirous to looke vpon the enemy, being come neere to the place, and prouoking the French-men to battell, they, being fortified with a great number of men at armes which *K. Lewis* had sent them vnder the conduct of the Earle of Armignac, came forth into the fields, and fought and vanquished the Arragonnois, the Prince Don *Fernand* narrowly escaping from beeing taken, who had good meanes offered to saue himselfe, thorough the indeauours of *Rodrigo* of Rebolledo, who was taken in his stead, and brought to Barcelona, and afterwards redeemed for tenne thousand Florens. The King Don *Iohn* hauing notice of this defeate, came by sea with a great army alongst the coast of Ampurias, blind as he was, who no sooner set foote on land, but miraculously he receiued his sight. Hauing ioynd his forces with those of the Prince his son, he marched courageously against the French which were in the towne of Denjat, who putting no great trust in the place, nor yet to the inhabitants thereof, they dislodged, and withdrew themselves to Perpignan, which by reason of engagement, was at that time in the possession of king *Lewis*, where the Duke of Calabria hauing left his army, returned into France to make new leauies.

Renée of An-  
jou made king  
of Arragon.

The Arrago-  
nois defeated  
by the French.

A The King of Arragon lodged his armie round about Figuera, and there wintered. These things were done in Arragon, at the same time that the battayle of Olmedo was fought betwixt King *Henry* of Castile, and the Lords of the League aboue mentioned. The Duke of Calabria beeing afterward returned to Perpignan with a fresh supply of ten thousand men, obtrayned from King *Lewis* the eleuenth, marched forth with his forces to assaile the enemies.

King *Iohn* on the other side departed from Figuera, and presented himselfe in order of battaille within two miles neere to the French: but it is not knowne vpon what occasion he departed thence, to beseege the towne of Peralta, where hauing begunne a furious batterie, and already made a large and sufficient breach to assaile it, the Duke of Calabria came suddenly, and vnlooked for, vpon him in the night, not being heard nor perceyued by the Sentinels which slept, who cut in peeces the first court of guard that he mette with, and entering furiously into the quarters and lodgings of the besiegers, he did strike such a terrour amongst them, as euery man leauing all that hee had behind him, they all betooke themselves to flight in great disorder. The King escaped bare-headed, gallowing apace towards Figuera: neuertheless there were some which put themselves in defence, by whose valour the artillerie and munition was saued, and the Frenchmen beeing retired, they held a forme of a seege, vntill that the King with greater forces was returned to Peralta, the which in the end he tooke. The Authors do greatly prays the valour of a certaine Knight of Guipuscoa named Don *Iohn de Gamboa* in this nightly skirmish, who with his own hand slue three French-men at armes, who hauing his horse slayne vnder him in the presse, did yet notwithstanding saue himselfe, hauing receyued eleven wounds. *Lewis* of Mudar, a Castilian Knight, is likewise remembered for his valor in this fight, where *Scipio Patella* the Sicillian, mentioned heretofore, beeing a wife and valiant Knight, was slayne, fighting courageously. The French beeing victorious, not caring for Peralta, returned to the seege of Girona, which without any difficulty they tooke. After this, Duke *Iohn* of Calabria beeing come to Barcelona to take order for the affaires of the warres, was tormented with a burning pestilentiall feauer, whereof hee dyed this yeare 1468. to the great griefe of those of Barcelona, and extreame trouble of their affaires.

Arragonnois sur-  
prised by the  
French.

An. 1468.

D Now let vs returne to Castile, where the Princeesse *Izabella* beeing discontented with the marriage which was treated of betwixt her and the King of Portugall, solicited hereunto by the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, shee came to speake with him at Yepes: where by the perswasion of her master-Pantler named Don *Gutierre de Cardenna*, he consented, that shee should marry Don *Fernand*, Prince of Girona, the eldest sonne of Arragon, and heire to the same Crowne, who was by the King his father, in fauour of that marriage, entitled King of Sicill, much about the time of the Duke of Calabria's death, whereby the affaires of King *Iohn* beganne to prosper the better: for the French hauing lost their head, retired themselves to Perpignan, by meanes whereof the armie of Arragon had leysure to scoure the coast of Ampurias, the Castle of which towne, with other places yielded themselves: so did Girona and Don *Iohn Ferrier* Bishoppe thereof, with the Vicount of Cabrera, *Martorella*, and soone after Saint *Felix*, *Palamos*, and *Vergnes*, with diuers Lords and Prelates, who demanded and obtrayned pardon for their rebellion. Whilest King *Iohn* was in the same countrey, Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, his Bastard sonne, did greatly molest the Barcelonnois, foraging their territorie with a thousand horse, and fise thousand foot-men.

Castile.

At this time the Estate of Nauarre was not very quiet: for the factions of Grammont and Beaumont raigning in the countrey, the Earle *Gaston* of Foix, husband to Donna *Leonora* heire of the kingdome, who did gouerne it, perswaded himselfe, that hee ought to enioy the kingly title, with all other rights and preheminences of the same, wherefore strengthening himselfe with the Beaumontois faction, whilst his father-in-law King *Iohn* was busied in the wars of Cattelogne, he posselt himselfe of diuers strong places of Nauar, and newly besieged Tudela, whereof *K. Iohn* being aduertised, vpon the good hap of his affaires in Cattelogne, he brought his army thither, which was well exercised in the former wars, to succor those which took his part, but before he came thither, Don *Lewis*

Treaty of mar-  
riage betwixt  
Donna Isabell  
and Don Fer-  
nand.

feized vpon the Cittie of Pampelona, the Inhabitants whereof were for the most part A followers of those of Beaumont.

Diuers histories, of small authoritie, make mention, that this Earle of Lerin made sharp warre not onely vpon the Nauarrois of the other Faction, but also vpon the Arrago- nois, running on euen to Iaca and Exea belonging to the Knights: hauing for compa- nion in his counsells and enterprises, *Charles* of Artieda, hee tooke from the Constable Don *Pedro* of Peralta, the towne of Andosilla, and from Don *Luigo* of Estuniga, Earle of Nieua, that of Mendauia: then hee tooke Arraxona and Olito, with many other pla- ces, and did many other great exploits, by reason that hee held the cittie of Pampelona, disposing of it, as if hee had bene Lord and master. At the same time also there was B

*Sancho Rotta,*  
a famous  
Destroyer of  
Joane of Arra-  
gon.

mention made of a famous theefe called *Sancho Rota*, whose retreat was in a moun- taine neere to Tudele, called *las verdinas del Rey*, who with thirtie horse that hee kept, ranne into the country of Arragon, bringing from thence great store of pillage, vntill all such well as hee tooke prisoners. To suppress the insolencies done as well by him, as by the Earle of Lerin, the people of Iaca, and the Nobility thereabouts, made shew of entering into Nauarre: but the Earle of Lerin sent a great number of souldiers to meete with them, conducted by *Charles* of Artieda, *Machin de Gongorra* Lord of Ciordia, *John d'Ayane*, and *Fernand d'Aranc*, who meeting with the Arragonois neere to Sanguesla, at a certaine bridge vpon the riuer of Arragon, they lighted from their horses, thinking C to fight with greater aduantage on foote: and comming to handy-strokes, they did hin- der the Arragonois passage, and contrayned them to returne into their owne territo- ries. Now King *Johns* comming with his army, being knowne in Nauarre, encouraged those of Grammont, and did greatly amaze the Beaumontois, who knew very well that they should not be able to resist such great forces: wherefore taking counsell about the affaires with the Earle of Foix, they aduised him to make an agreement with the King his father-in-law, who had already resolved, after his death, to leaue the kingdom to his daughter Donna *Leonora*, and to permit him to enioy it awhile, who by reason of his ex- treame age could not hold out long, therefore he should be content to haue patience, and to suffer the King to enioy the title of King of Nauarre, the small time he had to liue. The Earle was easily drawne thereto, for he saw no hope of victorie, if hee should haue pesti- fied in his rash enterprise by armes: then they began to capitulate, setting downe arti- cles, which shall bee hereafter mentioned. Before the finall conclusion whereof, King D *John* being already returned to Tarragona, to view his forces, and to take order for the warre of Barcelona, his wife Queene *Joane*, being a long time tormented with a canker, which consumed her, drew neere her end. It is reported, that when shee knew shee must needs dye, fetching diuers sighs and grones, remembering her son Prince *Fernand*, shee sayd, *O my son, thou hast cost me deare*: and it is constantly affirmed, that shee did confesse to haue procured and hastened the death of Prince *Charles*: wherewith the king was so highly offended with her, as he would neuer afterward looke vpon her: yet neuertheless her an- bition gaue her this content, to see before her death, her son Prince *Fernand* made king E

Queen Joane  
her last confes-  
sion.

Death of the  
younger Gaston  
de Foix at Li-  
borne.

An. 1469.

this time in the yeare 1469. hapned the lamentable death of *Gaston* of Foix the younger, eldest son to the Earle *Gaston*, and to the Princessse *Leonora*, who should haue succeeded them in the kingdom of Nauarre. There was a great assembly of Princes & Knights at Liborne neere to Bourdeaux, who there met to honor & accompany *Charles* of France, brother to *Lewis* the 11. newly reconciled to him, and promoted to the Duchy of Guy- enne after the ciuill war: this young Knight *Gaston*, running at tilt, which was performed in most costly and sumptuous maner, was run with the splinter of a lance into the brayres, wherof he dyed, to the great griefe of as many as knew him, but especially of duke *Charles* whose sister he had married, whose name was *Magdalen*, she being likewise sister to *Lewis* by whom he had two children, to wit, *Francis Phæbus*, who was king of Nauar, and Earle of Foix, and *Catherine* his sister, who succeeded her brother dying without heires. Happi- ly, it shall not be amisse to set downe here the succession of the house of Foix, which hath inherited the kingdom of Nauar, fetching it as far as Histories make mention thereof, to the which (as we haue sayd) the Segneury of Bearn was vniued, about the yeare 1286. We

A Wee finde that the countrey of Foix was erected into an Earledome about the yeare 1462. by *Raymond*, Earle of Tholoufa, who inuested therewith *Bernard*, yongest sonne to *Roger* Earle of Carcasone, and to *Adela* his wife: of this *Bernard*, and of *Beatrice*, daughter to the Earle of Beziers, was borne *Roger*, who was second Earle of Foix, who begat an other *Roger* his successor in the Countie of Foix, second of that name, father to *Roger* the third, whom he had by *Eximena* his second wife, hauing first of all married a Lady of Prouence called *Estinetta*. Of *Roger* the third, and of *Cicely*, daughter to Earle *Raymond* of Barcelona, was borne *Raymond Roger*, who married a Lady called *Phillip*, by whom hee had a sonne called *Roger Bernard*, who succeeded him in the Earledome B of Foix, and a daughter called *Esclermonde*, married to the King of Majorca. This *Raymond Roger* caused his lawfull wife to suffer many indignities, at the request of a Concu- bine, who was of the religion of the Albigeois. *Roger Bernard* was then Earle of Foix after his father, the sixt in number, about the yeare 1223. and was surnamed the great. Hee married *Brunixenda* daughter to the Earle of Castellbon, by whom hee had *Roger* called *Rosfer* Earle of Foix after him, *Esclermond* wife to the Vicount of Cardona, and *Cicely*, wife to the Earle of Vrgell. *Roger Rosfer* seauenth Earle of Foix, and sixt of the name, married *Brunixenda*, daughter to the Vicount, on whom he begat *Roger Bernard*, the sixt of that name, and eight Earle of Foix: of him, and of *Manigarda* of Narbona, were borne an other *Roger Bernard*, who succeeded in the Earledome, *Agnes* who was C wife to *Esquibas* Earle of Bigorre, and *Phillip* married to *Arnold* of Spaine, Vicount of Conserans. *Roger Bernard*, leauenth of the name, and ninth Earle of Foix, came to the Earledome after the decease of his father, about the yeare 1262. who married *Marguerite*, daughter to *Gaston de Moncada* Lord of Bearn, and of *Martha de Foix*, by whose meanes he came to vnite the Lordship of Bearn to the Earledome of Foix, by the consent of the estates of Bearn, to the preiudice of the Earle of Armagnac, who had married the elder daughter of *Marguerite*, whom *Gaston* disinherited, in disdaine that her husband the Earle of Armagnac did not helpe him in certaine warres that hee made, as well as his other sonne in lawe the Earle of Foix. Now *Roger Bernard* had by his wife *Margue- rite* of Bearn foure children, to weet, *Gaston* the elder, who was Earle of Foix after his father, the tenth in number, and the first of that house, who enioyed the Lordship of Bearn, *Brunixenda* wife to *Helie* of Perigort, *Constance* married to *Anthony de Lcui*, Lord of Mirepoix, and *Joane* who married *Peter*, sonne to King *James* of Arragon. *Gas- ton* then the first of that name, Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearn, married *Joane*, daugh- ter to *Lewis* of France Earle of Eureux, and of *Marguerite* of Artois, from whom issued *Gaston* heire to the Earledome, *Roger Bernard* Vicount of Castellbon, father of *Mathew*, and of *Isabell* of Castellbon, who succeeded one after an other in the Earledome of Foix, and Robert Bishop of Vaur. He had also a bastard sonne named the *Wolfe*, Lord of Ara- uath, who begat *Blanche* wife to *John de Gaulti*, or *Grailhij Capdau de Buch*. *Gaston* the se- cond, the eleuenth Earle of Foix, and second Lord of Bearn, of this family, had by his E wife *Elenor*, daughter to the Earle of Comming, *Gaston Phæbus*, who succeeded his fa- ther, in the yeare 1344. the fourth of that name, and hauing married *Agnes*, daughter to King *Philip* of Nauarre, had by her one onely sonne, whose murthrer hee was, hauing found about him a box of poison, which his Vncle King *Charles* of Nauarre had giuen him to kill the Earle his father, with whom he was offended, the child being in no fault at all, for he knew not what drugges it was: wherefore at his death, hee left behind him no lawfull children, but diuers bastards, as *Iobbaire* who was one of those which were burnt at the Mummery of King *Charles* the sixt, at the banquet of Saint *Marcen*, and *Gratian*, and possibly that *Bernard* of Foix, who was married into Spaine to Lady *Isabel de la Cerde*, a Princessse of the blood royall of Castile, the stem of the house of the Dukes of Medina F Celi, if he were not sonne to *Gaston* the second, this mans predecessor. Then the successi- on of the Earldome of Foix and Lordship of Bearn, fel to *Mathew* of Castellbon aboue- named, who had no children by his wife *Joane*, daughter to the King of Arragon, where- fore his sister *Isabell* inherited his Lordships, who was wife to *Archambald de Grailtry Capdau de Buch*, from which marriage issued *John* the elder, the fiftene Earle of Foix, *Gaston Capdau de Buch*, from whom descended the Lords of *Capdolat* and *Candale*, Arch-

Original and  
continuance of  
the house of  
Foix.

*Archambald* Lord of Nouailles *Peter* a friar of Morlas, since Bishop of Lescar, in the end A  
Cardinall and founder of the Colledge of Foix at Tholouza, and *Mathew* Earle of Com-  
minges: *Iohn* the fifteenth Earle of Foix (as hath beene said) and first of that name, had to  
his first wife *Mary* of Nauarre, who dying without children, he married *Isane de Albret*,  
of whom was borne *Gaston* his successor in the Earledome of Foix and Lordship of  
Bearn. The house of Foix hath beene much ennobled by the deeds of this man: for  
during the wars betwixt the French and the English, in the daies of *Charles* the seventh,  
this Earle *Gaston* was he that made prooffe of his valor against the English armies which  
held the Duchy of Guyenne, where he twice tooke Saint Seuer chiefe of Gascony, and  
won Dax by force of armes, with great slaughter of Englishmen, who did valiantly de-  
fend those places: he did succor Tartax besieged seven monthes by the gouernor B  
of Bourdeaux. He restored his vnckle *Mathew* into the Viscountie of Comminges, being dis-  
possessed by the French King, who had installed a Spaniard therein, called *Roderigo de Vil-*  
*landrada* Earle of Ribadeo, where he ouerthrew the castle of Rocheford, he made means  
for the liberty of the Earle of Armagnac, who was in prison for hauing intelligence with  
the English, and caused his goods and lands to be restored to him. Being afterwards  
made Gouernor of Guyenne by King *Charles*, he made such cruell warre vpon the Eng-  
lish as in short time he in a manner dispossessed them of all there forces in the same Pro-  
uince, so as Bourdeaux, the chiefe city and seat of the warre, was constrained to yeeld to  
the French King, in the yeere 1451. and soone after the city of Bayonne, so as the English  
were wholly excluded out of all Guyenne. Afterward when the city of Bourdeaux rebel-  
led against the Earle of Clermont *Iohn* of Bourbon, the English being recalled by them  
(albeit they had possessed themselves of diuers places) were by the valor & good conduct,  
chiefly of the Earle *Gaston* beaten back and repulst, Cadillac being the last place that hee  
tooke from them: In all which warres, hee was faithfully and diligently accompanied  
and aided by his brother *Peter* de Foix Viscount of Lautier, the original of the renowned  
house of Lautrec, father to *Iohn* de Lautrec Posthumus, from whom did spring *Odet* de  
Foix, he that was the famous capitaine in the warres of Lombardy and Naples. *André* de  
*Asperaut*, and *Thomas* called *L'Escut*: *Henry* de Lautrec was sonne to *Odet*. *Charles* the  
seuenth did so greatly fauor the Earle *Gaston* de Foix, as he gaue in marriage to his eld-  
est sonne, called *Gaston*, like him, his daughter *Magdalen*. At the arraignment of the  
Duke of Alençon at Vandosme by King *Lewis* the eleuenth, he supplied the place of  
the Earle of Tholouza in the ranke of the Peers of France, the which preeminence hath  
remained vpon such occasions in the house of Foix, the Lordships whereof were by him  
encreased with the Vicountie of Narbone, and with the lands of Capdolat & other pur-  
chases, and in the end with the crowne of Nauarre, by his marriage with *Donna Leono-*  
*ra* of Arragon, daughter to King *Iohn*, of whom we now treat: of this man issued the po-  
sterity which followes: *Gaston* who should haue succeeded him, who (as we haue said)  
died at Liborne at the tilting which was made at the coming of *Charles* Duke of Guy-  
enne, brother to King *Lewis* the eleuenth, left heires behind him, *Francis Phébus*, and  
*Catherine* his children: then *Iohn* Lord of Narbone from whom issued *Gaston* Viscount  
of Narbone, and since Duke of Nemours, who won the battaile of Rauenna, where ne-  
uertheless he died, and *Germain*, second wife to *Fernand* King of Spaine: of *Gaston* and  
*Elenor* were borne, the third sonne named *Peter* who was Cardinall, and the fourth,  
*James*, a valiant Knight, who died in the seruice of King *Lewis* the eleuenth: more five  
daughters, *Mary*, wife to *William* Marquis of Montferrat, *Isane* wife to the Earle of Ar-  
magnac, *Marquise* wife to *Francis* Duke of Brittain, mother to Queene *Anne* of  
France, *Catherine* married to the Earle of Candale, who had three children, the eldest of  
whom was Earle of Candall, then an Archbishop of Bourdeaux and a daughter called  
*Anne* married to the King of Hungary: the fifth daughter of *Gaston* and *Elenor*, was cal-  
led *Elenor*, who died unmarried.

Genealogie of  
Nauarre.

17  
Covenants be-  
twixt King  
Iohn and D.  
Leonora his  
daughter.

No vlt vs returne to the controuersie betweene *Gaston* de Foix, father to these, and  
his father in law King *Iohn*. Hee following the good aduice of his friends and seruants,  
and hauing acquainted the King with his intent by message, the King and D. *Leonora*  
his daughter, met at a day appointed at Olita, *Gaston* being absent in France, where they  
agreed

A agreed vpon these Articles following: First, that the townes, cities, communalities of  
Nauarre, nobility and others of what Estate and condition soeuer, should without con-  
tradiction acknowledge and obey King *Iohn* as their King during his life. That the Earle  
*Gaston* and the Princeesse his wife should promise to maintaine the priuiledges, lawes and  
liberties of the Kingdome, as they had beene in times past. That the three Estates  
should take the oth of allegiance, and doe homage to the Princes the husband and  
wife, and acknowledge them for their naturall King and Queene after the decease of  
king *Iohn*, notwithstanding any other act to the contrary: that the married couple should  
irreuocably be perpetuall gouernors of the Kingdome during the Kings life, their go-  
uernment onely to cease, when the King in person should bee in the Realme: That nei-  
ther the King nor the married Princes should ingage the Kingdome in whole, nor in  
part: That the three Estates should endeavor that the King and the Princes should ac-  
complish and keepe all that had beene concluded, and oppose against them that should  
infringe them.

The same promise should be made and sworne to by the King and the Princes, and  
that for the peace of the Kingdome, all crimes and offences, how heinous soeuer, should  
be generally pardoned that had beene committed til the Kings present coming into  
the country, re-establisshing by full power and royall authority, euery man in his honors,  
goods, and reputation, reuoking and annulling all sentences and proceedings made to  
the contrary. That all places, townes and castles, which had beene taken from one o-  
ther, all offices as well Ecclesiasticall as secular & vsurped since the taking of the castle of  
Morillo, should bee restored to the first lawfull possessors thereof, within the terme of  
leuen monthes, excepting the moueables and frutes which were spent, reiecting al gifts,  
grants and engagements made by the King, Princes, or any other: Neuertheless herein  
was not to be comprehended the differences betwixt the Earle of Lerin, and Lord *Iohn*  
of Beaumont, and *Charles* de Artieda, against D. *Pedro* of Peralta Constable of Nauarre,  
and the Marshall of Nauarre, who were enioyned to submit themselves to the Kings o-  
bedience, within twelue daies after the publication hereof; to the end to determine those  
strifes by way of Iustice, vpon paine, doing the contrary, to be held as contumelious re-  
bels, and for such to be pursued and punished, as disturbers of the publike quiet: That all  
those who had beene wrongfully imprisoned, since the surceance made by the Archbi-  
shop of Saragossa the Kings sonne, in his name, and the Princes, should bee released and  
set at liberty, paying their charges: That the truce granted by them or their captaines  
should bee kept as well to strangers as the naturall subiects, both in their persons and  
goods. That whatsoever had beene taken, and retaken, to the preiudice of the same  
truce, should be restored and deliuered without other ranfome then paying their expen-  
ces: that the promises and obligations made in writing, or by word of mouth, be-  
twixt the naturall subiects, by reason of such prises made since the surcease, should be of  
no effect; and the Ecclesiasticall ordinaries should bee admonished to absolue them  
from their othes made in that behalfe, enioyning euery one to set the prisoners at liberty  
within fifteene daies, and not to ganefay this present treaty, vpon forfeiture of two  
thousand royalls of gold to the Kings coffers: As concerning the castle of Leguin, be-  
longing to the Prior of Rounceual, which had beene taken before, with great store of  
goods belonging as well to the prior as the Monastery, they who had taken the same  
goods were enioyned to restore them, or the value thereof, seeing the Prior had alway  
been a faithfull seruant to the King and the Princes: That the King and the Princes  
should solemnely sweare to cause all the heads and Articles aboue mentioned to bee  
effectually obserued and kept in euery point.

These things agreed vpon were published in the castle or pallace of Olita vpon  
Thursday the thirtieth day of May in the yeere 1471. and were receiued by the secretary  
*Iohn* of Saint Lordi: the Bishop of Oleron taking the oth, with promise made by the  
Princeesse *Donna Leonora*, to cause the Earle her husband to confirme these Articles, an  
authenticall copy whereof, sealed with the Earles scale, she would send to the King her  
father. At which were present the Bishop of Oleron, *Pedro* Lord of Ros the Earles  
Ambassador, Frier *Bernard*, *Hugh* de Rocabertin, capitaine of the Castle of Amposta,  
Roderigo



*Roderigo de Robollo, Gomes Suares of Figueroa, and John Payes the Kings Vicechancel- A*  
lor. After that, the Princeesse, having ample procuration from her husband, dated at  
the Bathes of Caudes Aigues in the valley of Dofan, sworn in his name to the Bishop  
of Oleron to obserue the aboue named couenants, in the presence of the capitaine of  
the castle of Amposta, *John Payes* the Vicechancellor, and *D. Fernand* of Baquedan vic-  
kar general of the Church of Pampelona. All these capitulations were not of force to  
ceale the troubles of Nauarre, which continued along time after.

18  
Castile.

As concerning the affaires of Castile, King *Henry*, after resolution taken about the  
marriages of the Princeesse his sister, and of *Donna Ioane* in Portugall, beeing desirous  
to set downe some good forme of gouernment in his Kingdome, called a Parliament B  
at the city of Ocagna, where the deputies of the townes and communalities did meete,  
except those of Andaluzia, the great Lords of which Prouince were not well pleased  
with the dealings of the Maister of Saint Iames, whereat the King was much moued,  
but most of al, whē he vnderstood of the marriag which was intended, against his wi, be-  
twixt the Princeesse his sister, and the new King of Sicill, *Fernand* of Arragon, which made  
him now more then before, desirous to aduance *Donna Ioane*, whom hee felt ill adu-  
ved for his daughter, notwithstanding he hated the Queene her mother, by reason of her bad  
life, which he himselfe had taught her: wherefore with his owne hand hee wrote a letter  
to the Pope, intreating him not confirme the succession of the Kingdome of Castile,  
sworne to the Princeesse *Isabella*, but to grant it to *Donna Ioane*: Hee wrote also to his a- C  
gent at Rome, Doctor *Roderigo* de Vergara, borne in Logroña, and likewise to King *Al-*  
*phonso* of Portugal, to the end that he should make the like request to the Pope: this was  
not done so secretly, but that the Archbishop of Siuill had notice thereof, who had it  
not beene for feare of the Maister of Saint Iames, who delt in this businesse, would wil-  
lingly haue dashed that matter. The King leauing Ocagna came to Madrid, where hee  
found *John Fernandes Galindo*, capitaine and gouernor of the fort of Madrid, and keeper  
of his treasures sicke to death, at whose entreaty, hee gaue the charge of the fort, and of  
that which was in it to *Andrew* of Cabrera his Steward, whom hee did dayly aduance,  
and made partaker of his greatest secrets. The city of Leon, about that time, had like to D  
haue beene surprisid by *Diego Fernand* de Quignones, Earle of Luna, but the practice  
being discouered, *Aluaz Garcia*, Citizen of the same towne, with whom the Earle had in-  
telligence, was taken and beheaded as a traitor. At the intreaty of the Maister of Saint  
Iames, the King returned to Ocagna, where hee gaue the title of Marquis of Villena to  
*Diego Lopes Pacheco* his eldest sonne, a braue knight, who soone after Married the Coun-  
tesse of Saint *Stephen* de Gormis, daughter to Don *John* de Luna, Earle of Saint *Stephen*,  
and grand-child to the Constable *Aluaz de Luna*, who was in the keeping of the Maister  
of Saint Iames, who was at the same time confirmed in his Maistership by the Pope and  
possessed more riches then any Lord of Spaine. The King of Portugall solicited by  
King *Henry* about the marriage of the Princeesse *Donna Isabella*, sent his Ambassadors,  
the Archbishop of Lisbon, and two other Lords, who were at the Court more then E  
twenty daies without concluding any thing by reason that the Princeesse had placed her  
affection vpon Prince *Fernand*, and so returned home, leauing the King highly displeased  
with his sister, who dissolued the Parliament at Ocagna, not suffering the peeres to sweare  
to his sisters succession in the kingdome.

*Diego Lopes de*  
*Pacheco sonne*  
*to the Maister*  
*of Saint Iames,*  
*made Marquis*  
*of Villena.*

19  
The King of  
Castile voyaged  
into Andalu-  
zia.

The assembly at Ocagna beeing broken vpe, the king beeing very desirous to pacifie  
the Country of Andaluzia, which was full of diffentions, hee went thither in person,  
leauing for Viceroyes in Valliodolit, the Earle of Benauent and Don *Pedro* de Velas-  
co, with the President and Chauncery, the Princeesse *Donna Isabella* remaying at  
Ocagna, who promised not to dispose of her marriage till the returne of the King and  
the Councell.

There went with the king, the Mr. of St. Iames, the Archbishop of Siuill, the Bishop of  
Siguencia and others of the councell, but the Archbishop remained sicke at Ciudad-real:  
the king came to Iacn, where hee was receiued & entertained by the Constable *Michael*  
*Lucas* d' Irançuy, who protested to him that he would not suffer any one of the rebels in his  
traine to come into the city: wherefore, the Mr. of St. Iames fearing to be accounted one of  
the

A the number, staid at Osuna; but *Roderigo* of Villosa, beeing more foolish hardy then the  
rest, receiued the disgrace to be rudely repulst by the Constable, who couched his launce  
against his brest sending him thence with many bitter speeches: this Constable was ve-  
ry faithfull to the King his Maister, and was a liberall and generous Knight. To *Pedro*  
*Gonzales* de Mendoza Bishop of Siguencia, and to the whole house of Mendoza, who en-  
tered with the king, the Constable gaue openly a singular testimony of their fidelity with  
a loude voice as they passed thorow the gate. The King and the Lords of his traine,  
were for the space of three daies feasted at Iacn, from whence he went to Castro del Rio,  
where *D. Pedro* of Cordoua Earle of Cabra met him with a thousand horse, bringing with  
him his children, and *Martin Alphonso* Lord of Alcaudete his sonne in law, who were all  
of them faithfull and good seruants to the King: With this company the King went to  
Cordoua, wherein remained *Alphonso* de Aguilar, one of the faction of the Maister of  
Saint Iames, the city gates were opened to him, and *Alphonso* in recompence receiued  
certaine pentions: betwixt whom and the Earle of Cabra had beene old grudges, but  
the King went about to make them friends: the Gouernment of Cordoua, which in  
times past did belong to the Earle of Cabraes predecessors, was giuen vnto him, and the  
office likewise of Marshall. Vpon a seditious petition presented by those of Cordoua,  
mentioning that *Peter* Earle of Cabra, and *Martin Alphonso* his sonne-in-law, and *Al-*  
*phonso* de Aguilar, should deliuer vp certaine places belonging to the city and commu- C  
nality of Cordoua held by them during the troubles, it was determined that they should  
giue caution for the deliuey of them by a certaine day: this was a trick of Don *Al-*  
*phonso* de Aguilar, who stirred vp the people to constraine the Earle, and his sonne-in-  
law, to restore that which they had vsurped, hee himselfe perceiuing, that he could no  
longer hold the places, which hee had taken during the trouble, the which did great-  
ly nourish and increase the hatred which the Earle and his sonne-in-law did beare vn-  
to him.

Whilest the King lay at Cordoua, there arriued Ambassadors from the French King  
*Lewis* the eleuenth, the Cardinall of Albj, beeing the chiefe: the effect of his message  
was, to breake the league betwixt the King of Castile and the English, which was very  
D prejudiciall to King *Lewis* his Maister: After audience, he obtained what he demaunded,  
the Maister of Saint Iames working the matter, who perhaps was a faithfuller seruant  
to the French King, then to his Maister the King of Castile. This yeere 1469. died  
Friar *Lopes* of Barjentes Bishop of Cuenca, the Bishoprike of Leon beeing likewise  
voide, *Anthony* de Veneris the Popes Legat had that of Cuenca, and that of Leon was  
giuen to Doctor *Roderigo* de Vergara, the Kings agent at Rome.

The Princeesse *Donna Isabella*, during the Kings stay in Andaluzia was ruled by the ad-  
vice of the Admirall and the Archbishop of Toledo, and forgetting the promise which  
shee had made to the King her brother, shee inuented meanes to surprise the towne of  
Areualo, held in the name of the Earle of Playfance by *Aluaz* de Beacamont, with  
E whom shee practized: but shee was disapointed of her purpose, which was discouered by  
the Earle, who preuented the Princeesse, and committed the captaine to prison. The  
Earle posselt this place, as a pawne, engaged vnto him for a certaine summe of money,  
when the Infant *Alphonso* was chosen King. The Princeesse being deceiued in her hope,  
came to Madrigall, and from thence to Valliodolit, vnto whom the King sent the Cardi-  
nall of Albj the French Kings Ambassador, and the Archbishop of Siuill, to possesse her  
with a distaste of *Fernand* King of Sicill, which marriage did highly displease him,  
fearing that by reason of the warres of Cattalonia, and former matters betwixt him  
and King *John* of Arragon his father, some great losse might happen to Castile by  
that match.

F The Cardinall, and the Archbishop did their best, and made offer of a marriage be-  
twixt her and *Charles* Duke of Guyenne, brother to the French King, but shee made no  
account thereof, persisting in her first resolution, wherefore they returned backe without  
effecting that which they went about: the king iourning thorough Andaluzia, was  
continually solicited by the Maister of Saint Iames (vnto whom he could deny nothing)  
to remoue and displace the captaines, gouernors & other officers of townes and castles,  
to

*D. Michael*  
*Lucas* de *Fo-*  
*rança* Constable  
of Castile, a  
free and Gene-  
rous Knight.

This Maister of Saint James goes out to displace the capitaine of the Garrison in Antiquera, and to place another, which was at that time done.

to the end to place therein such as were of his owne faction, which was granted to him at Eccia, where hee displaced *Martin* of Cordoua and put in Doctor *Garcia Lopes* of Madrid, one of his counsell, and *Frederick Manrique*, and to recompence *Martin*, he assigned him certaine pensions hard to be recouered. And thinking to doe the like to *Hernandes* of Narbaez, the old Gouvernor of Antiquera, he found himselfe deceived, for the Gouvernor would not suffer the King to enter into his Fort with about fiftene men, and the residew of his traine were constrained to take vp their lodging in the country villages thereabouts.

These things did not displease the King, who albeit he knew very well, that it was an vnjust thing to displace the captaines that had bene faithfull vnto him, at a traitors motion, yet he had not the courage to reiect the importunities of the Maister, who would haue had his friend *Alphonso* de Aguilar to haue commanded in Antiquera. The King being come to Archidouna had conference with a Moore of Malaga called *Alquizeote*, an enemy to the King of Granada, who presented him with certaine Barbary hoeses and other Moorish presents, vnto whom the King promised fauour and assistance against the King of Granada, as to his vassall. From thence he came to Carmona, where he remained a space: In the same towne there was three castles, two of which were at the commandement of the Maister of Saint James, but the third was held by *Gomes Mendes* de Sotomajor, a Knight wholly leagued with those of Siuill, whom the Maister had a great desire to dispossesse, and did greatly importune the King to consent therevnto, and hee did promise *Gomes Mendes* a large recompence, the which hee refused, saying, that hee could not leaue that place without the consent of the Knights of Siuill, vnto whom hauing declared the wrong that the King would haue done to him (onely to satisfie the Maister of Saint James) the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and *Roderigo Ponce* of Leon, *Pedro* de Estuniga, & *Alphonso Henriquez* Gouvernor of the frontiers, sent to aduertize the King, that they could not consent to so vnreasonable a matter, hurtfull to the crowne, as to alienate from the same, the town of Carmona; which the King at that time tooke in good part, but afterward hee was ouer-ruled by the Maister of Saint James, and would haue constrained *Gomes Mendes* to haue left the same place: wherefore the Duke of Medina, and the other Knights with the Inhabitants of Siuill, armed themselves, and assailed the castle of Triana, from whence hauing driuen *Hernandes Arias* of Sahaedra, they placed therein another captaine, then, their power increasinge, they came into the field, giuing the King and the Maister of Saint James new matter to thinke on, who with the whole Court left Carmona and came to Alcala de Guadaira, and from thence the King sent to command the Duke to disarme himselfe and to send away his people: who answered, that hee had taken armes for his seruice, as also to defend himselfe from his enemy the Maister of Saint James: The Maister fearing that this fire would kindle to his owne hurt, sought meanes to conferre with the Duke, which the other Lords and Knights, with those of Siuill would not agree vnto, saying that the Maister was a crafty wicked man, and that their talke would come to no good effect, and so sent backe to the King, intreating him not to alienat Carmona from the crowne, and to confirme *Gomes Mendes* in his captainship. The King, to auoide farther mischiefs, made means himselfe, that the Duke and the Maister might talke together betweene Siuill and Cantillana. At this meeting it was onely determined, that the King should enter into Siuill, and that the Maister should stay at Cantillana, where they should agree vpon those things.

The King being receiued with great ioy into the city of Siuill, whilest hee remained there, about the appealing of those differences, the Princeesse *Isabella* his sister, being continually sollicitied by her Maister *Pantier Gutierrez* of Cardegna to harken to the marriage of *Fernand* Prince of Girona, the heire of Arragon, and to reiect that of Portugal, and Duke *Charles* of France, with the King of Englands brother who was another sutor, at the last she gaue her full consent therevnto: wherefore the Archbishop of Toledo and the Admirall *D. Frederike*, wholly addicted to the seruice of this Princeesse, and likewise to Prince *Fernand* King of Sicill, thinking that this marriage was most convenient and profitfull for the affaires of the Kingdome, did consent and conclude therevpon, causing the Bridegroom in a disguised habit to come into Castile, whether hee was con-

A conducted by *D. Pedro Manriquez* Earle of Treuigno, who afterwards was Duke of Nagera, and others, who brought him to Valiodolit. Where beeing presented before the Princeesse amongst others, very few (nor yet she her selfe) did know him: but her faithfull seruant *Gutierrez* of Cardegna shewed her him, saying in his Spanish tongue, *Esse es*. This is he: to whom the Princeesse readily replied and *Esse* shall be thine armes: for this cause, the house and posterity of this Knight, beareth yet to this day, amidst there blazons and deuises an S S: The royall aspect and graue countenance of Prince *Fernand* did soone certifie the Princeesse that it was he, therefore without any more delay, the marriage was solemnized and accomplished at Valiodolit, the eighteenth of October 1469.

B In the house of *John de Bizarro*, whereat this day the Kings Chancery is kept, King *Henry* not knowing thereof, who would rather haue hindred it then otherwise, for the small good which he wished to King *John* of Arragon his father.

These newes were presently carried to the Maister of Saint James, who wrote to the King that he should forthwith without delay come to Cantillana, the which he did, not knowing the cause why he was so hastily sent for: there, to his great grieve, he vnderstood of his sisters marriage: wherefore vpon the instant hee departed out of Andaluzia, leauing those of Siuill some-what mooued, vntill they knew the cause: and taking the ready way to Trugillo, hee was there staied, by the refusall of *Garcia de Sese* captaine of the fort of that city, who would not yeeld the same place vp vnto him, the which hee ment to haue bestowed vpon the Earle of Playfance, in recompence of the good seruice which hee had done vnto him. This captaine had agreed with the townes-men (who had foreseene the Kings intent) to hold out and not to permit the same to be alienated from the crowne, and giuen to a priuate Lord. The King perceiving that hee could not gratifie the Earle with Trugillo, confirmed vnto him, and left for Inheritance to him and his heires for euer the towne of Arcualo, which was pawn'd vnto him, with title of Duke, doing thereby manyfest wrong to the widow Queene *Isabella*, vnto whom that towne did belong.

Being at Trugillo, *Gomes de Caceres* Maister of Alcantara came vnto him, and craued pardon for his offences, the which hee freely obtained: and besides that hee was confirmed in the gouernment of *Badajos*, and *Caceres*, which hee had vsurped during the reuolts: and at his intreaty, and of the Maister of Saint James, hee gaue to his brother *Gutierrez* de Caceres the city of Coria, with the title of Earle. To *Alphonso Monroy*, who had bene faithfull vnto him, and followed the warres at his owne charges, hee gaue many great gifts: so this King did good both to his friends and enemies. At the same place of Trugillo, hee receiued letters from the Princeesse his sister, by the which shee gaue him reason for her marriage with Prince *Fernand*, and for her refusall of the others, intreating him to beleue that it was done, for the good quiet and commodity of the Kingdome of Castile in time to come, and to assure him both of her good will and her husbands, who would for euer remaine his affectionate seruants, without inclyning to any thing that should displease him, beseeching him to consider with what hearty affection shee loued and honoured him, seeing that when it was in her power to take vpon her the regall dignitie, which was offered her, by the decesse of Prince Don *Alphonso*, shee had refused it, and exhorted the confederate Lords to serue and honour him as their King: complainyng besides of many other greuous wrongs offered as well vnto her selfe, as to the widow Queene *Isabella* her mother yet liuing. The letter being read before the counsell, the messenger receiued this answer, that the King would be shortly at Segobia, where all matters should be debated on with reason and equity, and indeed the Court remooued thither presently after, where the Ambassadors of the Princes *Fernand* and Donna *Isabella* did arrive, who were Don *Pedro* de Baca, and *Diego* de Ribera, who had brought vp the Infant Don *Alphonso* deceased: and on the Archbishop of Toledos part, *Lewis* of Antecana, who besought the King to approoue the marriage, and to excuse the Princes, for that they had not acquainted all the great Lords of the Kingdome therewith, who by reason that they were deuided into diuerse factions, could not choose thereby but nourish greater occasions of discord: As for themselves, they wished

wished nothing more, then to be obedient vnto him, and for such to be reputed, desiring A to imploy themselves for the maintenance of the peace of the Kingdome, and administration of Iustice, which in a manner was chased away, in steed whereof al manner of outrages, extortions and confusions did reigne. Lastly they entreated him to appoint some place where the Princes might come and visit him, to the end to certifie him in person of their sincere affection and desire to doe him seruice.

Besides these demands, they declared vnto the King the Articles and Couenants, wherevpon this marriage was contracted, which were these.

1 First of all, Prince *Fernand* King of Sicill did promise to be a deuout and obedient sonne to the Sea of Rome, and to honour and well intreat the Ecclesiasticall Persons and Ministers of the same.

2 That hee should honour and acknowledge King *Henry* for his King (if it pleased him to accept thereof) and should imploy his person and meanes to cause all his subiects to doe the like.

3 That he should likewise honor the widow Queene *Isabella*, mother to the Princeesse.

4 That he should cause Iustice to be established, and should assist the King therein, observing the lawes and good customes of the Kingdome.

5 That he should endeauor, with his vttermost power, to maintaine the peace betwix the King, Himselfe and the Princeesse.

6 That hee should not depart out of the Kingdome of Castile, nor carry away the Princeesse, nor the children that God should send them, especially the Prince his heire, without expresse deliberation and consent of the councill.

7 That in the letters and royall charters, the Prince and the Princeesse should be named both together, as well in those which concerned Castile and Leon, as those in the Kingdomes and Lands which the Prince now possesseth, or may enioy hereafter.

8 That the naturall borne of the Kingdome should be admitted into the council and offices of either of them, with consent of the Princeesse.

9 That the Princeesse should receive the othes of homage and fidelity, and should haue power to place officers, captaines and guards, in the cities, castles and fortresses of the Kingdome, as well by her presently possessed, as in others, which might hereafter fall vnto her, placing therein persons borne in the Kingdome of Castile, and appurtenances thereof and none others.

10 That all gifts and pensions granted by the Princeesse, should bee approued and confirmed by Prince *Fernand*.

11 That he should not procure the hurt of any one of the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon for the occasion of the warres, quarrels, and outrages past, betwixt Castile and Arragon.

12 That he should not enterprize, nor make warre, league, nor confederacy, with any neighbour King, Lord or Knight of this Kingdome, without the consent of the Princeesse, and her councill.

13 That for the increase of the Princeesse dowry, he should giue to her Borja and Magallon in the Kingdome of Arragon: and in that of Valencia, Elche and Euillen: and in Sicill, Siracuça and Caranea, according as those places had beene assigned and giuen from time to time to the Queenes of Arragon.

14. Besides, that the Princeesse should every yeere, during her life, receive the rents & reuenues of one towne in the said Kingdoms which she should best like of, provided that it were not a capitall or chiefe towne of the Kingdome, or principallity, the gouernors and officers whereof should neuertheless be natives of the same country.

15 And if the Prince should happen to die first, the Princeesse should neuertheless, during her life, enioy those places; after whose decease they should returne to the crowne, and to the heires thereof.

16 And if it should be found, that greater dowries, profits, lands, authority & preeminence had bin giuen to Queene *Ioane* of Arragon the Princes mother, or to Queene *Mary* wife to King *Alphonso*, daughter to King *Henry* the Princeesse grand-father, that the Prince should supply that defect within two monthes after.

17 That

Matrimoniall  
Articles betwixt  
Fernand of Arragon,  
and Isabella of Castile.

A 17 That within the terme of foure monthes he should giue to the Princeesse in ready money a hundred thousand florins of the coyne of Arragon for hir expences, and to bestow as she pleased.

18 That if any warre or strife should arise in the Kingdome, the Prince did oblige himselfe to serue in person with foure thousand Launces til the war were ended, and if he should not furnish so many launces, that he should then pay with his owne money, such forces as should serue vnder him.

King *Henry* hauing heard the Ambassadors, answered, that the businesse being of great consequence, it was requisite to aduise thereon with mature deliberation, and that after he had consulted with the great Lords of his Court and councill, hee would then answer their message, and so sent them backe.

In the meane space a notable Insolency was committed in Andaluzia, which caused great stirres: for albeit that through the Kings meanes and authority it seemed that the Bishop of Siguença, had made an agreement and pacified *Alphonso* de Aguilar with the Earle of Cabra and his children, neuertheless their hatred slept not in their hearts, so as *Alphonso* vpon a time hauing inuited to a banquet in the towne-house of Cordoua called Casa del Cabildo, *Diego* the Marshall of Cordoua, eldest sonne to the Earle, who held the place of Alguazil Major of the same city, hee kept him there prisoner, and sent him away with great indignity, with a sure guard, to his fort of Cagnete, he tooke also

C his brother *Sancho*, and kept him prisoner likewise, hauing the Magistrates of the city at his deuotion: whereof complaints being made to the King, he did write in great choller to *Alphonso*, commanding him without delay to release the brethren; otherwise hee would come in person into Andaluzia and enforce him to doe it, punishing him as a rebellious person: wherefore the Marshall was released and sent to Baena, who resenting this iniury, wrote a letter to the King full of accusations, crauing leaue of him to defend his enemy, and to prouoke him to single fight, thereby to constrain him to re-paire and satisfie his honour and reputation: The King hauing heard the messenger and read the letter, would by no meanes allow of the combate, because sundry disorders arise thereof; as also for that those matters of Duell or single combate, are contrary both to diuine and humane lawes, especially betwixt subiects belonging to one and the selfe same Prince, who hath hath power and authority, to bring them to reason by way of Iustice: herevpon the Marshall published infamous libels and declarations, against *Alphonso*, and he obtained free liberty of the King of Granada to enter the combate in his country, assigning *Alphonso* to meet in the plaine of Granada, and sending him a safe-condukt from the Moore King: The day appointed for the fight beeing come *Alphonso* would not appeare: wherefore after that the Marshall had made the acts and protestations which are accustomed in in such cases, about the setting of the Sun, he tooke a picture representing *Alphonso* de Aguilar, and hauing tied it to his horse taile with the face to the ground, he gallopt vp and downe the plaine, dragging it after him;

E crying aloud: This is the traitor *Alphonso* de Aguilar, who durst not meet me in single fight, nor venture his body against mine: Then the King of Granada adiudged him a victor, and condemned *Alphonso*: diuerse draughts of that picture were afterward sent to sundry Lords and Knights of Spaine to *Alphonso*'s great disgrace.

The city of Simancas, with the castle thereof, were in this meane time surprised against the Kings authority, by the Admirall, wherewith the King was greatly troubled, in regard that the Maister of Saint Iames was very sicke, without whom he was not able to negotiate or resolue vpon any matter of importance: This yeere King *Lewis* the eleuenth, demanded Donna *Ioane* in marriage for his brother *Charles* Duke of Guyenne, whose Ambassadors were put in good hope that it should be accomplished. F An other Ambassage was sent to King *Henry* from the same King *Lewis*, to induce him to ioyne with him about calling of a councill against Pope *Paul* the second: but his councill was of opinion that the King should not medle in a matter so displeasing to the Pope, by whom, and by the Sea of Rome his progenitors had beene alwaies fauored, wherefore the Ambassadors were answered in this manner, that the King would notarken to their request, and that hee did with King *Lewis* to desist from his purpose, and to assure

Ambassad of  
Alphonso de  
Aguilar against  
the children of the  
Earle of Cabra.

Ambello granted  
by the King of  
Granada to  
Diego of Cordoua  
against  
Alphonso de  
Aguilar.

The Admirall  
of Castile surpriseth  
Simancas.

assure him that al the meanes of Spaine should be employed for Gods vickar, vnto whom A King *Henry*, besides the dignity which hee held, was particularly obliged, for that he had aided and comforted him in his troubles. At the same time the Knights of Alcantara, conducted by the treasurer *Alphonso de Mont Roy*, rose in mutiny against their Maister *D. Gomes de Caceres*, and pursued him to death: so as after they had taken from him *Badajos*, Alcantara, and Valence of Alcantara, they fought with him and ouercame him in batraile, so as hee could neuer after raise himselfe againe: his brother *Gutierre* Earle of Coria, hauing for his succor demaunded souldiars of the Earle of Alua *D. Garcia Aluares* of Toledo his father in law, engaged to him the city of Coria for money to pay them, who being gathered together in great numbers, their passage was hindred at the riuer of Taio by the diligence of *Alphonso de Mont Roy*, and the other Knights his aduersaries, who brake all the bridges, and sunke all the boates, so as they could not passe: wherefore they returned without doing any thing, and Coria remained to the Earle of Alua. By this euill hap, the Maister wholly ruined and in dispaire, died soone after in great pouerty and misery: the Maisterhip whereof was begged of the Pope, by *Donna Leonora Pimentel*, Countesse of Playfance, for her sonne *D. Iohn de Estuniga*. The King did willingly consent to the pursue of the Countesse, whom he honored aboue all others, and allowed and confirmed the Popes Bul. And albeit that the treasurer, *Alphonso* of Montroy, and the Knights did oppose themselves against such an irregular election, the Countesse who had more then a womans heart, tooke Alcantara with other places by force, and delt in such manner, as her sonne posselt the Maisterhip: and was the last that had the title of Maister of that Order.

*Donna Leonora Pimentel Countesse of Playfance a woman of manly courage.*

22  
Spanish Superstitions.

The people of Ognate Superstitions.

*Roderigo* Bishop of Zamora at that time florished in Spaine for his learning: but whilest the Prelats and Gouernors of the Church gaue themselves ouer to worldly greatnesse, and to nourish and sow discord and diuisions, Religion it selfe was mannaged according to euery mans deuotion. There is in the Prouince of Guipuscoa in the mountaine of Aloya, in the territory of Ognate a Couent of Friars, the original, whereof began about this time: for it is reported that a certaine herdsman called *Roderigo Balcaste* who dwelt in *Vribarri*, keeping his goates vpon that mountaine, went down the same hill into a rocky place, which was nere to no high-way, where he found by chance an Image of the Virgin *Mary* vpon a green thorn. This seemed vnto him a wonderful matter because of the desertnesse of the place: therefore he fell to saying his *Aue Marias*, and other such like praier as he had beene taught: then night drawing on hee couered the Image with boughes and other things, and went home to his village, and told this great wonder: The rumor thereof being spread thorow the towne of Ognate, the Ministers of Iustice, the Clergy, and the common people, being guided by the shepheard, went to the same place, where they found in a hedge a very little Image of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her Sonne in her armes, before which they all kneeled downe and beganne to sing many songs and hymnes, thanking God that had sent them so pretious a ieuell, thinking it a great miracle to haue found it in so desert and remote a place: wherefore they consulted together about building a Chappell there, and whilest prouision was made for the manner and matter of that building, they resolved to enclose it with boords, notwithstanding it was seated very discomodiouly, they not daring to vndertake to transport it from thence, nor to build an house for it in any other place then where it first appeared, and they named it the hermitage of our Lady of Arançaçu, which is to say, of the thorne; the which in short time was held for a very religious place, beeing visited, and indowed by diuerse deuout people. Wherefore those of Ognate and Mondragon, which are the neerest places to it, seeing that great numbers of pilgrims came thither, they beganne to make the waies plaine; and to cut the rocke to make the passage thither more easie. Vpon this beginning, grounded vpon the simple credulity of a sort of rude people, it came to passe that this Image beeing famous and greatly visited, certaine of the religious of La Merced were greatly desirous to build a Couent there, wherein one of them named *Frier Peter* of Ariaran did greatly imploy himselfe, whose mother was so superstitious, as shee dedicated her whole life to the seruice of this Couent: but these fathers being kept there a certaine time, as well by the almes of the good people of the country

A country thereabouts as also by the bounty of the pilgrims, in the end by reason of the extreame cold of the winter, and barrennes of the place, they grew weary and left it: in whose roomes came certaine religious people of the third Order of Saint Francis, or Tercecones (as they call them) who did enlarge the Couent begonne by the Friers of La Merced, who were by the Popes prouided of diuerse pardons and indulgencies for those which should visit it, and doe them any good: now, in the reigne of the Catholike King and Queene *Fernand* and *Isabella*, vpon the occasion of reforming the religions of Spaine, these Friers Tercecones were admonished by this Obseruantines to turne to their rule: which is, say they, the true rule of Saint Francis, which they refused, and being vrged therevnto by way of Iustice; these fathers resolved to giue ouer their first religion, and did put on the habit of the Iacobins, or Friers Prechers of Saint Dominike: then there arose an other strife betwixt the Friers of Saint Francis, and the Dominicans, about the possession of this Couent, the Friers saying that it belonged vnto them, and to none others, seeing that the brethren of their Order had held it so long a time without contradiction of those of La Merced: Therefore they beganne by ordinary and extraordinary meanes to contend about this possession, and at the last fell to blowes: but the Dominicans being vpheld by the Inhabitants of Ognate, the friers withdrew themselves, not attempting it any more by such meanes, then they beganne their sute about it at Rome, whether they sent for their soliciter, a frier called *Martin Garibay*, who vsed such diligence, as the right was iudged to the brethren of his order, and the Couent restored to the Obseruant friers: So at the returne of friar *Martin* into Spaine, who brought with him the execution of that sentence, the Dominicans came forth, and left the possession to their aduersaries, who at this present doe enioy it, and haue greatly augmented it with building; and it is said, that it is an harbour and retreat for many afflicted people specially of Marriners, who come thither to pay their vowes: to the great commodity of the friers: these exercises of religion are greatly vsed in Spaine: but in the yeere 1552. vpon the sixth of December, the whole Cloister, with the lodgings and other buildings were burnt downe to the ground by casualty: but the fire touched not the Church which they account for a great miracle.

Friars transferred to Iacobins.

D This yeere 1469. died *Don Pedro Fernandes* of Velasco Earle of Haro who was reputed to be a Knight that led the most Christian life of any other of his time, in testimony whereof the Spaniards write that hee did build the Monastery of Pomar, where hee made three of his daughters Nunnes, with an hospitall where twelue Gentlemen, false into pouerty, should be honorably entertained, and a Chappell for the buriall of him and his: liuing afterward very retiredly in Medina de Pomar, eschewing the daungers and troubles of this world: these religious workes are praized in Spaine, by the great Lords that are rich, when they are become old and haue many children. Now his sonne *Don Pedro* of Velasco, oftentimes named in this History, succeeded in the Earledome.

Religious deeds of Pedro Fernandes de Velasco, Earle of Haro.

E But returning to the History of King *Henry*, who beeing come to Segobia, the absence of the Maister of Saint Iames, who was extreame sick of a quartan feuer, did greatly trouble him, for without him hee could doe nothing: therefore it was thought fit, that for their better conferring together, the King should come to Madrid, whether the Maister beeing very weake was brought, the King and the whole Court going forth to meet him, not without the wonder of diuerse, which thought it a strange matter to see this Prince, so much to abase himselfe to *Iohn de Pacheco*, who notwithstanding that hee was sick, yet all matters passed thorough his hands, and nothing was concluded on without him. About the same time died *Don Lewis de la Cerde*, who had held Escalona all the time of the troubles, and appointed at his death, that his people should yeeld it vp to the King: the Maister of Saint Iames, demaunded this place and obtained it: and because the souldiars of the deceased, did say that they would not deliuer it to any other but to the King himselfe, hee came thither in person, and receiued the towne, and gaue it forthwith to the maister of Saint Iames: so as all that which had beene taken from *Aluar de Luna*, Maister of Saint Iames, fell to this man.

23

Contempt of Justice in the Castile.





Conclusion of  
the marriage  
betwixt Quays  
Duke of Guen  
and D. Joane.

The townes of  
the Infantaſgo  
giuen to the  
Marquis of  
Santillana.

*Francisco* of Estuniga, accompanied with those of the family of Chaues of Trugillo with a great company of souldiers, to make reprisall of these Ladies for certaine prisoners, Kinsfolks, and friends of the Chaues, who were kept by the Countesse of Medellina: wherefore *Don Francisco* hauing ouertaken them at Guadalupe, *D. Alphonso Ponce*, who conducted them, thought to get the franchise of the Monasterie of Guadalupe, where hee was beſeeged, and the Ladies, with those that conducted them, and the Monkes of the same place, did suffer many outrages, notwithstanding that the King thought to remedy the matter, by sending thither the Licenciate *Don Henriquez*, who could do no good: in the end *Don Francisco* of Estuniga and his people hauing broken vp the gates of the Couent, enforced *Don Alphonso* to yeeld himselfe, and to deliuer the Ladies into his hands, whom they ledde away with them. Now the marriage beeing concluded betwixt *Donna Ioane* and the Duke of Guienne, to the great discontent of diuers Spaniards, the King and the Ambassadors went to Segobia, there to receiue *Donna Ioane*, who was at Guadalupe, and also to apply to themselves the pardons of the Iubile, which the Pope graunted this yeare, vnto such as would giue money for them: to wit, the richer sort, the foure royals of plate, those of the meauer sort, three, and the meanest of all, two, the third part whereof was to bee applied to the sea of Rome and chamber Apostolicke, and the other two thirds towards the building of the Cloister of the great Church of the same citie, whereunto the King furnished abundantly to that which was wanting, and gaue vnto it certaine Coapes of cloath of gold. *Donna Ioane* was in the keeping of the Marquis of Santillana, who in recompence of his paynes, and cost, bestowed about her entertainment, receiued in gift from the King, the three townes of the Infantaſgo, namely, Alcozer, Valoliuas, and Salmeron, the which did belong to the Countesse of Saint Stephen, wife to *Don Diego Lopes de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena: but shee was recom-penced foure fold, for the King gaue her the towne of Requegna with the rights of the port thereof: the Master of Saint Iames, father to the Marquis, beeing hee that did order and dispose of all matters after his owne pleasure and profite.

There arose about the same time a great tumult in Vailliodolit betwixt the old and new Christians, the old beeing fauoured and vpheld by *Iohn de Biuero*, a rich Cittizen of the same towne, and very affectionate to the seruice of the Princes *Don Fernand*, and *Donna Izabella*, who vpon this occasion came from Duegnas, where they remayned, to Vailliodolit, and were lodged in *Iohn de Biuero's* house: the which did so stirre vp the mutinous people, as they came running in armes to force that house, the Princes were in danger to haue beene taken, if the Bishop of Salamanca, who was President of the Chancerie, had not suddainly put them out of the towne, and caused them to returne to Duegnas.

The King hauing notice of this tumult, came to Vailliodolit, confiscated *Iohn de Biuero's* house, and gaue it to the Earle of Benauent with the Captaine-ship of the towne, and hauing pacified the people, he returned to Segobia, where his chiefest and most pleasing aboad was, the fortresse of the which place, held for a certaine time by the Master of Saint Iames, was a little while before yeelded vp vnto him, where hee made *Adrew de Cabrera* Captaine.

Certaine dayes after, the King remooued from Segobia, and came to lye in the Monasterie of Paular in the valley of Loſoia, bringing with him his wife Queene *Ioane*, *D. Ioane* her daughter, the French Ambassadors, and others, the Dukes of Arenal and Valence, the Master of Saint Iames, the Earles of Benauent, Miranda, S. Martha, the Arch-bishop of Seuille, with many other Lords, Knights, and Prelates: but the Lords of the house of Mendoza, did chiefly accompany the Queene and her daughter, namely, the Marquis of Santillana, the Bishop of Siguenſa, the Earles of Tendilla and Crugna, and *Don Iohn Hurtado*, the which Lords and Ambassadors, beeing by the Kings commandement assembled in an open field, vpon the banke of the riuer which runneth thorough the same valley, where from all parts of the Countrey, great numbers of people of all sorts were gathered together.

The Licentiate *Antonio Nugnes* of Cité Rodrigo was commaunded by the king to reade a writing signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, contayning in substance, that

A that whereas he in times past, at the intreatie and request of the great Lords of his kingdom, and for to pacifie the troubles and ciuil warres of the same, had declared his sister *Donna Izabella* his heire, and successer in the State and royall dignitie of Castile, and procured the Lords, Prelates, and Communalities of the kingdom to swear vnto her, vpon condition, that she should be obedient vnto him: she notwithstanding reiecting all respect and duty due vnto him, who was her king, father, and elder brother, had married her selfe without his knowledge, and against his expresse commandement, to *Don Fernand* king of Sicill and Prince of Aragon: in regard whereof, hee did at that present manifest and declare her to be fallen from all the right which shee might pretend there-vnto, and did disinherit her, disannulling all promises, declarations, and institutions made vnto her in that behalfe: commanding all his subiects, that from thence forward they should not acknowledge her for Princeſſe, but obey (with a follemne oath) his daughter *Donna Ioane* there present: This writing beeing read openly with a loud voice, the Cardinal of Albi, the French Ambassadour, came to the Queene, requesting her to affirme by oath, whether *Donna Ioane* were truly the daughter of the king, her husband or not, whereunto she answered, that vndoubtedly she was: then he made the like request to the king, namely, whether he did stedfastly beleue, that *Donna Ioane* there present, were his daughter, the which he affirmed, saying, that he had alwaies reputed and accounted her for his owne naturall daughter: euer since shee was borne: then presently, the Prelates, Lords, and others which were present at that act, came and kissed the Infanta's hands, and following the Kings commandement, they tooke the oath of fidelity vnto her, after the manner accustomed to the eldest sonnes of the kings of Castile, all of them calling her Princeſſe and heire, the Marquis of Santillana, the Bishop of Siguenſa and his other brethren excepted, who excused themselves, saying, that they had alreadye at another time taken the same oath, which was not now needfull to be reiterated. After these things the Earle of Bologne hauing exhibited the authoritie which hee had from the Duke of Guienne, the Cardinal tooke *Donna Ioane*, and the Earle by the hands, and betrothed them, with all the vsuall ceremonies and solemnities: and then the drummes and trumpets sounded, and all sorts of signes of ioy and gladnesse were made by the assistants.

D This done, the Ambassadors returned to Segobia, where by the way they were so beaten with a violent tempest of wind, raine and hayle, as they were in danger of their liues, and diuers of their traine perished, which was an euident token, that the miseries of Spayne were not yet at an end. From Segobia, the King caused the Bishop of Siguenſa to accompany them to Burgos, from whence they returned highly contented to France: but the Duke of Guienne his death, who liued in continuall discord with his brother king *Lewis*, hindred the accomplishment of this marriage.

The Arch-bishop of Toledo was then at home in his house, contriuing of new troubles, and held the party contrarie to the Master of S. Iames, who did wholly possesse the King, to the great indignation of the great Lords, who vpon that occasion left the Court, and retired themselves home to their houses, the kingdom beeing opprest with miseries, plagues, famines, murthers, and falshood in all things, especially in mony, to the great hurt of the people, who wanted the administration of iustice. *Baſco de Contreras* one of the Kings captaines, had taken the fortresse of Perales from this Arch-bishop, the which caused new troubles: for the Arch-bishop beeing desirous to recouer it, assembled forces, and came and beſeeged it: the King on the other side sent him commandement to withdraw his souldiers, threatening, if he refused, to fall vpon him and his, and was already come to Madrid, with troupes of horse and foote. The Arch-bishop perceyuing himselfe inferiour in strength, obeyed the Kings commandement, and brought backe his people to Alcalá.

F The Princes *Don Fernand* and *D. Izabella*, remayned at Duegnas, beeing counselled and fauoured in all things by the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and his faithful companion *Don Iohn* of Arias Bishop of Segobia, by reason whereof the King complayned to the Pope by his Ambassadour resident at Rome, of both these Prelates, accusing them of committing many things to the preiudice and contempt of his royall Crowne. The Pope vaderstanding so much, sent to the Bishop of Segobia, commanding him within

King Henry  
of Castile his  
false oath.

The Lords of  
Mendoza re-  
fuse to kisse the  
hands of D.  
Joane.

The Duke of  
Guienne his  
death, breakes  
this marriage.

27  
New troubles  
by the Arch-  
bishop of To-  
ledo meanes.

Proceedings  
against the  
archb of To-  
ledo.

the terme of ninety dayes to make his personall appearance at Rome. And hee appoynted that the Lords of the Kings Councell, should cause the Arch-bishop to be summoned and exhorted by foure Channons, according to the forme of law, to returne to the obedience due vnto the king, which if he should refuse to do, they should then thunder out his proceesse, and send it to Rome, that the Pope might see it, to the end to proceede against him, and chastise him as a rebellious Prelate. The Popes Briefe beeing declared in the Chapter-house of Toledo, there came to the Court at Madrid, *Fernand Peres of Ayala*, bastard-brother to *Pero Lopes of Ayala*, who had bene Earle of Fuenfaldia, *Diego del Gadillo*, *Marco Dias*, and *Don Francisco* of Palencia, Prior of Arrochio, Chanons of the same church, who hauing shewed to the King, how highly their Prelates disobedience did displease not onely them, but the whole Chapter, they offered themselves to performe whatsoever the Kings Councell should thinke fit to bee done for his seruice, and for reducing the Arch-bishop to his duty to his royall Maiestie. Now, because the King and his trayne were at that time in the Dioceffe of Toledo, and fearing the Arch-bishops censures and interdictions, they defended themselves with an appeale, putting themselves vnder the protection of the Sea Apostolicke: and then a Knight and a Doctor was sent to giue the Arch-bishop notice of the Briefe, and to commaund him to returne to the Kings seruice, and to abandon the Princes, whom the King desired to chase out of the Realme. The Arch-bishop excused himselfe, and answered, that heretofore by the Kings commaundement he had sworne to the Princeesse *Donna Izabella*, as to the eldest heire of the Crowne, therefore he could not acknowledge any other but her: and he besought the king to deale no farther in that businesse, because such was his determinate will and purpose. The King vnderstanding this answer, commanded to proceed against the Arch-bishop with all rigour: but the Master of Saint Iames, who managed the affaires with more cunning, was of a contrarie opinion: he aduised the King to send the Licentiate *Diego Henriquez* vnto him, to offer him, if he would adhere to the Kings partie, and forsake the Princeesse, three thousand tennants, and two forts for his two sons *Trailo Carillo* of Acugna, and *Lope Vasques* of Acugna.

The Arch-bishop reiected these temptations, and would by no meanes forsake the Princeesse seruice. This notwithstanding, the Master caused all proceedings against her to cease, and the foure Channons were sent backe to Toledo discontented enough, three of them were taken by the way, and brought to Torrejon de Velasco, by *Pero Arias* of Auala, who by the Arch-bishops commaundement lay in ambush to surprise them. *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, onely saued himselfe in Canales. The King beeing very much displeased herewith, sent diuers horse-men to field, who tooke diuers friends and seruants of the Arch-bishop, and among others, *Don Diego* of Gueuara, a Channon of Toledo, in exchange of whome the three Chanons were deliuered. And so the matter passed on betwixt the King and the Arch-bishop for that time.

In the meane time, the Master of Saint Iames intending his owne profite, and beeing assured of his credit and power, had taken the cittie of Alcaraz, which imported him very much, beeing neere to his Marquisat of Villena, and was easily confirmed in the possession and reuenue of the same by the King, which discontented diuers: for by his example, the Earle of Benauent, seized vpon Villalua, and deposing *Pero Nugno* from his office of Merin major of the cittie of Vallidolit, he gaue it to his brother *Don Pedro Pimentell*. It was then an ordinarie trick in Spayn, for those that were able to seize vpon any place to do it, without caring for robberies, murders, and other hainous crimes, which they by such attempts afforded matter and occasion too, beeing assured that if they had any little fauour in Court, to possesse their booties without controule. It happened euen so to the Earle of Arcos, *Don Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, who hauing taken, during the furies of the League, the cittie of Cales, he obtayned the fame in full proprietie, with title of Marquis thereof, by the meanes and furtherance of the Master of Saint Iames his father-in-law.

If two Lords were at strife, without any respect of the Royall Maiestie, they would strike vp the drumme, and raise forces to ruine one another, as if they had bene Soueraigne Princes, which had held of none but of God and the sword (as they say.) Vpon these

Disorders in  
the gouern-  
ment of castile

A these tearmes stood *Don Manuel Ponce* of Leon, brother to the Earle of Arcos, and *Don Fernand* of Velasco, brother to the Earle of Siruela, who were in the field, accompanied with great number of horse-men readie to come to battaile betwixt Madrid and Alcala, neere enough to the Court: wherefore the King to hinder them, sent thither his great Master *Andrew Cabrera* with sufficient forces. *Cabrera* vsing great diligence, and gallowing pace in a dustie high way, his horse raising a great cloud of dust, hee was not perceived by those which followed him, but was ouerthrowne, and so troden vnder the horsefeete, that beeing well-neere bruised to death, hee was brought backe speechlesse to Madrid, where after he had bene well visited by the Chirurgions and Phisitions, hee

B recovered at leysure.

There was a quarrell betwixt the Earles of Haro and Treuigno, about certaine words of contempt vttered by the Countesse of Haro, the Earle of Treuigno strengthened himselfe with *Pedro Abendagno*, and *Iohn Alphonso* of Muxica, chiefe of the Mutins of Biscay and Guipuscoa, who were banished not long before by the Earle of Haro, committed by the King for the ordering and pacifying of those Prouinces. The Earle of Treuigno then hauing giuen them entrance into the countrey, against the Kings leaue, and contrarie to the sentence: and beeing confederated together, they ioyned to their league *Don Pedro Lopes* of Padilla, Gouvernour and Captaine of the frontiers of Castile, riding vp and downe, and commanding in the Countrey without any feare at all: wherefore C the Earle of Haro, by the Kings commaundement, came to Burgos, and there leauied certaine forces in haist as well hee, as the Earle of Salines *Don Lewis*, and *Don Sanchez* of Velasco his breethren, and brought them into Biscay, beeing most of them horse-men.

The Earle of Treuigno and the Gouvernour, did the like on their parts, vnto whome were ioyned with great numbers of foot-men leuyed in Biscay and Guipuscoa, the heads of the faction aboue named, to encourage whome the Earle of Treuigno vsed a policy. My companions in armes (quoth he) is it possible that you can indure, that this Earle *Pedro* of Velasco, with his credite and fauour gotten by flatterie, should henceforth command ouer you as your Lord, and separate you from the Crowne of Castile, into D the which your Predecessours were incorporated with so great affection? Will you againe subiect your selues to follow those priuate passions, which haue so often troubled the generall state of the Kingdome, and exposed the subiects to extreame miseries, whereof you haue so many recent examples before your eyes? I do not thinke that the ancient valour of the Biscans is so farre degenerate, as euer to consent to submit themselves to any subalterne iurisdiction, especially when at this instant, an occasion presents it selfe to be reuenged vpon him, who is the oppressour of your liberties: For if wee do not fight valiantly, and cut this Earle of Haro in peeces, assure you that hee will become your Lord: For hee hath without all doubt obtrayned of the King (who respects not the worthinesse or vnworthinesse of those hee doth good vnto) the Lordshippe of E Biscay, and hath Letters patents thereof, the which I haue scene and read: Wherefore it remaynes then in your prowes and valour, to set free your selues from this inconuenience.

The Biscans animated by this speech, beeing come to blowes, neere the towne of Mugnia, in streight places and aduantageous for foote-men, as they were, against horse-men, did fight so furiously, as they put them to flight, with great slaughter, & taking of diuerse persons of worth, among whom were ledde away the Earle of Salines, and *Don Lewis* of Velasco. The King hauing notice that these Lords were in armes, was come as farre as Burgos to hinder their fight, but hee came not soone enough. Wherefore hee went to Odugna, and from thence sent commaundement to the two Earles to lay downe their armes, and to retire themselves to their owne houses, enioyning the Earle of Treuigno, vpon paine of his indignation, to deliuer the prisoners: then hee caused them to make truce, the better to reconcile them, and make them friends. In this encounter, the valour of one *Iohn de Leyna* was noted on the Earle of Treuigno's partie. On the other side *Don Pedro Manrique* sonne to the Earle of Paredes, beeing accompanied with certaine base fellows, surprized the City of Alcarraz, and enforced *Iohn de Haro*, who was

28  
Quarrell be-  
twixt the  
Earles of Haro  
and Treuigno.

Gouernor



In an encounter made betwixt Seuille and Alcalá de Guadaira, two bastard sonnes of the Duke of Medina were slayne, and other disorders followed thereupon: for the redressing whereof, the King sent Don Inigo Lopes of Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, to Seuille, who by his diligence and good counsell, caused them to lay downe their armes, and made those two Lords friends, and the Duke had his towne of Medina Sidonia, and the fortresse of the same restored vnto him.

At Toledo *Pera Lopes* of Ayala newly made Earle of Fuenfaldá, was sollicitated by the brother of his deceased wife Donna *Maria de Silva*, to wit, the Bishop of Badajoz, who was desirous to bring againe the Earle of Cifuentes, and his Vncle Don *John de Ribera* into Toledo, to giue his eldest daughter Donna *Leonora* in marriage to the Earle of Cifuentes, seeking by that meanes to reconcile and make them friends, which the Master of Saint James did likewise procure, building some desseignes vpon the same city: but the king being aduertized thereof, sent forth with the Licentiate *Diego Henriques* to aduertise the Earle of Fuenfaldá by no meanes to make that marriage, and not to suffer the Earle of Cifuentes nor Don *John de Ribera* to enter into Toledo, because he was assured, that as soone as they should set foot within the cittie, they would driue him thence.

The Earle giuing more credit to the Bishoppe, then to the King, was very willing to agree vpon the marriage, by reason whereof the Earle of Cifuentes, and Don *John de Ribera*, were no sooner entred into the cittie, but contrarie to their oath and promise, which was not to attempt any innouation, nor stirre vp any troubles, they put themselves in armes, and bandied themselves in such sort, as there was nothing to bee scene but daily and continuall skirmishes, fights, murders, robberies, and other miseries, vtual in diuided Citties, the common people of this towne being more mutinous and apt to enter into factions and leagues, then any other Cittie of Spaine: Wherefore the King, the better to redresse these inconueniences, being at Madrid, sent the Bishoppe of Burgos, together with the Licentiate *Diego Henriques*, who for a time caused those insolencies to cease.

The King comming afterwards thither, tooke away, against all reason, the gouernment of the cittie from the Earle of Fuenfaldá, and put it against his will, into the hands of Doctor *Garcy Lopes* of Madrid, with charge of an assistant, and with great authoritie, onely to please and content the Master of Saint James. The dispossessed Earle went home to his owne house, and the Earle of Cifuentes afterward had no desire to accomplish the marriage with Donna *Leonora*, alleading certaine lets and hinderances, by reason of their neere consanguinitie, and so soone after married else-where. The Earle of Cifuentes, and Don *John de Ribera*, tooke Doctor *Garcy Lopes*, committed him to prison, and made themselves masters of the Cittie gates, and other strong places, and besieged the Castle, the which they had taken, with the absolute command ouer the whole Cittie, had not certaine Channons resisted them, who fortifying themselves in the great Church, held out till such time as the Marshals *Fernand de Rinadeneyra*, and *Perañan de Ribera* were come to their ayde, who caused the Earle and his people to with-draw themselves.

The Master of Saint James, who was at that time in the territorie of Leon, making his progresse vp and downe about the ordering of the affaires of that Prouince, being aduertized of that which had befallen *Garcy Lopes*, came in great hast to Toledo, from whence hauing driuen the Earle of Cifuentes, Don *John de Ribera*, Lope of Estuniga, with *Arias de Silva*, and other of their complices, hee left the Cittie in quiet. The King not long after came to the Monasterie of Silla, halfe a league distant from the Cittie, but hee did in no sort touch any of the seditious, because all the mischief had beene procured by the Master. As hee thought to returne to Segobia, hee found the Cittie in a mutinie, and reuolted from the *Corregidor* or Gouernour of the same, by the meanes of certaine Gentlemen, who were taken, and sent with yrons vpon their legges to the Castle of Madrid, where they remayned a long time after.

Now if temporall matters were so ill gouerned, it is to bee supposed, that spirituall affaires were farre worse: for what good could happen to the people, whose Pastors, neglecting their ecclesiasticall functions, had no other care but to heape vp worldly riches and

People of Toledo  
do mutinies.

C

D

E

F

A and honours, making themselves heads of Factions, and by their couetousnesse and ambition, did themselves most of all trouble and disquiet all Kingdomes and Commonwealths.

Whilst these miseries troubled the Realme of Castille, King *John* of Arragon did still endeauour to reduce the Rebels of Catalonia to his obedience, and after that hee had ended the question betwixt himselfe and his sonne-in-law *Gaston* of Foix about the kingdom of Nauarre, hee did send his sonne Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, with the Earle of Prades, who was returned to his seruice, into the confines of Barcelona, who encamped themselves alongst the riuer of Beson, and made courtes euen to the Cittie gates, but by rying and spoyling, houses, gardens, and other places of pleasure of that countrie. Then they went to batter a strong castle seated vpon the riuer, which the Barcelonnois being desirous to succour, *James Galliot*, Gouernour of the cittie, came into the field with a great number of horse-men, and foure thousand foot, bringing with him Don *Denis* of Portugall, and *Gustian* of Aguirre, who presenting themselves before the enemy, with intent to fight, were so rudely receyued, as within awhile they were defeated, with many of their people slayne, hurt, and taken prisoners, in the number of whom were *James Galliot*, and *Denis* of Portugall: part of those which fled, came backe to the cittie, and the rest retired themselves into the woods and mountaines. This losse did so daunt the courage of those of Barcelona, as despayring of their affaires, they all began to hearken vnto peace, whereunto they were the rather incited by the Kings comming, who ioyned himselfe soone after with the forces of his sonne *Alphonso*, taking the towne of Valdenzellas, hee made shew as if he would beseege the Cittie both by sea and land, the which being filled with great feare, and yet neuerthelesse trusting to the Kings clemencie, they sent Commissioners vnto him, to craue his pardon, and to offer him the keys of the Cittie, submitting themselves to his mercie.

These men being come into the kings presence, did by the mouth of *Lewis Setenti* a Florentine, confesse the Cittizens fault, and did implore his mercie, presenting him with the keys, the which the King holding in his hands, re-delivered forth-with to the Commissioners, contrarie to the expectation of all his followers, who thought, that in regard hee had bene so many yeares troubled and disquieted with the obstinate and cruell warres of the Barcelonnois, hee would haue executed seuerer vengeance vpon them: but hee on the contrarie, with a singular mildnesse, did not onely pardon them, and their Confederates, for whatsoever they had committed against him, but confirmed them in their goods, liberties, priuiledges, exemptions, and auncient rights. The next day following, the Cittizens had prepared a triumphant chariot for him, that he might make his entrie with great pompe and magnificence, the which he would not accept, but was contented to enter into the Cittie riding vpon a white Courser, by Saint Anthonies gate of the same cittie, which hee found vnprouided of all manner of vtuals, where-with he caused them presently to bee furnished, so as without the aboue-named defeat, where necessity would haue enforced them to haue yielded.

By this peace which happened so opportunely, the miseries of Cattalonia were ended, which had troubled the whole State of Arragon for the space of tenne yeares. He which shewed most prowesse, and performed the notablest exploits in this warre, was Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Duke of Villahermosa, a Prince worthie of great prayse, and high commendation, who dyed afterwards in the seruice of his brother King *Fernand* reigning in Castile, at a place called Linares, leauing his sonne Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, heire to his Duchie of Villahermosa, who was Knight of the Order of Saint James, and a Daughter called Donna *Maria* of Arragon, who was married to the Prince of Salerne. Hee had out of wedlocke Don *John* of Arragon, Earle of Luna, Captaine of the Castle of Amposta, Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, who was Bishop of Tortosa, and afterward Arch-bishoppe of Tarragone, Don *Fernand* of Arragon, Prior of Saint Johns of Cattalonia, together with Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, wife to the Earle of Albayda.

This peace was no sooner concluded, but the King had newes of a new rumult, raised in Nauarre, whereinto the Princeesse his daughter voluntarily had runne herselfe with great

31  
Arragon.

The Barcelonnois  
defeated.

The city of  
Barcelona yeelds  
to the  
mercies of the  
King.

King John  
clemency.

Don Alphonso of  
Arragon his  
posteritie.

32  
Nauarre.  
great

Bbbb 2





the Princes Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella*, did not appeare at this assembly, in the number of whom was Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of Coria, who requested the legat to come to Valiolidit, saying, that they were to conferre with him about matters touching the succession of the kingdomes; but the King perswaded him to the contrary, accusing the Princes and their followers of many matters. The Legat neuerthelesse went to Alcala to visit the Princes, who remained there with the Archbishop of Toledo, by whom he was sumptuously receiued and with great pompe, as also in Guadaluja, the Marquis of Santillanas house, where hee remained a certaine space, with the Marquis and the Earles his bretheren.

35  
Enormous sins  
cause those  
newly conuer-  
ted to returne  
to Iudaisme.

Misſacre of  
the new Chri-  
stians.

The Constable  
Don Michael  
Lucas de Iran-  
su, murdered  
by the people.

D. Pedro de  
Velasco made  
Constable of  
Castill.

Pride binders  
the Infant Don  
Henry from his  
preference in  
Castill.

The impieties, superstitions, thefts, rapines, and other insolencies vsed at that time among the Christians in Spaine, namely the Prelates and Church-men, were so scandalous to all men, as diuerse newe Christians, who were conuerted from Iudaisme to the profession of Christianity, being constrained more by the rigor of the lawes, then perswaded by wholesome doctrine, and good examples, began to returne to Iudaisme, not being able to beleue by humane reason, that the religion professed by such detestable people, could bee the true. The remedy applied to this mischief was the same which arrogant men and such as hate correction, and are desirous to liue in their errors and corruptions, doe commonly vse, namely the sword, massacres, and all manner of excesses. For in the City of Cordoua, instead of bringing back these straites by meeknesse, holinesse of life, and such like examples, which is the duty of the ministers of the Church, they did let loose the bridle to the rash mutinous people, who made a cruell slaughter of them, and spoiled their goods.

Those of Iden followed this example, against whom the Constable *Michael Lucas de Iranſu* opposing himself, was most inhumanly murdered in the Cathedral Church by the enraged multitude. The like cruelties and robberies were committed in Andujar and other places of Andaluzia, wherewith King *Henry* was extremely discontented, but being faint-hearted and of no courage in these matters, hee did no more punish the murderers, then the Pastors were diligent in seeking out fit Christian meanes to bring back these Apostata's into the right way. The office of Constable was giuen to Don *Pedro Velasco* Earle of Haro the Kings great Chamberlaine, at the intercession of the Maister of Saint *James* his Sonne in law, the which dignity hath euer since, euen till our time, continued in that family: The King like-wife gaue the scales of his Chancery, to the Bishop of Siguença.

The King finding that Donna *Joane* his supposed daughter, had very ill success in her treaties of marriage, resolved to bestow her vpon Don *Henry*, Sonne to the Infant Don *Henry* who was Maister of Saint *James*, & brother to Don *Ferdinand* Infant of Castile, which was King of Arragon, who at the same time, remayned in the City of Barcelona, from whence hee caused him to come secretly into Castile. This Prince, who by the commandement of King *John* his vnckle, was called in his dominions, the Infant of Arragon, and by some others the fortunate Infant, was very proud, the which hee shewed in Castile before his time, which did greatly hinder his aduancement, in that Kingdome. Hee with his mother Donna *Beatrice Pimentell*, Aunt to the Earle of Benauent, arrived at Requena, from whence afterward, (the King having furnished them with all things necessary for their calling, and place which they held) the Maister of Saint *James* caused them to come to the Castle of Garcy Nugnos, sending two of his Gentlemen to accompany them thither. During the time that this Don *Henry* remayned there, sundry Lords and Knights came to visit him, diuers of whome because they would bee reputed ciuill and courteous, offered to kisse his hand, thinking that hee would not haue suffered it, but hee keeping a great grauity presented his hand freely vnto them: but one amongst the rest taking him by the hand, sayd to him in derision, my Lord you haue a very faire hand, and so without kissing it let goe his hold, whereat D. *Henry* was much offended.

The Maister of Saint *James* remayned at that time in Madrill, being discontented with an accident hapned at Segobia: Hee had sundry times solicited the king to commit the Castle and gates of the city to his keeping, allcading that in that place Queene *Joane*

A *Joane* and her daughter, might lodge more safely then any where else, and that he should by no meanes giue the charge thereof to *Andrew de Cabrera*, because he was assured that *Beatrice* of Bouadilla his wife, was drawne to the Princeſſe party, and besides, that he being a Cartelan, was an affectionate seruant to Prince *Fernand*, all which was very true. The King yeelded to the Maisters request; But *Andrew de Cabrera* refused to dispossesse himselfe of the castle: whereat the Maister being highly offended, practised his ruine, and thought to effect it by this practise: He caused *Diego Tapia* and certaine other Gentlemen to come into the city, giuing them charge to stirre vp the people, whom he knew to be desirous to fall vpon the new conuerted Christians, and to spoile them of their

Enterprife of  
the Maister of  
Saint James a-  
gainst *Andrew  
de Cabrera*  
captaine of the  
castle of Segobia.

goods, as they of Cordoua and other places of Andaluzia had lately done; and they appointed that during the tumult, some band of souldiars should force the Kings house and take both him and *Andrew de Cabrera*, his Steward, to make him deliuer vp the castle: *Diego de Tapia* needed not to vse much labour to stirre vp the people who were ouermuch addicted to mischief: wherefore it was concluded that at the ringing of a larum bell in the Church of Saint Peter de los Picos, they should assaile the city in fiewe sundry places, on a Sunday after dinner, namely in the quarter of Saint Olalla, in that of Saint Colimba, Saint Martin, Saint Iohn, and that of Saint Michael, appointing a Squadron to goe vp and downe, and to discouer in euery place of the city. But it was the will of God, that this complot came to the knowledge of the Legat, who lay then at Guadaluja,

who forth-with reuealed it to the King, the King sent word thereof to *Andrew de Cabrera*, captaine of the fort, to the end he should stand vpon his gard, & preuent this danger in the city; *Cabrera* hauing secretly armed many souldiars, and all the Conuerſs which were fit to beare arms, did so preuent his enemies, as he slew and defeated most of them, and *Diego Tapia* was shot through the body with an arrow. The Maister hauing failed in his enterprife, and fearing least some euill might betide him, departed the same night from Segobia, and came to the Monastery of Parral, to goe from thence to Madrid: the King tooke the paines to come and visit him in the Monastery, and vsed all the entreaties that he could to bring him backe: but the Maister said vnto him, that he had no confidence in *Andrew de Cabrera* nor his wife, and that hee would neuer set foote in

The Maister of  
Saint James  
sailes of his  
purpose.

Segobia vntill such time as hee were posselt of the castle: wherefore the King returned to Segobia to pacifie and appease the tumult. It is most certaine that the enterprises of the Maister, being preiudiciall to an other, were very dangerous to himselfe: for his sonne-in-law the Earle of Benauent, still bearing in minde how hee had preuented him of the Maisterſhip of Saint *James*, did keepe armed men in his house, who were appointed to haue slaine him in that tumult, wherefore hee did wisely to goe to Madrid, whether neuerthelesse, all matters being appeased, the King and the whole Court came, and namely the Earle of Benauent: and thither were also brought the Queene, and D. *Joane* her daughter. At Madrid there arrived a messenger from the Pope, who aduertized the King that D. *Pero Gonſal de Mendoza*, Bishop of Siguença, was created Cardinal of the title of holy Croſſe, the which did greatly please the King, who commanded him to be called the Cardinall of Spaine, the which title hee vsed during his life, and receiued many honors of King *Henry*.

D. Pero Gon-  
ſal de Men-  
ſa Cardinal of  
Spaine.

In these times beganne the Order of the Religious of Saint Francis of Paul, who was a Calabrian borne at a place called Paul, who was drawne into France by King *Lewis* the eleuenth, and died at Tours; his Order called the Minims of Saint Francis, was approved by Pope *Sixtus* this yeere 1473, and afterwards at the request of King *Francis* the first, of Queene *Claude* his wife, and of Donna *Louise* of Sauoy his mother, the Author was canonized by Pope *Leo* the tenth, in the yeere 1529. of this Religious Order there are many Monasteries in Spaine, diuided into two Prouinces.

An. 1473.  
Order of Saint  
Francis of  
Paul.

F King *Henry* being desirous to consumate the marriage, betwixt Donna *Joane* and his cousin the Infant Don *Henry*, tooke counsell therevpon of the Bishop of Siguença chosen Cardinall, and of others of his counsell, and caused the Infant with his mother to come to Xetafa, betwixt which place and Madrid, he did see them, and would willingly haue brought them to Madrid, but the Maister of Saint *James*, who did not allow of this marriage, delt in such sort as they came not thither: afterward, the king hauing founded

*Marriage of D.  
Joane supposed  
daughter of  
Henry of Ar-  
ragon, broken  
by the Maister  
of S. James.*

37 founded the maister concerning this match, hee did openly diswade him from it, saying, A that he ought not to marry his daughter to any other then to a King or a mighty Prince: and that if he were determined to giue her to *Don Henry*, it behooued him then to leuie men of warre, and to appoint for their pay, more then twenty millions of Marauedis; the King (who had treasures in the Castle of Segobia) said, that hee would not want money; and therefore, hee sent the Maister, and the new elected Cardinall to Segobia, to take out of the Castle such summes as hee appointed: but the Capitaine *Andrew de Cabrera*, delayed them many dayes, saying, that hee would cause the money to bee told out, but yet they did it not; for indeed hee was seruant to the Princes, and wholly contrary to the Kings will, as concerning *Donna Ioanes* marriage; and besides that hee would haue nothing to doe with the Maister, whom hee deadly hated, fearing that all that hee went about tended to no other end but to dispossesse him of his Governement. In the meane time the Earle of Benaunt (who was cousin Germaine to *Don Henry*,) perceiuing that chiefly by the practises of the Maister, the marriage was delayed, and incensed with an old hatred against him, about the Maistership of *Saint James*, had bitter words with him, telling him that hee should better haue considered of matters, and not to haue procured the Infant *Don Henry* to haue come into Spaine, in a manner to deride him, and vnder colour of lyes to abuse the King, the Realme, and the great Lords, with many other bitter words, which the Maister endured with patience.

The death of *Don Aphonso* of Fonseca, Archbishoppe of Siuill, did promote *Pero Goncales* of *Mendoza* Bishop of *Siguença* to that dignity, vnto whom almost at the same time that his Bulls were dispatcht from Rome, was the Cardinals Hatte presented. And the King beeing sollicit to prouide for the troubles and miseries of his kingdom, hee did the same yeare one thousand, foure hundreded, seuentie and three, call the Estates to *Saint Mary de Nieua*, whether came the Deputies of the Communalities and cities of Castile, and Regions annexed to the same. There were sundry exactions abolished, which had beene leuied vpon the poore people by the Kings officers, and by subalterne Lords following his example, as payments for the Portes, bridges, taxes, watching and warding, and other such like impositions, leuied without any lawfull cause, vpon wayfaring men, passengers, and the inhabitants of places. There was also granted to the King a certaine Subsidie of money: At this parliament the Infant *Don Henry*, and his mother *Donna Beatrice Pimentell* were present. And then the Maister of *Saint James* bethinking himselfe of another pollicy, by meanes whereof hee might get the city of Segobia into his hands, hee counselled the King to remooue the assembly of the estates to Segobia, where more commodiously the affaires of the kingdom might bee managed, and *Donna Ioanes* marriage concluded vpon: the which assembly should bee there in safety, vnder the faith and safeguarde of the Marquis of Santillana, whom hee perswaded to demand, for the same purpose, the Keyes of the gates of *Saint Iohn* and *Saint Martin*, of the same city, of *Andrew de Cabrera*: but *Cabrera* perceiuing very well wherevnto it tended, and beeing resolu'd couragiously to oppose himselfe against the Maister of *Saint James*, found many probable excuses, and delayed the matter, till some other determination was taken, wherein hee was supported and fauoured by the new Archbishop of Siuill, and Cardinall of Spaine, who had secretly vnited himselfe to the Princes, and was wholly against *Donna Ioane*. In this manner the Maister was disappointed of his purposes to his great grieffe, who in like manner sought to surpris the castle of Toledo, and raised such a tumult there, as the King was faine to goe thither in person to appease it: but hee caused no enquire to bee made for the ring-leaders to that mischief, to punish them according to their deserts: by reason whereof euery man almost committed what mischief hee pleased, without any feare of the lawes.

Whilest the king remained at Toledo, the Marquis of Villena, sonne to the Maister of *Saint James*, came to doe him reuerence, whom hee receiued with extraordinary kindnesse, the Maister beeing then at *Pignasiell* with his wife the Dutchesse of

*Taxes leuied  
by usurpation  
vpon the poore  
people abolished.*

*The Maister of  
S. James his  
counsellousnesse  
cut short.*

*Impunity, the  
nurse of all  
disorders.*

A of Escalona. And when the King returned to Segobia, the Marquis of Villena followed him, but he lodged without the city at the Monastery of Parrall, because of the quarrels betwixt his father and *Andrew de Cabrera*: the King went often to heare masse at this Monastery, and to visit the Marquis.

As these matters passed, the Princeesse *D. Isabella* hauing intelligence with the Inhabitants of *Aranda de Duero*, tooke that place which belonged to the Queene, whereat the King merueilously storming, *Andrew de Cabrera* put him in minde of the great tyrannies of the Maister of *Saint James*, and of his insatiable couetousnesse in getting of townes and cities; and how hee had continually, without any respect, hurried and tired his royall person, as hee himselfe very well knew: and therefore hee perswaded him to be pleased, that the Princeesse his sister might safely come to the castle of Segobia, where they might see one another, and conferre together, which could not choise but bee exceeding profitable for the Kingdom and for all good men. The King, who was tender hearted, and easie to bee carried away, was pleased therewith, and after that hee had heard the opinion of the Cardinall of Spaine, and of the Earle of Benaunt, hee was more desirous of it; and *Donna Beatrice* of *Bouadilla*, wife to *Andrew* of *Cabrera*, disguised in the habit of a country-man, and riding vpon an asse, went her selfe to *Aranda* to cause the Princeesse to come to the castle of Segobia, who beeing accompanied with the Archbishop of Toledo, and others, came thither, and entred the castle in a morning before day, where she was courteously entertained. Her coming was on the sodaine, the King being absent at that time from Segobia, hunting in the Forrest of *Balsain*, who was hastened by *Cabrera*, who did greatly suspect the stay of the Marquis of Villena at the Monastery of Parrall, fearing that hee remained there to make some practise vpon him. Now as soone as the Marquis of Villena knew that the Princeesse was come to the castle of Segobia, hee dislodged in all hast, and neuer left galloping till hee was arrived at *Aillon*, fearing to be taken.

The Earle of Benaunt, and *Cabrera*, rode forthwith to the Forrest to giue the King notice that his sister was come, who returned to Segobia, and after that hee had dined, he came to the castle to see the Princeesse, to whom hee vsed all signes of loue and friendship: and sitting downe, one neere to another, they talked a long while together, and at last the King tooke his leaue of her with many courteous ceremonies, seeming to bee highly pleased. The Maister of *Saint James* hauing intelligence of all these matters, thought to prouide for his owne safety whatsoeuer should happen, and therefore hee went to Cuellar to talke with *D. Bertrand de la Cueva* Duke of *Albuquerque*, whether, at his intreaty, came the new Constable *Don Pedro* de *Velasco* Earle of *Haro* his father in law, and there they made a league and confederacy together: afterward they began to sollicite the King, to put the Princeesse his sister forth of Segobia; wherevnto (being bewitched by the Maister) hee consented, but his councill therein was diuided. The Princeesse, the better to order her affaires, was of opinion to cause the Prince her husband to come to the castle of Segobia, thinking by his presence the King would be sooner brought to reason, and all matters concluded with more facility. The Prince beeing come, the King saw him, and receiued him with a cheerefull countenance, and they rode together on horse-backe thorough the city, to the great contentment of the people, and likewise of the Courtiers, though not of all. The great Maister *Andrew de Cabrera* made them a Royall banquet in the Bishops house, at which the Earle of *Ribadeo*, by priuledge from his ancestors, did eate at the King and the Princes table. The feast being ended, with store of musike and other delights, the King grew sicke and complained of his side, and was carried into his lodging, where after a while, hee recovered, but not without hauing certaine reliicks of rheume, fluxes of blood by vrine, with vomitings, and other such like mortall accidents: The Princes did hourly visit him, and caused others to sollicite him to declare the Princeesse his sister heire to the Kingdomes, wherevpon there passed diuerse strang and bitter words betwixt those which managed this businesse on either side: but nothing being concluded, the Princeesse resolu'd not to leaue Segobia. The Maister of *Saint James* was aduertized of all that passed, by the King himselfe, who went about on a night to put certaine companies of souldiars into the city, who should

*Entertainment  
of King Henry  
and the Princeesse  
Isabella his sister.*

*Prince Ferdinand comes to Segobia.*

*Priuledge of the Earles of Ribadeo.*

seize

seize vpon certaine Townes, Churches and Houses, to the end to giue entrance to him A and other greater troupes, with which forces he would take the Princes, and *Andrew de Cabrera* prisoners. The Maister had as bad successe in this plot as in the former: for God who had predestinated the Princes *Fernand* and *Isabella* to reigne in Spaine, suffered this practise to be discouered, by meanes whereof the daunger was preuented, the Princess stood vpon her gard, and the Prince retired himself in time, and went into Arragon, whether he was called by warres and troubles which there happened.

38  
Nauarre,  
and  
Arragon.  
Death of Gas-  
ton de Foix.

Titles of D.  
Leonora of Na-  
uarre.

King *John* of Arragon, his father, was in his old age oppressed with crosses, as well in Naurre, by the seditions of his subiects, as on the frontiers of France and County of Rossillon. In Naurre, soone after that the Princess *Donna Leonora* failed in heren- B terprise of taking *Pampelona*, her husband the Earle *Gaston* of Foix, returning out of France into Naurre, fell sicke and died at a place called *Roncevaux*, in the yeere 1472. leauing heire of his Lands and Lordships of Bearn and Foix his sonnes sonne, *Francis Phabus* a child of the age of fife yeres, who remayning vnder the gouernment of his mother *Donna Magdalen* of France, and of the Princess *Donna Leonora* his grand-mother, was likewise, after her death, heire to the Kingdome of Naurre. *Donna Leonora* was then, Princess, heire of Naurre, Infanta of Arragon and Sicill, and Lieutenant General for the King her Lord and father in the said Kingdome of Naurre.

After the decease of *Gaston* Earle of Foix, this Princess making her abode in the C city of *Tafalla*, called there a Parliament, to the which the great Lords came, and especially the chiefe of the faction of *Grammont* and *Beaumont*, who inflamed with enuy were still desirous to ruine one another. It happened (as it is easie amongst those that are of troublesome and enuius dispositions) that diuerse bitter speeches passed betwixt the Earle of *Lerin* and the Constable of Naurre *Pedro de Peralta*, which caused great contention: into the which quarrell *Nicholas* de *Echaurri*, Bishop of *Pampelona*, did so farre enter, as the Constable thinking himselfe greatly iniured by him, threatened him that it should cost him his life.

Suspicion of  
love betwixt  
the Princess  
D. Leonora,  
and the Bishop  
of Pampelona.

This Bishop was suspected to bee more familiar with the Princess *Donna Leonora* then honesty required, which caused him to be hated of diuerse men, who were ialous of their Princess honour, taking it more heinouly at his hands, who was a prelat and ought to giue good example, then if it had beene any other. The Bishop, after this threatening, being fearefull, would by no meanes come forth of his house. The Princess, either desirous to pacifie this quarrell, or else not able to endure him long out of her sight, sent diuerse messengers to him, to bring him vnto her to the Monastery of *Saint Sebastian* of the Order of *Saint Francis* at *Tafalla*, where shee accomplished a nine daies vowes which shee had made, for shee vsed great deuotion to those fathers, and bestowed many benefits vpon them: but the Bishop still fearing to bee met with by the way, prayed her for to excuse him. At the last shee sent vnto him one of her familiar friends called *Fernand* de *Baquedan* with an other Knight named *Sir Hughe*, who promised to conduct him safely thither, wherupon hee mounted on his Mule, and rode in their company towards *Tafalla*, where of the Constable being aduertized, hee was so farre transported with rage, as leaping on horse-backe, hee met with the Bishop on the way, and slew him hard by the gates of *Tafalla*, not respecting or regarding the Princess word, nor yet his Episcopall dignity, for the which inhumane fact he remained diuerse monthes together excommunicate.

The Bishop of  
Pampelona  
saine by the  
Constable.

This mans death did greatly offend diuerse both in Naurre and in King *John* of Arragons Court, but especially the Princess. *Don Alphonso Carrillo* a Spaniard, was promoted to that dignity in his sted, being in number the fortieth Bishop of that Sea.

On the other side, King *John* being then threescore and tenne yeeres of age, was engaged in a tedious quarrell with the French, vpon this occasion: The Earledome of *Rossillon* was ingaged vnto King *Lewis* the eleuenth for the summe of three hundred thousand crownes, who kept therein Gouernors and Officers which did oppress the people, and committed diuerse insupportable outrages, where the inhabitants daily com-

A complained, requesting their King to protect them, wherewith the Frenchmen were displeased: in regard whereof King *Lewis* sent Ambassadors to King *John*, who summoned him to make payment of the three hundred thousand crownes, and to receiue his Earledome, or else to appropriate it vnto him for the same summe, or if hee were not pleased with these two motions: that then hee should giue him suerties in France, for the payment of the money at a certaine time. This did greatly trouble King *John*, neuertheless, with great modesty hee made answere, that hee would request King *Lewis* not to vrge him at so vnseasonable a time, after his long and chargeable warres made against his subiects, to repay the said summe, which as then was impossible for him to doe, much- B lesse to sell the Earledome vnto him, and wholly to alienate that which did belong to the crowne of Arragon: And as for the suerties which he demaunded; hee did not thinke it a reasonable request, nor yet becoming him, who had (God be thanked) wherewith to pay his debts in time: with this answere the Ambassadors were not satisfied, as also by reason that those of *Perpignan*, impatient of the French yoke, beganne manifestly to rebell against them: wherfore King *Lewis* sent forces into the county of *Rossillon*, to chastise those of *Perpignan*, who had constrained the Frenchmen dwelling amongst them, to retire themselves into the castle, from whence they shot into the towne with the Canon, doing great harme therevnto. King *John* came thither in hast to appease this fire, and endeauored by all meanes to perswade the people to obey the French, promising them shortly to deliuer them from that trouble: but they answered him boldly, that they had rather suffer death then returne to the subiection of such Lords.

During these disputations King *John* was on a sodaine besieged in the towne by the French army, which the Spanish Authors number to bee forty thousand, who hauing enuiored it on euery side, beganne to batter it without, and within to assault it from the castle, so as it behoued the besieged to be couragious, and valiantly to defend themselves, the Kings presence seruing them greatly to that purpose. The sege continued foure monthes: in the end, at the report of Prince *Fernand* comming, who vpon the newes of the French mens arriual, had leauied souldiars both in Castile, Arragon and *Cattalonia*, they raised their sege and retired themselves into France. King D *John* and the towne being deliuered from this danger, all men went out to meete the Prince, and the father and the sonne embraced one another with great ioy, who came together into *Perpignan*. The King did againe entreat the Inhabitants to obey the French for a short time, till he could otherwise dispose of his affaires, assuring them that he would pay the French King his money, and take them againe to himselfe. They being obstinate refused it, and requested him, to giue King *Lewis* other pledges, or else to suffer them to depart thence, for they would willingly giue ouer their houses, goods, yea and their owne liues, rather then to submit themselves to the vild vsage of the French: King *John* seeing them so resolued, left *D. Lewis* de *Requesens* for the Gouernor, and with the Prince his sonne returned to *Barcelona*.

E Before the Princes departure out of Castile, there arose a great quarrel betwixt the Marquis of *Santillana*, and the Earle of *Benauent*, because that the Earle (possessing the towne of *Carrion*, by the Kings permission, the which hee had held during the former troubles, had vildely and iniuriously intreated certaine Gentlemen which dwelt in the same towne, who were neere in blood and parentage to the Marquis, who hauing notice thereof sent vnto him, and desired him in regard that those Gentlemen did belong vnto him, that hee would for reuerence due to the boanes of his ancestors spare and respect them: the Earle made him a proude answere and said, that hee would cause his ancestors bones to be taken vp, and send them vnto him in baskets, to the end he might bestow them safer with himselfe at *Guadalajara* amongst the rest of his progenitors. The Marquis being iustly moued hereat, conspired with the Earle of *Treuigno*, and others his friends and kinsfolkes, to take that place from the Earle, who had builded a new fort there; the Earle of *Treuigno* hauing intelligence with the wronged Gentlemen (his lands lying neere to *Carrion*) he entred the towne with souldiars, and besieged the fort and soone after the Marquis arriued with troupes of horse and foote, as well of his owne tenants as those of the Constable *Pedro de Velasco*, the duke of *Albuquerque* and others, who

The Earle-  
dome of Rossil-  
lon, original  
of all the wars  
betwixt  
France and  
Spaine in our  
daies.

40  
Castile.  
Quarrel be-  
twixt the hou-  
ses of *Medina-  
si*, and *Pimen-  
tel*.

The Marquis  
of *Santillana*  
surpriseth the  
towne of *Carrion*.

who supported him in this quarrell. The Earle of Benauent hauing notice of what the Marquis had done, and ment to doe, came in speedily to Valiodolit, and gathered his friends together, so as with the helpe of the Maister of Saint Iames his father in law, who in this tooke his part, hee found himselfe able to offer battaile to his aduersary; but the King being accompanied with the Cardinall of Spaine brother to the Marquis, and with the Maister, father in law to the Earle, did put himselfe betwixt them, and handled the matter in such sort by the Cardinalls meanes, as he hindred them from ioyning battaile: and it was agreed, that the towne of Carion should returne to the crowne, and the Earle should haue the towne of Magaua in recompence, which belonged to the Cardinall, who to make them friends was content to dispossesse himselfe thereof, and receiued other recompences for the same. Prince *Fernand* when this quarrell beganne, was ready to depart into Arragon, and had leauied certaine companies of souldiers, the which with his owne person hee offered to the Marquis who gaue him humble thanks, saying that he was strong enough to incounter a greater Lord then the Earle of Benauent: and therefore hee besought him to preferue his person in safety, that hee might in time to come reigne in Spaine, and not to hazard it now when there was no need.

The Marquis afterwards returned to Guadalajara, and went to Saint Christoferto visit the Princessse Donna *Isabella*, who went forth to meete him: hee offered her his seruice, and all aide and assistance for the obtaining of her right, after the King her brothers death. The Earle of Benauent returned into his owne possessions, the King with the Cardinall to Segobia, and the Maister likewise, came to Madrid, where by the Maister his Counsell it was thought fit that the Cardinall should returne to Segobia to treat with the Princessse, and the Maister brought the King to Trugillo, to cause the fort of the same city to be deliuered vnto him, which hee had so importunately a long time begged: but the Gouvernor of that place whose name was *Gratian de Sese* would not consent therevnto, nor obey the Kings commandment; yet neuerthelesse hee hauing bene sollicit by the Maister with promise of great recompences hee beganne to negotiate about the deliuey thereof: but the matter being delaied, the King, who since his last sickness decayed in his health, was constrained to returne to Madrid, there to take his rest: In the same place remained Donna *Isabella* in the keeping of the Marquis of Villena: as for the Queene, she was else where, and lead a pleasant life without any shame at all. In the meane time the Maister of Saint Iames, who remained at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, delt in such sort as captaine *Gratian* of Sese deliuered him the fort of Trugillo, being recompenced with the Lordship of Saint Helice de los Gallegos, where shortly after he was cruelly murthered and stoned to death by his owne tenants. About the sametime the Maister of Saint Iames *D. Iohn de Pacheco* fell sicke of an Impostume in his throte, which caused him to void great quantiry of putrified blood at his mouth, which in the end strangled him, he died in the threescore and fourth yeere of his age, hauing more credit and authority in Spaine, then any Lord in his time: his death was kept secret by his seruants, vntill the fort of Trugillo was yeelded vp, which was forthwith done, and then it was openly declared to all men: his body was carried to Parrall neere Segobia, a Monastery of Saint Ierosme, founded by King *Henry* then reigning for his place of buriall, and the Maister was buried in the chiefe chappell with great pompe and solemnity. Great was the Kings sorrow for the Maisters death, to whose sonne and heire Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena, he did not only confirme the gifts of the townes, cities and castles, granted to his father, but bestowed likewise vpon him the Maistership of Saint Iames, and sent a messenger to the Pope to obtaine the confirmation thereof, not respecting the Knights of the same Order, who began to murmur and strongly to oppose themselves against it, and they did not onely bandy themselves against the Marquis of Villena, who was not chosen according to the rules of the Order, but they likewise fell at variance amongst themselves: for *D. Roderigo Manrique* Earle of Paredes Commander of Segura, said, that the election of the new Maister ought to be made in the Couent of Vcles, according to the ancient custome: On the other side, *D. Alphonso* de

Death of D.  
Iohn de Pacheco  
Maister  
of Saint  
James.

A de Cardegna great Commander of Leon, affirmed, that it stood with great reason that the election should be made in Saint Marks of Leon, in regard the deceased Maister died in the confines of Leon: wherefore each of them standing firme in their allegations, and hauing their factions and parties, those two were chosen and saluted for Maisters, in such sort as the Order of Saint Iames, had at that time three heads, like unto *Carberas*, the three headed dogge of Hell: The Marquis of Villena, besides the Kings fauour, did hope that the Earle of Osorno, great Commander of Castile, would take his part, and because he had the keeping of Donna *Isabella*, the Kings supposed daughter, it made the King more bound vnto him, and inuolued by reason thereof the King did greatly aduance him: the which gained his seruants to the Princessse Donna *Isabella*, who were ialous to see his sonne, who had done them so much mischief in so great credit and authority.

The Cardinall of Spaine hauing bene a certaine time at Segobia with the Princessse, came backe to Madrid to the King; with the Constable Don *Pedra de Melasco*, who ioynly spake to the King with great boldnesse touching the succession of the Kingdome, beseeching him to take in good part, that which they should say vnto him vpon their consciences, which was, that he ought to maintaine the Princessse *Isabels* right, because he knew better then any that this Donna *Isabella* was not his daughter: and they requested him, in the name of God, not to be the cause of so great miseries which would C oppress his Kingdome after his decesse, if hee should dissemble in that behalfe, but to speake the truth, for his peoples sake, in declaring his sister the Princessse his true and lawfull heire: wherevnto the King without any trouble made answer, that Order should be taken for them both; neuerthelesse hee delaied all hee could from meddling in that businesse. In the meane space the Marquis of Villena, who promised to him selfe the Maister-ship of Saint Iames, thinking to practise with the Knights of Castile, and chiefly with the Earle of Osorno, the great Commander, came to Villarejo, in which place the enterview of him and the Earle was agreed vpon: but the Earle feigning himselfe sicke, sent thither his wife, well accompanied with men at armes, by whom the Marquis, at his lighting from his horse was seized vpon, and carried away prisoner into the D castle of Fuente Duegna.

King Henry  
takes no care  
for the succes-  
sion of his  
Kingdome.

The Marquis  
of Villena  
taken prisoner  
by his competi-  
tor.

The King being aduertized hereof, did presently take horse, notwithstanding he was very sicke, and came to the Earle of Osorno, who shewed himselfe sterne and obstinate, without respect or reuerence, wherefore the King returned highly displeased to Madrid. By the way he met with the Archbishop of Toledo at Villa Verde, who offered him his seruice, and therevpon, to please him hee beseeged out of hand the castle of Fuente Duegna, whether the King likewise came in person. The siege lasting long, *Lopes Vazquez* de Acugna, brother to the Archbishop, making shew of ending this strife as a friend, found meanes to bring the Countesse of Osorno to a parley, who comming abroad with a sonne of hers, was deceiued in the same manner as she had beguiled the E Marquis, and the mother and the sonne were brought prisoners into the castle of Hueta.

This pollicy did highly please the King and the Archbishop, and was the cause that the Marquis was deliuered: the Cardinall and the Constable made an end of the matter, and the prisoners were set at liberty on either side: the Archbishop of Toledo returned to Alcala, and the King, being much afflicted and weake, to Madrid, where Catarres, vomitings, and other mortall accidents brought him to his last houre. The physicians hauing told the Cardinall of Spaine, the Constable, the Marquis of Villena, the Earle of Benauent and other Lords of his Council there present, that his sickness was mortall, they caused Frier *Peter Maguelo*, prior of Saint Ierosme of Madrid, his confessor, to put him in minde of matters belonging to his soules health, and the peace of his Kingdome. Hee had long discourse with the prior in confession; then hee made his will, appointing the Cardinall, the Duke de Arcualo, the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Benauent for his executors; and hee commaunded that his seruants should bee paide and well recompenced with his treasure and iewells, and declared Donna *Isabella* to bee his lawfull daughter, and true heire to his Kingdomes; the Cccc which

The Countesse  
of Osorno, and  
her sonne  
taken, the Mar-  
quis of Villena  
set at liberty.

which will was written by *John de Oniedo*, one of his secretaries: neuertheless, diuers A  
authors affirme, that he made no will, and say, that as he was in the agony of death, those  
that were present, asked him whom he would declare to be his heire, to whom hee made  
none other answer, but that *John Gonçall* his Chaplaine knew his minde therein, vnto  
whom he referred them, naming the foure aboue mentioned for the executors of his  
last will and testament, and ordained his body to bee buried at *Guadalupa*. Vpon this  
doubt, whether the King made a will or not, were afterward great troubles raised, but  
that which is most likely to be true, is the testimony of the Lieutenant *Diego Henriquez*  
his Cronicker and Counsellor, who saith, that he did make a will, and in deed his testa-  
ment was found the yeere 1504. thirty yeeres after his death.

In this manner King *Henry* the fourth, ended his vnfortunate daies, and his reigne full  
An. 1474. of troubles and disgrace, the yeere 1474. the one and fortieth yeere of his age, and twen-  
tith of his reigne, being in his latter daies so leane, drie and meager, as hee represented  
rather an Anatomy of bones, then a man, by reason whereof, his Physitions had no need  
to enbalme him: his body was kept for a time in the Monastery of *Pas* in *Madrid*: and  
afterward transported to *Guadalupa* and buried in the chiefe Chappell there, where  
three and fifty lampes of silver doe continually burne for him day and night, two and fif-  
ty whereof haue rent assigned them for the expence of the oyle.

*The end of the one and twentieth Booke.*

THE



## THE TWO AND TWENTIETH Booke of the Generall History of Spaine.

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Order and continuance of the Kings reigning  
in Spaine, written in this two and twentieth Booke.

CASTILE. LEON. ARRAGON. PORTVGAL. NAVARRE.

20. D. Fernand the 5. and Queene Isabella 41. 19. the same Ferdi 2. 13. D. Leonora the 1.  
34. D. Francis Phæbus 1.

D. Fernand the 5. King 20. of Castile and 41. of Leon, and Donna Isabella the 4. a woman which inherited the Kingdome of Castile, and the 5. which inherited in Leon.

A



At such time as the Princes D. Fernand, and Donna Isabella came to the crowne of Castile, and Leon, by the decease of King Henry the fourth, then did iustice and peace beginne to smile vpon Spaine. And it seemed that for the quiet, honour and exaltation of the Spanish nation, God had chosen, and defended them, in the midst of so many straits and difficulties, wherein they were oftentimes plunged, as well during the reigne of the Lord King Henry, as afterward: adorning each of them for that purpose with royall qualities, and heroike vertues, both of body and minde. For, as well Don Fernand as Queene Isabella, were of meane stature and proportion, yet well composed, faire and pleasant aspect, gracious in their speeches and of such Maiesty in the gesture and motion of their bodies, as was requisite for such great Princes: they were sober and moderate in their diet, and all other their actions, deuout and religious, as they had beene instructed, but yet for all that a little too much couetous of glory and honour which made them oftentimes stumble, and transported them out of the right way of equity, especially D. Fernand. To loue, and desire honour and glory, is in deed an affection befitting great persons, and without the which they can hardly giue themselves to any laudable exercise: but the excesse thereof, which men call ambition, is alwaies accompanied with the greatest vices: They were also maintainers of iustice in Spaine, the which they executed in such sort, as their severity did not deprive them of the praise which they deserued by their mildnesse and clemency. The plaies and pastimes which King Fernand vsed in his youth, were Cardes and Chess; but afterward he became inclined to hunting and hawking, to the exercise of armes, and he did prooue excellent in all kindes of horsemanship: he loued learned men: but his euil hap was, not to be instructed therein in his youth, which was thorough his fathers negligence, who was also himself in a manner wholly vnlearned: King Fernand did greatly delight to heare learned men talke, and to vnderstand of the laudable actions of great men, but especially of his ancestors.

Queene Isabella, for her part, tooke great pleasure in learning the Latin tongue, and profited so well therein, as in lesse then a yeere, she was able to vnderstand what her selfe did reade, or what was spoken vnto her in the same language: her continency and chastity was rare, and it did appeere in all her actions, speeches, attire and countenance. Shee kept ordinarily in her house young men and women of noble parentage, whom shee brought vp, and also Ladies of great place, who were honoured for their vertue and honesty: She would willingly haue had the King her husband like her selfe, of whom shee was extremely iealous, and if at any time shee perceiued him familiar with any of her Ladies or Gentlewomen, she presently sought meanes to quench those vnlawfull fires yet without scandall, either by marrying them, sending them away, or admonishing them, or by some other honest and discreet meanes, desiring that the Ladies of her traine should be rather vertuous then faire.

It is noted of her, that in her trauaile of child, what paine soeuer she indured, shee did neuer fetch one sigh or groane, and at that time she would cause her face to be couered. Charms and enchantments shee abhorred as became a Christian: shee did greatly loue learned men, who were of good conuersation; especially prelates of an holy and religious life, doing more good vnto such, and sooner preferring them to liuings and dignities, then others of greater houses, who made more shew of the fame and glory of their ancestors then of their owne vertues.

These Princes being thus qualified, obtained the crowne of Castile and afterwards, that of Arragon, not without paine, trauaile and great oppositions (as hereafter shall appeare) which being by them surmounted and passed ouer, they established iustice, gaue peace to the Spaniards, quenching all forepassed ciuill warres, and did zealously labour about the ordering of religion, wherein they wanted good helpe: this at the leastwise redounded to their honour, that they did roote the Moores out of Spaine, and made conquests in Affrica, they did quicken vp the Spaniards spirits, and incited them to all excellent artes and sciences, ordaining great stipends to learned men, namely

Cccc 3

benefices

Qualities of  
the Princes  
Fernand and  
Isabel.

benefices and Ecclesiasticall reuenues: they made diuerse good and profitable lawes, A  
and by their authoritie and meanes, the inhabitants of a new world came to the know-  
ledge of those Regions, the which hath for all that in diuerse sorts redounded to the  
hurt of man-kinde: not by these Princes occasion, but by the couetousnesse and cruelty  
of those which came after them.

The Princeesse *Isabell* (as hath bene already said) was at Segobia, at the time her  
brother King *Henry* died, whither the Princes and Lords, which tooke his part, did come,  
after the Kings obsequies were finished, which lasted nine dayes, and there they saluted  
her as Queene of Castile and Leon, taking the oath of fealty, and dooing her homage  
after the accustomed manner. There were present when this was done Don *Alphonso* B  
*Carillo & Acuna* Archbishop of Toledo, Don *Pero Gonçall* of *Mendoza* Archbishop of  
Siuill, called Cardinall of Spaine, and the Bishop of *Sigüenza*, Don *Pedro de Velsco*,  
Constable of Castile, Don *Alphonso Henriques* Admirall of Castile, by the death of his  
father Don *Frederick*, newly deceased, and Vnckle by the mothers side to the new King,  
Don *Garcy Aluarez* of Toledo, Duke of *Alua*, Don *Bertrand de la Cuena* Duke of *Albu-*  
*querque*, Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of *Santillana*, Don *Roderigo Alphonso*  
*Pimentel* Earle of *Benauent*, Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle of *Treuigno*, and others, some  
of whom were already with the Princeesse before the Kings death.

Lords holding  
the party of the  
Princes *Ferdin-*  
*and & Isabell*.

Prince *Ferdinand* was at the same time in *Cattalonia* with his father King *John*, who  
beeing aduertised of that which hapned, came speedily to Segobia, where hee in like C  
manner was receiued and acknowledged as King, to the great ioy and contentment, not  
onely of the City but of the whole kingdome, who sent their Deputies vnto him, to  
doe him homage and seruice, as to their lawfull Lord and King, in the right of his  
wife: it beeing a matter out of all question, that Donna *Ioane* was a bastard, borne in  
adultery, and not capable of any right to the Crowne. Other Lords, which were ab-  
sent, did in like manner send their deputies to make their submissions, and to take the  
oathes due to the new King. But the Marquis of *Villena*, who had Donna *Ioane* in keep-  
ing, and Don *Aluaro d'Espuniga* Duke of *Arcualo*, Don *Roderigo Tella Gyron*, Maister  
of *Calatrava*, and Don *John Gyron* Earle of *Vregna*, cousins to the Marquis of *Villena*, D  
with others their confederates and adherents, were of another opinion, and did not  
onely fauour Donna *Ioane*, who called her selfe Queene of Castile, but craued many  
things for their owne particular profit. The Marquis would haue the Maisterchip of  
things for the places belonging therevnto, which Don *John de Pacheco* his father  
Saint Iames, and the places belonging therevnto, and the had enioyed: The Duke of *Arcualo* would haue his Dutche confirmed to him, and the  
Maisterchip of *Alcantara* for Don *John d'Espuniga* his sonne; other men demanded  
other matters. Now the first thing that was thought vpon by the King and Queenes  
Councell, was, about the ordering of their treasures, and administration of iustice, the  
managing and execution whereof, was to be committed to fit persons, and capable of  
such affaires: wherefore Don *Gustiere de Cardega*, the Queenes Chamberlaine, and  
Don *Gonzalo Chacon*, were created chiefe Treasurers, and with them *Roderigo de Villao* was E  
ioyned: then they sent Ambassadors to *Lewis* the eleuenth the French King, to aduer-  
tise him of King *Henries* death, of their promotion, and to request him to continue,  
and confirme the ancient alliance with the house of Spaine. The Ambassadors had  
likewise commission and instructions, for the restitution of the Earldome of *Rossillon*  
to the King of *Arragon*. King *Lewis* made a shew of sorrow for King *Henries* death, and  
seemed to reioyce that they had succeeded him: but touching the restoring of the  
County of *Rossillon*, hee would by no meanes hearken therevnto, but sent a learned  
Lawyer to King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell* to shew his reasons for the contrary,  
who came to *Valiodolit* with the Ambassadors, his comming beeing to no  
purpose.

Iustice, and  
treasures the  
principall mem-  
bers of a state.

2  
Arragon.

The city of *Perpignan* beeing succoured (as heretofore hath bene said) by Prince  
*Ferdinand*, was after his returne into Castile againe besieged by the French. King *Lewis*  
willing and commanding his Captaines, who had shamefully raised their siege, and were  
retired into the countrie and territory of *Narbona*, on paine of being punished as trai-  
tors to their king and country, to returne and assaile the towne, and not to stirre from  
thence

A thence till they had taken it, although it should cost all their liues: whervpon, they came  
backe, and by the helpe of the Castle, did for eight moneths space, so presse the besie-  
ged, as they brought them to the extreamest poynt of necessitie: for besides the continu-  
all toyle, watchings, fights, and daily reparations of the breaches, whereunto they were  
constrained, the want of victuals was so great in the towne, as they were not onely en-  
forced to eate dogges, cattles, and all other sorts of vncleane meates, but also the very  
bodies of men, friends or enemies, which were slayne in the assault, yea, mothers did de-  
uoure their owne children: such was the obstinacie of those people, who would not yeeld  
to an enemy, whome they had despised and offended, and from whome they did expect  
no mercie: but in the end, extreame necessitie, and inexorable famine brought them to  
that poynt which they sought most to auoyde, and they found more mercie then they  
hoped for: for they were taken by composition, their offences pardoned, and the *Garriso-*  
*n* permitted to depart with their armour and weapons: so as King *Lewis*, by the taking  
thereof, pretended now more interest to it then before. This was the last quarrell which  
King *John* of *Arragon* had with the French, or any other: for the gouite, his yeares, and  
other discommodities of old age, perswaded him to spend the remainder of his dayes in  
rest and quiet in the city of *Barcelona*, leauing the gouernement of the Kingdome of  
*Nauarre* to his daughter, who was heire thereunto, and his other dominions to the rest  
of his children and Lieutenants.

Famine in *Per-*  
*pignan*.

*Perpignan* yeat-  
ed to the  
French.

C This yeare 1457. there grew a contention betwixt King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*  
about the gouernement of Castile, disputing which of them two had most right to the  
succession thereof: she, as daughter to King *John* of Castile the second: and hee, as sonne  
to King *John* of *Arragon*, who descended in direct masculine line from King *John* the  
first, in the third degree. Some, who tooke the Kings part, did say, that it was a thing a-  
gainst nature and all good order, that the regiment of so great a State should be in a wo-  
mans power, and that so many great Lords and braue Knights should be vnder the com-  
mand of that sexe, weake both in body and mind, without experience, wisdom or  
knowledge of what was profitable or hurtfull to a kingdome, vnlesse it were by heare-  
say, beeing ofteneft deceyued by ignorance, and which did follow their owne passions,  
D and those of them that they fauoured, who for the most part were chosen amongst the  
worst sort of people.

3  
Castile.

That all kingdomes, Iurisdicions, and well-gouerned Common-wealths, as well  
auncient as moderne, had wholly reiected a womans empire, and if at any time they had  
submitted themselues thereunto, their ruine and desolation had soone after ensued: alled-  
ging for example the *Sallicke* law of France, which is a good old custome, alwaies pro-  
fitable when it was obserued, either in the totall gouernement, or parts thereof. On the  
contrarie part, others who held with Queene *Isabella*, did say, that euery one ought to  
be maintained in their right, and that there was nothing more consonant to nature, then  
that children should succeed their fathers and neereft kinsfolke: that diuers women had  
E bene profitable to Kingdomes and Common-wealths, as well in old times, as of fresh  
memorie, namely, that there were sundrie recent examples thereof in the Monarchie of  
Castile. And as for Queene *Isabella*, her constancie, iudgement, and wisdom was suf-  
ficiently knowne, and that all men were assured of her good gouernement, and that shee  
was not the first woman which had inherited that kingdome.

Contentions be-  
twixt King *Fer-*  
*nand* and *Is-*  
*abella*.

This last opinion was followed and allowed of, whereat King *Fernand* seemed to be  
highly displeased: but the Queene, who did dearly loue him, and would not willingly  
haue him discontented, told him, that her intent was not in matters concerning the af-  
fares of Castile and Leon to bee more obeyed than himselfe, and requested him to con-  
sider, that whatsoever was decreed in that poynt, was for the good and benefite of their  
F onely daughter Donna *Isabella*: if so bee that they should happen to haue no issue male,  
who otherwise should bee wholly deprived of that honour and royall dignitie, if what  
hee had pourfued and alledged, should take place, by these probable reasons the king  
was satisfied with that which the great Lords had decreed.

Yet neuerthelesse it was concluded and determined, that all letters missiue, writ-  
tings, and other expeditions, should bee made in both their names, and vnder the scale  
of

of the two kingdomes of Castile and Arragon, and that all coyne should be likewise stam- A  
ped with both their armes quartered therein.

4  
The Marquis  
of Villena his  
demands.

The Marquis of Villena moued the King and Queene, that by their fauour he might  
be confirmed in the Master-shippe of Saint Iames, and that a husband might be prou-  
ded for Donna Ioane, with a dowrie befitting her estate: which beeing performed, hee  
promised to become their faithfull and obedient seruant: hee was one of the brauest  
Knights, and best men at armes in all Spaine: the King and Queene sent him word, that  
concerning the Master-shippe, hee should haue all their fauours and assistance, as well  
to the Pope, as to the Knights of the same Order, notwithstanding that Don *Alphonso* of  
Cardenna, and Don *Roderigo Manrique* had diuided it betwixt themselves, and were in B  
possession thereof, and that as for Donna Ioane, they would intreate her kindly and ho-  
nourably, and prouide her a husband, but in any case it behooued him to deliuer her in-  
to their hands.

A seditious Pre-  
late.

The Marquis who had bad counsell, and was still accompanied with seditious per-  
sons, refused to deliuer the Ladie, and that which was worse, at the perswasion of Do-  
ctor *Anthonio Nuñez* of Cité Rodrigo, hee beganne to broach new practises with Don  
*Alphonso* King of Portugall, for to procure him to marrie Donna Ioane, promising to  
make him King of Castile. On the other side the Arch-bishop of Toledo, a man of a tur-  
bulent spirit, and a lover of Innouations, complayned, that the King and Queene, did  
not accomplish that which he had hoped for and desired, nor yet what they had prom- C  
ised him before their comming to the Crowne, seeking all meanes and occasions to  
free himselfe from their seruice. But enuie was it that vexed him, to see the Cardinall of  
Spaine (whome he hated) to be in so great credit and authoritie by their meanes: for  
these respects hee left the Court, beeing accompanied by *Hernando Alarcon* his fami-  
liar Councellour, the great and renowned Alchemist of those dayes.

Hernando  
Alarcon.

The king and Queene beeing come to Vailladolid, by the way of Medina del Cam-  
po, the mote or fort whereof they left in the keeping of the Duke of Alua, they were  
visited by diuers Deputies of Townes and Citties, who came to do them homage, and  
to offer them all dutie and obedience. In the meane time, the Marquis of Villena im-  
portuned the king of Portugall to marrie Donna Ioane, with the kingdome for her dow- D  
rie, or else to defend her as an Vnkle, assuring him that hee should find readie to do him  
seruice, himselfe, the Master of Calatraua, the Earle of Vregna, the Marquis of Cales  
his brother-in-law, Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar, the Earle of Benauent, and also the  
Dukes of Arcualo and Albuquerque, and the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, together with  
fourteene of the chiefe Citties of Castile, who wanted but a head, who at his first arri-  
uall would furnish him with fife thousand Lances, with other forces and meanes. And  
among these bargaines, hee demanded of King Don *Alphonso* diuers great gifts and  
aduancements both for himselfe and for others.

Practises of  
the Marquis  
of Villena in  
Portugal.

The king of Portugall hauing consulted with his Councell about this businesse, not-  
withstanding that their opinions were diuers and contrarious, yet hee sent Commis- E  
sioners to treat of this marriage with Donna Ioane his Neece, and by *Ruy de Seça* his  
Ambassadour, hee willed king Don *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, to giue ouer freely  
vnto him the kingdomes of Castile and Leon, the which they did vnjustly possesse and  
inherit, in regard they did belong and appertaine to D. Ioane, whome the Ambassadour  
called Queene, saying, that if they had any right or interest in those Realmes, they should  
submit themselves to the tryall of lawe, and that hee would lay downe his armes, so as  
they would dispossesse themselves, and leaue the kingdomes in the hands of a third per-  
son: and if they should refuse so to do, hee then tooke God for witnesse and iudge, that  
he was not the author of those miseries which should ensue.

Vntill that time, king Don *Alphonso* had liued and reigned in great credit, magnifi- F  
cence, and reputation, and with good and happie successe in his affaires concerning his  
State: but the couetous and greedie desire hee had to raigne in Spaine, by the meanes  
of Donna Ioane, whome hee had oftentimes reiected and refused, as beeing assured,  
and confidently resolved, that shee was not lawfull daughter to the late king *Henry*, did  
cast him head-long into a gulph of miseries, by the vnluckie and intestine warres, which

A which hee tooke in hand by her meanes against the Kings *Fernand* and *Isabella*: who by  
the aduice of their Councell, did wisely answer his demands, shewing him, that there  
was no reason in that which hee went about, and that he ought to call to mind the cause  
why hee had refused Donna Ioane in King *Henries* life-time, whose daughter hee very  
well knew shee was not, and that therefore they did greatly meruaile at that which hee  
now beganne to attempt: and they did likewise protest not to bee guiltie of any miseries  
which follow warre, beeing determined by all meanes to defend and protect their king-  
domes.

The King and Queene finding hereby, that warre would follow, they did seeke by all  
E meanes to giue contentment to the Marquis, the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo and others,  
on-whome those affaires depended, but their labour was in vaine. The Arch-bishoppe  
shewed himselfe most obstinate, who among other furious speeches, sayd, that he would  
teach the King and Queene what it was to offend the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo: and no  
perswasions nor intreatie of Don *Pedro* of Acugna, Earle of Buendia his brother, nor  
of other graue and religious persons, could alter his determination, but hee did still with  
great obstinacie persist in that which *Hernando Alarcon* had suggested: Therefore on ei-  
ther side great preparations of warre were made, and the Kingdome was in such sort di-  
uided, as diuers, who seemed to be desirous of quiet, gaue occasion to haue their loyaltie  
called in question: souldiers were leauied euery where, and diligent watch was kept in all  
C the Citties, Townes, and Castles, some taking the Kings and Queenes part, others ad-  
hering to the King of Portugall, who aduertised his Partisans, that hee would shortly  
come into the Countrey with a great army.

Audacious  
speeches of the  
Archb.

The King Don *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabella* diuided betwixt them the charge of the  
defence of the Kingdomes, so as King *Fernand* should haue a care of that part which was  
toward the North, that is to say, old Castile, Leon, and the countries next adjacent, and  
Queene *Isabella* should looke to those Regions and Prouinces which are beyond the  
mountaines, namely, Toledo, Andalusia, and Murcia: shee was accompanied by Don  
*Pedro de Velaço* the Constable, Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, who was created Duke  
of Infantazgo, and by Don *Garcy Aluarez* of Toledo Duke of Alua: by the way shee cau-  
D sed the Arch-bishoppe to bee defended once againe, who lay at Alcala, sending the Con-  
stable vnto him, who was a wise and discreet Knight, who did so well handle the matter, as  
the Arch-bishop had consended to the Queenes demands, had not *Hernando Alar-*  
*con* and his associates perswaded him to the contrarie.

Duke of In-  
fantazgo.

King *Ferdinand* beeing desirous to haue the Citties of Salamanca and Zamora to take  
a new oath of allegiance, went thither, and would willingly haue exacted the like from  
them of Toro, but hee would not hazard his person in going thither, albeit that *Roderigo*  
*de Villosa* his chiefe Treasurer, had the Castle in his power: for not long before, his elder  
brother *Iohn de Villosa*, had made himselfe Master of the Cittie, whither he had drawne di-  
uers leude persons, who fearing punishment, for their many heinous crimes, did shadow  
E themselves vnder his protection: who for his owne part did greatly tyrannize in the city  
and had newly caused the Licenciado *Roderigo* of Valdiuiesco to be hanged forth at  
the windowes of his owne house, and had moreouer receyued money of the king of Por-  
tugall, at whose seruice and deuotion he kept the same place.

The Cardinall of Spaine did at the same time write to King Don *Alphonso*, alledging  
many reasons to diuert him from a warre so dangerous and vncertaine, but the King in  
his answer wanted no contrarie reasons. Queen *Isabella* in the meane time furnished To-  
ledo with Garrisons, and placed Don *Roderigo Manriques*, Earle of Paredes for an assi-  
stant there, who teamed himselfe Master of Saint Iames, and hauing by her presence  
well ordered that Cittie, and by letters and commaundements other places of Andalusia  
F and Murcia, shee returned to Vailladolid. At the same time the Inhabitants of Alcarraz  
rebelled against the Marquis of Villena, and craued ayde of Don *Roderigo Manriques*  
against the Marquis, who intended to beseege them, the which they obayned, moreouer  
the King and Queene sent vnto them the Bishop of Auila, and the Lord of Coca and  
Alaxos, who were both of them called *Alphonso de Fonseca*.

The Marquis fearing least other places might reuolt, by the example of Alcarraz,  
folli-

The army of  
Portugall  
trechinto  
Castill.

solicited the Kings of Portugall to make haste, and hauing taken Donna *Joane* whom he termed Queene, out of Escalona, hee brought her by Trugillo vnto Plaisance, where as King *Alfonso* of Portugall arriued with an army of fise thousand horse, of all sorts, and fiftene thousand foote. Hee was attended on by the Archbishoppe of Lisbon, the Bishoppe of Eborra and Coimbra, and many other Prelats, and Church-men, who are alwaie desirous to bee where stirres and tumults are, albeit the true followers of Christ Iesus, haue peace in greatest recommendation: moreouer, there were with him, the Constable, and Marshall of Portugall, the Duke of Bragança, and his brother the Earle of Faro, the Earles of Villa-real, Penela, Marialua, and Pegnamaçor, with a great number of other Nobillity, desirous to serue their King to winne honour, and to encrease their estates by the enlargement of so great a conquest as they hoped to make vpon the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon, with the territories annexed there-vnto, the most part of whome, hauing vpon this vncertaine ground, sold or morgaged their lands and liuings.

The king of  
Portugall and  
Donna Joane  
betrothed each  
to other.

Geneologie of  
Portugal.

An. 1475.

The King of Portugall and Donna *Joane* were betrothed each to other in the City of Playfance, protesting to craue a dispensation from the Pope: there were present, Don *Diego* de Estuniga Duke of Auevalo, and his brother the Earle of Miranda, and King *Alfonso*, and Donna *Joane*, were at that act and ceremony called and intitled, King and Queene of Castile and Leon. King *Alfonso* at his departure out of Portugal, least his Sonne the Prince Don *John* Regent and gouernor there, who was newly made father to a Sonne by his wife Donna *Leonor*, who was named *Alfonso* being borne at Lisbon in the year 1475. King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabell* did like-wise intitle themselves Kings of Portugall and of the Algarues, and either-side did beare the armes of both the Kingdomes indifferently. The gouernors of the frontiers were commanded to invade one another, which they readily executed with great cruelty, and to the great spoyle of the realme of Portugall, the people of Castile putting all to fire and sword that were neete to their borders, especially on the coast of Badajos, where the Castle of Nodar was taken from the Portugalls, and *Martin* de Sepulveda, one of the foure and twenty of Siuill, was made gouernor thereof, who from thence made sharpe warre vpon the Portugois, and yet in the end hee proued scarce faithfull to his Kings. Don *Alfonso* of Montroy, Treasurer of the order of Alcantara, who seemed him-selfe Maister thereof, did on the other-side winne Algretta.

In like manner Don *Alfonso* de Cardega, great commander of Leon, who called him-selfe maister of Saint *James*, did with sundry troupes of horse forrage and spoile the frontiers of Portugall, and brought great booties from thence. Don *Pero* *Aluarez* de Soto mayor, shewed him-selfe on the King of Portugalls side, and tooke Tuy, calling him-selfe Vicount thereof, and tooke also *Bayon* of Minio: sundry other exploits of warre, with burning of houses and robberies, were committed on the frontiers by this enraged multitude.

Now the king of Portugall did perceaue that the warre was likely to last longer and bee more difficult than hee had expected, and almost despairing of ending it with honour, vnles hee had the aide and supply of some greater power, hee sought by all meanes to incite the French King, *Lewis* the leauenth, to breake his alliance with the Kings of Castile, and to assaile them on that side of Guipuscoa, the which hee obtayned, as hereafter shalbe mentioned. In the meane time, hauing receiued the City of Toro, by the treason of *John* *Villoa*, hee assayed the Castle, and tooke it by force, and by the like treason made him-selfe Maister of Zamora, the which was deliuered vnto him, by *John* de Porras one of the chiefe citizens thereof, whose Sonne in law named *Alfonso* de Valencia being Marshall, was Captayne of the Castle, who had rather trust to the vncertaine promises of the King of Portugall, than respecting his owne honour, relie vpon the offers of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabell*: from Zamora King *Alfonso* came backe to Toro, where his new betrothed wife and her mother Queene *Joane* lay, who was sister to this King, who dyed about that time, and was very honorably buried at Madrid in the monastery of S. *Francis*.

The

Toro deliuered  
to the King of  
Portugall.

Zamora in the  
power of the  
King Portugall.

A The Kings, *Fernand* and *Isabella*, greatly apprehending the wrongs and losses which they daily sustained, they hastened on their subiects and souldiers to suppress the Portugois, or else to fight with them. Great numbers of Lords, Knights, and men at armes came to Vailliodolit, where the whole bodie of the armie, from all places of Spayne, was assembled, Andalusia excepted, in which Prouince the quarrell did still continue betwixt the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales, and betwixt the Earle of Cabrera, and Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar: and there was some likelihood, that the Marquis, and Don *Alphonso* would take the Marquis of Villena's part their brother-in-law. The men of note that were come to Vailliodolit, were these, Don *Pedro* *Gonçal* of Mendoza, B. Cardinall of Spayne, and his breethren Don *Diego* *Hurtado* of Mendoza, Duke of Infantazgo, Don *Inigo* *Lopes* of Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, Don *Lorenzo* *Suares*, Earle of Crugna, Don *Pedro* de *Velasco*, Constable of Castile, Don *Alphonso* *Henriques* high Admirall, Don *Garcy* *Aluarez* of Toledo, Duke of Alua, Don *Roderigo* *Alphonso* *Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, Don *Henry* *Henriques*, Earle of Alua de Lista, Don *Pedro* *Manrique*, Earle of Treuigno, Don *John* *Manrique*, Earle of Castagneda, and his brother Don *Gabriel* *Manrique*, Earle of Osorno, Don *Pedro* *Aluarez* of Osorio, Marquis of Astorga, D. *Diego* *Lopes* *Sarmiento*, Earle of Salinas, Don *Pedro* of Mendoza, Earle of Montagu, D. *Alphonso* d. *Arcellan*, Earle of Aguilar, Don *Pedro* of Acugna, Earle of Buendia, with other Lords ecclesiasticall and temporall.

C Don *Bertrand* de la *Cueva*, Duke of Albuquerque remayned neuter, knowing not how to resolute: he would willingly haue adhered to the King of Portugall, who was to bee husband to her, who was reputed to be his daughter, but he durst not: yet for all that at the last, he tooke the partie of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, by meanes whereof diuers did take their parts, who before that time were doubtful what to do: *Garcy* *Lopes* of Padilla Treasurer of Alcantara, who was the last Master of that Order, and Don *Diego* of Castile, with diuers Knights and Commanders came to the Kings and Queenes seruice. The armie being mustred, there were of the Prouinces of Guipuscoa, Biscay, Alaua, Gallicia, and the Asturia's, thirty thousand foote, foure thousand men at armes, and eight hundred Genets or light horse. King *Fernand* with this mighty armie marched along the riuer of Duero against the cittie of Toro, where the King of Portugall, with his betrothed bride, did remayne: by the way the Biscans and Guipuscoans did take by force a place called las Hazegnas de los Hierros, and some of the Inhabitants thereof in regard of the rebellion, were hanged.

The King of Portugall who was inferiour in forces, would not come to field, but kept himselfe within Toro, before which cittie King *Fernand* stood with his armie embattelled about fise howers, and at the last he sent Don *Gomez* *Manrique*, to tell King *Alphonso*, that he should do well to giue ouer the title of king of Castile, and to returne into his owne kingdom, and that if his future wife did lay any claime to the Realme of Castile, that the same might be referred to the iudgement of the Sea of Rome, or if he had rather to trie the matter by armes, that then he should come soorth to fight, or else to accept the single combat betwixt them two, to saue that effusion of innocent blood: King *Alphonso* made answer to euery poynt with great modesty, but to that of Duell or single fight, hee required, that *Isabella*, and Donna *Joane*, (who pretended each of them to be Queene of Castile) should be kept as hostages, to the end that hee which should prouoe conqueror, might enioy his prize, to wit, the kingdomes of Castile and Leon: thereupon were diuers messages and answers sent too and fro, but to no purpose: so as King Don *Fernand* hauing tarried certaine dayes about Toro, his army beginning to want victuals, and other necessaries, hee was aduised to retire from thence, notwithstanding that hee was assured, that the Portugals were in the selfe same estate. Howsoeuer, the armie was brought backe, to the great discontent of the souldiers, who were extremely sorrowfull, that so great a force had bene so vnprofitably and idly employed: and they did much murmure against the great Lords, whome the king had much ado to qualifie and appease.

Being returned to Medina del Campo, Queene *Isabella* came thither from Tordeisillas: then the king had great need of money, by reason that his treasures were drawne dry,

Toro besieged  
by King *Fernand*.

Jewels and  
plate taken  
from the church  
by the  
Kings of Castile.

Marquisate of  
Villena re-united  
to the  
Crown.

drie, hauing spent all that which King *Henry* had left in the Castle of Segobia, whereof *Andrew de Cabrera* was keeper, who was newly made Marquis of Moya, in recompence of his good seruice: the meanes to get money, and least hurtfull to the people, who were ouer-much spoiled and consumed, was to take the Jewels and plate of the Church, whereunto the Arch-bishoppes and Bishoppes did consent, in regard of the Kings neede. The Earle of Paredes, and other the Kings seruants did assaile Ciudad Real, which the Master of Calatrava, with other places, had vsurped: Moreover, the Earle being come to Vcles, made such sharpe warre vpon the Marquis of Villena, as hee hindered both of them from going to the ayde of the King of Portugall, taking diuers commodious places belonging to the Marquisate of Villena, thereby to frustrate the Marquis of the revenues thereof, which he receyued of the tenants with a better will then they payed it to the Marquis, in regard they did extremely hate the Portugals. Hauing rebelled, they did fauour the Earle in the taking of the Castle of Villena, who was likewise ayded therein by the Arragonois, and by that meanes the Marquisate was re-united to the Crowne, with promise, neuer more to alienate it. The Captaine of Reuegna deliuered vppon the fort to King *Fernand*, which held for the Marquis, being aduertized that the people were in armes readie to assaile it.

In these aduersities the Marquis alwaies shewed an incredible constancie, and sayd, that hee did not respect the losse of a little, seeing that hee hoped to haue the command of Toledo, Burgos, Cordoua, and Seuille; and hee did place good Garrisons in those townes and fortresses which were left. The Master of Calatrava, the Earle of Vregna, and the Duke of Arcualo were almost in the like distresse, for they were earnestly solicited by the King of Portugall, to accomplish what they had promised him, the which they could not performe, and they excused themselves, in regard they were of necessitie to defend the townes and forts which had taken his part, acquainting him with the toyle and trauaile which they did endure and vndergo, in going about to make him the king of Castile.

Queene *Isabella* magna  
animi.

The King of Portugall being in want and greatly troubled in his mind, was at the same time founded by letters from the Cardinall of Spayne, vpon what conditions he would end that warre, who made answer, that if they would giue ouer to him Toro, Zamora, with the Kingdome of Galicia, and readie money to pay his armie, hee would then with draw his forces, and pretend no more title: But Queene *Isabella* hauing notice thereof, sayd, that shee would neuer suffer the Kingdome which was left by her predecessors to bee dismembred of one poore Towne or Village: yet notwithstanding if peace might bee bought with money, shee would consent, that the King of Portugall should receiue such a summe as should be agreed vpon, and thought fit, by any reasonable and indifferent Iudges.

The Castle of Burgos was at the same time in the keeping of Don *Iohn* of Estuniga, who held it for his Vncle the Duke of Arcualo, one of the King of Portugals faction, who did great hurt to the townes-men and inhabitants, assailing them on the sudden, spoiling, killing, and taking all those prisoners whome hee could lay hands on: Don *Lewis* of Acugna, Bishoppe of the same Citie, committed the like disorders in the Countrey round about: Wherefore the King and Queene sent thither to the ayde of the oppressed, Don *Alphonso* of Arellan Earle of Aguilar, Don *Pedro* *Maurique*, Don *Sancho* de Rojas, and Don *Stephano* of Villacreces, who were followed soone after by the King, with great troupes of Biscains, Guipuscoans, Alauois, Asturians, and others. There came vnto him also his bastard-brother Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Duke of Villa-hermosa: by these forces the castle was much distressed, and a Church neere to the same was taken, which was called Saint Mary the white, within the which the beseeaged kept their munition, wherein the king placed a companie of souldiers, whose Captain was Don *Iohn* of Gamboa, borne at Motrico in the Prouince of Guipuscoa, who wrote to the King of Portugall sent to demaund ayde of the Duke of Arcualo, who wrote to the King of Portugall by *Iohn* de Sarmiento, who was one of those who had bene driuen out of the Church of Saint Mary the White, aduertizing him, that if that Castle, which was the fort of the

chiefe

A Citie of the Kingdome were lost, he should neuer hope to raigne in Castile, therefore it behooued him to come and succour it: when the king of Portugall vnderstood thus much, he gathered together as great forces as he could conueniently, and marched towards Arcualo, where the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena did meete him with troupes of chosen souldiers, who againe did sweare vnto him, not to acknowledge any other King in Castile but himselfe. Queene *Isabella* was at the same time newly come to Vailladolid out of Leon, where shee had displaced the Captaine of the towers of the same citie, whome shee knew to haue intelligence with the Portugois, and placed an other in his roome; and hearing of King *Alphonso*'s comming to Arcualo, and that the aboue-named Lords were ioyned with him, shee speedily sent Don *Iohn* de Silva, Earle of Cisfuentes to Olmedo, and Don *Gutierre* of Cardegna to Medina del Campo, to the end to hinder the enemies from enterprising vpon those places, and to wearie them.

The Earle of Cisfuentes, who was young, hotte, and desirous to winne honour, would (contrarie to the aduice of the elder, and more experienced Capitaines) needes runne to Arcualo, and there to lay an ambush for the enemy, but hee was discouered, and the enemy came forth vpon him with greater forces, so as hee was constrained with great dishonour to returne backe to Olmedo, being defeated and ashamed. After this victory the King of Portugall, the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, the Marquis of Villena and other Lords marched towards Pegnasil, a towne belonging to the Earle of Vregna, where they remayned, expecting some other companies which were to be ioyned to their army.

The Earle of  
Cisfuentes de-  
feated by the  
Arragonois.

Vpon this occasion Queene *Isabella* came to Palenca, with the Cardinall of Spaine, the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, and others, from whence shee sent the Earle of Benauent with certaine men at armes, who lodged in Balranas, a towne neere to Pegnasil, and from thence made continuall roades, cutting off those which carried victuals to the Portugals campe, who were greatly distressed thereby, wherefore the King of Portugall sent to assaile the same place, where the Portugals fought so furiously, as notwithstanding the great resistance which the Earle and his souldiers made, they entred and tooke it, and brought away the Earle of Benauent prisoner, being wounded, to the campe lying at Pegnasil, with diuers other braue Knights.

The Earle of  
Benauent taken  
prisoner.

These two ouerthrowes of the Earles of Cisfuentes and Benauent, did greatly trouble the Queen, who was aduised for the best to go to Burgos to the king her husband, where the castle still held out, and made wonderfull resistance. The king of Portugall in the meane time made no hast to succour it: for he was inferiour in forces to the armie of the Kings his aduersaries, and withall hee greatly feared, that the citie of Zamora stood not firme for his seruice, therefore hee chose the safest way, which was to returne to Arcualo, with purpose to put greater garrisons into Zamora and Toro. Donna *Leonora* Pimentel/Duchesse of Arcualo, who was sister to the Earle of Benauent, and a Ladie of great worth, obtrayned her brothers libertie of King *Alphonso*, agreeing vpon his rancome, and promised that he should no more serue the King and Queene in those warres: for assurance whereof, hee gaue the townes of Portillo, Villalua and Majorga in pawne: and albeit the king promised great honours and rewards to the Earle of Benauent, to the end to draw him to his seruice, yet he would neuer consent thereto, but in regard of this mishap, he remayned as neuter.

The yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie fixe, those of Ocagna being kept short by the Garrisons of the Marquis of Villena, and tyred with their oppressions, returned to the seruice of the King and Queene, being ayded and fauoured by the Earle of Cisfuentes, and by Don *Iohn* de Ribera, who came thither with great troupes of souldiers: Queene *Isabella* gaue the gouernement of that place to the Earle of Paredes, enemy and competitor to the Marquis, who being by little and little dispossessed of what hee held, did greatly complaine thereof to the king of Portugall, saying, that he had sustained those losses by being in his seruice, and he did request him to passe on with his forces to Madrid, assuring him that by the assistance of the Archb. of Toledo, the Master of Calatrava, and with the forces of the same kingdome of Toledo, which took his part, not only

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An. 1476.



in a short time to recouer what was taken from him, but that his affaires would prosper A the better.

The King of Portugall hauing had therevpon the aduise of the Lords, and Captaines, of his army, was aduised not to leaue the hilly country on that side of Burgos: for who- soeuer was possessed thereof, might boldly terme himselfe Maister of Castill and Leon: and withall, if he should seeme to march towards Toledo, the enemy would say, that he did run away from them: wherefore he enterrayned the Marquis, with promise to aide him in all he could, and moreouer to recompence him with great gifts, and honours, provided that hee would take some good order for his affaires, and in some sort prouide for the present danger.

The Marquis of Villena be-  
ginneeth to in-  
cline to King  
Ferdinand &  
Queene Isabel's  
side.

From that time, the Marquis, who felt his losses, and saw no hope of rising againe, began to thinke vpon fit meanes to returne to the King and Queenes seruice: At the same time, the City of Zamora did seeke some fit occasion to rebell against the King of Portugall, whereof hee stood in some doubt, and vsed such diligence, for the discouery of their practizes, as hee had notice of a plot, which they had layd, for the which he caused foure of the chiefest Citizens to be put to death. Yet notwithstanding, Francis de valdez, Captaine of the bridge of Zamora, being solicited by Queene Izabell, did promise to deliuer that forte into her hand, and withall to giue her entry into the City, but that it behoued King Ferdinand to bee present in person at soe great an enterprife.

The King was not slacke at such an occasion, but leauing his brother Don Alphonso of Arragon, and the Constable at the siege of the Castle of Burgos, hee came thither in a disguised habit, being accompanied with three horse-men, by the way of Valiodolit, causing it to be giuen out, that he was sicke, and kept his chamber. Although this enterprife seemed to be kept close, yet the King of Portugall had notice thereof, and did meane to put a new supply, of such as he durst trust, into the bridge, vnder colour of sending certaine soldiers forth in the night a boot haling: but the Captaine would not suffer them to passe, bidding them come in the day time, saying that the night is ever dangerous to strong places, and passages of importance, as this was. The day following the King attempted the like, and finding the like resistance, would by force haue taken the passage, but those of the garde of the bridge did valiantly defend it, and did kill and hurt diuers Portugois: wherefore, King Alphonso, by the Arch Bishoppe of Toledoes counsell, withdrew his forces from the fight, and hee with Donna Ioane, his bethrothed wife, left the City about midnight, suspecting some treason, in regard that the bridge alone made such resistance, he being there in person.

The King of  
Portugall seer-  
eth the city  
of Zamora.

The inhabitants at the same instant brought in Don Aluaro de Mendoza by an other gate, who tooke and spoiled the Portugois, which were left, excepting a few, who saved them selues in the Cathedrall Church, who on the morrow after by breake of day yeel- ded them selues, King Ferdinand, the Admirall, the Duke of Alua, and other Lords, being there arriued. These soldiers were sent away without paying any ranfome, and carried their baggage away with them to Toro, where their King remayned, who to encourage his people, sayd, that the victory of a warre did not consist in the gayne, or losse of a few townes, or Citties, but in the issue of a battaill, the which alone would decide the quarrell, about the succession of Castile and Leon: for the which purpose hee did write to Prince Iohn his Sonne, to make as great a leuy of soldiers in his Kingdome as possibly he could, and with all speed to bring them to his aide. King Ferdinand being maister of Zamora, beganne to better the Castle, and caused the traytors to bee arraigned, and condemned, confiscating the goods of Iohn de Porras, and others.

Whilest these matters were handled at Zamora, Don Alphonso of Arragon, Duke of Villahermosa, and the other Captaynes who beseege the Castle of Burgos, did continually batter it, and gaue it many dangerous and rude assaults, but they that were within it wanted no courage to defend them selues. And as the sentinells and those of the garde, were reuiling one another, an Alcayde, or Sheriffe of Burgos, did

A called Alphonso de las Cuevas, beganne to talke to those of the Castle, and vsed such per- swasiue reasons and arguments, as they were resolu'd to hearken to some composition, especially when they did see a great quarter of their wall beaten downe, by meanes whereof they lay open to their enemies assaults: therefore being solicited, they did ca- pitulate about the yeelding of the castle, vpon condition, that all faults past should be forgiven, the which was granted by the Queene, who for that regard came from Val- liodolit to Burgos, and did receiue the Castle her owne selfe, whereof shee made Diego de Ribera Gouvernour, who had bene tutor and bringer vpe of her brother the Prince Don Alphonso: and hauing appoynted that which was requisite for the peace and quiet of the Cittie, shee returned to Vailliodolit, and from thence went to Tordesillas, to the end to be neerer to the enemy, the better to haue an eye to his enterprises and proce- dings.

The Castle of  
Burgos yeelded.

Thither Don Pedro de Estuniga, eldest sonne to the Duke of Arcualo, did come to the Queene, whose part hee had still taken, and had shewed himselfe faithfull vnto her, in regard whereof he was vnkindly vsed by his father, and by Donna Leonora Pimentel his mother-in-law. He besought the Queene to receiue the Duke his father into grace and fauour, promising to put all that hee did possesse into her hands, making an apologie, and excusing the faults which hee had committed by reason of his decrepit age, being wholly possessed and ruled by his second wife. It did greatly displease the Queene to par- don him, who had shewed himselfe so mortall and hatefull an enemy to the King her husband, neuertheless, for the sonnes sake shee did pardon the father, and the whole fa- mily. The title of the Dutchie was transposed from Arcualo to the Citie of Plaisance, and euer afterward the Lords of the house of Estuniga became affectionate seruants to the King and Queene.

The warres continuing after this sort in Castile, the French King inclining to the de- maunds and perswasions of the King of Portugall, and bearing no great good will to the house of Arragon euer since the warre of Perpignan, sent a great armie into the Pro- vince of Guipuscoa, vnder the conduct and commaund of Aman Lord of Abrit or Al- bret, whose posteritic hath reigned in Nauarre, as shall hereafter be declared. Diuers D Gentlemen and braue souldiers of the countie of Guipuscoa, vpon the report of the coming of this armie, did shutte themselues vp in Fontaraby, others went to Iruin, by which place the French-men were of necessitie to passe, who did burne Iruin, and slue cer- taine men: there they went vp and downe for the space of fixe weekes spoyling the coun- trie, not once attempting or offering to beseege Fontarabic, which was their chiefe desaigne.

6  
Alliance be-  
twixt France  
and Castile.

In the meane time Iohn Lopes de Lascano, and Sancho del campo, entred the towne, being sent from the Court with about fiftie horse, at whose coming, the souldiers which were within the towne, made a salley, and came forth vnto the very limitres of Iruin, where they found about a thousand French-foote of the fore-ward of their armie with E their Captaine Parguet of Bayonne, who being assayled and set vpon on the sodaine, through want of good and prouident watch, and hauing no faithfull discoverers, were easily ouerthrowne, and put to a disordered flight: some of them, in this confusion, thin- king to saue themselues in a Tower of a mannor-houfe belonging to those of Vrdaniuia, they were there beseege'd, and burnt with Parguet their Captaine, the Master of the same house being the first man that set fire thereunto. The poore distressed souldiers, to auoyde and escape the implacable torments of the mercilesse fire, leaped out of the to- wer windowes in most desperate manner, and were with scoffes and mockes receiued vpon the enemies pikes. The Spanish Authours say, that three hundred were there slayne and pittifully massacred, besides diuers others that were captiuated and taken pri- soners.

Parguet a  
French cap-  
taine defeated.

Soone after Don Diego Lopes de Sarmiento, Earle of Salinas, Captaine generall for the King and Queene, came into the Prouince with certaine troupes of horse, bring- ing letters to the worthie persons and chiefe Magistrates of Queene Izabella's coun- try, who, with perswasive admonitions exhorted the Guipuscoans, to stand and continue

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faithfull to their Princes, for which they were renowned about all other Prouinces of A Spaine.

An. 1476.

Now vpon the eighth day of Aprill this yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie fixe, being Saint *Denis* day, the towne of Fontarabie was beseegeed by the French, where no matter of woorth was performed, saving some few light skirmishes with losse of men on either side, for the space of fve dayes onely, whilest the seege continued: for they easily found, that in regard of the strength of the place, it was to no purpose for them to carrie there: yet the Lord of Albret did not intend to depart out of the cuntry, without leaving some worthie markes behind him, and perceyuing his owne armie to be mighty, and that the King and Queene of Castile, by reason of their warres with the King of Portugal, and their owne subiects, could not readily send an armie against him, hee therefore determined to forrage and spoyle the cuntry with fire and sword: then hee entred into the valley of Ojarrun, two leagues from Fontarabie, where hee burned the parish Church, with fiftie men, who had with-drawne themselves into the steeple: they likewise burned and destroyed diuers houses in the same valley, and notwithstanding that the Earle of Salinas endeauoured to defend the towne of Renteria, yet the French-men tooke and burned it, and slue fiftene men there, taking the Lord of Lescan his son, and *Martin Peres* of Alcega prisoners.

The French do wast Guipuzcoa.

The Earle of Salinas being not strong enough to hinder those ruines and spoiles, and having regard to his owne safetie, and being to looke to many other places, retired himselfe in safetie to Saint Sebastians. The French-men returned the second time to the seege of Fontarabie, where they beganne a sharpe batterie. In the same citie re-mayned at that time Don *John* of Gamboa with a thousand souldiers, who was a valiant man, and borne in the Citie of Motrico in the same Prouince, vpon whome King *John* of Arragon had bestowed many fauours in recompence of his many yeares faithfull seruice, and had also ennobled him in Arragon, and made him of his priue Councell, permitting him to beare in a quarter of his owne shield of Armes, those of the kingdome of Arragon and Sicill, for a noate or marke of his valour and prowess, and besides that, had married him to Donna *Leonora* of Castro, giuing him meanes to maintain his estate honorably, whereunto, his sonne King *Fernand*, and Queene *Izabella* haue added more honours, making him of their priue Councell, and great Master of their horse.

Fontaraby besieged.

The besiegers as well as they that were besieged, did not spare the Cannon, which wrought no other effect, but the death of some sixtie persons in the towne, and a Captaine named *Fortunato Sarauz*, and the number of the assaillants which were slayne with the Artillerie, was vncertaine: and this second seege lasted little longer then the former, for the succours by sea which came to the towne from Saint Sebastians, being discovered, the French-men rayfed their seege, and hauing no hope at all to take it, they had begunne to make a great trench round about the Citie, which came to none effect.

The seege of Fontaraby rayfed.

In Castile King *Fernand* besieged the Castle of Zamora (as hath beene before mentioned) and not being able, either by prayers, promises, or threatnings to bring the besieged to yeeld, he commaunded certaine peeces of batterie to bee brought to enforce them thereunto: Whereof the King of Portugall hauing notice, and knowing that King *Fernand* had not forces sufficient to maintain the seege of Zamora, and to defend and guard his Artillerie, if it were assayled, hee forth-with made an enterprise vpon it, hoping by that meanes, either to take his peeces of batterie by force of armes, or else, if the king his aduersarie should come to defend them, that then the besieged should haue some time to ease and refresh themselves. Being come forth to Toro with all his forces for the same intent, hee had intelligence that the Artillerie was safely arriued at the Campe: Being disappointed of his purpose, he shewed himselfe in order of battaile readie to fight, and hee sent to desire King *Fernand*, who, if hee should refuse the fight, was aduised by him to returne into Arragon with his wife.

The

A The Castillian knights, and men at Armes, which were in the king Don *Fernands* armie, were exceeding glad of this challenge, desiring nothing more than to come to blowes: the King likewise was of the same opinion, but the Earle of Alua de Lixa was of another mind, and perswaded the contrarie, with diuers forcible reasons: Wherevpon answer was made to the King of Portugall, that if hee had a desire to fight, hee might come and rayse the seege before the castle of Zamora, which the King meant not to giue ouer, till hee had taken it, and chastised the Rebelles. With this answer the King of Portugall returned to Toro, where hee expected the succour which his sonne Prince *John* was bringing to him.

B In the meane time, Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza hauing met with the Earle of Pennamagor, both of them leading certaine bands of souldiers, did charge one another, in such sort, as the Portugals were defeated and put to flight, with great effusion of their blood, the Earle being taken prisoner. Not long after, the Cardinall of Spaine came to King *Fernands* campe, bringing with him great supplies from the Queene his wife, to the end he might be able to giue the King of Portugall battaile, without discontinuing his seege at the Castle of Zamora, as also to animate and encourage the Kings souldiers who had heard the challenge. There came likewise from Gallicia, the troupes of horse and foote, which the Earle of Lemos, and Don *Pero Aluares Osorio*, Lord of Cabrera did send to the King and Queene, with those of the Earle of Montroy, all of them being brauely armed, and choice souldiers.

The Portugals defeated.

King *Fernands* armie being strengthened by this supply, hee left sufficient forces before the Castle of Zamora, and marched towards Toro, where staying within halfe a mile of the Citie, in order readie to fight, hee sent to the King of Portugall, who lay in the Towne, to present him battaile, offering him the like brauado, which not long before he had receyued from him at Zamora: but his expected forces out of Portugall being not yet arriued, hee refused it, and there was nothing performed, but a few light skirmishes, so as King *Fernand* brought backe his armie to Zamora. Not long after, the Prince Don *John* arriued at Toro, bringing with him twenty thousand fighting men, to the exceeding great ioy of the king his father, who did hide from him the Duke of Arcualo's reuolt, and did write to the Duke, and aduertised him of the mighty ayde, which the Prince his sonne had brought him, exhorting him to come in person to the campe, and to bring his forces with him, or else to send them thither with all speede. The Duke made him a free and plaine answer what hee meant to doe, and complained of sundrie of the kings negligences, by meanes whereof hee had lost the castle of Burgos, and let slippe diuers fit occasions. King *Alphonso* did in like manner sollicite the Marquis of Villena and others, who excused themselves, in regard they were to resist their owne and his enemies: so as there remayned no more Lords of Spayne in his army, but the Archbishop of Toledo onely.

The King of Portugal forsaken.

These Portugall forces being ioyned together, made vp the masse of a great armie: the king left the duke of Guimaranes within Toro, and marched towards Zamora, on the other side opposite to the Castle, the riuer being betwixt them, and hauing planted his campe round about the bridge, hee did thereby hinder all men from comming forth of the citie on that side. The placing of the campe seemed strange to King *Fernand*, for the Portugals could no way from thence helpe those of the Castle, nor yet hinder his armie, much lesse could they come to battaile: and it seemed, that hee did rather seeke vainly to be accounted bold and valiant by lodging so neere his enemy, than to perform any worthie act, as it appeared by that which hee did write to the French king, the Pope, and to diuers other Princes, as also by that which hee published throughout all Spaine. Queene *Izabella* sent the Duke of Villa-hermosa her brother-in-law, and the Constable with two thousand horse to Fuente del Sabuco, and to Alahayos, to keepe and cutte off the enemies campe from victualles, and to distress it. In the meane time there wanted no mediators for peace betwixt both the kings, but it was in vaine, and to no purpose.

The King of Portugal was vanquished.

The Portugall armie hauing for the space of fiftene dayes beene abroade in the fields in the dead time of cold winter, the king *Alphonso* determined to returne to Toro. And to the

to the end he might do it safely, he sent Don *Aluaro* of Portugall, sonne to the Duke of A Bragança, and the Licentiate *Anthony Nuges* of Cité Roderigo to the King of Castile, to treat of a peace vpon certaine conditions, which beeing refused them, they had in charge to demaund a truce for a few dayes, thereby to bring matters to a finall agreement.

King Alphonso  
of Portugal  
dislodged from  
before Zamora

This was but a pollicie to auoyd battaile, and to be able to bring his armie in safetie backe to Toro: There were suadrie opinions thereuppon, and at the last, they were answered, that the truce which should be graunted, should bee but short, and if there were nothing concluded betwixt the two Kings, hee of Portugall might bee well assured not to bee suffered to depart thence with so great ease, as hee imagined. King *Alphonso* hauing vnderstood this answer, beganne to dislodge secretly the same night: the next day, the scouters seeing the place emptie, aduertized the King, that the enemy was dislodged, who forthwith commaunded the Captaines to leade the armie forth into the field, and to follow them: the presse was so great at the passage of the bridge, and at the going ouer the riuer of Duero, by boate and other waies, as the soldiers could conueniently, as a good part of the day was spent before the armie could passe the riuer, and much time was afterward lost in ranging the battaile into wings and squadrons, which was ordered after this manner:

Battel betwixt  
the Spaniards  
and Portugalls.

They made a squadron of the kings Guard, and of the troupes of horse of Lemos and Salamanca, of the Townes of Olmedo, Valodolir, Medina del Campo, with others, which was commaunded by the great Master Don *Henry Henriques*. On the right hand of this squadron were sixe battaillions, the first was conducted by Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza, who a little before that time was created Earle of Castro Xeris, and Don *Gutierre* of Cardenas, and *Rodrigo* of Villos: the second, by the two *Alphonso's* of Fonseca, the one Bishoppe of Auila, and the other Lord of Coca and Alaexos: the third, by *Pedro de Guzman*, the fourth, by *Bernard Franc*, the fifth, by Don *Pedro de Velasco*, and the sixt by *Vasco de Binar*, brother to the Bishoppe of Salamanca. On the left hand, the Cardinale of Spaine ledde the first battalion, the second, the Duke of Alua, the third, the Earle of Alua de Lista, the fourth, Don *Garcia Osorio*, who brought thither the troupes of the Marquis of Astorga his Nephew: betwixt these two, the footemen were placed, and in this manner the army marched on vnto the hilles which are betwixt Zamora and Toro, and there it stayed. It was thought that the Portugalls making such hast, would bee at Toro before the Spanish armie should passe these hilles: and a Councell beeing called to determine what was best to be done, the most part were of opinion to turne backe againe, and to content themselues to haue gained the honour, that the enemies had fled from them: but the Cardinall of Spayne beeing a wise man, and of an exceeding great spirit, thinking that they did iudge amisse of the King of Portugals desseignes, intreated the king to suffer him to goe to the toppe of those hilles with certaine troupes of horse, for discouerie, who hauing obayned leaue, and beeing gotten vp to a very high place, hee espyed the armie of Portugall in order of battaile, without any trouble or confusion at all. Returning then to the king, he told him, that the enemies meant nothing lesse then to flee, and that hee had seene them standing in good and martiall order, wayting if any would follow to fight with them: Whereuppon, euery man beeing placed and ranked in his order and squadron, the armie, with great courage and resolution, marched on.

The king of Portugall descrying the Spaniards marching towards them, caused his people forthwith to make a stand, and with great magnanimitie to turne their faces towards them, resolving rather to dye fighting, then to retire with shame. Hee was at the same time stronger in horse-men than king *Ferdinand*: wherefore after hee had diuided his squadrons, betwixt himselfe, his sonne the Prince, the Bishoppe of Ebor, the Earles of Bizaro, Villa-reall, and other Captaines, and encouraged the Knights, and souldiers with a large and well-composed speech, putting them in mind of the victorie which King *John* the first wonne from the Spaniards at Aljubarotta, he caused them to march forward to the fight.

The chiefe strength and flower of the Portugall Caualerie lay in the Squadron of Prince

A Prince *John*, against whom King *Fernand* caused the sixth battaillion on his right hand to aduance themselues altogether, albeit that D. *Alphonso de Fonseca* first of all, and Don *Aluaro de Mendoça* Earle of Castro after him, had requested the honour to bee the first that might charge them.

The Portugals which were in that Squadron ioyned with those whom the Bishop of E-bora conducted, made so braue a resistance, as the Spaniards turned their backs: so as at this first encounter, the victory seemed to be on the King of Portugals side, the Spaniards being sore hurt by the Artillery, and by the Crosse-bowes of the Portugall footemen. These being retired, the other squadrons gaue in vpon the residew of the Portugall army with better successe. Norwithstanding that the valor of either side made the fight doubtfull for three houres space. In the end, the Portugalls not being able to hold out, beganne to giue backe, and were disordred and put to flight, taking the high-way towards Toro as fast as they could gallop, but being pursued, there was a great slaughter of them, and there died more of them drowned in the riuer, who thought to haue escaped by swimming, then were slaine by the enemies hands. King *Alphonso* being not succoured by his sonne, and perceiving that resistance, without order, was to no purpose, did retire himselfe to Castro Nugno, where hee was receiued by the Gouvernor of the same place whose name was *Abendagno* de Villa-reall in Alaua, hauing once lost his royall standard (which neuertheless was recovered againe) thorough the carelesnesse of Don *Pedro* de Velasco, and *Pedro* Vaca, who for want of a good guard suffred the Portugals to take it from them: he which did beare it was taken, and beeing stripped out of his armor, the King and Queene caused it to be hanged vp in the Cathedrall Church of Toledo, in the Chappell of the last Kings. On King *Fernands* side likewise died a great number of souldiers, though vncertaine; and the Earle of Alua de Lista pursuing his enemies ouer eagerly, and beeing not well followed and seconded by his people, was taken at the bridge of Toro.

The Prince of Portugall made his retreat towards night vpon a little hill, and as well as hee could did gather together his disbanded troupes, and then retired towards Toro: and if the Spanish captaines had gathered and kept all their forces together they might as easily haue defeated all as some: but diuerse of them were busied in stripping the dead bodies, and others in pursuing the runne-awaies, who beeing come to the gates of Toro, the Earle of Guimaranes, who was left there for the guard of the City, fearing that the Spaniards who pursued them, would haue entred pel met with them, would not open the gates for no intreaty of the Archbishop of Toledo; who was the only Spanish Lord that was in that battaile, nor yet for the cries & lamentations which the poore hurt souldiers did make, vntill such time as the Prince Don *John* arrived with his troupes, and then they were all let into the City: but they were meruelously troubled, when they perceived that the King was missing, but the Earle of Guimaranes beganne to make a most pittifull lamentation, shedding abundance of teares, and tare the haire from his head and beard; and beleeuing for a certaine that hee was either slaine or taken, hee did greatly reproach and raile vpon the Portugalls, saying, that they were traitors to their King, and that they had basely and treacherously forsaken him.

But the Kings comming soone after, and newes from him by letters to the Prince his sonne in the meane time, did greatly comfort this Earle and all the rest of the army. It is reported that after the losse of the battaile, the King beeing at Castro Nugno, fell a sleepe as hee sat at meate, where at the Gouvernor did greatly wonder, who in regarde thereof reputed him a carelesse man, and said, that honourable Knights and souldiers did greatly wronge themselues in aduenturing their liues for such a King, and yet this gouernour did still shew himselfe faithfull and constant in his seruice.

Queene *Isabell* in the meane time did remayne at Tordillas, who beeing aduertified by the King her husband of his victory, shee caused generall proecessions to bee made, giuing thanks to God, after the accustomed manner, and shee herselfe went bare foote to the Abby of Saint Paule, without the towne, and as well there as in other Citties be-  
longing

The King of  
Portugall doth  
little appe-  
hend the losse  
of the battaile.

The Castle of Zamora, yeelded to King Ferdinands liberality.

longing to the Queene, great signes of ioy were made, The siege of the Castle of Zamora did still continew after that without any empiediment, till *Alphonso* de Valence the Captaine thereof, who was sonne in law to *Iohn* de Porras, obtained his pardon by the intercession of the Cardinall of Spaine his kinsman, and did yeeld it vp. There was found in the Castle great store of siluer, treasure, jewells, and other pretious mouables, belonging to the King of Portugall, which by King *Ferdinands* commandement were restored vnto him, who made *Sancho* d' Castile Captaine of the Castle, & after that he had ordayned, and prouided all things requisite for the safety of Zamora, hee came to Medina del Campo, where the Queene met him; This happy successe did daunt the courrages of all the Kings, and Queenes enemies, in so much as the greatest part of them, employed all their meanes, credit, and friends, to obayne their grace and fauour. The Constable obtayned pardon for the Maister of Calatraua, and for the Earle of Vregna his brother, vnto whom the Constable gaue one of his daughters in marriage. The Arch-Bishoppe of Toledo, beeing daily dispossessed of the townes, and places belonging to his Arch-Bishopricke, tooke leaue of the King of Portugall, and withdrew him selfe to Alcala de Henares, beeing accompanied with a gard and conuoy of horsemen, which did greatly hinder the Earle of Treuignoes enterprife, who was sent by the King for to take him.

There remayned in Atiença a Captaine of the King of Portugalls side, which did great hurt to the country round about, who with his wife, family, and all his goods, was taken in a night by a Knight named *Garcy Brauo*, who had entry giuen him by one of the Captaines seruants. This prey, amounting to better then tenne thousand ducats, was giuen by the King, and Queene, to this Knight, who did in like manner take Camarena, for their seruice, from which place *Iohn* de Tovar, did commit infinite spoiles. The King of Portugall finding that all matters fell out contrary to his desire, resolved to returne into Portugall, with an intent to craue aide of the French King: Hee carried Donna *Joane* his betroathed wife with him, and left good Garrisons in those townes of Spaine which hee did possesse, especially in Toro, where Don *Fancisco* *Cotino* Earle of Marialua was left for Gouvernour, in *Iohn* de Villosa his steed, who dyed not long before by a suddayne accident. *Rodrigo* of Castagneda, brother to the Earle of Cifuentes, did hold Madrid for the Marquis of Villena, beeing assisted by *Iohn* *Sapata* a Cittizen of the towne, and a violent and bitter enemy to all those which tooke the King, and Queenes part, whome by all meanes he chased from thence. He was cheefe of that faction. In the number of those that were banished, was *Pero* *Nugnes* of Toledo cheefe, like wife of those on the King, and Queenes side, who had retyred himselfe to the Duke of Infantado: this man with others, who were banished from Madrid, hauing conferred with the Queenes people, did thinke to surpriue the towne by intelligence, with some within the same. *Iohn* *Sapata*, at the first newes thereof, left the City, his owne conscience accusing him, and threatening him with death, for his many misdemeanors: neuertheless the commander *Pedro* of Ayala, a knight of the order of Saint Iames, being in the City, did defend it for a tyme, and then did deliuer it to the Duke. The Castle held two months for the Marquis, in which space it was beseegeed by the Duke, sent thither with certaine companies by the Queene. This same yeare, King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell*, (their affaires prospering) did celebrate and keepe the assembly of the estates at Madrigall, where Donna *Isabell*, there onely daughter, at that time, was sworne vnto, and acknowledged, after the antient accustomed manner of Spaine; Brincede of the Aliuria, and eldest lawfull heire to the Kingdomes of Castile, and Leon, and the dependances thereof, in case no male child were borne vnto them. And in regard of the great zeale and affection they did beare to iustice, which had greates neede of their aide and assistance, the whole state of Spaine being to disordered, and full of confusion, as they which were strongest, would without any feare of punishment exercise infinite kinds of cruelties vpon the weaker sort, it was decreed, for the preuenting thereof, to renew and authorize the brother-hoods, and companies of the communalities. To the prouosts and iudiciall seates whereof, authority should be giuen to giue iudgement in fiae cases, that is to say, for murder, inforced theft, or those which should be hurt in the country or places farre

Donna Isabell, sworne heire to the kingdomes of Castile.

In what cases the prouosts of Castle may giue iudgement.

A farre from any dwelling: Secondly, they might iudge the selfe same crimes committed in the townes, and villages, in case the offender should flie away: Thirdly, the breaking open of doores and walles, scaling and burning of houses: Fourthly, the rape and violence offered to women or maides, of what age or condition soeuer: And fifthly for rebelling against the Ministers of iustice executing their charge: which brother-hoods should haue their prouosts and iudges in the townes, and their Ministers in all places of their iurisdiction, and whereas any controuersie should arise betwixt the ordinary Iudges and those prouosts vpon the enquiry and knowledge of offences, such differences should be iudged by the Kings Councell.

B Don *Lope* de Ribas Bishop of Carthagen was chosen chiefe president of all those brotherhoods, and it was decreed that an imposition should bee laide vpon the people, for the entertainment of the souldiars and officers of these Iudges, euery twentieth house to finde one horseman: so as by that meanes a power of two thousand horse was leauied, to assist the Iudges, and to purge and cleanse the country from theues and robbers. Of whom, Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Duke of Villahermosa, the Kings brother, was captaine generall. These things beeing thus ordered, did neuertheless displease sundry of the great Lords of Spaine; but the Constable was well pleased therewith, who was the first that commanded his owne tennants, to contribute towards the payment of these companies, whose example diuers other great Lords did follow afterward.

C Now the King of Portugall had furnished Toro, Cantalapiedra, and Castro Nugno with good and strong garrisons, which did greatly molest all the country there abouts, especially that of Cantalapiedra where *Alphonso* *Peres* de Buiro was gouernour, who made continuall courses, vpon the territory of Medina, Salamanca, and other places: which to remedy, King *Fernand* resolved to beseege it, and sent thither the Duke of Villahermosa his brother, and Don *Pedro* *Maurique* Earle of Treuigno, with Artillery to batter it.

The siege being planted, and the Canon playing on either side, the beseegeed, who found themselves shut in, demanded aide of King *Alphonso*, who did forrage and overrunne the territory of Salamanca, thinking by that meanes both to diuert the army from before Cantalapiedra, and to succour the beseegeed, but it fell not out according to his desseigne; for the Earle of Treuigno marched against the forragers, and did beate them backe, and yet the beseegeed in Cantalapiedra were still as much distressed as before. It was treated concerning the exchange of prisoners: wherefore the Earle of Benauent was freed from his oth, which hee made, not to beare armes for King *Fernand* in that warre, and so the Earle of Pegnamaçor was deliuered forth of prison, the siege raised from before Cantalapiedra and the Licentiate *Antonio* *Nugnes* of Ciudad *Rodrigo* was restored to his goods, and the garrisons of that place were not to beare armes for a yeere afterward. The King and Queene gaue to the Earle of Benauent, foure millions of Marauedis, towards the charges hee had beene at, and confirmed his former gift of the city of Corunna, or the Groine, but the Inhabitants taking armes, did resist him, intending to maintaine themselves vnder the demaines of the crowne, without acknowledging any subalterne Lord, and draue those forth of the castle which held it for the Earl. The same time, King *Fernand* was sent for into Arragon by King *Iohn* his father, whither he did make a short iourney, & because his wars in Castile, but especially in Guipuscoa, concerned him very nerely, he made a quick returne to victoria: for the Frenchmen remained stil in that Prouince burning the country, to driue whom away, the King and Queene raised an army of fifty thousand men, the most part of them being footmen, out of the Prouinces of Guipuscoa, Alaua, Biscay, Asturia, and from other places on the confines of Burgos. Vpon the report of this great preparation the French men retired to Bayonne, with intent and threatening to returne againe the spring following.

At the same time, the faction of Beaumont and Grammont in the Kingdome of Nauarre, were at as deadly warre as euer, and the quarrell betwixt Don *Lewis* of Beaumont Earle of Lerin, and *Pedro* of Peralta the Constable, was pursued with all rigour and extremity: the Earle of Lerin beganne to treat with King *Fernand* to make him King of Nauarre, and to deliuer into his hands the city of Pampelona with

Nauarre, Lewis of Beaumont, the Realme of Nauarre.

with other fortresses of the same country: sending certaine Knights of Nauarre vnto him to victoria, to offer him his seruice with all that hee did possesse: the King did curteously entertaine those Knights, & thanked both the Earle and them for their offers, and good will: but concerning the rest, hee said that hee would not lay claime to anothers right, for the Realme of Nauarre did in right belong to his sister the Princeesse *Leonora*, and after her decesse, to her Sonnes Sonne, *Francis Phabus* Earle of Foix and Lord of Bearne, and withall because King *Iohn* his father did enioy the royall authority thereof, during his life: therefore, to enterprise any thing against the right of those persons, vnto whom hee did owe so much honour and respect, it would not onely be a sinne, but impiety and sacriledge, so as by no meanes hee would harken therevnto: saying moreover that hee was much grieued, to see the inueterate hatred betwixt the Earle and the Constable, and that hee would willingly take the paines to make them friends, thinking it an office worthy of him, to procure the peace and quiet of that Kingdome, which was ruined by the confusions of the ciuill warres, wherefore hee did inuite both of them to come to victoria, and to referre their controuersies to his arbitrement: with these holy speeches hee gaue content, and admiration to the Knights of Nauarre, at whose returne the Earle of Lerin, and the Constable came to Victoria, where if King *Fernand* could not wholly reconcile them, yet he procured a truce betwixt them, putting each of them in mind with great meekenesse mixed with grauity of their errors with the amendement thereof, to the good of the Kingdome, their own particular proffit and for the seruice of King *Iohn* their maister.

King *Ferdinand* meditates a peace betwixt the factions of Beaumont and Gramine.

King *Iohn* second marriage omits to the realm of Nauarre.

The Earle of Lerin marries a bastard daughter of Arragon and becomes obedient to King *Iohn*.

John King of Arragon falls in loue in his extreme old age.

The King of Arragon afterwards, perceiuing him-selfe at the graues brinke, and desiring to leaue quietnesse in that miserable kingdome, where the factions had bred such confusions, as neither the feare of God, nor the loue of honesty was able to containe men from executing all kinds of mischeefes, murders, sacrileges, robberies, burnings, and horrible desolations ouer the whole country, which were followed with the terrible, and fearefull iudgements of God, as plagues, famines, and other scourges of his wrath, all which were not onely encreased, but procured by the Kings second marriage: King *Iohn* I say being moued with these things, sent the Earle of Lerin such assurances, as hee caused him to come to Saragossa, being well accompanied, where the King did gently receaue him, graunted him peace, and gaue a generall pardon to all offences past, proceeding from both factions, and for a greater confirmation of the whole, he gaue the Earle a bastard daughter of his in marriage, called *Donna Leonora* of Arragon; by these meanes the Princeesse *Leonora*, widdow to the Earle of Foix, and future Queene of Nauarre, recouered without force her townes and fortresses, and was euery where obeyed, except in the City of Cafeda, which was battered, at the taking whereof dyed that Valiant Captaine *Sancho* of Eruiti, furnished the obstinate in the seruice of the Princeesse *Leonora*; about which time *Alphonso Carrillo* Bishop of Pampelona called a Synode at Estella, wherein they treated of ceremonies and other matters. After all these things, King *Iohn* being at rest and quiet, in the City of Barcelona, notwithstanding hee was very aged, and full of sicknesse, fell in loue with a yong Gentlewoman called *Francina Rosa*, with whole beauty and comelinesse hee did comfort by embraces, and fruitlesse kisses, the waywardnesse of his old age, leauing her concerning other matters free, and vntouched to him who after-ward married her.

King *Fernand* hauing (as hath bene already saide) made the pacification of Nauarre at Victoria, and by the renoune of his power, deliuered the country of Guipuscoa from the French army, would in like manner order the affaires, of Alua, Bilcair, and other places neere adioyning, where were many factions, and other disorders: hee therefore entred Bica, being attended on by Don *Alphonso Carrillo* Bishop of Pampelona, *Pedro* Lopes de Padilla, great gouernor of the Frontiers of Castile, Don *Henry Henriquez*, the Kings Vncle, brother to the Admirall, Don *Pedro* de Estuniga eldest Sonne to the Earle of Miranda, Doctor *Iohn Dias* de Alcocer one of the Kings Councill, *Roderigo Villos* his great Tresorer and Councillour, Don *Diego* de

Acugna

A Acugna sonne to the Bishop of Burgos, Don *Fernand* de Ayala sonne to the Marshall Don *Garcia* de Ayala, and by other Knights and Ecclesiasticall persons.

The Biscains had an ancient custome, which was, not to suffer any Bishop to come within their country, by reason perhaps of the attempts and wrongs which they had in time before sustained by the prelates and Churchmen, the which was vnknowne to King *Fernand*, who riding on with the Bishop, hee was aduertized of their custome, and was constrained to send him backe; the peasants and poore country people thinking the ground to bee infected wherevpon this Prelat and his Mule did tread were busied many daies after in scraping together the dust of the high-waies, which they laide vp in heapes, and threw it afterwards with curses and imprecations into the sea, the which certainly was not done without some mistery, those people not being voide of religion, but superstitiously deuour, as the rest of the Spaniards are. The King visited Bilboa, and afterward hee came to Guernica, where hee was receiued and reuerenced with all ceremonious duty. Hee called the Nobility of the country thither, and confirmed all their priuiledges by his letters patents, written by *Gaspard Arin* his secretary, dated the thirtieth day of Iuly, the yeere 1476. in the presence of diuers Noble personages of name.

10  
Bishops, excommunicated out of the Country of Biscay.

Strange opinions of the Biscaines concerning Bishops.

The King being busied about these matters, a famous French Pirate named *Colo*, came with foure vessels to a place called the figge-tree of Fontarabie, to whom after that, five more ioyned: these nine shippes did ride there at an anchor for the space of eleuen daies, in the view of the towne of Fontarabie, and sundry times they landed their souldiars, who ranne vp and downe the country burning and spoyling all they met with: against whom the Garrison went forth, and slew more then a hundred of them; wherevpon they set saile towards Galicia, where they burned the suburbs of the City of Ribadeo, then sayling along the coast of Portugall, they met with certaine Carrakes of Genoa, with whom they graped, and the fight betwixt them was so furious, as seuen vessels were there burned, to weete two Genoueses and five of the Pirates, who with the other foure, which remained were repared at Lisbon. The report of this Pirate, caused thirty shippes of warre to bee set forth, as well from Saint Sebastian as from other places on the coast of Biscay, who met altogether at Laredo, and this sea-army parted from Conserua, and sailed towards Galicia, where they tooke, partly by force, and partly by composition, certaine places vpon the sea coast next to Portugall, which were reuolted from the Kings of Castile. Herevpon truce was granted and agreed vpon betwixt the French men and Guipuscoans, by land onely, for the space of three monthes, leauing the sea free for euery man to doe the best hee could: the army aboue mentioned hauing done that exploite on the marches of Galicia, returned laden with spoiles.

Combat at sea betwixt the Frenchmen & Genoueses.

Amongst other things, those of Saint Sebastian brought away two yron peeces of ordonance, whereof one did carry a stone-bullet of a hundred and threescore pound waight, taken from Bayon de Minio. The charges of this warre of Guipuscoa, was heauy to the whole Prouince with great discommodity and losse of their bloud: which warre, after the retreat of the French, did continue still at sea, where the French lost more then they did winne. King *Fernand* hauing discharged, honored, and praised the souldiars, and punished certaine euill liuers in that country, and ouerthrowne certaine strong houses, he returned to Victoria.

The Cardinall of Spaine, in the meane time, who was a very wise and polittike man, did trie by all meanes to draw away the French King from the alliance with Portugall, and to make him friend to his King: hee had in former time written sundry letters vnto him to that purpose, and now hee continued it, sending *Alphonso Ianes*, treasurer of the Church of Siguença vnto him, to put him in minde of the inuiolable Friendship which had bene in times past betwixt the houses of France and Castile, whose forces had bene so well vnited together to the preiudice of the English, ancient enemies and competitors of the crowne of France: whereas the Portugalls on the contrary had alwaies fauoured, and followed them to the great hinderance and contempt of the French Nation, and then hee besought him to consider what occasion hee had to

The Cardinall of Spaine, seeks to renew the peace betwixt France and Spaine.

bandy



bandy against the King of Castile for Portugall, requesting him henceforward to give A place to that which reason, humanity and profit, did require, which was to cause the warre to cease, and re-establish the holy friendship and league betwixt France and Castile. This Treasorer made diuerse voyages into France for this purpose, and handled the matter so well, as hee obtained truce for a yeere, and there was a place appointed betwixt Bayon and Fontaraby for the two Kings Commissioners for to meet at.

About this time the Earle of Paredes, who called himselfe Maister of Saint Iames, did beseege Vcles, where hee found sharpe resistance, and doing his vttermost to take it, the captaine, who held it for the Marquis of Villena, certified his Maister what need hee had of helpe: the Marquis beeing then at Alcala de Henares with the Archbishop of Toledo, brought him and as much power as they could raise betwixt them to Vcles, which were about three thousand horse. Yet notwithstanding the Earle made no shew that hee ment to dislodge, but against the opinion of all men hee maintained the siege, and hee had moreouer the courage to goe and affront the troupes of the Marquis and Archbishop, keeping them a whole day in alarumm, aking sundrie charges with aduantage: at the last, with the losse of some of his owne people he enforced them to retorne, not being able to driue him from the Castle, where soone after arriued men at armes to his succor, who were sent by the Duke of Infantazgo, and conducted by Don Hurtado de Mendoza his brother, with the which forces, ioyned to some of his owne, hee followed the Marquis and the Archbishop with great hope to haue defeated them if they would haue accepted the fight, but they wanted courage, albeit they were within a bow shot of them; but the Archbishop and the Marquis retired themselves about mid-night to a castle called Arauia, despairing euer to succor Vcles: which the beseegeed perceiuing, yeelded themselves with safety of liues and goods.

As these men did thus trouble themselves in Spaine, the King of Portugall beeing vexed, that his affaires succeeded so vnluckily, where as he was wont to triumph and bee victorious in Affrica, would once againe sollicite King Lewis, and determined to goe in person into France: Hee therefore imbarkeed himselfe, and hauing passed the Streights, hee came to Marseilles, from whence hee went to the King who lay at Tours D of whom hee was kindly entertained: but concerning the affaires for which hee came, hee gaue him no hope at all, but delaied him from day to day, excusing himselfe by the great warres which hee had against the English and the Duke of Bourgondy, entreteyning him without any concludiue answer: at the last hee told him, that it behooued him to haue a dispensation from Pope Sixtus the fourth then reigning, for to marry with his Neece Donna Ioane his sisters daughter, before hee could pretend any lawfull right to the Kingdome of Castile and Leon; whereupon either King did write to Rome to that effect, where the Ambassador of King Fernand and Queene Isabella, did mainly oppose himselfe against it, alleading the great troubles and miseries which such a dispensation might cause in Spaine: Yet notwithstanding at the entreaty of King Lewis, the dispensation was graunted, the which did containe that it was lawfull for Donna Ioane to marry any one within the fourth degree. It is reported that King Don Alphonso beeing in talke with King Lewis, and labouring to induce him to pursue this warre, vfed many base entreaties, and kneeled to him with other like iestures: ill becoming a King, who ought still to shew himselfe courageous, and constantly to resist all aduersities. And perceiuing that the controuersies betwixt the King and the Duke of Burgondy were a great hinderance to his businesse, hee tooke vpon him to reconcile and make them friends, to the end hee might the better procure helpe from both of them: for Duke Charles of Burgondy was his cousin germaine, borne of a sister to King Edward his father: but hauing made a journey to him, and beeing returned to Paris, the Dukes ouerthrow and death did sodainely follow, which happened before Nancy, in the yeere 1477. which did the more alienate the French King from giuing care to the affaires of Spaine, beeing more attentiu to recouer both the Burgondies, with the lands and townes of Picardy, Flanders and Artois, which

Vvarre of Vcles against the Marquis of Villena.

12 Portugal. King Alphonso of Portugall doth in vaine sollicite the French King to undertake with him wars against Spaine.

The King of Portugall is abject courage.

An. 1477.

A which were dependances of his crowne, Duke Charles hauing left no other heire of his great Dominions but his onely daughter Mary who was afterward married to Maximilian of Austria, she was grand-mother to the Emperour Charles, heire to all Spaine after the death of King Fernand and Queene Isabella, in the right of his mother Donna Ioane their daughter, as shalbe declared in his place. Vpon these pretences concerning Bourgondy, King Lewis found sufficient occasion to delay him: promising that those businesse being ended hee would doe whatsoeuer the King of Portugall would request him, who being sorrowfull and discontented, departed out of France, and was brought into such despaire, as hee determined to goe to Ierusalem, and there to become a B Monke, without euer seeing Portugall any more: from which determination his friends and seruants dissuaded him, putting him in minde of the great wrong hee should doe to his honour and reputation thereby. In his absence, Prince John, by his fathers consent, tooke vpon him the title of King, but vnderstanding that King Alphonso was arrived at Cascaes, hee like an obedient sonne gaue ouer the title and authority vnto him.

King Alphonso of Portugall in despaire.

Queene Isabella in this meane space thought to haue surprised Toro by the meanes of the Admirall and the Earle of Benauent, who after a long and dangerous fight, were repulld by the Earle of Marialua who was Gouvernor. It happened in like manner, that the great Maister Andrew de Cabrera hauing taken the Licutenancy, or Captainship of the castle of Segobia from Alphonso Maldonado to bestow it vpon Don Pedro de Bouadilla his father in law, Maldonado beeing enraged thereat, went about to surprize the same place, there to recouer his former authority, and had intelligence with certaine dead paies of the castle, and feyning on a day to haue need of some certaine stones that were within the same, vnder collour of fetching them out, hee put foure fouldiars into the fortresse beeing instructed what to doe, who at the first, slue the porter, and being followed by their Captaine, they tooke Don Pedro de Bouadilla, and constrained the rest which were within it to saue themselves in a tower. In the same castle the Princeesse Isabella, the King and Queene onely daughter, was kept: whereupon there arose a great tumult in the City of Segobia, which beeing vnderstood by Don John de Arias, the Bishop thereof, who as then lay forth of the City, by reason of the dissention betwixt him and Andrew de Cabrera, hee came thither and easily made himselfe Maister of the gates which were held by those of Cabrera's faction, beeing fauoured by diuers principall citizens. Queene Isabella beeing aduertized of this inconueniencie came thither with the Cardinall of Spaine, and hauing made Gonzalo Chacon Captaine, shee enquired by way of Iustice of the Captaines behauiour, who hauing yeelded good account of himselfe, his iustifications were allowed, and he restored to his gouernment.

Castile.

Tumult in Segobia.

The Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, beeing not able any longer to resist the King and Queene, made all the meanes they could for to obtaine E their grace and fauour, and they practized with the old King John of Arragon, that hee would bee a meanes to his children the King and Queene of Castile to receiue them as their faithfull seruants. The messengers that went about this businesse were certaine religious persons, who preuailed so much with King John, as by great importunity they obtained their pardon, and caused whatsoeuer they had possessed in time before, to bee restored to them (the castles of Madrid and Trugillo excepted) which remained at the Kings dispose and pleasure. The city of Huerta, which King Henry had giuen to Don Lope Vazques of Acugna, with title of Duke, was at the same time yeelded vp and willingly surrendered to the King and Queene. The Archbishop was more in fault, and more worthy reprehension, then any one that had F resisted the Kings.

The Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena obtaine their pardon.

During these warres, the Castilian marriners made their first voyage into Guye-ney where were mines of gold, whereupon, as hath bene before mentioned, there grew a controuersie betwixt the Castillians and Portugalls, who had most right and title vnto that nauigation.

13 The Spaniards first voyage to Guyeney.

Eccc

Whilest

14

Toro surpris'd.

Whilest Queene *Isabella* remained at Segobia, the Spaniards tooke Toro by meanes of a shep-heard, who certified Don *Alphonso* de Fonseca Bishop of Auila, that there was a certaine part of the City which the Portugals did alwaies leaue without any guard, because by nature the scite thereof was strong. The Bishop sent to discouer it, and finding the shep-herds report to bee true, sent thither fixe hundred men, and him for their guide, they giuing no great credit to the poore man, went on very lazily to that enterprise, but being encouraged by *Pedro* de Velasco, and by an other young man called *Alphonso* de Fonseca, who was the first that entred it, they all followed, not being discovered by any one, and hauing broken open a gate, they gaue entry to the rest of their fellowes, the Bishop hauing sent a good troupe after them, and so they became Maisters of the City, the Earle of Marialua and his people hauing scarce leifure to recouer the castle, from whence afterward hee went to Castro Nugno, abandoning the said castle, within the which Donna *Maria Sarmiento*, widow to *John V'lloa*, did fortifie her selfe with those of her faction, who desired by all meanes to returne to the Queenes seruice. The Queene hauing vnderstood those good newes, came speedily to Toro, restored the banished to their goods, did honorably recompence the poore shep-heard whom they called *Bartlemew*, enfranchising him and all his posterity from tributes beside the ready money and pensions which she gaue him: and receiued Donna *Maria Sarmiento* into her fauour, who was sister to Don *Diego Sarmiento* Earle of Salinas, for whose sake and desertes she restored her vnto all her goods and possessions: and by this meanes the castle of Toro came into the Kings power.

15  
Election of the  
Masters of  
Saint Iames, in  
the kings power  
et.

About this time Don *Roderigo Manriques* Earle of Paredes, the pretended Maister of Saint Iames died in the City of Ocagna, whose competitor Don *Alphonso* de Cardena, great Commander of Leon did in all hast with great troupes of horse march towards V-cles, to the end he might be chosen there by the thirteene Electors: but the Queene pre-uented him, and delc in such sort as the thirteene, and the Commauder himselfe were contented to intreat the Pope to put the Maistership to the Kings disposing, the which was graunted, and the same dignity was afterward bestowed vpon the same Commauder.

16

After that, King *Fernand* returning from Guipuscoa by Toro and Ocagna, met the Queene at Toledo, in which city they builded that famous Monastery of Saint Iohn of the Kings, which is a Couent of Franciscan friers, and from thence they went to Madrid, where they were aduertised that the Portugals had entred Castile by the way of Badajoz, and Cite Rodrigo, with two armies, against whom were sent as Generals, Don *Lorenzo Suarez* de Figueroa Earle of Faria, and the great Commander of Leon: These did not onely bear backe the enemies, but they entred into the country of Portugal, putting the poore miserable subiects to fire and sword, who could not remedy their Kings ambition; to which place Queene *Isabella*, who was a woman of a manly courage, did march, the better by her presence to encourage, and fauour the enterprises of her army. From Madrid the King went to Medina del Campo, where he tooke order with his brother the Duke of Villahermosa, and the Constable, about forces sufficient to assaile foure fortresses at one time: by meanes whereof, in a short time hee brought vnder his obedience, Cantalapiedra Sept, Eglises, and Cubillas: but at Castro Nugno, which was the fourth, hee found greater resistance, his seege lasting long, so as all the forces which were disperfed abroad in sundry places, were faine to be drawne together to that place, and the King himselfe came thither in person, by meanes whereof the rowne was taken, but the castle made obstinate resistance, before which hauing left his army, hee returned to Medina del Campo.

There he receiued letters from *Garcia Osorio*, Corrigidor of Salamanca, who aduertized him of diuers outrages committed by a Knight named *Roderigo Maldonado*, who was of the same citie, who held the castle of Monleon, and from thence did many robberies and insolent attempts, as namely coyning of false and counterfeite money, with diuers others mischiefs: in regard whereof the King would needs go thither, and found meanes to catch this wicked man, who thought to haue saued himselfe

F

A in the Sanctuary of the Couent of Saint *Francis*, the which neuerthelesse did saue his life, at the earnest entreaty of the Friers, who deliuered him vpon that condition, as also that he should deliuer vp the Castle of Monleon, otherwise the King would breake open their gates. Maldonado beeing taken, gaue his wife and subiects notice of his estate, and willed them to deliuer vp the Castle to the King, the which they refused to doe, saying that they would haue some recompence of the King, otherwise they would deliuer it to the King of Portugall; and if hee were taken prisoner, he might thanke himselfe. Then the King caused him to be carried to a place, in the sight of those which were in Monleon, and commanded that in their view his head should be stricken off: but being come to the place, hee made such pittifull lamentation, as they compassionating him, yeilded the Castle and saued his life. From Salamanca, the King returned to the Campe before Castro Nugnes.

As Queene *Isabella* went towards Badajoz, shee sent from Guadalupa, to *Pedro* de Baes Captaine of the Castle of Trugillo, who held it for the Marquis of Villena, commanding him, following the agreement betwixt her and the Marquis, to deliuer vp the fortresse to *Gonzall d' Auila*, the which hee refused to doe, saying, that hee would neuer yeeld it whilest hee had life in him: the Queene tryed by faire meanes and promises to drawe him to deliuer it, but all was in vaine: wherefore shee raised a power, and marched to Trugillo, whether the Maister of Calatraua came, and Don *Alphonso de Montroy*, who called himselfe Maister of Alcantara, with diuerse other Lords and Knights: whilest shee remained there, shee recouered diuerse Castles of the same countrey, some of which shee razed. And knowing her selfe to bee strong and well accompanied, shee gaue ouer all milde and gentle meanes, and began to vse greuous threatnings, so as Don *Pedro* de Baes, became more tractable, and was willing to deliuer it, so as the Marquis would come thither in person, and bid him doe it. The Marquis was sent for, who to auoyde farther quarrels with the Queene, caused it to be deliuered, and *Gonzall d' Auila* was made Captaine thereof.

After that, shee did choose certaine Arbitrators at Caceres to compose the controuersies betwixt her and the Marquis, shee reformed the state of the towne, and made the officers thereof perpetuall: and from thence shee went to Siuill, the which City shee found in a miserable estate, and diuided into factions; which caused infinite disorders and villanies: for the inhabitants were of a long time bandied one against another about the quarrells betwixt the houses of *Guzman* and *Ponce*: and they were so grounded therein, as they fought for the same with incredible cruelties and impieties, the father against the sonne, the brother against brother, the wife against the husband, with more furie and obstinacie then the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* in Italy, and the *Gambosins* and *Ognazins* in Biscay, the City of Cordoua beeing likewise infected with the same pestilence: Don *Alphonso d' Aguilar* Lord of Montilla, beeing chiefe of the faction for the Marquis of Cales, his brother in lawe, and Don *Diego de Cordoua* for the family of the *Guzmans*.

The Queene was receiued into Siuill with great honour, where shee made some stay, and tooke the paines to heare all these controuersies, with others, sitting her selfe in counsell, and giuing audience euery Friday, beeing accompanied with Prelats, Doctors, and other noble personages: whose example is to bee followed of all Christian Kings and Princes, who in regarde they will not take the paines themselves to harken vnto their affaires, doe see and heare by other mens eyes and eares, which caueth them to fall into greuous errors, by not knowing truly what is done in their Realmes and dominions, through the pernicious dissimulation, and damnable flattery of their Ministers and officers.

F The Queene determining to punish all those that were guilty of the maine miseries which this stately Citie had endured; the Bishoppe of Cales, Suffragan to the Cardinall of Spaine, Archbishoppe of the same Church, did admonish her in a wife and learned Oration, of the difficultie and danger of that shee pretended to doe, saying, that it was the end of all good Princes, and of Iustice, to amend,

Eccc 2

and

17  
Reformation  
of the townes  
and state of  
Andalusia.

The City of  
Siuill enuoyed  
by the factions  
of *Guzman*,  
and *Ponce*.

A Queene  
carefull of do-  
ing iustice to  
her subiects.

The end of all  
good govern-  
ment is to au-  
mend and not  
destroy offend-  
ers.

Gentle punish-  
ments whereby  
the delinquents in  
Siuill are ap-  
peased.

and not to destroy; otherwise in stead of Kings, they would bee accounted barbarous A tyrants, greedy of humane blood, true Ministers, not of the diuine clemencie, but of the destroying spirit, who had beene a murderer from the beginning of the world, applying to his speech many examples of old times, drawne out of the Holy scriptures: adding, that the number of the offenders was so great, that if all of them should bee punished according to their deserts, the City would want people to dwell in it: the Queene therefore being moued with these reasons, gaue a generall pardon for all matters past (apostacy onely and mens priuate interests excepted.) The Duke of Medina and the Marquis of Cales, who were the causes of all these euils, comming into the Queenes presence with great submission, would haue laied the fault one vpon B other: in the end hauing deliuered vp into her hands the places and fortresses which they had vsurped, as well the one from the other, as those which did belong to the City of Siuill, shee made peace betwixt them, and gaue to euery one his owne. The castle of Vtrera onely made resistance, the captaine thereof saying, that hee would not deliuer it, because it belonged to the Marshall of Sahauedra vnto whose father *Gonzalo Arias* of Sahauedra the late King *Henry* had giuen it, for which contempt, the Queene caused it to bee beleegged and furiously battered, in regard hee did defend it with such obstinacy: in the end, the place being taken by assault, himselfe, with all those that were within it, lost their liues, the most part of them in the heate of the fight: the residue of them being brought to Siuill serued for an example to others not to resist C a greater power, and were publicly hanged.

King *Don Fernand* staid not very long ere hee came vnto Siuill to the Queene, who about that same time was brought in bedde and deliuered of a sonne, who was named *Don Iohn*; for the which, great ioy feastings and gladnesse was made ouer all Spaine.

There came vnto the Kings, being at Seuill, an Ambassage from *Muley Albohacen* King of Granada, with whom they were at peace, notwithstanding hee had not paid the tribute which his Predecessors did vsually doe vnto Castile, the which the warres of Portugall had constrained the Kings to dissemble till a fitter time. These Ambassadors craued confirmation of the truce betwixt the Realmes and Kings of Castile and Granada; the which was refused them, vnlesse that *Albohacen* would send the arrearages due for the tribute: but the Moores answered (having expresse commissi- D on so to doe) that the Kings of Granada, who had beene tributaries to Castile were dead, and their bondes buried with them, and that the money of Granada was no more coined of gold or siluer, but the iron of launces, dartes and many other such like weapons, which they would turne vpon their enemies, and deliuer themselves from all slavery and bondage.

This braue answere caused the Kings to thinke (who were not yet freed from the Portugall warres) that it was not good to draw so many enemies vpon them at once, therefore they graunted them a truce, being sufficiently aduertized that King *Muley Albohacen* was the best provided of souldiers, armour, horses, artillery and all other munition, and more abounding in treasure, by reason of the long peace hee had enjoyed, then any of the Kings of Granada his Predecessors. King *Don Fernand* being highly offended at the rebellion of the Marshall *Don Fernand Arias* de Sahauedra, would haue had his proces made, and haue punished him as a contemner of the royall Maiesty: but diuerse of his friends and kinsfolke who were in the Kings fauour, and their faithfull seruants did saue him from this daunger, and obtained his pardon, with restitution of all his offices and possessions.

The Admirall recovered the government and captainehip of Tariffa with the castle thereof, the which was giuen to his brother *Don Pedro Henriques* Gouvernor of the frontiers of Andaluzia, who placed therein *Pedro de Godoy*, from whom the three castles of Carmona had beene taken, and were giuen to *Don Gustiere* de Cardegna, who therewith was promoted to the great Commanderie of Leon, because *Don Alphonso* de Cardegna who had beene great Commander was elected and confirmed F

A med Maister of Saint Iames alone, and the last that hath beene Maister of the same Order, the which dignity, with the rest of the Maisterhips hath euer since continued in the hands of the Kings of Castile; the Princes and their prudent Councell hauing considered and well weighed with themselves, that these Maisters were ordinarily followed by great numbers of Knights of their Order, men of warre; who had for the most part made such tumults and factions in the Realme of Spaine, as they haue not let for to make heads against their owne Kings. Queene *Isabella* would willingly haue had the Maisterhip of Saint Iames to haue beene for euer after extinct, but shee could not obtaine it. The King her husband leauing her at Siuill, returned to Trugillo, where he made B *Sancho de Auila* captaine of the castle.

These matters happened in the yeete 1478. in the beginning, whereof *Philip* An. 1478. Archduke of Austria was borne, who was sonne to *Maximilian* as then King of the Romaines, and to Donna *Maria*, the heire of Bourgondy, Flanders and other great Dominions, this *Philippe* was husband vnto Donna *Isabelle* of Castile, who, succeeded King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* her father and mother in all their Kingdomes of Spaine.

At the same time, King *Iohn* of Arragon being laden with many yeetes and nicere to his end, was desirous to see and conferre with his sonne King *Fernand*, concerning the affaires of Nauarre, Arragon, Sicill, and his other Dominions, hee therefore C fore sent to request him, if the Portugall warres would permit it, to meete him at *Victoria*. King *Fernand* being wonderfull ioyfull to see his father, came thither before him, where the King of Arragon soone after arriued, accompanied with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, chosen amongst the ancientest of Nauarre, Arragon, and his other countries, so as the beholding of such a company of reuerend old men was very notable and to bee admired, for the youngest amongst them was about three score yeeres of age, all of them in decent habits besitting their yeeres, and yet differing one from an other. The sonne being gone forth to meet the father they did a great while strue about complement and ceremonies, and the King of Arragon, would neuer suffer his sonne of Castile to kisse his hand, neither would hee take D the place of him, but they entred into *Victoria*, the father riding on the lower hand of the sonne: and when they were come before the lodging which was prepared for the King of Arragon, and both of them on foote, as soone as the father perceived that it was his owne lodging, hee seemed to bee very sorry, as though hee had committed a great fault, and said, You my sonne, who are Lord and head of the Royall house of Spaine, from whence wee are descended, ought to receiue from vs all honour, reuerence, and seruice due vnto you, in regard the obligation which in this respect wee owe vnto you, as to our King and superior, is stronger then that of the sonne towards the father, therefore take horse againe, and I will accompany you to your lodging, for reason commaunds it to bee so, And King *Fernand* was E constrained so to doe thorough the great importunity of his father, who went with him to his lodging, where hee left him, and the olde King rode backe againe vnto his owne.

For the space of twentie daies that these two Kings remained in *Victoria*, the father did still giue the honour, ypper hand, and preheminance in all matters to the sonne, were it in sitting or rising vp, and in speaking, walking and keeping of company in writing, and in euery other thing belonging to honour and dignitie, wherein great Lords vse ceremony and complement to honour one an other with. Wherevpon their arose a disputation and controuersie betwixt the Lords and Knights of the Court, to weet, whether it were a seemely, and a decent matter for a father, to shew such great F submission to his sonne, who beside being his father, was also his guest, being an vsuall thing alwaies to honour and giue the places to those whom wee receiue into our houses, albeit hee were of meaner quality then our selues, and whether the sonne did well to receiue and accept of these honours. The Spaniards thought that either of them had done that which was fit. Now the chiefe communication betwixt these

two Princes at this interview was concerning the affaires of Nauarre, touching Donna A  
*Leonora* future succession to the same, with her grand-child *Francis Phœbus* Earl of Foix:  
 and some are of opinion, that the townes and fortes of Saint Vincent, Garda, Bernedo,  
 Arcos, Larraga, and Miranda de Arga were at the same time wholly cut off from the  
 crowne of Nauarre, in recompence of the charges which *Don Fernand* had bene at  
 for the warre of Perpignan, with an agreement, that the customes rights and priui-  
 ledges which they had, should for euer bee maintained: but seeing it is certaine, that  
 a long time before this assembly, Saint Vincent, La Garde, and Arcos, were possessed  
 by the King of Castile, it is most likely, that they were at that time onely confirmed  
 vnto King *Don Fernand*. They did likewise intreate of many matters belonging to  
 the Kingdoms of Arragon and Sicil, and then they returned each of them into his owne  
 Dominions, and the King of Castile did neuer more after that see his father, who spent  
 the smal remainder of his daies at Barcelona, afflicted with the goutte and other diseases  
 which doe ordinarily accompany old men.

The father &  
 the sonne cut  
 off diuers pla-  
 ces from the  
 kingdom of  
 Nauarre.

Castro Nugno  
 decided to king  
 Fernand.

King *Don Fernand* returned vnto the campe before Castro Nugno, which was  
 very faithfully and valiantly defended by the captaine *Nicholas* de Abendagno of Vil-  
 lareal, in the Prouince of Alaua, but the great want of victuals and of men (those  
 which were with him, being in part dead, and the others were so tired and weak-  
 ned with watchings, wardings and hurts receiued at the assault as they could hold out  
 no longer) did constrain him to yeeld vp the same place, and yet vpon very honora-  
 ble conditions, for he carried away into Portugall all those that were with him, without  
 ransom, with their armor, weapons and baggage, and their ensignes displayed, and  
 drummes beating; and was greatly praised by the King, the fort was presently raz-  
 ed downe to the ground: after the rendring whereof, the King returned to Siuill  
 to the Queene, where order was taken for the well gouerning of the City, and expresse  
 commandement given to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales,  
 to remaine there. Don *Iohn* de Gamboa Gouvernor of Fontaraby, and the Licen-  
 ciar *Iohn* de Medina, both of them of the Kings Councell were likewise dispatched into  
 Guipuscoa, with instructions and authority, to treat and conclude the peace with the  
 French Kings Ambassadors who were at Bayon. These, came to Fontarabie, and af-  
 ter that both sides did meet, at Saint Iohn de Luz, where they conferred together, and  
 concluded the peace, renewing the alliances, leagues, and ancient friendship betwixt  
 the two Kingdomes. The French Commissioners were the Lord of Lescut, and the  
 Abbot of Saint Denis: and so the warre ended betwixt France and Castile.

Peace betwixt  
 France and  
 Castile.

19  
 Navigations  
 and conquests  
 of the Spani-  
 ards in the O-  
 ceana Sea.

20  
 Inquisition in  
 Spaine against  
 Jewes and  
 Moores, did  
 begin the ne-  
 gligences of the  
 Bishops and  
 Pastors.

The King and Queene before their departure from Siuill sent an army to conquer the  
 Canaries vnder the conduct of *Pedro* de Vera, where, for the space of three yeeres, di-  
 uerse notable exploits of warre were performed by the Castilians: Thirty five ships were  
 likewise sent to Guiney, *Pedro* de Cobides being their generall, from which place great  
 quantity of gold was brought, with great profit for the Kings, who had the fifth pen-  
 ny. In the first, the thing which was most esteemed of that blacke Nation was cockle-  
 shells, who were of opinion that they had great vertue against thunder and lightning, by  
 means whereof they were sold in Spaine at a great rate, so as men could hardly get a-  
 ny for money.

This yeere 1478. the inquisition beganne at Siuill, instituted at the first by the Coun-  
 cell of *Don Pero* Gonzales de Mendoza Archbishop of the same City, against the lewes  
 and conuerted Moores, which did returne to their superstitious ceremonies: this  
 Prelate, and other, deputed for that search, thinking that for to conteyne them in the  
 profession of Christianity, rigour and ciuill punishment was more expedient then other  
 milder means, or greater care: Beeing content for to take away the occasion of se-  
 ditions and troubles which grew in the Townes and Prouinces of the Realme, against  
 these miserable creatures, most commonly at the instigation of Preachers, and other  
 Clergy men, inciting the people to mutine against them.

Whereas in deed, they ought to haue bene instructed by good and whole-  
 some examples: but the Bishops and Pastors had no great care of their soules health:  
 for

A for the affaires of State, and worldly greatnesse hath so busied them for many ages, as  
 they haue not had leysure to eleuate their eyes and minds higher then the earth. Since  
 that time, the power of the Inquisition tribunall, which is diuided into diuers iurisdic-  
 tions thorough euery Prouince of Spayne, hath bene chiefly banded against those who  
 haue dared to speake against the pompe and pride of the Sea of Rome, and the abuses  
 brought into the Church, for to entertaine the ease and wealth of the Clergie, a gulph  
 which hath swallowed vp many good and honest families. Concerning this Inquisition,  
 which within awhile made it selfe knowne for a fruitlesse inuention, more ample men-  
 tion shall be made hereafter.

B The King and Queene hauing pacified and ordered the cittie of Seuille, left *Diego* de  
*Merlo* there, who was a good Knight, in qualitie of an assistant, and went themselves to  
 Cordoua, which was in like manner afflicted by the factions of *Don Pero Fernandes* of  
 Cordoua, Earle of Cabra, and that of *Don Alphonso d' Aguilar*, who in the last tumults  
 had driuen the Earles forces out of the cittie, and had taken the forts and places thereof,  
 which were in the keeping of the Earle, detaining them, with other places also belonging  
 to the gouernement and iurisdiction of the cittie: they and their followers beeing  
 moreouer charged with so many robberies, thefts, and murders, as the King and Queene  
 had much ado to chastise the offendours, and to restore euery man to his owne. *Alphonso*  
 of Aguilar was driuen forth of the cittie, and the fortresses taken from him. Vpon com-  
 plaint made against the Iudges and Officers of the legall Courts, who did greatly exact,  
 the King and Queene caused their fees and stipends to bee rated, more then which, they  
 were not permitted to take vpon payne of forfeiting seuen-fold as much, which was ex-  
 ecuted vpon some, who neither feared God, nor reuerenced the lawes.

The cittie of  
 Cordoua paci-  
 fied.

As these busineses were managed in Andalusia, the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, who  
 was euer turbulent and desirous of innouation, had secret intelligence with the King of  
 Portugall, vnto whome hee vndertooke to deliuer the Cittie of Toledo, and to kill *Don*  
*Gomes Manriques* assistant there: and to the same purpose he had practised with the com-  
 mon people of Toledo, and had executed it, if the assistant had not been a proud and  
 politticke man, who hauing discovered the plot tooke order for it, standing on his guard  
 and by punishing some of the Conspirators, hee caused therest to containe themselves  
 within their bounds for feare of the like punishment. The Arch-bishop who remayned  
 at Alcala de Henares had inuited the King of Portugall to come vnto his house of Tal-  
 uera, assuring him, that hee would put him into Toledo: who was in a readinesse to haue  
 come thither, had not the Prince his sonne, with his friends and seruants, told him what  
 small profite hee should receiue, and how great danger hee should incurre by such an en-  
 terprife.

The Archb.  
 alwaye disloyal  
 and seditious.

The Kings, *Don Fernand* and *Donna Izabella* beeing aduertised of the Arch-bishops  
 dealings, were iustly incensed against him, they caused all his temporalities to bee seized  
 on, sending the Duke of Villa-hermosa to Madrid, to bridle that cittie, commanding all  
 his tenants and seruants to forsake him, and no more to obey him, vpon payne of depri-  
 uation of their goods: and for a terrour to the rest, they did cause the houses of diuers  
 of the Rebels, who had contemned their commaundement, to bee razed downe to the  
 ground.

Wherefore the Arch-bishoppe within a few dayes was left alone, and his great friend  
*Hernand Alarcon* did forsake him and fled presently into France, not daring any longer  
 to tarry in Spaine. *Don Tello de Buendia*, Arch-deacon of Toledo, and a learned man,  
 did vndertake to bring the Arch-bishoppe to his dutie, he vanquished him by reason, and  
 perswaded him to humble himselfe to the King and Queene, of whome by his meanes  
 he obtayned pardon: but hee gaue all the strong castles of his Arch-bishoppricke in ho-  
 stage for his future fidelitie. The Marquis of Villena on the other side hauing entred into  
 the Marquisate, began to picke quarrels with the Gouvernor placed there by the Queen,  
 concerning the limits of his power and iurisdiction, saying, that he did surpe more then  
 the couenants would permit him, and would haue letted him from punishing those of  
 Cinchilla, with other rebellious and disobedient people, so that a power was sent thi-  
 ther vnder the conduct of *Don George Manrique*, and *Pedro Ruis Alarcon*.

The Archb.  
 enioyned to his  
 dutie.

Great

officers for-  
face the coun-  
try in anyde  
punishment.

22

A murthrous  
Bishop, mur-  
dered.

Petty tyrants  
it ned to death  
by the common  
people.

A. 1479.

Notable loss of  
one brother to  
ward another

Great was the King and Queenes toyle, in ordering the peace and quiet of the coun-  
trei of Andalusia, for the people thereof were so giuen ouer to all manner of villanies,  
as if they had not vsed their meekenesse and elemencie, the citties and towns would haue  
beene voyd and empty of people: for it is most certaine, that this yeare and the former,  
there went out of Seule and Cordoua aboute eight thousand men, tainted of notorious  
crimes, who left the country for feare of punishment.

It happened about the same time, that Don *Rodrigo de Vergara* Bishoppe of Leon,  
borne at Logroño (it is not knowne vpon what occasions) caused *Pedro Pasa* Treas-  
urer of his Church, to be slayne in the same Cittie, beeing a Knight of a great paren-  
tage, whose death his friends and kinsfolkes reuenged by the death of the Bishoppe, who  
assayled him in his owne house, and pursued him, as he thought to haue fled for safetie  
to the house of *Diego Fernandes Quignones*, Earle of Luna, where they murdered him  
in the bosome of the Countesse, who intreated them to spare the spilling of his blood  
for her sake.

In the towne of Fontoueja, the Inhabitants did kill with stones *D. Hernand Gomes de  
Guzman*, great Commander of Calatrava, for outrages and tyrannies which hee had  
done to them, for the which fact the Iudges which were sent by the King to informe of  
the matter, could neuer find any one witness, which would charge any one particular  
man with that murder, and they could haue no other answer, than this, that Fontoue-  
juna had slaine him, which passed for a Prouerbe thorough Spaine. This same yeare the  
inhabitants of Saint Helizes de los Galegos, a place neere to Trugillo, did in like maner  
stone their Lord *Gratian de Sese* to death, who as it hath beene heretofore sayd, had bene  
Captaine of Trugillo.

In the beginning of the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, secenty nine, the King  
and Queene left Cordoua, and came with great deuotion to the Monasterie of Guada-  
lupa, and also to take order for the Portugall warre, which they daily feared. From Gua-  
dalupa they sent the duke of Villa-hermosa their brother to Almorox nere to Escalona,  
in which place were Don *Iohn de Luxan*, and Don *Iohn de Pacheco* the Marquis of Vil-  
lena's brother, who ranne vppe and downe burning and spoiling the countrey round  
about.

The Marquis on the other side remayning in Garcy Nugnos, did violently resist the  
the Kings souldiers, and defeated the troups of Don *George Manrique*, who within a few  
dayes after, dyed of the hurts which he had receyued in that encounter. By meanes wher-  
of, others of the Kings Captaines, beeing iustly moued against him, did hang vp fixe  
of his seruants whome they had taken, to serue for a terrour to the rest: the Marquis in  
like manner would not be indebted to them for reuenge: but caused as many heads to  
bee stricken off, casting lots among the prisoners, which fell vpon a souldier who dwelt  
at Villa-noua de Laxara, neere to Alarcon, who amongst others was to bee beheaded,  
but a younger brother of his did beseech the Marquis, that he might dye in his brothers  
stead, who had wife and children, and did so much importune the matter, as hee redee-  
med him from death, giuing his owne life for him: a notable example of brotherly loue,  
and well worthie to haue bene considered by those who did cause the execution, if they  
had bene possessed with a noble and generous disposition. The names of these two  
brethren are vnjustly suppressed by the negligence of the authors. The Marquis yet not-  
withstanding sent *Rodrigo* of Castagneda to Court to excuse him to the King and Queen,  
and to lay the fault vpon their Lieutenants and Officers, whose pride and insolencie had  
prouoked him to those courses, the King answered that the Marquis should be heard ac-  
cording to lawe: but beeing aduertised, that Don *Roderigo* had intelligence with the  
king of Portugall, they sent him away prisoner to Talauera, where hee quickly ended  
his dayes.

Whilest the King and Queene remayned at Guadalupa, Donna *Maria de Pacheco*  
Countesse of Medelin, the Marquis of Villena's bastard-sister, beeing a proud and  
haughtie woman, who held the towne of Merida, and had driuen her owne son out of  
all his possessions, presented a petition to the King and Queene, the effect whereof was,  
that

A that shee might enioy the Earledome of Medelin, during her life, with the commande-  
ry of the same cittie. An other petition came from Don *Alphonso* de Montroy, treaso-  
rer of Alcantara, who called himselfe Maister of the same order, and held most part of  
the fortresses belonging to the same, who requested that he might be confirmed in that  
dignity, notwithstanding any pretence that Don *Iohn* de Estuniga Sonne to Don *Alua-  
ro* Duke of Auevalo could make, vpon whom the Pope had bestowed it. Both of them  
were answered, that vpon hearing of the parties, they should haue speedy iustice. The  
Countesse and the Treasurer not contented therewith, became enemies to the King  
and Queene, and did cleaue to the King of Portugall: Don *Alphonso* hauing forgotten,  
how that when he was taken prisoner by the Captaine of Magançala in Extremadura,  
the King had deliuered him and paid his ransome, bestowing diuers other benefits  
vpon him.

Ambassadors from the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, arriued at Guadalupa  
to see the peace agreed vpon by the Commissioners at Saint Iohn de Luz to bee sworne  
and ratified. There the Popes Bull was seene, which dispensed with the King of Por-  
tugall about the marriage of Donna *Ioane* his Neece, not without excuses on the  
Popes part, who said, that he had bin circumvented, and finislerly informed, concerning  
that matter. And to the end the French King should on his part sweare, and ratifie the  
articles of the peace, the same commissioners, who had first treated thereof were sent into  
France, to meet Don *Iohn* de Gamboa, and the licenciad Don *Iohn* de Medina both  
of them of the Kings Councell. It was likewise agreeed vpon with the French Am-  
bassadors, that the towne of Perpignan, with other fortresses of the Earledome of  
Rossillon, should bee deliuered as hostages, into the Cardinall of Spaines hands, and  
that with in five yeares following, arbitrators should decide, whatsoeuer king *Lewis*  
could pretend to be due vnto him.

Whilest the Spanish Court remayned at Guadalupa, God (being willing to make  
peace, betwixt Christian Princes in Spaine, to the end they might haue leasure to vn-  
dertake more worthy enterprises,) did inspire Donna *Beatrice* Dutchesse of Viseo,  
widow to the Infant Don *Ferdinand* of Portugall, Duke of Viseo, and Mother to  
Donna *Leonora*, married to Prince *Iohn* the eldest Sonne and heire of the Crowne  
of Portugall, with a desire to imploy her vttermost credit, and meanes for the effecting  
thereof, This Princess hauing sounded King *Alphonso* mynde, and finding him to be  
inclined to an agreement, sent word to her neece Queene *Isabell* (for shee was sister  
to her Mother Queene *Isabell*, widow to King *Iohn* yet liuing,) that if it would please  
her to come to the frontiers of Portugall, shee did hope that some good agreement  
would be made betwixt them; wher-vnto the Queene disposed her selfe with the consent  
of King *Fernand* her husband.

King *Iohn* of Aragon dyed about this time at Barcelona beeing fourescore and  
one yeares of age, hauing reigned in Nauarre fifty three yeeres and foure moneths, and  
one and twenty yeares and fixe moneths in Arragon: hee was buried in the monas-  
tery of Pobleta. By his last will and testament hee left his Sonne Don *Fernand*, heire  
to his Kingdomes of Arragon, and Sicill, and his daughter Princess *Leonora*, widow  
to Earle of Foix, heire to the realme of Nauarre: and soone after deputies were sent  
from the states of Arragon, Cattalogne, and Valencia to the Court of Spaine, to re-  
quest King *Fernand*, to come and take possession of his dominions; they came vnto him  
in an vnseasonable time, by reason the Portugall warre was hotly beganne, by the prac-  
tises of the countesse of Medelin, and Don *Alphonso* de Montroy, the pretended maister  
of Alcantara.

The King and Queene were aduertised that the army of Portugall was in a redinesse  
to inuade the country of Extremadura: by reason whereof they called the Constable,  
and other Spanish Knights to Court, and sent foices to the frontiers, with great gar-  
risons to Badajos, and other fortes of the same marches, where Don *Alphonso* de Car-  
degna Maister of Saint *Iames* was generall, who lodged his army at Lobon betwixt  
Badajos, and Merida, wherein the Tresorer of Alcantara remayned, attending  
for the Portugalls, and the Bishoppe of Eboræ, their Generall, who came with an  
intent

Thursers, in re-  
gard they might  
not be authori-  
sed in their out-  
rages do van-  
don them se nes  
against the king

Aragon.  
The death of  
John King of  
Aragon.

Castille.



The Portugall  
army defeated  
at Albuhera.

Battle of Al-  
buhera.

Defeat of the  
Spanish army  
by sea.

Titles of King  
Fernand and  
Queene Isabell

24

Entervew of  
of Queene Is-  
bella and the  
Dutcheffe of  
Viseo, for the  
treatie of peace.

intent to ioyne with him: to preuent which, the Maister of Saint Iames did march a-  
gainst the Bishoppe, and gaue him battaile, in the fieldes of Albuhera, the which was  
fierce, and bloody, on either side: but the Portugalls were ouerthrowne, and the Bishop  
taken, (although afterward he escaped away) hauing lost their ensignes, bagage, and all  
the equigage and munition: the maister of Saint Iames, and all the King of Castiles  
Captaines were hurt: but about the rest the valour and prowesse of Don Martin de  
Cordoua Sonneto the Earle of Cabra, of Sancho del Aquila, of Alphonso Henriques  
and of Rodrigo de Cardegna, Cousin to the Maister of Saint Iames, was admirable: the  
which Maister by his Iudgement and valour, hauing gotten the King, and Queene this  
victory, was so charitable, as with his owne mony, hee releued the dearth and famine  
which at that time, did oppress the country of Extremadura, in regard whereof the King  
and Queene, did acquit him of three Millions of Maraueidis, which he was to pay, as a  
pension vnto them out of the reuenue of his place. After this battaile the Treasorer  
of Alcantara, went to Deleitosa, which had bene taken by Roderigo de Monroy  
his brother, and the Bishoppe of Eborra went to Medellin to encourage the  
Countesse, who perhaps, was valianter than him-selfe. Gods will was, that the King of  
Portugall, in recompence of this losse, should by his army at sea, take the five and thirty  
Spanish shippes which came from Guiney wherein was great store of gold, which ser-  
ued well to pay his soldiours, and the prisoners, to exchange for those which were taken  
at the land Battaille of Albuhera. After this manner are the euents of ioy, and sorrow,  
mixed in this miserable world.

King Fernand beeing importuned to goe into Arragon, and considering the nota-  
ble vnion of those two Kingdomes, being at that time at Trugillo, where after hee had  
celebrated the obsequies of King Iohn his father, hee treated with the Queene his wife,  
and those of her counsell about the forme of precedency, and the order which should  
bee kept in the letters, and writings concerning the titles of the realmes, and dominions,  
which he commanded: diuers of them were of opinion, that they should intitle them-  
selves Kings of Spaine, in regard the greatest part thereof did obey them: but they not  
beeing willing to exceed the bounds of modesty, nor yet to preiudice in that behalfe,  
the Kings of Nauarre and Portugall, with whom they were conioyned in blood, did  
place their titles after this manner. *Fernand and Isabell*, by the grace of God, King and  
Queene of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Sicill, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of  
Majorque, of Siuill, of Sardinia, of Cordoua, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Iacn, of Algarbes,  
of Algezire, of Gibraltar, Earles of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of  
Athens and of Neopatria, Earles of Rossillon, and of Cerdaigne, Marquis of Oristagni,  
and of Gocian. After this manner, were the titles of these Kingdomes and dominions,  
ordered according to their ranke and dignity: and in the shieldes of their armes, and  
deuices, it was appointed that the armes of Castile and Leon, should bee first drawne,  
and after them those of Arragon and Sicill.

The Court beeing come from Trugillo to Caceres, Queene Isabell was great-  
ly solicited by Donna Be. trice Duchesse of Viseo, to come to Alcantara, where shee  
promised to meet her, and to conferre about the meanes of a peace betwixt Castile and  
Portugall: the King and Queene departed the one from the other, shee towards Al-  
cantara, which for the same purpose was committed to the keeping of Don Guttiere de  
Cardegna the great commander by Don Aluaro de Estuniga Duke of Playfance or  
Arenalo, who held it as lawfull administrator of Don Iohn de Estuniga his Sonne, who  
pretended him-selfe Maister of that order: and King Fernand went into Arragon to take  
possession of his new Kingdomes. These Princesses beeing arriued at Alcantara, were  
lodged in one house, namely in the Castle, where they spent thirty daies in conference,  
and agreeing at the last vpon certaine Articles, the Dutcheffe beeing highly honored,  
by the Queene Isabella of Castile, and rewarded with many rich presents, and Jewells,  
returned into Portugall, carrying Roderigo Maldonado, one of Fernand the King of  
Castiles counsell with her, to communicate more at large with the King of Portugall,  
concerning them.

In

A In the meane space whilest these matters were conferred on, the Treasurer of Alcan-  
tara surprized the fortresse of Montanches on the one side, and those of the Countesse  
of Medellins part made sharpe warre in Extremadura on the other: the which countrey  
besides the miseries which it endured by the warre, it was oppressed with extreame fa-  
mine: so as euery one perswaded the Queene to goe backe to Toledo: but her haughtie  
courage, would not suffer her to leaue such places where shee knew trouble and danger  
to bee, beeing able by her wisdom, speedily to redresse it. Shee then gaue order to be-  
sege diuers places at one time, from whence the enemies made sundrie roades with in-  
credible spoyle, euen to the gates of Trugillo.

B The Master of Saint Iames was sent against Merida, Don Lewis Fernandes de Porto  
Carrero, Lord of la Palma besegged Medellin, Rodrigo de Monroy d'Elcitosá, and Don La-  
renzo Suares of Figueroa, opposed himselfe against those which molested the countrey  
of Badajos. The Treasurer of Alcantara ranne vppe and downe, and tooke booties now  
from one place, then from another, hauing his retreat at Piedra nueva, Castro nuevo,  
Majorga, Azagala, and other forts, and not contented therewith, hee went into Portu-  
gall, animating King Alphonso, not to giue ouer that warre, but courageously to pour-  
sue it with great hope, and not bee carried away by the perswasions of the Dutcheffe of  
Viseo: and hee did chiefly vrge him to come with a mighty armie, to raise the sege be-  
fore Montanches, that place beeing the strength and importance of the warre: which D.

C Pero Fernandes de Velaço the Constable fearing, fortified his campe with trenches and  
walles of stones, so as he could not easily bee assailed on the sodaine. Don Lewis Fer-  
nando Porto Carrero, besegging Medellin, where the Countesse, and the Bishop of Eborra  
remayned, sustained infinite difficulties: for besides the continuall sallies and skirmishes  
of the besieged, who were very strong, his campe was troubled with a horrible number  
of flies, which constrained him to change his seat, and to retire halfe a mile from thence.

At the end of the sege, which lasted three moneths, those of Deleitosa yeelded, sauing  
their liues and goods, and with-drew themselves to Montanches. Great was the paine  
and toyle which the beseggers and besegged of this place did indure, with those likewise  
of Merida and Medellin, where the Bishoppe of Eborra spared no care nor diligence, to  
recouer his honour, and to couer the losses which he had sustayned at Albuhera, and al-  
so at the battell of Toro.

Hunger, sickness, and other inconueniences were the chiefe enemies, that either  
partie had to warre against: although Queene Isabella to her power had provided for the  
necessitie of her people, who from time to time receiued letters from Maldonado her  
Ambassador in Portugall, putting her out of hope of peace, by reason of King Alphonso's  
obstinacie, who could not bee brought to any reasonable conditions: she therefore wil-  
led him to returne into Castile. The Ambassadour beeing readie to depart, came to take  
his leaue of King Alphonso, who was at the same time accompanied with the Prince his  
sonne, and the Lords of his Council, who did perswade him by diuers reasons and ex-  
amples of things fallen out lately in Spayne to condescend to a peace: which perswasion  
of his, beeing better taken and apprehended by the Prince and the other Lords, then by  
the King himselfe, were of such force, as he was drawne by them to receiue the peace  
which the Dutcheffe of Viseo had concluded at Alcantara: Whereupon the Ambassa-  
dours departure was prolonged, and the morrow after he assembled his Council, where  
the Articles were againe perused and considered of, which the King allowed, confirmed,  
and swore to obserue, after this manner.

First, that the King of Portugall should lay aside the title of King of Castile and Leon,  
and should wipe out of his shield the armes and deuises of the sayd kingdomes.  
Secondly, that he should sweare not to marrie Donna Ioane his Neece, who called her  
selfe Queene of Castile and Leon.

Thirdly, that shee beeing at that time eightene yeares of age, should choose one of  
these things within sixe moneths, that is to say, to forsake the Realme of Portugall with-  
out hauing ayde, meanes, or any assistance from King Don Alphonso, or if shee would  
tarrie there still, then to marrie with Prince Iohn of Castile, who was newly borne, when  
he should come to age, or else to enter into one of the five Orders of Religion of Saint  
Clare

Queene Is-  
abella perswades  
the Rebels in  
Extremadura.

Peace betwixt  
Portugall and  
Castile.

Articles.

*Clare* in Portugal, and if she would consent to marrie Prince *Iohn*, shee should liue and A remaine in the meane time, in the company of Donna *Beatrice* Dutchesse of Visco.

Fourthly, that the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, eldest daughter to the King and Queene of Castile, should marrie the Infant Don *Alphonso*, eldest sonne to Prince *Iohn*, heire to the Kingdome, the which Infant and Infanta should likewise be committed to the keeping of the Dutchesse of Visco in the fort of Mora in Portugall.

Fifthly, that the Kings of Castile should in no sort let or hinder the king of Portugall, nor the Prince his sonnes voyage into Guiney, and that the States and people of Castile should bee bound to performe and maintaine that poynt inuolably.

Sixtly, that all crimes and offences, layde to their charge, who had fauoured and taken B the King of Portugall part in those warres, should be abolished, and a generall pardon graunted to them all, especially to the Countesse of Medellin, and to Don *Alphonso* of Monroy, Treasurer of Alcantara, and euery of them to be restored to their goods, liuings, and dignities.

Seuenthly, that this peace should be kept betwixt the Kings of Castile and Portugall for an hundred and one yeares.

This peace thus concluded, was proclaymed in the Court of Portugal, to the great contentment of all men, and presently the Licenciate *Figueroa*, one of the kings Counsell, and his Confessor, named Friar *Martin*, were sent Ambassadours to Queene *Izabella*, who lay at Trugillo: who on her part, did likewise sweare to ratifie it, the Castil- C lians beeing no whit displeased thereat; for they were all tyred with that pernicious warre. The which warre did wholly cease, and the seeges, from the aboue-mentioned places, were rayfed. Merida which belonged to the Order of Saint *Iames*, was yeldded to the Master thereof: Medellin was committed to the keeping of Don *Lewis Fernand Porto Carrero*, vntill the controuersie betwixt the Countesse and Don *Pedro Porto Carrero* her son, were decided by order of lawe. Newes hereof was carried to Barcelona to King *Fernand*, the which was most welcome vnto him, who gaue thanks vnto God therefore, causing great signes of ioy to bee made euery where, and did worthily recompence the messenger which brought tidings of so desired a peace: by meanes whereof those twoking- domes haue beene encreased and maintayned in the greatnesse whereunto they are ri- D sen in the dayes of our fathers, and in our time also.

In King *Fernand*, the two kingdomes of Castile and Arragon with their dependan- cies, were ioyned together, which had beene separated foure hundred, fortie, and fise years, euer since that the two States of Earledomes, became Kingdomes, after the death of Don *Sancho* the Great, King of Nauarre, who was the last Earle of Arragon and Castile.

Now King *Fernand* hauing taken order for all things belonging to so great a succe- sion, wherein hee found no difficultie nor resistance, hee came to the Queene his wife, who lay in the citie of Toledo, where with great solemnitie he swore the peace in the presence of the Portugall Ambassadours: and for a greater confirmation thereof, there were sent Ambassadours to the king of Portugal, Friar *Hernand* of Talauera, the king of Castiles Confessor, of the Order of Saint Hierome, great Prior of Saint Marie du Pré of Vailliodolir, who was afterward Bishoppe of Auila, and successiue first Arch-bishoppe of Granado after the conquest, and with him Doctor *Alphonso Manuel* of Madrigall, one of the kings Counsell, to reiterate and sweare the peace the second time. Donna *Joane*, who till then was called Queene of Castile and Leon, and by a particular surname the Excellent, beeing questioned vpon the Article of peace, which concerned her mar- riage with Prince *Iohn*, did rather choose a Monasticke life, who therefore was shorne and vailed in the Monasterie of Saint Clare the royall, at Coimbra, and casting off hir royall habits, shee tooke the Order of Saint *Francis*, not without great griefe to king F Don *Alphonso*, to see so great a Ladie in such manner to abase her selfe, where if she had so pleased, might haue reigned in Castile, Leon, Arragon, and Sicill.

The Ambassadours of Castile hauing executed their commission with the king of Por- tugall, went to the citie of Coimbra, where they did see this Princeesse to professe her selfe a Nunne, with profection to spend her dayes in such humilitie, notwithstanding that

25  
Prison of Castile  
and Arragon.

D. Joane, cal-  
led, the Excel-  
lent, consen-  
teth with the marri-  
age with the  
Prince of Castile,  
Arragon, &c.  
and becomes a  
Nunne.

A that they brought her King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*'s honourable word and prom- ise, to accomplish in her behalfe, all that which had beene agreed vpon in the treaty of peace, and to marrie her to their sonne when time should serue: but she with an incre- dible constancie refused all these dignities, and spent the whole time of her life (which was very long) in religion, and was euer after called, (in stead of royall titles which had had beene offered vnto her by the King and Queene) Donna *Joane* the Nunne.

The troubles beeing thus appeased in Castile, Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena, who in his Marquisate had made warre vpon the Kings Lieutenants and Cap- taines, came to the Court at Toledo to iustifie himself concerning the same: and to speak truth, the matter beeing well weighed, hee was not found to bee the principall cause of those mischiefs, nor yet to haue any intelligence with the King of Portugall, since his last agreement made with the Queene, in regard whereof, the King and Queene recey- ued him to grace and fauour, vnto whome afterwards in the warres of Granado, hee did many notable seruices.

This yeare, 1479. in the moneth of Nouember, Queene *Izabella* was brought to bed in the Citie of Toledo, in a house belonging to the Earle of Cifuentes, of a daugh- ter named *Joane*, who in proceesse of time came to succeed in all the kingdomes, as by the progresse of this Historie shall appeare. This Infanta did in all poynts so resemble queen *Joane* of Arragon her grandmother, as when the King her father did play with her, hee C called her his mother. In like manner the Infanta *Izabella*, because she was in lineaments like to Queene *Izabella* her Grandmother, mother to the queene then raigning, was by her called her mother: the rest of queene *Izabella*'s children were commonly called her Angels. At the same time that these things happened in Spayne, the armie of *Mahomet* the second of that name, Emperour of the Turkes, did houer about the Isle of Rhodes, the seate of the Knights of Saint *Iohn* of Hierusalem, *Peter d'Aubusson* a French-man, beeing great Master of that Order: the Sicillians fearing lest the Turkes would haue lan- ded in their Isle, sent messengers to king *Fernand*, to obtaine of him ayde and succour, vnto whome certaine shippes laden with munition, armour, and other prouision, were sent.

Marquis of  
Villena re-con-  
ciled to the  
King and  
Queene.

D

### Donna Leonora Queene of Nauarre, and 33. in order.

A S King *Fernand* succeeded in the kingdomes of Arragon, Valencia, Sicill, Major- ca, and principallie of Cattalonia, with other dominions and dependancies therof by the decease of the late king Don *Iohn* his father: the Princeesse *Leonora* in like manner, E daughter to him and to his first wife Donna *Blanche*, queene of Nauarre, did inherit the same kingdome, nine yeares after the death of the Earle of Foix her husband, remaining all that time a widow. She was crowned queene in the citie of Tudela; where she did sweare and promise to maintaine the rights, lawes, priuiledges, franchises, and liberties of the country, in the same manner as her predecessors had done before her. Her raigne was so short, as we haue no matter afforded to speake of, but onely her death, which happened by a sudden sicknesse fiftene dayes after she was crowned, in the same citie of Tudela: she was buried in the couent of S. Sebastian of the Order of S. Francis, neere to the city of Tafalla, which was since ruined by the commandement of Cardinal *Francis- co Ximeenes*, Archbisshoppe of Toledo, and Gouvernour of Castile, who thought that the strong building of that Monasterie, was no good neighbour to such a towne. Albeit we haue already in the precedent booke spoken of this Princeesses children, yet wee will somewhat more amply enlarge the discourse thereof in this place. Their eldest sonne was *Gaston*, who bearing the title of Prince of Viana, was married to Donna *Magdalene* of France, and dyed at Libourne, beeing misfortunately hurt with the splinter of a Lance, as hee there ranue at Tilt: hee was father of two children, that is to Ffff say,

26  
Nauarre.

Genealogie of  
Nauarre.

say, *Francis Phœbus* and *Katherine*, who were King and Queene of Navarre, and Earles A of Foix, successiue the one after the other. Their second sonne was *John*, who had the Vicountie of Narbonne for his portion, purchased by his father for readie money, and married *Marie*, who was daughter to *Lewis*, Duke of Orleans, who was French king, and the twelfth of that name. *Paradin* sayes more truly, that she was daughter to *Charles*, Duke of Orleans, of whome were borne, *Gaston* of Foix, Duke of Nemours, who dyed in the barraille of Rauenna, and *Germaine*, who was second wife to *Fernand*, the Cathollicke King, and after that shee was secondly married to *Fernand* of Arragon, Duke of Calabria, lawfull son to *Fredericke* king of Naples, who dyed being Viceroy of Valencia.

This *John* Vicount of Narbonne, was Gouvernour of Daulphiné, and afterwards of Guyenne, a hardie and valiant Knight, renowned in the warres against the English, and in those of Italy, whither hee went with King *Charles* the eighth, in great credite and authoritie, and afterwards dyed in the raigne of King *Lewis* the twelfth at Estampes where he lies buried.

The third sonne of Earle *Gaston*, and Donna *Leonora*, was *Peter* borne at Pau in the countrey of Bearne, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, forty nine, who gaue himselfe to studie, and did choose an ecclesiasticall life, vnder the gouernement of his great Vncle, the Cardinall of Foix, Bishoppe of Lescar, and the Popes Legate in Daulphiné and Prouence: after whose death having profixed at the Vniuersities of Tholousa, Pauia, and Ferrara, in the ciuill and canon Lawes, hee was also by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, made C Cardinall of the title of Saint Cosmo and Damian, beeing before Bishop of Vannes, and prouided of many rich Benefices, by the fauour of *Francis* Duke of Brittain his brother-in law, who had married his sister Ladie *Margaret* of Foix, mother to Queene *Anne*.

The fourth sonne of the Earle of Foix, and of Donna *Leonora*, was called *James*, hee onely of all their children was borne in Nauarre, and was a Knight highly esteemed, and honoured by King *Lewis* the twelfth, with the Order of Saint Michaell, and with the leading of an hundred men at armes: in the warres of Lombardie and elsewhere; he purchased the commendation of a valiant and wise Captaine, but hee dyed young, having not attained to the age of thirtie yeares, and was neuer married. Hee left certaine base children, who professed an ecclesiasticall life, and did possesse rich benefices, euen till the later dayes of King *Francis* the first.

Besides these foure sonnes, Earle *Gaston* and Donna *Leonora* had fiue daughters, the first whose name was *Mary*, was married to *William* Marquis of Montferrat, who, by the Popes authoritie, erected the church of Casall into a Bishops See: this Ladie was brought to her husband, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, sixtie sixe, by her brother *Peter* of Foix, by *Bernard* the Bastard of Foix, *Godfrey Basileac*, Bishoppe of Riues, by the Bishop of Conferans, and *Peter* of Sobreuille, and by diuers other Lords and Knights: Of this marriage no male children were borne, but daughters onely, the eldest of whom was married to *Lewis*, sonne to *Thomas* Marquis of Salusles, and these daughters did not succeed their father in the Marquisat, but a brother of his. *Ioane* second daughter of Earle *Gaston*, and Donna *Leonora*, was married to the Earle of Armagnac, sonne to him who was slaine by the commaundement of King *Lewis* the eleuenth: with which marriage, the King beeing displeased, the Earle was so persecuted, as hee was constrained to flee for safetie into Castile, where trusting to the faire speeches, oathes, and promises of the Cardinall of Albi, the French Kings Ambassadour, in the sayd kingdom, beeing returned into France, hee was there cruelly stabbed to death with daggers. Whereupon his wife Donna *Ioane* of Foix, returned into Bearne, hauing had no children by him: The third daughter was *Marguerite*, wife to *Francis* the last Duke of Brittain, by whome hee had two daughters, *Anne* and *Isabella*; *Isabella* dyed young, but *Anne* was married to two French Kings successiue, *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the twelfth: by *Lewis* she had two daughters *Claude* and *Rene*; *Claude* who was first promised to *Charles*, who was sincking then duke of Angoulesme, and afterwards French king, first of that name. *Rene* was married to *Hercules* of Este duke of Ferrara: the Earle *Gaston* and his wife D. *Leonora*, had besides these, *Catherine*, married to the Earle of Candale, and mother of 3. children, the

A the eldest of whome was Lord of Candale, the second Arch-bishoppe of Bourdeaux, and the third who was a daughter named *Anne*, Queene of Hungarie and Bohemia, wife to *Vladislaus*, son to *Casimir* King of Polonia. This *Vladislaus* first king of Bohemia, had before married Donna *Beatrix* of Arragon, widdow to King *Mathias* of Hungarie, for whose sake the Hungarians chose him for their King; but he was diuorced from her in regard of her loose life, and afterwards married this Ladie *Anne* of Foix, who was brought to her husband thorough the Dutchie of Milan, at that time possessed by the French, and by the cittie of Venice, the great friend and ally of this King, *Leonardo Lauredan* being at that time Duke thereof. Of this marriage was borne *Lewis*, who succeeded his father in the kingdomes of Bohemia and Hongarie, husband to Queene *Marie* of Castile, who was sister to the Emperour *Charles*, and a daughter named *Anne* married to *Ferdinand* of Austria, afterwards Emperour and Brother to *Charles*, and by her, king of Bohemia and Hungarie, after the death of his father-in-law King *Lewis*, of the which *Fernand* and *Anne*, the Emperour *Maximilian* was borne, and many other children: the fifth daughter of Earle *Gaston*, and Donna *Leonora* of Nauarre, dyed vnmarried, beeing onely promised to the Duke of Medina Celi, issued from the same house of Foix, and was called after her mothers name *Leonora*. This house of Foix and Nauarre hath brought forth this off-spring of great and illustrious Princes, giuing to Christendome at one time foure Queenes, who were cousin-germaines, namely, *Catherine* Queene of Nauar, *Germaine* Queene of Castile and Arragon, *Anne* Queene of France, and *Anne* Queene of Bohemia and Hungary.

### Francis Phœbus, the foure and thirtieth King of Nauarre.

L E t vs now go forward with our Historie: after Queene *Leonora*'s decease, her sonnes D of Nauarre, the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie nine, beeing brought vp in his Earldome of Foix, and Lordship of Bearne, vnder the gouernement of Donna *Margaleine* of France his mother, and the Cardinall his Vncle: but three yeares were expired before hee durst passe into his Kingdom, by reason of the seditions which suddenly after the Queene *Leonora*'s decease, were renewed betwixt the Beaumontois, the Earle of Lerin beeing their head, who held the Cittie of Pampelona, and those of Grammont, who followed *Pedro* of Peralta the Constable, and *Philip* of Nauarre the Marshall, who had for their forts the places of Estella, Sanguessa, Olica, and a great part of the citrie of Tudela.

The young Kings mother made a iourney thither, as appeareth by letters graunted E by her this same yeare, dated at Pampelona; where shee laboured (though in vaine) to settle peace and quietnesse in the Countrey: diuers Prelates and great Lords of Castile and Arragon did in like manner, but to none effect, go about to appease these obstinate seditious persons, who were hardened in their wickednesse. The Faction of Grammont was much discontented, to see the Earle of Lerin married to a Ladie of the blood royal; sister to King *Fernand* of Castile, and for that hee was possessed of the citrie of Pampelona, the chiefe of the Kingdom, they sayd, that hee thought to make himselfe king of Nauarre. These quarrels beeing sharply pursued by either side, it happened that *Philip* of Nauarre, successefull to his father in the office of Marshall, and in hatred to the Earle of Lerin, did surprize the citrie of Viana, but he could not get the castle, wherein a knight F of the house of Gongora was captaine for the Earle: and beeing out of hope of beeing able to keepe the towne, so great was his hatred towards the Earle, as hauing comploted with Don *John* of Riueira, Gouvernour of Logroño for the king of Castile, *Captaine Mudarra*, and other Spanish knights, he deliuered the towne into their hands: the which deed of his, the Earle of Lerin greatly resenting, endeauored to recouer that losse, which did not so much touch him nor his faction, as the whole Realme in generall, and hee, did

Seditions awak-  
ked by those of  
Beaumont and  
Grammont in  
Nauarre.

Viana surpris-  
ed by the M.  
shall Philip.

Exploites of  
the Earle of  
Lerin.

so well bestirre himselfe, as he did not onely recouer Viana, but Larraga likewise, which A had beene before that time possessed by the king of Castile, and if he had beene as strong as hee was courageous and skilfull in martiall affaires, he would, without all doubt, haue recouered the places of Saint Vincent, la Garde, and Arcos, the which hee attempted: but hee was too weake: with this good happe, yet neuertheless hee rooke the towne of Miranda vppon Argas, and caused those which held it, to leape into the riuier. In these troubles was the Realme of Nauarre, when this young King, *Francis Phœbas*, came to the Crowne, in danger vppon such like occasions, to haue the kings of Castile attempt some thing to his preiudice, as well thorough the euill offices of the chiefe of the Factions, as by the superfluous duties of the Capitaines of the frontiers, who to bee accounted good B and profitable seruants, do oftentimes draw their masters into vniust quarrels, contrarie to their owne minds and dispositions.

28  
Castile.  
Parliament at  
Toledo.

Consultation  
touching the  
reueuion of the  
royall reuenue.

The Court of Castile remayned yet at Toledo, in the which cittie in the beginning of the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, eightie, the kings had called a Parliament: there the Deputies of the citties, who were accustomed to haue voyces, hauing well weighed and considered the disposition of the royall reuenue, which was alienated to particular persons, in recompences, perpetuall rents, superfluous gifts, and other such like wastes, which were not well digested, did craue reformation thereof, and demanded to haue C those things which had beene giuen from the Crowne, to be restored to the same: and they were the more instant therein, because they did fore-see, that if the kings did not looke to it, necessitie would constraîne them, to seeke money in another nature, and to charge the people with new tributes and taxes.

The matter being consulted on by the kings, the Cardinall of Spaine, and by other Prelates, Lords, and Knights, it was determined, that regard should bee had to the peoples admonishment: but concerning the manner how, the opinions were diuerse: some thought it fit, that whatsoever had beene alienated should be vniued againe: others sayd, of opinion, to call that onely in question which had beene euill employed: others sayd, that no distinction ought to be made in that point, but either to take all, or leaue all. Vppon this diuersitie of opinions, the Kings knew not what to resoluë; but wrote their letters to the great Lords of Spaine to come to Toledo to giue their opinions concerning D that businesse, and if some of them could not come thither in person, that they should set downe in writing, what they thought was fit to be done, and to send it. The most part of them thought it requisite, that the whole reuenue of the Crowne should be reunited.

Whereupon the Cardinall did secretly aduise the Kings, to make this difference in the matter: namely, to take away from those vppon whom the late King *Henry* had bestowed anything, that is to say, from the Lords and Knights which had beene the cause of the troubles, and had followed the Prince *Don Alphonso*: and not to mention those gifts which they themselues had giuen vnto such as had serued them. In these difficulties the Kings made this conclusion: That all those who had gifts, reuenues, and other such like E pensions out of the ordinarie reuenue of the Crowne, should by a certaine prefixed time come and shew cause, how and wherefore they had obtrayned such graunts: and Friar *Fernand* of Talauera was appoynted to search out the truth, and set downe an order, vppon whose good conscience and integritie, all men reposed great trust, and to satisfie euery man according vnto right and reason; who with other assistants did so order the matter, as hee brought backe three millions of reuenues into the kings coffers, and diuers men had their graunts confirmed, others were cut off in part, others had all taken from them, and others enioyed their pensions during their liues. The Estates were likewise very much busied about other matters, and euery day was a Councell held, in fiue feuerall chambers: one was for the State, another for the administration of iustice, another for the affaires of Arragon and Sicill, another for the businesse of the commons, F and for the iurisdicions of the Hermandades or brotherhoods, and the fift and last, for the treasure and royall reuenue.

At the same time iustice, which had a long time beene banished out of Spayne, was called home againe and reuerenced, and diuers wicked persons punished, among whom

*Hernand*

A *Hernand Alarcon*, the familiar friend and instigator of the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, a seditious and turbulent person, was beheaded, by meanes of which example, euery man submitted himselfe to law, and framed himselfe to a ciuill and honest life: then did the tyrannies of great men cease, the thefts and robberies of their followers were suppressed, in such sort, as the fields were as safe as good townes, those things which were vsurped were restored to the right owners: the seates of iustice were well ordered, and diuers good lawes and Edicts were made.

It was there enacted, that the Iewes and Moores in townes and citties, should dwell in streetes and places by themselves. All Noblemen were forbidden to carrie Guards about with them, to place Crownes vppon their shields and armes, or to haue vsfers to carrie maces or rodde before them, vnlesse they were Magistrates; nor to vse titles in their letters, belonging to Princes and Soueraigne Lords: And for that the Kings felt their consciences burthened with the death of many poore people, who had followed them in their last warres, whose widowes and children were in great necessitie, they appoynted a summe of twentie millions of Marauidis to bee distributed vnto such people by Friar *Hernand* of Talauera, as he should thinke it meete and conuenient, thinking by laying this charge vppon him, to discharge themselves.

Charity of F.  
Fernand and  
Queene Isabel.

In this assembly of the Estates in the moneth of May, the Infant *Don John* was, according to the custome of Spayne, sworne vnto, as Prince of the Asturia's, and heire to the C Kingdomes of Castile and Leon, in the presence of the Prelats and Lords, whose names follow: The Cardinall *Don Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoza, Arch-bishoppe of Siuill, and withall, Bishoppe of Sigüenza: *Don Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, Bishoppe of Palence, Friar *Alphonso* of Burgos, Bishop of Cordoua, with others of the Clergie. For the Nobilitie and State militarie, *Don Alphonso* of Cardegnia, Master of Saint Iames, *Don Pero Fernandes* of Velasco, Constable of Castile, and Earle of Haro: *Don Alphonso Henriques* great Admirall of Castile, and the Kings Vnkle: *Don Pero Aluarez Osorio*, Marquis of Astorga, and Earle of Transimara: *Don Aluaro* of Mendoza, Earle of Castro: *Don Lorenzo Suarez* of Mendoza, Earle of Crugna: *Don Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, *Don Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, Earle of Miranda: *Don Fernand Aluarez* of Toledo, D Earle of Oropesa, *Don Guttiere* de Sottomajor Earle of Benalcazar: *Don Bertrand* de la Cueva, Earle of Ledesma, *Don Diego Fernandes* of Quignones, Earle of Luna, *Don John de Ribera*, Lord of Montemajor, *Don Aluar Peres* of Guzman, Lord of Saint Eulalia: *Don Guttiere* of Cardegnia, great Commaunder of Leon, with diuers others of name and place: For the third estate, the Deputies of the Citties on this side, and beyond the mounts, did take the accustomed oath, to wit, for old Castile, Burgos, Leon, Segobia, Auila, Soria, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca: and for the other part, Toledo, Guadalajara, and Cuenca: and for Andalusia, Siuill, Cordoua, and Iaca, and the Cittie of Murcia for that Countrey: Diuers Lords likewise of the Realme Arragon were present at this solemnitie, as *Don Raymond* Bishoppe of Vrgell, and *Don Philip* of Arragon E bastard-sonne to the late Prince *Charles*, Nephew to the King, and cousin germaine to Prince *Iohn*.

Prince Iohne  
sworne vnto  
with great solemnitie.

At this assembly, *Don Andrea de Cabrera*, and *Donna Beatrix* of Bouadilla his wife were created Marquises of Moya, with graunt of twelue hundred vassals neere to Segobia for the good seruices which they had done to the kings *Don Ferdinand*, and *Donna Isabella*, at whose table, the more to honour them, they did eate, the same day. The Parliament or assembly of States being ended, the Court came to Medina del campo, where they began to take great paines to haue the ordonances of the Estates executed, and put in practise, vppon the vsurpations, tyrannies, quarrels, and enmities which were past. In the same towne a knight, whose name was *Aluar Ianes* of Lugo, was put to death, who F being couetous to adde to his owne great wealth the goods of a certaine Cittizen, hired a certaine Notarie or Scriuener to make some false and counterfeite contracts, and to the end the deceit might not be knowne, hee fourth with payed him his hire, cutting his throate, and burying him secretly in the back-side of his owne house: the which murder was discovered by the diligent inquirie of the poore widdow, whose husband was neuer scene abroad, since hee was scene to go into the Knights house.

A mother as  
gentle as a  
child.

King Fernand  
and Queene  
Isabel jealous  
of Iustice.

29  
Nauarre.

The Estates of  
Nauarre at  
Tafalla.

Bishop of Pam-  
pelona (since by  
D. Pedro de  
Peralta.

Marquis of  
Fajeta.

This Gentleman was taken; conuicted, and beheaded notwithstanding his great friends A and kindred, who offered fortie thousand Duckets for to saue his life, which was a great summe in those dayes, which sundrie of the Councel wished the Kings to take: but these Princes beeing great Iusticers, would not hearken to it: but the Knight was executed according to his deserts.

The yeare 1481. the Kings departed from Medina, and did take leaue the one of the other for a certain time, the Queene went to Vailliodolit, and the King made a voyage into Arragon with intent to haue the like oath made there to his son Prince John, as the States of Castile had done at Toledo, and to order the State of his owne patrimonial Kingdome, as also to demaund a certaine subsidie of money of his subiects there.

The King beeing at Sarragossa, the Cardinall of Foix, and his brother Don James, Vn- B kles to the young King Francis Phæbus of Nauarre, came thither to him, to beseech him to ayde him with forces and meanes to suppress his audacious subiects, which did di- sturbe the peace of his Kingdome, who contemning his youth, did commit infinite ty- rannies there, whom king Fernand did most louingly receiue as his Nephewes, sonnes to Queene Leonora his sister, and did promise concerning their demaunds, to performe the office of a Christian Prince, friend, and neere kinsman to the young king. During his a- boade at Sarragossa, the Marshall of Nauarre, who was at Tudela, had ordinarie intelli- C gence with diuers Castilian Lords, some of whome knowing their masters will, did be- ginne to treat of meanes for the pacification of the factions of Beaumont and Gram- mont, by whome the kingdome was spoiled. Amongst those which did most earnestly employ themselves therein, was a Friar, Preacher to king Fernand, whose name was A- barca, who dealt in such sort, as hee agreed vpon a marriage betwixt Philip of Nauarre the Marshall, and a daughter of the Earle Lewis of Lerin, which he thought would bee a meanes, that these two Lords would forget all former hatred, and become heartie and affectionate friends, by whose example, the rest of the factions would do the like, but the poore Friar was deceyued in his hope: for those of the Grammontois faction, rejecting this marriage, as hurtfull to their side, and fearing to lose so mighty a Captaine, did so preuayle with the Marshall Philip, as notwithstanding that matters were in such forward- nesse, as neither of the parties could go backe with honour and credit, the Marshall ne- uertheless refused that alliance, and went wholly backe from his former promises: whereat the Earle of Lerin beeing extremely enraged, and beeing of a haughtie and proud spirit, was fore-reuenged, by killing the Marshall, as hee rode from Sanguessa to Villa-franca to speake with Don John de Ribera, the Earle hauing attended for him vpon the way, as well for to chastise his lightnesse and inconstancie, as for ialousie that hee had, concerning the businesse that the Marshall went about in conferring with that Ca- stillan, doubting some treason as well towards himselfe as the kingdome, like to that of Viana which he still remembred, and could by no meanes forget.

In this manner, the father and the sonne, both of them Marshalls of the Realme of Na- uarre, did perish by one self same hand: in which Office Peter of Nauarre succeeded, who E was younger brother to Philip, and the fourth of that family, who had held the same di- gnitie. The Constable Pedro de Peralta was at the same time out of the Realme, who ha- uing with great labour obtrayned absolution from the Pope, for the murder committed on the person of Don Nicholas of Echaurri, Bishop of Pampelona, did publicly ac- knowledge his fault in the cathedrall Church of Valencia, and liued not long after, lea- uing one onely daughter who was called Ioane of Peralta, heire of his house, who was wife to Don Tristo Carillo of Acugna, sonne to the Arch-bishop of Toledo, of whome we haue often spoken in this Historie.

This house of Peralta, descended from the royall stocke of Nauarre, and by the death of Pedro of Peralta, the office and dignitie of Constable ended in that family, the F successors whereof were called Earles of Saint Stephen, and great Chamberlaines to the Kings of Nauarre. Lewis of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, entring into that Office was af- terward dispossessed thereof, and the Constableship fell since to Don Alphonso, grand- child to Pedro of Peralta, the heires of whose house, in proceesse of time, were called Mar- quis of Falles, a towne in Nauarre.

Ciuiil

A Ciuiil warres spoyling after this manner the poore Kingdome of Nauarre, the young Kings vnles returned into the Realme, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights of the King of Castiles Court, who promised them that if by faire meanes, they could not bring the Kings rebellious subiects to his obedience, the which hee wished them in any case to trie, that he would then furnish him with men, munition and money for the warres: these Lords being come to the towne of Tafalla, they did forthwith assemble the generall Estates, by vertue of a commission which they had from the King, the Cardinall and Lord James of Foix promising free and sure accesse and safe conduct to all men.

E The Deputies of the three Estates of the Kingdome being assembled, and hauing vn- derstood by the Cardinall the cause why they were come into Nauarre, wherevnto were ioyned the French King Lewis the eleuenths letters, which did exhort the Nauar- rois to continue obedient to their King, and to acknowledge and serue him as faithfull subiects ought to doe, providing thereby, for the welfare, rest and quiet, of their coun- try: they did all with one generall consent make answere, that the Lords and people of Nauarre, did neuer meane to forsake their obedience towards Francis Phæbus the young King, whom they did acknowledge for their naturall and lawfull Prince, but that on the contrary they had euer till now beene ialous and fearefull, in regard of his youth and absence from the Realme, least some stranger should haue made himselfe

C Maister thereof, and therefore they did no lesse desire his comming then himselfe, and they humbly besought him to make hast as a thing most necessary: and if his comming had beene hindred by meanes of the ambition and tyranny of a few priuate persons, they gaue him to vnderstand, that it was to the great grieve of others, and in no sort occasioned by common consent; therefore they intreated him to come in a lucky ho- wer, seeing they were ready to receiue and honour him, accordingly as it did become them. The Cardinall and his brother vnderstanding so pleasing and desired an answer, did forthwith write thereof to the young King Francis Phæbus, and to King Fernand his great vncl. And because whatsoever was done, was to no purpose vnlesse those two great houses of the Earle of Lerin and the Marshall Don Pedro were reconciled,

D the Cardinall did vse the best meanes hee could to make them friends: but by reason of their inueterate quarrels hee found matter enough whereon to set his iudgement and industry a worke, and also incredible resistance against his brothers authority and his owne, so as diuers times they were in despaire of the matter: neuertheless, knowing that by perseuerance, all difficulties are surmounted, and that in such holy and laudable actions we ought to vse our best endeauors, they laboured so earnestly therein, as in the end they thought that they had wholly reconciled them. And for a greater and more strict band of this alliance, this assembly of the Estates beeing in the time of Lent, the Cardinalls would needs haue the Constable and the Marshall to receiue the Sacrament together, in an hostie parted betwixt them in the Monastery of St. Sebastian in Tafalla.

E But as the heart of man is oftentimes different from the outward shew, so this reconcil- iation prooued but feigned and counterfeit; for notwithstanding promises, oaths, and all respect to Religion, which are oftentimes but masks to euill intents, the Earle of Lerin thinking with these ceremonies to haue sufficiently secured his aduersary, did determine to kill him vpon the first proffered occasion, perswading himselfe that if he could dis- patch this man, as hee had done his father and brother in time before, that then in Na- uarre, hee should haue no more great enemies left to make head against him. There- fore vpon the very next day after their reconciliation which was good Friday, he hauing intelligence that the Marshall rode from Tafalla towards Tudela, or else to the Mona- stery of Oliua, hee came with a great troupe vnder the hill of Agnorba and there lay in

F ambush intending to assaile him on the sodaine as hee should passe that way. The Mar- shall who feared no such matter, came riding in the company of the Earle of Saint Steuens the Constable of Peraltas successor with their traine, and beeing come neere to the place where his death was prepared, Gods will was that hee had some inkling of the Earles treachery, wherevpon on a sodaine hee galloped backe againe as fast as hee could, beeing so hardly pursued by his enemy, as without the assistance of Arnaud

Gouernor

The Estates of  
Nauarre at  
Tafalla.

Perseuerance  
ouer-come  
all difficulties.

Feigned recon-  
ciliation be-  
twixt the Earle  
of Lerin and  
the Marshall  
of Nauarre

Treachery of  
the Earle of  
Lerin against  
the Marshall.



Starb recom-  
mited by the  
Earle of Lerin.

gouvernour of Vngul, who speedily thrust him into a Church, he had beene there slaine. A  
The Earle beeing madde that the Marshall had escaped, did the very same day execute  
his furie vpon other Gramontois, for with his owne hand hee slew *Leon de Garro* the ba-  
stard, the Arch-priest *Mendigorria* left *Iohn de Velez* of Medran for dead, with diuerse  
others slaine and hurt, and then returned home to his house: not long after that, cer-  
taine of the family of *Artieda*, hauing murthered some of the house of *Ayane*, the mur-  
therers were vpheld and receiued by the Constable the Earle of Beaumont, by reason  
whereof, those of the family of *Ayane*, who had euer followed the *Beaumonts* faction,  
reuolted from their side to those of Grammont. These things are set downe by some,  
to bee more likely to haue beene done after the assembly of the estates, and they say, B  
that it is not to bee beleeued that the Constable would so much forget himselfe, as to  
commit such an act the next day after his reconciliation, which was made in so religious  
a manner, especially seeing the Cardinall and his brother were in the realme, and the  
estates of the kingdome there assembled, and they rather beleue, that this quarrell was  
renewed a long time afterward in the reigne of Queene *Catherine*, vppon some new  
wrongs offered betwixt these Lords.

30  
Castile.  
The decrees of  
the Estates  
executed.

The peace of Castile, according to the determination of the States at Toledo, was  
vertuously procured by Queene *Isabell*, who in her husbands absence remained at Valio-  
dolit, beeing accompanied and counselled by the Cardinall of Spaine, the Earle of  
Benauent and others; by whose aduise were sent into Galicia, to order the affaires of C  
that Prouince, which had been greuously shaken by the fore-past tempests, *Don Fer-  
dinand d'Acugna* a good and a vertuous Knight, sonne to the Earle of Buendia, with  
title of Gouvernor, vnto whom the Licenciart *Garcí Lopes de Chinchilla* of the Kings  
councell, and a man of great integrity, was ioyned in quality of Corrigidor, or Iudge,  
who found much to be reformed there; for diuerse tyrants oppressed their neighbours,  
vsurped the temporall and spirituall patrimony and reuenews of the Church, nor caring  
for God, the King, nor Iustice, nor acknowledging any superiority, and did keepe backe  
the Kings tribute. The cities of Lugo, Orense, Mondogredo, nor the townes of Biuro  
and Corunna were exempted from such calamities, in regard whereof the Gouvernour  
and the Corrigidor, accompanied with two hundred horse, went to the city of *S. James*, D  
there to make their residence, and to begin to order the affaires according to the forme  
of law: The inhabitants of Saint *James* seeing their company so small, were afraide  
that they were too weake to take in hand to bridle so many tyrants as were in that coun-  
trei, did make some difficultie to let them into the city: but at the last being satisfied by  
the reasons of the Licenciart, they opened their gates, and promised to their power to  
aide and assist them to execute iustice: wherefore they began to fall to worke, and they  
made such executions, without partialitie or respect of persons, as they were not afraide  
to strike off the head of the Marshall *Pero Pardo*, who had committed infinite mischiefs,  
so as in lesse then three moneths, more then one thousand five hundred persons, attainted  
with notorious crimes worthy of death, went out of the countrey of Galicia: and these E  
Commissioners did raze downe to the ground diuerse strong houses, which serued for  
places of retreat to theenes and robbers: by meanes of which executions, euery one  
did acknowledge his dutie, and there were many, who without any constraint by iustice,  
did restore that which they held of other mens, by meanes whereof *Don Ferdinand de  
Acugna*, and *Garcí Lopes de Chinchilla* got much honor and credit.

Iustice establi-  
shed in Galicia.

31  
Spanish Army  
in Sicilie.

This yeare, fiftie ships of warre, with men and munition, were set forth out of Biscay,  
Guipuscoa and Castile, vnder the title of warre against the Turkes, wherevnto the peo-  
ple of Biscay did contribute, not preiudicing their priuiledges and exemptions, onely  
for the present occasion of so holy a warre, the Armie met together at Laredo, and was  
sent into Sicill, vnder the conduct of *Don Francisco Henriques*, sonne to the Admirall F  
of Castile, and serued at the taking of Otranto, which the Turkes had taken from *Don  
Ferdinand* the bastard of Arragon, who at the same time reigned at Naples: Before the  
Armie departed from Laredo, the standards and banners of the ships were blessed, *Don  
Iohn de Ortega* Pouruoier of Villafranca, singing a sollemne masse: then they sailed alongst  
the coast of Spaine, and ioyned with other twenty vessels that came from Galicia, so as  
the

A the whole army of Castile consisted of three score and tenne ships gallantly rigged and  
furnished, who sayling towards Otranto perceiued the army of Portugall to be there  
before them. By this succor the towne was recouered from the Turkes, who yelded  
it vp vpon the newes of the death of their Emperour *Mahomet*, which happened at  
the same time. The Turkes being gonne forth of Italy, and the suspicion of other  
enterprises ceasing, the Spanish and Portugall ships returned home into their owne  
countrey.

The first acts of the new Inquisition in Spaine were at that time so sharpe and vio-  
lent, as this yeere 1481. *Don Pero Gonçales de Mendoza* Cardinall of Spaine vpon the  
B extreame complaints which the Conuerts did make, by reason of their vniust persecu-  
tions were enforced to take some milder and gentler course: for there were already  
more then three thousand house-holds destroyed and rooted out, onely in Siuill, and  
the Diocesse thereof. For these causes the Cardinall and other Prelats met toge-  
ther to moderate the cruelty and violence of the pittifull Inquisitors. Then friar  
*Thomas of Torquemada*, a Iacobin, was chosen chiefe inquisitor: who by the Kings  
leaued did appoint diuers Iudges in the Prouinces of Spaine, which by the Popes au-  
thority did enquire of euery ones faith and manners. This iurisdiction hath beene  
oftentimes since then amplified and reformed vntill that the tribunalls and seates  
were established in manner following. Valiodolit, and Calaoorra on that side of the  
C mounts towards Burgos, and Toledo and Cuença on the other side, *Murcia* in her owne  
iurisdiction: Siuill and Cordoua in Andalusia: and *Erena* in Extremadura: then after the  
conquest of Granado in the same city.

Rigor of the  
Spanish Inqui-  
sition moderat-  
ed.

Friar Thomas  
of Torquemada.

The Inquisition was successiueley receiued into Arragon, at Saragossa, and Valencia,  
and at Barcelona for Cattalonia: All which Prouinces are twelue in number. Na-  
uarre answereth to Calaoorra, the seate whereof was transported to Logroño for bet-  
ter ease and commodity. The knowledge of these Iudges Inquisitors did at the same  
time chiefly extend to the Iewes, and Moores, which were conuerted, and yet neuer-  
theless did secretly adhere to their old sects: then to heretikes, and such as were reuol-  
ted from the Catholike faith, to Magitians, Blasphemers, and those that were attainted  
D with the sinne against nature. The generall Inquisition remayning at Court nere to  
the Kings person did rule and were chiefe ouer all these other Tribunalls. At the same  
time Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, did allow and authorize all that the Cardinall and his Coun-  
cell had decreed concerning that matter, and he did confirme the election of friar *Tho-  
mas* of Torquemada of the order of the Preachers, and Prior of the Monastery of  
Santa Cruz in Segobia, vnto whom *Diego de Merla* the Assitant of Siuill, and *Pero  
Martines Camagno* the Kings Secretary were ioyned as coadiutors. The first effect  
of the Inquisition after that it was ordained, was to set downe an edict that all Heretikes  
and Apostataes should appeare, and re-unite themselves to the Church of Rome, ac-  
knowledging their offences: More then seuteene thousand persons, did appeare  
E at this commaundement, who were enioyned what to say and doe; then they pro-  
ceeded against the obstinate and rebellious, more then two thousand of them were  
burned and their goods confiscated, and taken from their children and heires: the same  
sentence was executed vpon those that were absent and dead, digging vp their  
bones and burning them: in such sort as the Inquisition continuing thus rigorously,  
great numbers did leaue Castile, and with-drew themselves into the Kingdomes  
of Nauarre and Portugall; others went into France, England and to other farré  
Countries.

Power of the  
Inquisitors.

Sharpe and ri-  
gorous execu-  
tions of the  
Inquisition.

Let vs now returne vnto the Court, which was then at Valiodolit where the  
Queene of Castile was accompanied after the accustomed manner with a greate  
F traine of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the Nobility (who in these latter times giue  
themselves wholly to the exercise of armes, and doe for the most part contemne  
all other course of life which causeth them and not without cause to be esteemed of all  
men as people very vnprofitable in time of peace) did in this Court thinke vpon  
nothing else then for to serue and court the Ladies and Gentlewomen, and gawe them-  
selves to such other like vaine and idle pleasures, accustomed in Princes Courts, and most  
of



them into the riuer, fearing to bee pursued by the Queenes people, and by the breake of day he arriued at Villalobos, where he changed horses and kept on for his greater furety the way of Benauent though it were the longest, and passing the bridge of Castro Gencalo, he turned on his left hand towards Saint Ciprians Church into the which he entered, as triumphing of his victory, with his vnclé Don Pedro de Guzman, and his brother Don Pedro Nugnes de Guzman, who waited for him there, and from thence, they came altogether to Torall, the which place they beganne to fortifie fearing that the Admirall, who was a great Lord, and the Queene likewise would send thither to beseege him. *Ramir Nugnes* leauing his vnclé and his brother at Torall, came to Leon, where diuerse of his friends met him, reioycing with him for what he had done. It is reported that entring into the Church of Saint Dominike in the same city, where diuers of his predecessors were buried, after that he had said his praiers he said openly before all men, that since the time he had bene disgraced, hee durst not come into that Church, being ashamed to be found in a place where the memories and remembrances of so many illustrious and honourable persons did remaine: but hauing now recovered his owne honour, his fathers, and that of their whole family, he was boldly come to visit them. Hauing afterward visited his mother, and his betrothed Lady Donna Maria de Quignones youngest daughter to the Earle of Luna, and tarried a while in the city, he withdrew himselfe by his vnclés counsell to the castle of Auiados, where he told him that he should be in greater safety then at Torall. Now after that this outrage was committed at Medina del Campo, the Marquis of Astorga, being present thereat, did enforme the Queene who commaunded *Alphonso Osorio* to pursue Don *Ramir Nugnes* and his people with fifty horse, who hauing rode all that night and the next day without finding any of those whom he sought for, he came and lodged at Villademor, a place not farre distant from Torall, where afterward, other captaines and souldiars sent from the Queene did meet together, who made a shew as if they would beseege the towne. The Bachelor *La Font*, came thither likewise to commaund *Pedro de Guzman* in the Queenes name to yeeld the place, hee receiued this answer, that if Don *Ramir Nugnes* had done any thing for the recouery of his honour, it was not a fault that did deserue to haue him spoiled of his patrimony and goods, lest him by his predecessors, therefore he besought the Queene to proceed in this businesse by order of law, and if that Don *Ramir* should be found guilty, then to punish him: with these speeches they entertained *La Font*, and gained time to the end that Don *Ramir* might haue leasure to fortifie himselfe. Whilst *La Font* went to the Court, the souldiars did much hurt in the country neere to Torall, and prouoked the Inhabitants and souldiars which were within the towne, to come forth and skirmish with them, albeit that Don *Pedro de Guzman* withheld them from so doing, as much as in him lay: for hee would not giue that aduantage to Don *Ramires* aduersaries, to say that those of Torall had fought against the Queenes forces, who commaunded *Alphonso de Quintanilla* to vse all fit means that hee could to take the towne and castle of Torall, *Alphonso* hauing demanded to speake with Don *Pedro de Guzman* and *Pero Nugnes* his Nephew, acquainted them with the Queenes resolution, exhorting them not to delay the time till they brought the canon, they answered that they would in no sort shew themselves rebellious to the Queenes commaundement, but they onely entreated that Don *Ramir* might be proceeded against by the ordinary means of Iustice, which being graunted they were ready not onely to yeeld vp Torall, but the castle of Auiados in like manner, and namely if need required to put Don *Ramires* person into the hands of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in hostage, or to Don *Gomes Suarez de Figueroa* Earle of Fertia: the which was agreed vpon betwixt them and signed by a Notarie, and a truce made betwixt the beseegeors and beseegeed whilst that *Alphonso de Quintanilla* might goe and come from the Court. The Queene was at the same time gone to Cordoua, wherefore *Alphonso* being come to Valiadolid, and hauing conferred with the Admirall, sent the dispatch to Cordoua to the Queene, who appointed for depositor of Don *Ramires* lands and person the Earle of Fertia who had married *D. Constance*, *D. Ramires* Aunt, the Earle accepted it vpon condition, that he should be aduertized siue and twenty daies before the sentence should bee pronounced, and that the Kings should promise

33  
Quarrell betwene D. Ramir Nugnes de Guzman and D. Frederike Henriques.

A promise him by writing, not to demaund Don *Ramires* person during the time of the processe, for he would assure him whilst he was in his power: On the other side, Don *Ramir* sent to the King of Portugall to know, whether that if it should happen, that a sentence should be pronounced against him which might touch his life and honour, hee would permit him to come into his Kingdome and Court in safety. These things being graunted, Don *Ramir* was brought to the castle of the towne of Fertia, for greater surety, and there kept in prison, vntill his processe was ready to be iudged; and then the Kings according to their promise, did aduertize the Earle of Fertia thereof at the appointed time, who sent Don *Ramir* well accompanied into Portugall, where King *John* the second of that name did then reigne, who entertained him very curteously, as shalbe hereafter declared.

Queene *Isabella* as hath bene said made a voyage into Arragon, and carried thither with her husband *John* Prince of the Asturias, and was receiued into the city of Calatayub with great and magnificent triumph, whether the King came not long after, who at the same time was at Barcelona with the Lords and Deputies of the States of Arragon, by whom Prince *John* was likewise sworne vnto and acknowledged for Prince of Girona, heire vnto Castile and Arragon, and true successor in these Kingdomes, the Kings in like manner did sweare and promise to maintaine the rights, priuiledges and exemptions of the country: That being done they went to Saragossa, where they made as triumphant an entry as at Calatayub. Thither was newes brought of the death of the great Turke *Mahomet*, of the succession of his sonne *Bajazet* in that Empire, and of the discord betwixt him and his brother *Zemin*, and also how that King *Fernand* of Naples had recouered the towne of Otranto which *Acomat Basgia* had taken from him the yeere before. For all which desired newes, the Kings yeelded thanks vnto God by generall processions after the accustomed manner. The Kings did in like manner assemble the Estates at Barcelona and Valencia, where the like others were made vnto Prince *John* as next future heire: but touching the subsidies they demaunded, it was impossible to obtaine any, and they were faine on the contrary to grant many things to the people, and in diuerse sorts to supply their wants, being but poore euer since the last warre that the Cartelans made against the King Don *John*.

The States of Arragon sworn to Prince John.

Estates at Barcelona and Valencia.

## D Don Iohn the second of that name, and 13. King of Portugall.

A Bout the same time died *Alphonso* King of Portugall at Sintra, who since the last warres betwixt him and Castile, had euer led a melancholy and discontented life: he lay sicke siue and twenty daies, and deceased the three and fortieth yeere of his reigne, being of the age of nine and forty yeeres and seuen monethes: his body was buried with great solemnitie and funerall pompe in the royall Monastery of the bataille, of the Order of the Friars preachers: the Catholike Kings remayning still at Barcelona did there celebrate his obsequies. After him reigned his sonne *D. Iohn*, father to *D. Alphonso* who did not succeed him, because he died before his father, as hereafter shalbe mentioned.

34  
Portugal.

King *Fernand* hauing ordered the affaires of Arragon, Catalonia and Valencia, returned with the Queene his wife into Castile, where, during her absence, the Constable and the Admirall were appointed Viceroyes, who committed the Earles of Luna and Valence to prison, in regard of certaine tumults and seditions which they had raised in the Kingdome of Leon. The Court remayning at that time at Medina del Campo, happened, as hath bene heretofore declared the reuenge of *D. Ramir Nugnes de Guzman* against the Admirall.

Castile.

There arose at the same time a new contention betwixt the Kings of Castile and the Pope, wherein they shewed no want of courage. The Episcopall See of Cuenca was vacant by the decease of the Bishop, Pope *Sixtus* gaue it to a Nephew of his borne in Genoa, Cardinall of the title of Saint *George*, without the knowledge or

35

Gggg

consent

consent of the Kings, who being highly displeased that the Bishopricks and great benefices of Spaine should be possessed by strangers, against the ancient decrees of the Estates of the Kingdome, obserued from time to time, did hinder this Cardinall from taking possession of the Bishoprike, and gaue the Pope to vnderstand how preiudiciall it might be to the Realmes of Spaine, whereof the Pope making no account and continuing in his former purpose, the Kings commanded all their subiects that were in the Court of Rome, to depart from thence, and made protestations to the Pope that they would procure a generall Councell to bee called to redresse these and other such like disorders.

Generall coun-  
sels a thorred  
by the Popes.

The Pope who abhorred that more then any thing in the world, sent a Gentleman of Genoa, whose name was *Dominico Centurion* for his Ambassador into Spaine, who being come to Medina del Campo, and crauing audience, it was refused him, and he was told from the Kings, that because their Ambassadors were euill intreated and contemned at Rome, they would not entertaine nor harken to the Popes, therefore he should doe well and wisely, speedily to depart from thence, and concerning his owne person, they would no farther assure it in their dominions, then whilst he could returne towards Italy. The Ambassador being amazed at this commandement, did forthwith reiect the name and priuledge of an Ambassador, and befought them to hold him as their subiect, for he was borne in their Kingdome. The Kings in regard of this humillity, committed him prisoner to the fort of Medina, from whence soone after he was deliuered, by the meanes of the Cardinall of Spaine. When the Pope vnderstood what the Kings had done, hee was content to let them enioy their antient rights, and they made couenants and agreements together, by the which it was decreed, that the Kings of Spaines presentations to the Bishopricks, should from thenceforth bee admitted in the Court of Rome, and they should be bestowed vpon such as had well deserved of the Spanish common-wealth: and by this meanes it hath bene oftentimes scene that diuers good religious persons haue bene, against their willes, constrained to become Bishopps, as *Don Pedro de Maluenda*, generall of the Order of Saint Ierolme, who was enforced to take the Bishoprike of Coria, and Doctour *Don Tello de Buendia* that of Cordoua.

Couenants be-  
twixt the  
Popes and the  
King of Spaine.

36  
Nauarre.

Before we end this booke, it shall not be amisse to returne to Nauarre where wee left the Cardinall of Foix, and his brother Iames of Foix, much busied to ouer-rule the chiefe of the factions in that Kingdome. They hauing had an answer of the States such as they desired, and ordered the affaires of the country as well as they could, came backe into Arragon before King *Fernand* went thence, with whom hauing consulted, they concluded that it was expedient, that King *Francis Phabus* should come into his Kingdome, and enter it in armes and military Order as soone as conueniently he could, before the peoples mindes and affections should be changed by any occasion that might happen; wherefore as soone as they were returned into France, they declared to the King and to Donna *Magdalaine* his mother, what they had effected, as well in Nauarre, as in Arragon, signifying vnto them that the chiefe hope consisted in in diligence: wherefore they sodainely assembled their friends and seruants from all partes, and gathered together a thousand or fiftene hundred horse, and like number of footmen, with which forces, this young Prince, accompanied with his mother, and the Cardinall his vnckle entred into Nauarre, where hee was receiued by the Nobility and townes, without any difficulty or resistance at all, namely the Earle of Lerin albeit he was not pleased with his comming, did deliuer vp the city of Pampelona vnto him, considering that if he should doe otherwise, the young King had the King of Castile on one side, and the French King on the other, mighty Princes and his neere kinsmen, who would contraine him to doe his duty.

King Francis  
Phabus en-  
treth into his  
Realme of Na-  
uarre.

King *Francis Phabus* in the month of Nouember the yeere 1482. made his entrie into the City, where the three Estates were assembled, he was there crowned, and did giue and receiue the othes of fidelitie, and good gouernment, in the Cathedrall Church after accustomed manner, in the presence of the Cardinall his vnckle, the Lords of his Kingdome, the Princeesse his mother accompanied with

with Ladies and Gentlewomen, and by the Ambassadors of Castile, France, and from other potentates being at that time not aboue fiftene yeeres of age: and the same day and many daies after, tilts, turneys, and other royall feasts were there made in magnificent manner. These matters being ended, he went in person to visit the townes, cities and fortresses, as well to see the manner of the gouernment of the country, as to receiue the particular othes of the captaines and gouernors, to see iustice administred, and to make how firme and constant euery one was in his seruice: and the better to provide for the publike peace and quiet, he commanded proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet both in his owne Court and ouer the whole Kingdome, that no man vpon paine of death should any more vse the seditious names of Beaumont and Grammont. And the more to gratifie the Earle of Lerin and to binde him more strictly to his seruice, hee confirmed the office of high Constable vnto him which *Peter de Peralta* deceased had held in time before and gaue him moreouer Sarraga and other places which he had won from the Spaniards, Viana excepted, because it was the chiefe of the principallity, and the title of the eldest sonne of Nauarre. In the Cathedrall Church, where hee was crowned, he gaue gifts, and graunted priuiledges, namely to be free from lodging, the letters whereof were dated at Tafalla in the month of Ianuary, the same yeere: he did gratifie in like manner other Lords, Knights, Churches, Townes, and particular persons with such moderation and equity, as all men did admire so great wisdom in such young yeeres, and did praise God that had giuen so good a King vnto Nauarre: In all which matters, he was ruled by the wisdom of the Princeesse his mother, of the Cardinall his vnckle, and other persons of State and experience which were in his Court and neere his person. Whilst in his nonage his mother the Princeesse did gouerne the Kingdome, shee vsed these titles in her letters. We *Magdalene* daughter and sister to the French King, Princeesse of Viana, gouernor and protectresse of our deere and best beloved sonne *Francis Phabus* by the grace of God King of Nauarre &c. This Prince was surnamed *Phabus* because he was faire as the sunne among the starres, and also in regard diuers of his race were of the same name. Diuers marriages were procured for him, but none was accomplished: for he died fiftene monthes after he was crowned, hauing but shewed himselfe to the world, and sodainely vanished in the prime of his youth. King *Fernand* his great vnckle, would haue married him to his second daughter Donna *Joane*, who was since heire to all his Kingdomes: but the Princeesse his mother following the counsell of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, who did not greatly affect the affaires of Castile, did hinder that match. The like hinderance was ministred by her and King *Lewis* in the marriage of his sister *Catherine* who was Queene of Nauarre and the Prince Don *Iohn* of Castile heire to the same crowne: for King *Lewis* who had great descignes in his head, did goe about to marry this King *Francis Phabus* to Donna *Joane* the Nun at Coimbra the pretended Queene of Castile: and by that pretended right, and the forces of his owne Kingdome, to cast King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* out of the Realmes of Castile and Leon, and for euer to keepe the Earldome of Rossillion to himselfe, with other purposes which vanished into aire: and the better to effect what hee had determined sent Ambassadors into Portugall to King *Alphonso*, whose death happening this yeere with that of the King of Nauarres soone after, did quite frustrate these practizes: to the which, King *Iohn* of Portugall, who succeeded his father *Alphonso*, would by no means harken.

Rules and or-  
ders for the  
regimentallity of  
the Kingdome  
of Nauarre.

Titles of Lady  
Magdalaine of  
France.

The end of the two and twentieth Booke.

Gggg 2

THE



## THE THREE AND TWENTYTH Booke of the Generall History of Spaine.

### The Contents.

- I** The beginning of the long warre of Granado against King Muley Albohacen.
- 2** Death of King Francis Phœbus. Marriage procured by the Kings of Castile for their sonne D. Iohn with Queene Catherine of Nauarre.
- 3** Continuance of the warre of Granado. Conquest of that great Canaries: Switzers hired for this warre against the Moores.
- 4** Causes of suspicion of King Fernand and Queene Isabella against the heire of Nauarre. Intelligence and practizes with the factious to get that Kingdome.
- 5** Continuance of the warre of Granado.
- 6** The reign of King Iohn the second of Portugall. Discovery of Manicongo: the King intitles himself Lord of Guiney: Conspiracies: Death of the dukes of Bragança and Visco, with other irreligious acts in the same Court.
- 7** Continuance of the warre of Granado against Muley Boabdellin the one and twentieth King of that Country: The Pope helpeth forward the warre of Granado: Politike acts of the Kings of Castile.
- 8** Christopher Columbus his first coming to the Court of Castile: his disposition and qualities.
- 10** Siege of Malaga.
- 11** Hermandades or brother-hoods: Inquisition in Arragon.
- 12** Iohn d' Albret, and Catherine of Nauarre the five and thirtieth in Order of the Kings of Nauarre: The viscount of Narbonne quarrels about the Earledome of Foix: Enterprizes of Castile against Nauarre by means of the factious.
- 13** King Fernand's fauours toward Amand d' Albret: aide granted by him to the Princes and Lords confederate against the French King Charles the eight.
- 14** Death of the duke of Alua, and other Lords of Castile. Exploits done against the Moores.
- 15** Navigations of the Portugalls into the Ocean sea: search and discovery of unknowne lands, and great diligence of King Iohn of Portugall about these matters.
- 16** Treaties of marriage, and other domestick acts in the Court of Castile, oppression of the Conuersts.
- 17** Continuance of the warre against the Moores of Granado. Siege of Baga.
- 18** Mastership of Calatrava incorporated to the Crowne of Castile, with other matters belonging

### The Contents.

- A** long to the same Order.
- 19** Pursute of the Moorish warre, Baga yeelded up.
- 20** Pursutes against Mahomet the Little, the last King of Granado, to dispossesse him of the same city, vnder colour of right.
- 21** Marriage of Prince Alphouso of Portugall with Donna Isabella the Infanta of Castile.
- 22** Siege of Granado, and yeelding up of the same city.
- 23** Politike acts of King Fernand and Queene Isabella of Castile.
- B** **34** D. Alphonsus of Portugall his pittifull death.



In this three and twintith Booke, for continuance  
of the Kings reigning in Spaine, mention  
is made of.

35. Iohn D' Albret, and Catherine his wife, King  
and Queene of Nauarre, himselve  
the second of that name.

Gggg 3

THE



Qualities of  
King Muley  
Albohacen.



He warre which King *Fernand* began and ended against the Moores of Granado, was one of his most memorable acts: for the Kingdome of Granado did flourish more at that time, then it had done in many yeeres before, being full of men, riches and armor, and governed by one of the wisest and politike Kings that euer reigned ouer that Nation: namely *Muley Albobacen*, if hee had beene a little more faithfull, and lesse ambitious and proud, which qualities did plunge him into troubles, and miserable diuisions as well against his subiects in the bowels of his owne country as against the Castellians his neighbours. Hee had enioyed a long peace, and as it were with pride and brauing he pulled vp the assurance thereof by the rootes from the Kings of Caile, hauing freed and discharged himselfe from the tribute which his predecessors were accustomed to pay them. And albeit the same was greuous to King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, which were magnanimous and impatient of all losse and diminution of their royall Estate: who besides that, were pricked forward as well by their owne zeale to Christian Religion, as by the perswasion of the Popes and Prelates to undertake the same warre: yet notwithstanding, the truce agreed vpon, the charge and discommodities of the warres which they had newly ended against the King of Portugall, the present confusion wherein the Realme of Castile was at the same time, did counsell them to waite for a fitter opportunity. Now when it pleased God (vnto whom all times and occasions are subiect) that this Mahometan superstition should take an end, and that this race of Moores should bee rooted out of Spaine by armes, seeing that other more conuenient meanes could not bee vsed by the Church, the warre which was constantly pursued against them, and wholly ended in the space of tenne yeeres, did beginne in this manner.

I  
Nauarre.

King *Muley Albobacen* hauing beene aduertized that the city of Zahara was negligently kept by the Christians, and presuming vpon the truce, caused it to be taken in the night by scaladoe, together with the fort and castle; he carried away the men, catraile, and all the riches that he could finde therein, and manned it with a good and strong garison of Moores. The taking thereof being knowne in Granado, one of their Philosophers which they call *Alphagiques* cried out publicly: Either mine Oracles deceiue mee, or the end of the ancient reigne of the Moores in Spaine is at hand: the which in deed came to passe, the surprising of this towne giuing King *Fernand* occasion to lay hand vpon this conquest, with all his forces and meanes, and with incredible perseuerance: The newes that the truce was broken by the Moores being vnderstood at Medina del Campo where the Court then was, diuerse companies were dispatched to the frontiers of Murcia and Andaluzia, vnder the charge of Don *Alphonso* de Cardenaz Maister of Saint Iames, who lay in garrison at Eccia, Don *Roderigo Telles Giron* Maister of Calatraua, remained at Iuen and others in other places, besides the ordinary garrisons and forces of Don *Pedro Henriques* Gouvernor generall of the frontiers of Andaluzia and assisted by Don *Pedro Ponce* de Leon Marquis of Cales, the Duke of Medina Sidonia and others: the King commaunded all of them to make sharpe warre in the country of Granado with fire and sword, the which they beganne to execute with all violence; for hauing ouer-runne and ruined a great part of the country, they did winne by the industry of *Diego Merlo* assistant of Siuill, the city of Alhama, as carelesly guarded by the Moores as Zahara had beene by the Christians: by reason that it was aldest in the midst of their country: the castle was the first that was taken, being scaled, a valiant souldiar of Carmona called *John de Ortega* a great scaler of walles being the first man that entred it, being neerely followed by *Martin Galindo* a Knight borne at Eccia, *John* of Toledo and others to the number of thirty, who cut the next Court of garde in peeces, whom they found fast a sleepe, then they breake open a posterne gate, and gaue entrance to the rest of the army.

Alhama taken by the  
Castilians.

The Moores which were resident in the towne, hearing the noyse and clamour of this surprize, ranne confusedly and in great disorder (and not yet thorowly waked) to succour the castle: but they soone perceiued that it was past all remedie: therefore

A therefore they fortified themselves in the Mesquites or Churches, and in the towers of the walles, with all sorts of armes and engines for defence: giuing notice to their next neighbours of what had befallen them, and craued speedie ayde, which they expected also from Granado, which was ten miles distant from thence. The Christians who in like manner made account, that if they did not driue the enemies soorth of the towne the same day, they themselves should be ouer-runne with the multitudes which would come thither, did resolute valiantly to assaile them, by the perswasion and example of *Sanchez de Anila* Captaine of Carmona, and of *Nicholas de Royas* Gouvernor of Arcos: but finding great resistance, the opinion of those was almost followed, who would haue the castle razed downe to the ground, and so to returne: yet for all that the Marquis of Cales, nor the Assistant of Siuill not consenting thereunto, they began onely to ouerthrow that part of the castle which looked vpon the towne, and the souldiers beeing againe brought to the fight, did behaue themselves so valiantly, as, notwithstanding the Moores braue resistance, before the latter end of the day, all the churches and forts were taken, and the towne wholly wonne, which was esteemed the goodliest prize, that they could haue wished, for the importance of the warre. Three thousand Genets or light-horse were brought to this expedition, and as many foot-men by *Diego Merlo*, Don *Pedro Henriques*, and the Marquis of Cales, who for the hatred which he did euer beare to the duke of Medina Sidonia, would not haue him made acquainted with this enterprise. The Moores of Granado beeing greatly astonished for the losse of Alhama, beganne to make euill presages of the end of the warre, and to murmure against King *Muley Albobacen*, not sparing to say, that his taking of Sahara would sticke to him and to his posteritie to the worlds end. He did speedily send a thousand horse to their ayde, but they could not come time enough.

Euill presages  
of the Moores.

In the meane space he gathered together all his men at armes from all parts of his kingdome, and came in person to beseege Alhama, not bringing any artillerie with him, imagining that the Christians not beeing yet fortified therein, would quickly leaue it, but he was deceiued; for hee found them sower and stubborne aduersaries; but chiefly there was a bloudie incounter at such time as the Moores went about to turne away the riuer which passeth by the towne, where diuers of both sides lost their liues: and it is to be doubted, that without the ayde of God sent to the besegged, they had beene overcome by so great a power, as then fought against them, for they began to be out of hope and beganne to spoile all that they could not carry away, and were resolute to yeeld it, when Don *Henry de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, arriued with a sufficient armie of his owne tenants, friends, and followers, with others entertained with his owne money, which (they say) amounted to three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, with whom were ioyned the Earle of Cabra, and Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar, and his brother Don *Gonzal Hernandez* of Cordoua, who was afterward called the great Capraine in the warres of Italy, bringing with him the troupes of Seuille, Eccia, Cordoua, and other places. All these forces, which were great and wonderfull, for the short time wherein they were gathered together, did march towards Alhama.

The king of  
Granado be-  
sies Alhama.

King *Fernand* hauing notice of the taking thereof, made himselfe toorthwith readie for to come into Andaluzia, hauing in his company Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, Duke of Albuquerque, and the Earles of Treuigno and Tendilla, with many other knights, the Earle of Cifuentes meeting them at Toledo, and then they altogether passed the mount called Sierra Morena, to ioine with the armie which the king commanded to attend him there: but the Commanders knowing the necessitie of those of Alhama, went forward with great diligence to deliuer them, the which they did onely by the noyse of their coming: the Moore King beeing retired in the night with his whole armie. The king who followed, passed on to Anteguera, and there receyued newes, that the sege before Alhama was raysed, wherefore he returned to Cordoua to meet the Queene whom he had left to leaue souldiers.

Now the Marquis of Cales, who was besegged with great danger in Alhama, considering the generosity of his aduersarie the Duke of Medina, who for the weale-publike and seruice of the king, hauing forgotten all enmitie, had come to his ayde, he did highly esteeme

*Don Henr de Guzman comes to the succour of his aduersaries.*

*Debate betwixt the besseged, and those that came to their ayde.*

*Alhama preferred at the instance of Don Iuanel.*

*Death of Don Alphonso Carrillo.*

esteeme of him, and casting away all euill will and hatred, he ranne to him and embraced him with great loue, giuing him infinite thanks for so great a fauour: and these two Lords had such louing and pleasing conference together, as euer after they liued in strict and vnfaigned friendship; this Moorish warre hauing brought forth effects contrarie to the feditious in Castile. The Chieftains beeing agreed, there arose contention betwixt the souldiers, those which came to their ayde did say, that they ought to haue their part of the spoyle of the towne, the others gaine-sayed it, in such sort, as if the wisdom of their Captaines, and their new reconciliation had not preuented it, they had fallen into tumult. The spoyle remayned to those who had defended the place, and the new come souldiers were appeased with reason and good words, and they all dislodged with the Duke and the Marquis, and returned euery man to his home: after the garrisons were refreshed, and the towne well manned, where *Diego de Merlo*, *Don Martin* of Cordoua, and *Hernand Carrillo* remayned Captaines. After that the armie was gone, the King of Granado hauing notice thereof, he did forth-with returne backe to assaile Alhama, and brought at this time no more engines of batterie with him, than at the former, but only a great number of ladders, thinking in regard it was not yet thoroughly fortified nor rampired, to take it by the multitude of his souldiers: and at last hauing assayed it day and night without ceassing, he earely in a morning scaled it in a place which was not thought vpon: so as he put three-score and ten Moorish souldiers into it, and had caused greater numbers to haue entred, had not a souldier perceyued them, and giuen the alarme: wherefore the Christians running to that place, did cut in peeces those that were entred, and repulsed the rest who endeauoured to follow them. The successe of those assaults was not according to king *Muley Albohacen* expectation, therefore he went thence once againe, with an intent to returne thither with artillerie. In the meane space *Queene Isabella* hauing left the Admirall Viceroy of Castile, marched with those forces which she had leauied, towards Cordoua, to meete the King, being attended on by the Constable, who refused to be Viceroy of Castile, saying, that warre and armes were the proper offices belonging to an high Constable of Spaine. The Kings Councell did determine and almost conclude to raze the Cittie of Alhama, in regard it stood in the midst of the Realme of Granado, and therefore very hardly to be kept: but the Queene, who was desirous to preferue it, as the first conquest of her raigne, did perswade the contrarie, so as it was not ruined: and order was giuen to assaile, and take in all the forts and castles nere adioyning.

The Kings came after that to Eccia, where they receyued newes of the decease of *Don Alphonso Carrillo* of Acugna, Arch-bishop of Toledo, who dyed at Alcala de Henares: they procured the election to the same dignitie for the Cardinall *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, the seuentith Arch-bishop of that Sea and Primate of Spaine, and the Arch-bishoppricke of Siuile was giuen to *Don Inigo Manriques* Bishop of Iuen. There were at the same time with the King, *Don Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza Bishop of Palence, the Masters of Saint Iames and Calatraua, the Constable, the Dukes of Villa-hermosa, Infantisgo, Medina Celi, Albuquerque, the Marquis of Villena, and Cales, the Earles of Vregna, Cabra, Treuigno, Tendilla, Cisuentes, and Benalcazar, *Don Alphonso d'Aquilar*, *Don Henry Henriquez* great Master, and the Kings vncler, *Iohn Chacon*, *Roderigo* of Villosa, *Don Frederick* of Toledo, sonne to the Duke of Alua, *Don Iohn de Ribera* Lord of Montmajor, *Don Alphonso* of Cardenaz, *Don Antonio Fonseca*, *Hernand* of Vega, with other Lords and Knights of great name: *Don Iohn* of Estuniga, master of Alcantara, by reason of his young yeares was absent, with his father the Duke of Plaisance. With this companie the king departed from Eccia, with eight thousand horse, and great numbers of foot, and came to Alhama, the which they fortified with rampars, bulwarkes, and other sufficient defences, and the king made *Don Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, Lord of Palma, Gouvernor thereof, leauing him foure hundred horse: the Cardinall did purifie and blesse the three Mesquites or churches with the accustomed ceremonies, and dedicated them to other vses: then the army began to ouer-run the country on euery side, whilst the queene busied her selfe in providing victuals, armes, munition, and other necessaries for the wars. The Christian army being strengthened with new supplies, did presently bessege Loxa and

A and was lodged amongst the Oliue trees, vallies, and little hills neere to the riuer of Guadaxenil. The Moore king on his part lost neither time nor courage, but fortified and defended the passages and streights, by the which the enemies might assaile him, and approach towards Granado: sending to the Kings and Potentates of Affrica, to aduertise them of the dangerous warre wherein he was ingaged, intreating them for the religion common betwixt them, for the honour of their nation, for the equall danger which threatned them, if Granado should be lost, that they would come or lend to his ayde: and he did in the meane time oppose his owne forces against the Christians, and on either part there were valiant encounters and skirmishes performed, where neuertheless *Don Roderigo Telles Giron* Master of Calatraua's shappe was hard, who dyed beeing shot thorough the bodie with two poysoned arrowes, and *Don Garcia Lopes* of Padilla was promoted to his place, and was the last Master of that Order. King *Fernand* beeing desirous to change and alter the seate and lodging of his armie to a more conuenient place, there were sharpe skirmishes in the remoouing of the campe, where the Constable receyued two wounds in his face: the besseged, who were not aboue three thousand, made continuall sallies vpon the Christians with such furie and brauing, as it was to be wondered at: and did oftentimes put the great Lords and Captaines which kept those quarters which they assayed, in great danger of their liues: committing notable spoyles vpon their troupes, and the Duke of Medina Celi, and the Earle of Tendilla, did hardly escape with their liues, beeing rescued by the forces of the Earle of Playfance, which his sonne *Don Francisco* of Estuniga brought to their ayde: the Kings owne person was likewise succored by *Don Iohn de Ribera*, Lord of Montmajor, assisted greatly by *Don Fredericke* of Toledo, sonne to the Duke of Alua, *Don Antonio de Fonseca*, *Don Alphonso* of Cardenaz, and *Hernand* of Vega. Such was the enraged hardinesse of the Moores, as notwithstanding that they were beaten backe and streightly shut in by the valour and industrie of the Marquis of Cales, yet they constrayned King *Fernand* to raise his sege and returne to Cordoua.

The souldiers which lay in Alhama hauing notice of what had happened, and of the Kings retreat from before Loxa, fearing that the Moores would returne to bessege them, cried out to haue the towne razed and ouerthrowne, and to returne home to their houses: but *Don Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, and *Pero Luis* of Alarcon, with others, did oppose themselues against it, and hindred it. The king of Granado came thither the third time, and did greatly annoy them: but they valiantly defended themselues vntill *K. Fernand* came with succour to deliuer them from the sege, who changed both the garison and the Gouverneur, and left other souldiers there, vnder the command of *Don Lewis Osorio* Arch-deacon of Astorga, and brother to the Marquis of the same place. That beeing done, the Christian armie did forrage, burn and spoyle the countrie of Granado, from whence they carried away much spoile, and many prisoners to Cordoua.

### E Mahomet Boabdellin called the Little, and the twentieth king of Granado.

THE Christian souldiers found smal resistance in this latter roade, in regard the Moores were greatly diuided among themselues, by meanes whereof King *Muley Albohacen* was dispossessed and driuen away; for hee was much feared and hated, because of his tyrannies which extended chiefly to the Nobilitie, and he had namely euill intreated the family of *Aben-caraxes*, one of the most illustrious houses among the Granadins. These men with their complices and allies constrayned *Muley Albohacen* to giue place, and they deliuered the cittie with the Alhambra or fort thereof, to his sonne *Mahomet Boabdellin* surnamed the Little, who was fled to Guadix for feare of beeing slaine by his father, who was carried away with vnreasonable amorous passions, and false suggestions of a second wife, a renied Christian, whom hee had married for her rare and excellent beaurie, in regard whereof she was called *Zoraya*, which significth *Morning-starre*. This woman

*The Moores make furious sallies vpon the Christians.*

*The sege of Loxa raised.*

*Seditious betwixt the father and sonne.*

woman being desirous to aduance her children which shee had by the King, did indea- A uour by all meanes to roote out those which hee had begotten on the Queene *Aixa* his wife, a Ladie of a great and illustrious house, and his neere kinswoman, who because she would not see her eldest sonne murdered, which was this *Boabdellin*, she caused him on a night to be let downe out of the window of the castle with the helpe of her woman by a rope made of their vailles, and night tyres, and thereby gaue him meanes to saue himselfe in the cittie of Guadix, where the *Abenceraxes* his kinsmen, who were of great power there, did kindly receiue him, and dealt in such sort with their friends of the city of Granado, as they acknowledged him for their king. The father hauing retired himselfe somewhere else, made fierce and sharpe warre vpon his sonne, which caused the losse of their Crowne, and totall ruine to the raigne of the Moores in Spaine. B

The Moores take Cagnette. Albeit that those barbarous people were at such dissention among themselves, yet when there was any cause they would agree together to annoy the Christians, so as they tooke the towne of Cagnette, spoyle it, and carried away all the inhabitants and souldiers for slaues, and afterwards razed it downe to the ground. These things were done in the year 1482. whereia is to be noted, that foure seuerall Christian armies entred in a few moneths space into the kingdome of Granado. King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* appointed Captaines for the frontiers, namely, for Iuen *Don Pedro Manrique* Earle of Treuigno, who was newly made Duke of Nagera; the Master of Saint Iames for Ec- cia, and *Don Iohn de Silva* Earle of Cifuentes for Siuill, the assistant *Diego Merlo* being C

late dead. Towards the end of the yeare, the Queene in the cittie of Cordoua was deli- uered of a daughter, called the Infanta *Maria*, who was afterward Queene of Portugall, and after she was churched, the Court remooued to Madrid.

The beginning of the yeare 1483. was sorrowfull to the Nauarrois, by reason of the death of their king *Francis Phœbus*, whome the Princessse his mother had carried backe into France, to auoyde the importunate solliciting of marriages which they would haue procured in Spaine both for him and his sister *Donna Catherine*, wherewith King *Lewis* the eleuenth was not contented: hee dyed not without suspicion of poyson: for without any apparance at all of sicknesse, hee felt himselfe to be stricken with a deadly pricking, as he was playing vpon a flute, which was presented vnto him, in which, and all other in- struments of musicke, hee did greatly delight. Being neere to his end hee repeated these words taken out of the Gospell: *My kingdom is not of this world, therefore I leave the world: trouble not your selues, for I go to the Father.* He dyed in Bearne, in the castle of Pau the fourth yeare of his raigne, if we reckon from his grand-mothers death, Queene *Leonora*, being but fifteene yeares of age fully compleat: hee lyes buried at Lescar in the Cathedrall Church of S. Mary.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* receiued newes of his death at Madrid, where they had called a Parliament, and because the Crowne of Nauarre descended to the Infanta *Donna Catherine* sister to the deceased king, they sent the Licenciado *Rodrigo Maldonado* of Talauera, one of their Councell Ambassador into Bearne, to the Princessse *Magdalen* her mother, to demaund the Infanta in marriage, for the Prince *Don Iohn* their sonne. The mother Princessse notwithstanding that shee would willingly haue condescended thereunto, made answer that shee could not bestow her without the consent of his brother the French king. Vpon this answer, the Catholike kings sent *Iohn de Ribera* with troupes of men at armes towards the frontiers of Nauarre, to haue intelligence with the Earle of Lerin, who had married King *Fernandes* bastard sister, to the end to hinder the French-men from enterprising any thing, and from entring into that kingdome. The E- states assembled at Madrid granted a subside to the King, towards the warre of Granado: and besides that, the Pope permitted them to leaue one hundred thousand Crownes v- pon the Clergie of Spayne, and sent them a Croizado, to gather contributions and gifts for the same purpose: and in this Parliament, the power, authoritie and iurisdiction of the Hermandades and vnions of the Communalities was ordered and reformed. After- wards the Kings diuided the affaires betwixt them, that they might the better prouide for matters: (hee remayned in Castile, and he prepared himselfe to returne into An- dalusia, but the troubles which were raised in Galicia, by the meanes of *D. Pero Aluarez* Orosio, F

A *Orosio*, Earle of Lemos did call him into those parts. The Earle dyed there before the Kings arriual, and by that meanes saued the King a labour, who otherwise would haue had him arraigned by order of lawe. Another contention arole betwixt a bastard sonne of the late Earles called *Rodrigo Orosio*, whome his father had appointed heire in the Earldome of Lemos, to the preiudice of his lawfull daughter, who was married to the Earle of Benaunts sonne: she sayd, that in regard *Rodrigo* was a bastard, he was incapa- ble to inherite: he on the contrarie alleaged his legitimation by the Pope: the king im- posed silence and peace to both parties, and referred the cause to his Councell to bee orde- red according to iustice: and in the meane time did commit the towne of Ponferrada, and the Lordship thereof, being a parcell of the litigious inheritance, to the keeping of his

B Vncle *Don Henry* Henriques great Master, excepting one strong hold of the same Lord- shippe, which he gaue in keeping to *Don George d'Abendaño* his countri-man, and a Knight of the Kings house. These matters thus ordered, the king returned to Madrid, from whence he dispatched Ambassadours to procure the peace of Italy, which flamed with intestine warres, the Pope and the Venetians hauing ioyned, to the preiudice of King *Fernand* of Naples and the Florentines, drawing all the Potentates of Italy to their Factions: who by the diligence and good meanes of *Don Iohn* Bishoppe of Gironne, chief of that Ambassage, and by the fauour and authoritie of the Kings of Castile were reconciled: albeit the Venetians did alwaies nourish a secret hatred and contempt of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, and did not greatly care to obserue the peace.

C In this meane space the Captaines, which lay vpon the frontiers of Granado, made inroades and incredible spoyle vpon the Moores, especially those of the Garrison of Alhama, from whence a craftie and cunning Squire, whose name was *Iohn de Corral*, of *Diego Lopes d'Alcala* his companie, came forth by meanes of a safe-conduct, to con- ferre with the King of Granado, giuing him to vnderstand, how that hee of himselfe could vse meanes to cause Alhama to bee restored vnto him, wherewith the Moore king was so pleased, as he offered readily on his part to yeeld vp Zahara, and to set all the Christian prisoners at libertie, giuing a great quantitie of gold, and besides that, to pay tribute, and for euer to become vassall to the kings of Castile. *Iohn de Corral* with these promises, came to the Kings, and declared to them in part what he had treated with the King of Granado, his chiefe drift being onely to get gifts and rewards, whereuppon D the Kings giuing credite vnto him, gaue him limited authoritie to contract with the Moore.

Being returned to Granado, the Moore King, who thought that the principall Ar- ticle of his Commission, was for the restitution of Alhama, had not the patience to con- sider and looke vpon *Iohn de Corral* his authoritie, but beganne readily on his part to performe what hee had promised, causing diuers Christian prisoners to be set at liberty. Then *Iohn de Corral* contenting himselfe with that which was done, came to Iuen and told the Duke of Nagera how he had deceived the king of Granado, who presently sent to the Duke to complaine of this deceit. The Duke sent *Iohn de Corral* to the Court, ad- uertising the Kings what he had done, whereat they were highly discontented, and they did commaund that the prisoners ransomes should bee payed, and that *Iohn de Corral* should pay backe the money, jewels, and other presents that hee had receiued of the King of Granado, and that hee should bee kept prisoner in Anzequera, vntill hee had made full restitution, and that the warre should stand vpon the selfe-same termes as before.

Notwithstanding that the Kings had begunne the warre of Granado, and did greatly suspect the French on the side of Nauarre, yet for that they did not giue ouer to vnder- take matters of great importance, either of them being of an haughtie and magnani- mous courage.

Of the seauen Islands called the Canaries, which are girdled with the Atlantick Ocean, foure of them were already conquered by the valor and industrie of certaine inhabitants of Seuill, euer since the raigne of King *Iohn* the second, and there remayned yet the great Canarie, Thenerif, and the Ile of Palmes to be brought vnder the subiection of the kings of Castile: therefore this yeare 1483. they sent thither *Alphonso* of Muxica, and *Pedro de Vera*.

Sedition in Galicia.

Years of Italy appraised.

Integrity of K. Fernand and Q. Isabella.

Canaries made subjects to the Kings of Castile.

*Vera*, valiant Captaines, and no lesse skilfull in sea-fights than at land, who landed in the great Canaries, where they found two kings striving for the principallitie thereof: they fauoured one of them, and dealt in such sort, as hauing rooted out the other, they obtained the gouernement of the Island: the Cittie was erected into a Bishops See, and translated from the Isle of Lançarot.

The Christians  
defeated.

In Andalusia the Master of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Cales, the Earle of Cifuentes, Gouvernour of Siuill, Don *Alphonso d'Aguiar*, Don *Pedro Henriquez*, Captaine of the frontiers, and others, came to Antequera with an intent to spoile the countrey of las Lomas de Malaga, called Axarquia, a territorie abounding in cattell: of the which enterprize the Moores had notice, who made themselves readie to charge them on the sudden, when they should least looke for it, hauing driuen their cattell into streights and strong places. The Christians being entred into the countrey beganne to spoyle, and they soone found sharpe resistance: wherefore in regard of the streightnesse of the countrey, and because they found not such booties as they expected, they thought to turne backe: but being ignorant of the wayes, and overtaken by the night, they fell into streight and narrow places betwixt certaine hilles, which were filled with enemies, at the last they came into a valley, where with great labour and disadvantage, they were enforced to fight all that night with the Moores, the which did greatly amaze the whole army. The Master of Saint Iames being valiant and courageous, in striving to ascend an hill, lost his Ensigne-bearer, and a kinsman of his owne called *Iohn d'Osorno*, *Iohn Bagan*, and other Commaunders, who sold their liues at a deare rate: the Marquis of Cales did in like manner follow the Master of Saint Iames, but the victorious Moores ouerthrew his troupes likewise, and slue Don *Diego*, Don *Lope*, and Don *Bertrand* his brethren, and Don *Lorenzo*, and Don *Manuel* his nephewes euen in his sight: yet notwithstanding, himselfe, the Master of Saint Iames, and Don *Pedro Henriquez* did escape with great danger. The Earle of Cifuentes making meanes to escape among the rest, was taken prisoner, with Don *Bernardin Manrique*, the Captaines of Antequera, and Moron, and diuers others: great was the slaughter of the souldiers at this defeat, the which was notable and of great consequence.

The Moores carried away the Earle, and the rest of the prisoners to Granado: but they did not long reioyce in the good hap of their victorie; for the Christians soone after tooke a sharpe vengeance on them: for King *Mahomet Boabdellin*, surnamed the Little, hauing with great troupes of horse and foote ouer-runne and spoyled the territorie of Lucena and Aguiar, at his returne backe being pestered with great herds of cattail and other booties, Don *Diego* of Cordoua Earle of Cabra, who lay in garrison at Beana to resist such enterprizes, and Don *Diego Fernandes* of Cordoua, on the one side, did pursue him to cause him to leaue his bootie behind him, and Don *Alphonso* of Aguiar on the other side with his troupes placed themselves in ambush in a narrow streight, thorough which they were to passe at their returne with intent to charge them on a sudden. Now the King who had tenne Moores for one Christian of the Earle of Cabra's band which followed him, made no difficultie to stay for them, yet they charged one another with great furie, where the Moores notwithstanding their multitudes prooued the weaker: and thinking to make a safe retreat, they fell into Don *Alphonso d'Aguiars* ambush, who slue a thousand of them vpon the same place: the rest, leauing their prey behind them, fled away as fast as they could, forsaking their king, who was there taken prisoner. There were taken at this encounter nine hundred mules, siue hundred horse, and nine Moorish Standards, besides other spoiles, which were distributed among the souldiers, and the Kings person fell to the Earle of Cabraes share: in token of which victorie the Earles of Cabra, by the aduice and grant of the Kings of Castile, do beare for their armes a Mores head in prison, tyed with a chaine of gold, with a bend ouerthwart their shield, wherein nine standards are painted. By this ouerthrow King *Mahomet* the Little lost much of his reputation, and many strong Castles reuolted from him to his father *Muley Albohacen*: during his imprisonment he was honorably vsed and like a king.

King *Fernand* being ioyfull for this victorie did thinke it fit to follow the occasion, and with a great armie to assaile the Moores, who were astonished with their losse: wherefore

A wherefore he tooke order that the Affrican Moores should not come by sea into Spaine to their ayde: and then hee entred into the Countrey of Granado with an army of tenne thousand horse, and thirtie thousand foote: among whome there were great numbers of Switzers, with a great trayne of Officers, victuallers, Merchants, and other people who serued and followed the campe: before which the Earle of Cabra and Don *Alphonso* of Aguiar did march with troupes of auantcoursers, who burned the countrey round about Illora and Montefrio: the armie passed by Illora which was not easie to be taken without great Artillerie: but they tooke the towne and castle of Tagara, which lies betwixt Alhama and Loxa; the King would not take those of the Castle to his mercie, because they did not yeeld at the first assault, which together with the town was razed to the ground.

Switzers in  
the wars of  
Granado.

B Diuers valiant men of the Christian campe were hurt at the taking thereof, as namely, Don *Henry Henriquez* the Kings Vncle, and Lord great Master of his house. Being come to Alhama, the King caused it to be well fortified, and left Don *Imigo Lopes de Mendoza*, Earle of Tendilla Gouvernour there, who was a very vertuous Knight: then he led his armie farther into the countrey of Granado, ouerthrowing and destroying all that stood before him, but for want of victuals, he returned to Cordoua. The Moores being thus persecuted and afflicted, did beginne to intreate for peace, and offered to pay the King tribute, and some Moore children of Noble houses for hostages: Wherewith King *Fernand* acquainted the Queene his wife, who then lay at Victoria to looke to the affaires of Nauarre, which shee feared would shortly stirre, who was of opinion to haue the hostages to be townes and castles, and not children, whereunto the Moores not consenting, the warre stood at that same stay as it was before. Thereupon the Moore Queene, mother to the King, made meanes for her sonnes deliuerie, and sent to offer King *Fernand* perpetuall homage, twelue thousand Duckets for yearly tribute, and a great summe of readie money for his ranfome, and besides, to set three hundred Christian prisoners at libertie, such as he would please to name, and shee offered sufficient hostages for the performance of what shee promised.

The King commaunded the Earle of Cabra to deliuer the prisoner vnto him; the which he did, and deliuered him to *Martin Alarcon*, Captaine of Porcuna, whether King *Fernand* sent to visite and comfort him, for the which, *Mahomet* gaue him infinite thanks, saying, that he could not be in care, so long as he was in the hands of so great and courteous a King, whome he had euer desired to serue being at his full libertie, and to receiue the Crowne of Granado at his hand, in the same maner as King *Ismael* his Grandfather had done from King *Iohn*. And because the King had occasion to go into Castile, and also to Arragon, he did determine to deliuer the Moore King: the opinions concerning his deliuerie were diuers, some agreeing thereunto, and others, not, wherein the master of Saint Iames, and the Marquis of Cales were contrarie one to the other: Wherefore they sent to haue the Queenes opinion in the matter, who therein agreed with the Marquis, that he should bee deliuered: the prisoner was brought to Cordoua, where he wold haue kissed King *Fernands* hand, but he would not permit it, the better thereby to oblige him to himselfe: hee did there sweare to accomplish whatsoever was agreed vpon, and he was set at libertie hauing bene honoured with rich presents. King *Fernand* after that went to Victoria, from thence he passed into Arragon, and going by Guadalupe, being a deuout Prince, he there performed a vow.

King Mahomet  
deliuered.

The Frontier was well furnished and provided of all things necessarie against the assaults of the Moores: yet notwithstanding, they hauing notice of the Kings departure out of Andalusia, did make diuers roades into the countrey, being extremely moued against King *Mahomet*, in regard he had bene so well intreated by the Catholicke King, and was become his vassall, and of whom, besides other benefices, he had promise of aide and assistance against *Muley Albohacen* his father, and they sayd, that it was a matter displeasing to God, and against all right for the Mahometan Kings to beg any assistance of Christians against the Princes of their owne religion: wherefore diuers forsaking him, they tooke part with *Muley Albohacen*, and brought him with siue hundred Knights into the Castle of Alhapubre, where he slue all such as were of his sonnes faction, who retired himselfe to Almeria.

Hhhh,

Now

The Moores de-  
feited, and  
their King ta-  
ken prisoner.

The Earle of  
Cabraes armes.

Now the army of the Moores being strong and resolute to do their worst, entred in A to the marches of Andalusia, the Garrisons and chiefe Commanders of the warre being in the cities, were forthwith aduertised thereof by the souldiers called Almogaraues, or ordinarie watches of the frontiers: therefore Don *Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, Lord of Palmas, who was afterward made Earle thereof, with the forces of the Master of Saint Iames, of the Marquis of Cales, those of Eccia, Xeres, Arcos, and others which were gathered together, did march against the enemies, whome hee found disbanded, spoyling and destroying the territorie of Vtrera: whome he charged with such resolution and courage, as in an instant they were all defeated and put to flight, with losse of diuers of their captaines, great numbers of souldiers, fiftene ensignes, and all their spoyle: of which victorie the Queene being aduertised, shee caused generall processions to be made in the citie of Victoria: and because this encounter happened vpon the sixth day of Ianuarie being Twelfth day, shee sent a gowne of cloath of gold to the Lord of Palmas wife, to the end shee should weare it euery yeare vpon that sollempne festiual day.

The Moores defeated at Vtrera.

Zahara surprised by the Christians.

The Christians in Andalusia hauing this good hap, the Marquis of Cales was aduertised, that Zahara was ill furnished of souldiers and victuals, wherefore hauing communicated his desseigne with the Lord of Palmas, they went forth on a night being accompanied by the troupes of Xeres, and hidde themselves in covert places neere the towne, whither they sent tenne men, who in great silence lodged themselves at the foot of the wall, towards the Castle: these were seconded by three-score and tenne other souldiers. At the breake of day, the Marquis sent certaine light horse to runne about the towne, against whome three-score and ten Moorish horse-men came forth, (and with them also, the Sentinels and Guard leauing their places) to skirmish, then the ten men did set vp ladders against the Castle, and beganne to make a shew, as if they would haue skaled the walles; to the defence whereof as many as stayed within came running: in the meane space the three-score and tenne souldiers which were hidden, did seize vpon one of the gates: besides that, those which were come forth against the Christian light-horsemen, perceiuing themselves to be charged by others, who came to their ayde, turned their backs and fled towards the towne, and were so narrowly pursued, as they all entered pell mel together: and being in this fort surprised on euery side, they lost the town. The castle would haue made resistance if it had bene well victualled, but for want thereof they yielded, compounding for their liues.

The Earle of Tendilla who kept Alhama, would not suffer the Moores his neighbors to rest, but he oftentimes annoyed them, so as he was feared like lightning ouer all the Countrey. The winter this yeare was very rainie, by meanes whereof a great part of the wall of Alhama fell to the ground, making a large breach for the enemies, if they had then assailed it: whereat the soldiers which were within were greatly amazed and thought vpon nothing but flight, but the courage and valour of the Captaine, which is cuer of much woorth, contrayned them in their duties, who delt in such sort by hanging of painted cloathes against the breach with such art and cunning, as the enemies neuer knew, that the wall was fallen downe, till it was made vp againe stronger then before. The Earle Don *Isigo*, true sonne to the Marquis of Santillana, caused the tower of Alcalá la reale to be repayed, on the topp whereof euery night a burning lampe was set, which serued to direct the poore slaues that fled from Granado. His souldiers being disobedient for want of pay, (money being very dangerous to be sent vnto them without the conuoy of an armie) the Earle inuented a certaine kind of counterfeit money, and of diuers stampes, the which hee named and prized according to the coynes of gold and silver which were currant in Spayne, and with the same hee payed his souldiers, promising them to change all that false money into good, according to the value of euery coyne, and by this meanes hee did appease them.

Counterfeit money.

4  
Nauarre.

Whilest these matters fell out in Andalusia, King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* were in great doubt to be disturbed on that side of Nauarre by the French: it may bee that this suspition came from their owne consciences touched with their sinister proceedings

A proceedings with the Earle of Lerin, and with the treatie of marriage of these poore Princes of Nauarre, and matters happened vpon those occasions. Now Queene *Catherine*, who was newly come to the Crowne of Nauarre, besides her being wholly at the deuotion of France, and vpon the poynt of her marriage with *John d'Albret*, sonne to the Earle Alaine, King *Lewis* his death happened a little before, which had openly troubled and hindred the alliance betwixt these two great kingdomes of France and Spayne: for Ambassadors being sent from one to another, as well for to make the accustomed condolements, and consolations ordinarie at such accidents, as for to treat of the alliances, and moreouer, about the restitution of the Earldome of Rossillon which the French held, the Ambassadors of Spayne receyued no pleasing answer from the young King *Charles* the eighth, who succeeded King *Lewis* his father, nor from his tutors and counsellors, so as they made the protestations and declarations which Princes usually do make, when they are vpon the point of making warre one against another: therefore Queene *Isabella* had furnished the frontier of Castile ioyning to Nauarre with strong garrisons, and sent forces to Tudela a towne in Nauarre which held their partie, vnder the conduct of *John de Ribera*.

After the death of King *Francis Phœbus*, his mother the Princeesse fearing, and not with our cause, the reuolt of that nation, which was an enemy to rest and quiet, had sent thither the Cardinall of Foix, and the Lord of Abenas, brother to the Lord of Albret, who did call a Parliament, to receyue a new oath of fidelitie for Queene *Catherine*, and commanded them moreouer to receiue the sayd Lord of Abenas for Viceroy, notwithstanding that the Constable Earle *Lewis* of Beaumont did resolutely oppose himselfe against it, hauing secret intelligence with his brother-in-law King *Fernand* for the same purpose. The Lord of Abenas was a graue, wise, and modest Knight, who by these qualities and vertues had well gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, and maintained it in peace and quiet, vntill such time as Queene *Katherine*, hauing married his Nephew *John d'Albret*, came her selfe in person to rule and gouerne the same. The Constable in the meane time, who held the Citie of Pampelona vnder his power, and many other places besides, did rayse troubles, and brought the Castilian men at armes into the Kingdome, vnder colour of the Factions of Beaumont and Grammont, during all these actions they still poured the marriage, so that after King *Lewis* his death the Princeesse *Magdalen* being continually solicited to marrie her daughter Queene *Katherine* to Prince *John* of Castile, shee was aduised to make a finall answer, and to say, that the inequalitye of their yeares would not permit it to be done, in regard her daughter was marriageable, and the Prince a little child in his cradle: and that in the meane time, before hee should come to age, there might bee great troubles and combustions in the Realme of Nauarre, which stood in need of men to gouerne it, and to suppress the vsuall contentions and quarrels which those people did naturally entertaine: and that without this let, her selfe, and her daughter would thinke themselves happie in so great an alliance; for they esteemed no match in the world like to that of Prince *John*, who was presumptiue heire to so many rich and mightie Kingdomes. All this notwithstanding, Queene *Isabella* perswading her selfe to effect this marriage in despite of all these hinderances, married still at Victoria, the most part of this yeare 1484. at which time (as hath bene sayd) shee sent Don *John de Ribera* with forces into Nauarre, who hauing intelligence with the Earle of Lerin, tooke Viana, the Castle of Saint Gregorie, that of Iturera and others: which disorders the Viceroy sought to redresse with great prouidence, and kept the people in their obedience to the Queene their naturall Princeesse. About this time Pope *Sixtus* the fourth dyed, in whose place succeeded *John Baptista Cibo*, Cardinall of the title of Saint Laurence in Lucina, and Bishop of Malfetta, who was called *Innocent* the eighth. The yeare before King *Lewis* the eleuenth dyed, who (as it is reported) had ordained by his last will, that the Earldome of Rossillon should bee restored to King *Fernand* the lawfull Prince thereof: but his sonnes Counsellours thought it not conuenient. This King being very deuoute and greatly honouring Saint Iames, had giuen tenne thousand Crownes, and sent great store of mettall and worke-men to make the greatest bell there in all Christendome.

Don Lewis of Beaumont who by afflictionate to the Kings of Castile.

Hhhh 2

Now



Now for the causes heretofore declared, the Kings of Castile did enterprise against A Nauarre and France, notwithstanding the warre of Granado, the which they would in no sort giue ouer, but did earnestly sollicite it, and prouided sufficiently for it.

Moore.

King *Fernand* being yet in his Kingdome of Arragon, there were assembled in the cittie of Cordoua, and afterwards in Antequera, the number of fixe thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot-men, which ouer-ran and spoiled the Countreies of Alora, Coin, Caçaranouella and Carthama, where diuers notable skirmishes were made: the Master of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Cales, and Don *Alphonso d'Aguiar* were Captaines of them. This armie was refreshed with victuals from Siuill and Xeres, and then returned to Antequera laden with spoyles. The Queene in the meane time visited the Prouinces of Guipuscoa and Biscay, and at her returne to Victoria, the King arriued there out of Arragon, where he found much to do, for the Arragonois were not so easily gouerned, nor so ready to please their Kings appetites, as the Castillians, both of them left Victoria, and came to Tarassone, where the Estates of Arragon were appointed to meet, whose Deputies, did set downe such difficulties and delayes, as they would by no meanes contribute money towards the warres of Granado, nor against France for the Earledome of Rossillon, so as they were at the point to dissolve the assembly: for the time of making warre being come, it behooued them either to assaile or defend on the frontiers of Granado.

Estates of Arragon.

The Kings Councell made long disputations vpon the difficultie of making this C double warre: for King *Fernand* was desirous to assaile the French for the recouerie of the Earledome of Rossillon, and the Queenes mind was to pursue the Moores, euen to the totall ruine of their State, and expulsion out of Spaine. The most part of the voyces fauoured the Queenes desire, and shee, to please her husband, was of opinion, that hee with the forces of Arragon, Valencia, Cattalonia, and some part of Castile should war vpon the French, and her selfe with the rest of the armie would pursue the Moores. Hereuppon they seuered themselves, the Queene went towards Toledo, and the King stayed to make an end of the assembly. The Cardinall of Spaine did accompanie the Queene, and hauing not yet made his entrie into the cittie of Toledo, since hee was Arch-bishop thereof, he entred the same in great pompe, in which sollemnitie vpon that D day by an auncient custome the Arch bishop of Toledo was preferred in all honors and ceremonies, about the Soueraigne Magistrate: neuertheless the Cardinall gaue place to the Queene, albeit shee would haue had the old custome obserued. From thence they went to Andalusia, where they ordered and reformed certaine customes which the people of Iuen, Baesa, Vbeda, Cañona, Andujar, and others had concerning feasts and plaies nothing profitable to the common-wealth. When they came to Cordoua the great Lords did there meete to conferre about the warres: there came also diuers French and Almaine Gunners; for Cannons and Bombards were not as yet much vsed in Spaine. There was likewise a great army by sea seufoorth, Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza, Earle of Castro being Generall. The Queene would haue made the Cardinall Generall ouer all her land and sea forces: but the kings vnlookt-for returne, who could do no good with the States of Arragon, gaue end to his commission. They were determined to beseege Loxa: but for the easier execution thereof, they first of all did assaile Alora, the which they took hauing beaten downe two towers with the Cannon: The Moores fledd into the Castle, and did afterwards by composition saue their liues and goods.

The Cardinall entred Toledo as Archb. The king giues him place that day.

Ceremonies vsed after the taking of any towne from the Moores.

The King and Queenes custome was, so soone as they had taken any towne from the Moores, to send three ensignes thither which were consecrated or blessed, (as they rearm it) the which were to be set vp on the highest tower or place of the same towne: the first, was of the Crucifixe for a signe and token of the redemption of mankind; the which was carried to the highest toppes of the towne or fort, and there by an ensigne-bearer displayd and flourished in the ayre: the whole army kneeling downe, and giuing thanks to God in diuers prayers: but this prayer was chiefly rehearsed with a loud voyce, as followeth:

*Deus qui per crucem tuam, populo in te credenti triumphum contra inimicos tuos concedere voluisti, quesumus, vt in tua pietate adorantibus crucem, victoriam semper tribuas & honorem.* Others did say: *Exaudi nos Domine salutaris noster, et per Triumphum sancte Crucis*

A *Crucis a cunctis nos defende periculis.* The Clergy and Ministers of the Church did afterwards sing, *Te Deum laudamus.*

The second stander was that of the Apostle Saint Iames the Sonne of Zebede, whom the Spaniards acknowledge for Patron, and protector of their Country and state, and for guide and defender of their Kings of Castile and Leon: at the sight wherof the army and the people cried out with great ioy, *Santiago, Santiago.* Saint Iames, Saint Iames; And the third was the King and Queenes royall Banner, wherein were pictured the armes of all their realmes, and dominions; and when that was lifted vp and displaid, they all cried aloude Castile, Castile, for King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabell*. After all this, the prelates, and Clergy did expiate, and purge the mesquites, or Churches, which had serued for the reprobate vse of the Mahometan religion, blessing and dedicating them to some Saint or other; and if in the towne or Citty taken, any Christian Captiues were found, as vsually there were some; they after the Priests had sung *Te Deum laudamus*, were made to answere, *Benedictus dominus Israel, quia visitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis sue.* These were the ceremonies; vsed by King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabell*, at the taking of any towne from the Moores.

Alora being taken and fortified, Don *Lewis Fernandes* Lord of Palma had the keeping thereof; then the royall army passed on to the valley of Carthama; the Marquis of Cales led the vanguard with two thousand horse and as many chosen foote-men. Those C of Alozagra yeilded vpon condition, they might bee mayntayned in their consciences, and religion, the which the King graunted; then they beseeged the towne of Caçaranouelle where the Moores made incredible resistance, killing in diuers skirmishes greate numbers of Christians; as namely Don *Gutierrez* de Sotomajor Earle of Benalcaçar, a young Noble-man, of foure and twenty yeares of age; hardy and valiant; who was shot throw the body, with a poysoned arrow, for whose death the king and the whole army were very sorry, because these braueries of the Moores, did make them become oblitrate, and encouraged others, which would haue yeilded, to make resistance. The Army, with this losse, & without performing any other exploit, then burning the country, did returne backe to Antiquera, where the King receaued letters from the Queene his wife, which caused the whole army to blush for shame; for shee let them vnderstand how that so goodly an army, ought not to liue vnprofitably, nor returne without doing some notable exploit: wherefore, being incouraged by a woman, they retired againe into the enemies country, and spoiled it euen to the mountaine called Sierra Neuada: the King being lodged with a great body of an army, within halfe a mile of the Citty of Granado, to oppose him selfe against the sallies, which they off the towne, might make vpon those that did forrage, the Duke of medina, and the Earle of Cabra, being in another place, where as much as in them lay, they spoiled the country, and made it vnfit to beare frute, the sooner thereby to starue them. The Queene had laden 5000. beasts of carriage with victuals which by the helpe of this army, entred into Alhama where the King E left Don *Gutierrez* de Padilla gouernour, who was nephew to Don *Garcia Lopes* de Padilla, Maister of Calatraua, in regard the Maister had promised to defend that place; with the forces of his iurisdiction. Afterwards the army returned to Cordoua, where the Queene being demanded if shee were pleased with what they had donne, shee answered, that it was not fit they should spend the rest of the yeare in idleness: where vpon the King returned, and marched against Septenill, which for three daies space was battered, and afterwards the Moores yeilded it vpon composition; that they might depart with their liues, goods and liberty; the place was committed to the keeping of D. *Francisco Henriquez*: from thence the army went to ruine the country of Ronde, and because winter did draw neere, it did attempt nothing else, and was brought backe to F Siuill, whether the Queene came. The garrisons of Alhama, Alora, and Septenill, were commanded by the King and Queene to aide King *Mahomet* the little with all their power against *Muley Albohacen* his father.

Wee will here for a while lay by the affaires of Castile and Arragon, and speake of Portugal, and of the raigne of *Iohn* the 2. who succeeded *Alphonso* 1481. being fixe and twenty yeares of age. This Prince was a great Iusticer, and it may be, ouer rigorous

Hhhh 3

King *Fernand* promiseth the Moores liberty of their conscience.

A courageous woman and constant in her enterprise.

6 Portugal. King *Iohn* a greite iusticer, namely against the nobility, with other of his qualities.

in the execution thereof, especially against the Nobilitie and great Lords of his kingdome, whome he did punish, and reclaimes from many oppressions which his father had tolerated: this caused him to be hated, and gaue cause vnto some who were very neere vnto him in blood, to practise against his life and state.

He was of a quicke and sharpe iudgement, and of an excellent memorie, he could discourse eloquently of all matters, and would haue those that did talke with him, to consider how and what to speake, and he would ordinarily say, that it was impossible but that Kings should be wise men, because euery one that spake to them, whether they were foolish or wise, did strue to speake well and wisely. He shewed great wisdom in all his actions, not suffering himselfe to be carried away by Court-flatterers, and if hee did fauour any one, hee would aduance him but to a certaine meane and no further, giuing authority to no man more than was needfull: hee was a louer of good counsell, very true, firme, and constant in whatsoever he graunted or denied, liberrall aswell to strangers as to his owne seruants: he was religious according to those times, and charitable towards the poore, for whose ease and comfort, hee builded the royall Hospitall of Lisborne, in the honour of all Saints: he shewed himselfe very obedient towards his father, and had the good hap, to haue the kingdome of Manicongo discovered in his raigne, at which time with great care and diligence, the navigation for spices did beginne, for which things, hee was furnished the Great. When hee beganne to raigne, hee was already father to the Infant Don *Alphonso* begotten on Queene *Elenor*, daughter to Don *Fernand* Duke of Visco his Vncle, and to the Infanta Donna *Beatrice*, shee who had procured the peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall: the Infant was seauen yeares old when his father came to the Crowne, who the yeare 1481. had a sonne by a Mistris of his called Donna *Anne de Mendoza*, whose name was *George*, Master of Saint Iames and Auis, Duke of Coimbra, Lord of Auero and Montemajor the old, who was brought vp openly as the Kings sonne, by his Aunt the Infanta Donna *Isabe*, a Nunne in the Monasterie of Iesus d'Auero: hee was father to Don *Iohn* Duke of Auero, a worthie Prince in our age.

This King *Iohn* of whome wee speake, was the first King of Portugall that entituled himselfe Lord of Guiney, the navigation into which countrey hee mayntained and continued, and builded the Citie and Castle of Saint *George*, the fort of *Tanger* and others. Hee called a Parliament in the Citie of *Ebora*, there to receiue the oath of fealtie and homage due to the Kings his progenitors: at the same time it happened, that Don *Fernand* Duke of Bragança, being at his house of *Villa-viciosa*, did search for certaine records and titles of lands with other letters of priuiledge, to haue them renewed and confirmed by the new king: his Secretarie whome hee employed in this businesse, found certaine letters of intelligence and practise in a chest, betwixt the Duke his master, and the King and Queene of Castile, contrarie to his allegiance to King *Iohn*: Wherefore this Secretarie, whose name was *Lope de Figueredo*, being moued either with zeale towards his Prince, or with hope of some good reward, did embezell those writings, and gaue them to the King, who hauing copied them, re-delivered the originall to *Figueredo*, who layd them among the rest of the papers which hee had found, his Lord not perceyuing it: the Duke neuertheless was still fauoured and welcommed by the King, who in matters of weight could very well dissemble, and was continually at Court accompanying and serving the King and Queene: vntill vpon a time the Court being at *Almerin*, where the Queene was brought a bed before her time, and in great danger of her life: the Duke of Bragança came to visit her, with Don *Dominicke* Duke of Visco, one of his complices, who was brother to the Queene: the King entertained them with a pleasant countenance, and vpon a certaine day hee tooke the Duke of Bragança aside into his chappell, within the with-drawing Curtaines, and did brotherly admonish him of his fault in these termes:

„ Cousin, I haue vnderstood a matter, which I must acquaint you with in this holy place, where I stand in the presence of God, before whom I will not dissemble: therefore beleeue it, I speake nothing but truth: I heare that you haue secret intelligence and practise with the Kings of Castile, against my State and seruice, greatly forgetting therein

A the honour faith and loyaltie which you owe vnto mee: in regard whereof, considering the reasons on both our sides, I for my part hauing giuen none occasion to your selfe or any other, and seeing no cause why you should hope for more honour and fauour of any other Prince then of me, I can not but be very much troubled, and I know not whether I may firmly beleeue it or no: yet notwithstanding, howsoever it is, I thought good to admonish you, that if vpon any false surmise, you haue entred into this vnreasonable imagination, to giue it ouer: protesting to you that I meane to forget, and graciously to pardon your offences, requesting you, seeing it hath pleased God to make me heire to his crowne to stand stedfastly to me, and to acknowledge this fauour towards you, and the place and rancke which you hold in this Kingdome; wherein by your owne deserts, and those of your ancestors, you are the chiefe person next vnto myselfe, the which should stirre you vp to maintaine and procure the safety and greatness thereof, especially considering, that God hath as it were parted the faculties and riches of this royall patrimony betwixt vs two: and that of two sisters borne of the noble race of the Infants Don *Fernand* and Don *Beatrice*, Dukes of Visco, I haue married the one and you the other. It may be that I am taxed with some fault, common to Kings newly come to their crownes, as to proceed ouer rigorously against some persons, and to shew small liberality and meeknesse in certaine matters, which could not be otherwise managed: but if it were so that some bee offended with my new government; you before all men, ought to tolerate it, and to be a singular president of loyalty and obedience vnto others. If my Iudges and Commissioners sent into your iurisdiction haue exceeded the bounds of modesty in their charge, you know very well that they haue had great cause so to doe, and that they haue many reasons on their sides to iustifie their proceedings, in respect of the present state; but if they were in fault, should not you greatly binde me vnto you for bearing with those things? and for your owne part you may be assured, that in regard of your place, wisdom and deserts, I can not refuse you any thing that you should craue of mee. Now, you are bound, in regarde I am planted in the royall seate of Portugall, to aide mee both with counsell and armes if need were, and whensoever I shall craue it; therefore I intreate and commaund you both in heart and will to dispose your selfe therewith to euer hereafter.

When the Duke heard these words, he would haue excused himselfe, and entreated the King not to beleeue those reports, which (he said) were contrary to his meaning, and that whilst hee had a heart, a hand and meanes, they should all bee employed in his seruice. And so the King left off, hoping that the Duke would amend, and that he should no more neede to speake vnto him concerning it. But the Court being not longe after remooued from *Almerin* to Saint *Iren*, *Iasper* and *Peter de Iubartes* brethren and seruants to the Duke of Bragança, came to the King, and certified him that the Duke their Maister did continue his practizes with Castile, and that *Iasper* had bene twice sent as messenger to the Kings of Castile, and that the Marquis of Montemajor, and the Earle of Faro the Dukes bretheren, were consenting to those practizes. The King did largely recompence these two bretheren for their aduertisement, and did resolve to punish the Duke of Braganças treachery, and hauing a fit occasion by his comming to the court, which lay then at *Ebora*, whether hee accompanied the Prince Don *Alphonso*, hee caused him to bee arrested of high treason and to bee committed to prison in May the yeere 1483.

The Kings Atturney General pleaded against him, & he was found guilty of treason, and was iudged and condemned by the Lords, to haue his head cut off, and all his goods to be confiscate to the crowne: the which sentence was executed; and *Fernand* Duke of Bragança was brought to the publike place of execution in the city of *Ebora*, where he was beheaded and made a pittifull spectacle to all men. Six other gentlemen were likewise beheaded with him, and diuers banished, in which number, was the Constable of Portugall. The Dutchesse *Isabella* the Queenes sister, as soone as she heard of her husbands imprisonment, sent her three children Don *Philip*, Don *Iames*, and Don *Denis* into Castile who were kindly receiued and welcomed by Queene *Isabella* their Aunt: the poore Lady their mother, hauing no other comfort in her widdow-hood but a little daughter

Mediocrity is to be observed in the advancement of Princelings.

Discovery of Manicongo.

Genealogie of Portugal.

The Duke of Braganças practises discovered by his Secretarie.

A gentle admonishment made by King Iohn to the Duke of Bragança.

The Duke of Bragança beheaded at Ebora.

daughter called *Marguerite*, whose company she enioyed not long, for within a while after she died. *D. Philip* her eldest sonne died in Castile: the second *Don James* returned into Portugall, and *Don Denis* this third sonne, did marry the Countesse of *Lemos* in Castile.

The Marquis of Montemajor, and the Earle of Faro, the Dukes brethren, did likewise flee into Castile, where they spent the remainder of their daies beeing honoured and maintained by King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*. Now *Don Dominico* the Queenes brother, was one of the conspiracy as hath beene already said; and the King the next day after the Duke of Bragança his execution called him into his presence, and knowing him to be young both in yeeres and discretion, he did admonish him as a father, to behaue himselfe discretely, and told him diuers things which concerned his honour and wel-fare, and did freely pardon him all offences past: to which speech of the Kings, *Don Dominico* could not answere one word but onely kissed the Kings hand in signe of thanks. This young Prince had aspired to reigne, and being young and inconsiderate, he did oftentimes permit his hand to be kissed, and would receiue other honours belonging to a foueraigne Prince, the which in the end bred his ruine.

After all these things the King being gon to visit the townes and fortresses vpon the frontiers of Galicia and countries neere adioyning, *Don Ramir Nagues* de Guzman arriued in Portugall, of whose quarrell to the Admirall of Castile and his sonne we haue amply spoken heretofore. This Lord came to the Court at Saint Iren, where hauing a time appointed him to come into the Kings presence, as hee was going to masse in Saint James his Church, he kneeled downe at the great doore with his traine and seruants; the King presented him his hand to kisse with his gloue vpon it, but *Don Ramir* thinking that the King did either contemne or scorne him, and being a knight of an high and couragious spirit, he did plucke the Kings gloue off, and so, kist his bare hand, then the King said, I could haue done that my selfe if it had pleased me; but *Don Ramir* did not heare him in regard he was some-what deafe: for this cause he was called euer after in Portugall *El de la loba*, which is as much to say, as He of the gloue. Yet neuertheless the King vsed him very graciously; and did assure him that he was in a place of safety, and therefore willed him to be merry; and not to feare any daunger at all. *Don Ramir* gaue him many humble thanks, and excused his boldnesse in plucking off his gloue, beseeching him not to take it as done vnreuerently, in regard it was the custome of Spaine to kisse the Kings bare hand. Not long after, *Don Ramir*, had some ieaousie of the Marquis of Villareall a friend and kinsman to the Admirall of Castile, King *Iohn* hauing notice thereof, called the Marquis before him, and told him that his pleasure was, that *Don Ramir* should liue safe and secure in Portugall, free from feare either of the King of Castile or any else, and therefore if any euill did happen to him, his life should answere it: the Marquis answered, that for him *Don Ramir* should liue in all safety, and that he neither had nor would procure him any displeasure.

But the Duke of Braganças death did displease diuers great Lords of the Kingdome of Portugall, in regard whereof, new conspiracies were made against the Kings life. The chiefe of the conspirators were *Don Garcia Meneses* Bishop of Eborá, and *Don Fernand de Meneses* his brother, *Don Lopo de Albuquerque* Earle of Pegnamacor, and *Don Pedro de Albuquerque* his brother, *Don Aluaro de Atayde*, and *Don Pedro d' Arayde* the father and sonne, *Don Guttiere Contino* Commander of Cezimbra sonne to the Marshall, and *Fernand Selucyra*, who againe did draw *Don Domingo* the Duke of Viseo into their practises, determining to make him King, and they watched for a fit time and occasion to kill King *Iohn*, who being at Setuball did discover the treason, by the relation of one called *Diego Tinoco*, who knew it by the meanes of a sister of his who was concubine to the aboue named Bishop no lesse secret then chaste and faithfull, and this *Tinoco* came of purpose disguised in a Friers habit, to discloase it to the King, who in recompence of his good seruice, gaue him five thousand Cruzados in ready money and sixe hundred thousand Marauedis of yeerely rent, the which hee did not long enioy, for soone after, he died. Within few daies after, the King receiued the same aduertizement from *Don Vasco Contino*, vnto whom *Don Guttiere* his brother, one of the

The Kings fatherly aduertizement to *D. Dominico* Duke of Viseo.

*D. Ramir Nagues* de Guzman cometh into Portugall.

A the confederats had reuealed it, thinking that without any danger he might haue spoken it to him by reason that he was in disgrace with the King, and ment to haue fled into Castile: but he was therein deceiued; for *Don Vasco* by this meanes made his owne peace, was created Earle of Barba with hereditary right, and beside the Castle of Estremoz, hee receiued many other aduancements. The same day that the confederats should meete the Duke of Viseo at the Court, the King hauing visited a Church neere to Setuball, he went a boord of a little fisher-boot to see them take fish, hauing with him onely foure of his faithfull seruants, namely *Fernand Martinez Mazarrenas* captaine of the genets or light-horse, *Diego d' Almeida*, *Don Iohn de Meneses*, and *Don Ramir Nagues* de Guzman: In the euening, as he was returning to Setuball, thirty of the confederates stood vpon the banke of the riuer, with intent to haue executed their treason, whereof the King being aduertized at his landing, by a Groome of his Chamber named *Anthony Faria*, who told him in his care that it behooued him at that time to dissemble, and to shew his Kingly courage, expecting a fitter time and opportunity to punish them according to their deserts: the King who could very well dissemble, being leapt on horse-backe, called the Duke of Viseo to him with a smiling and pleasing countenance, and gaue him and the rest of the conspirators, many gracious and louing words, so as for that present they had not the hearts to proceed in their determinations: in the meane time, the King who was weakly accompanied, went into a Church called Our Lady the Old, wayting for his guardes arriual, and beganne to talke with them leaning his back against the wall, the better to keepe his enemies from comming behinde him, among whom was *D. Vasco Contino*, whom he called vnto him and made a shew to diuert him from going into Spaine, the better thereby, vnder colour of this talke, to draw the whole conspiracy from him. By these meanes it was Gods pleasure that the King should escape that daies daunger, and returne in safety to his pallace. Certaine daies after, the King being more sufficiently aduertized of these Lords conspiracy against his person, sent to commaund the Duke of Viseo, who was then at Palmela with his mother the Infanta *Beatrice*, to come to him to Setuball, who forthwith did so, not doubting any thing, and he was no sooner arriued and come into King *Iohns* presence, but hee was stabd to death with a poniard by the Kings owne hand, in the night, in a Chamber in *Don Nugno d' Acugnás* house where the King then lay, in the presence of *Don Pedro Deza*, *Diego d' Açambuya* and *Lopes Mendez*, with no other words but these, *Thou shalt die, and goe carry newes to the duke of Bragança in what state the treason stands which he beganne.*

In this manner the Duke of Viseo died a young Prince of twenty yeeres old, by following naughty counsell, and giuing credit to the vaine predictions of Astrologers, who had assured him that hee should bee King. The Dutchesse his mother was by the King certified of what had happened, who excused himselfe, in regard that hee was constrained by necessity to commit so sodaine an execution, and intreated her to beare it patiently: and in some sort to comfort her, the very same night he called *Don Manuel* her other sonne into her presence, who was more wise and discret then his brother vnto whom hauing told the Dukes death, and the causes wherefore he died, hee gaue all that his brother did possesse and more, and conferring with him, with a fatherly affection, hee promised to cause him to be sworne and acknowledged for Prince and heire to the crowne of Portugall, after his death and *Don Alphonso* his sonne: but hee would not permit him to name himselfe Duke of Viseo as his brother had done, but Duke of Beja, Lord of Viseo, and Maister of the Order de Christus, and hee made him Lord of the Isle of Madera, and gaue him other lands.

The Duke was at the same time onely seauenteene yeeres of age, and the King gaue him a Sphere for a diuise to beare in his armes, the which the Kings of Portugall doe yet at this day beare in their armes and royall scutcheon: the same was a lucky presage vnto him of the conquests and discoueries which were afterward made in his reigne and name vnder both the Poles: the same was likewise fore-told by the Bishop of La Garde a great Mathematicien; in regard of his Horoscope, and position of the heauens at his Natiuity, being in the yeere 1468, albeit that such iudgments are deceiuable and vnlawful,

The young duke of Viseo slain by King Iohns owne hand.

The Duke of Viseo seduced by Astrologers.

A Sphere vpon the armes of Portugall.

full, for the actions of Kings, and the euent of all other matters depend vpon Gods A  
only Ordonance.

Now when the confederates vnderstood of the Duke of Viseo death, and that  
their practizes were discovered, each of them thought to saue one, but all of them were  
not quicke enough: for Don Pedro d' Albuquerque was taken as he fled towards Lis-  
bone, and Don Pedro d' Arayde at Saint Iren who were brought to the Court. The  
like happened to the Bishop of Ebor, and to Don Fernand de Meneses his brother, and  
to Don *Gustierre Coutino*. As for Don *Aluaro D' Arayde* who remained at Saint Iren ac-  
companied with men at armes attending the successe of their businesse, meaning to haue  
taken Donna *Ioane* surnamed the Excellent, who was a Nunne, from the Monastery of  
Saint Clare at Coimbra, and to haue lodged her in the castle, he fled away into Spaine,  
and so did Don *Lopes d' Albuquerque* Earle of Pennamaçor with all his family. D. Fer-  
nand de Silueyra hauing beene hidden by one of his father seruants, who neither for grie-  
uous threatnings nor for promises of reward from the King could euer be drawne to dis-  
close him did likewise escape, and fled into Spaine. The King, to iustifie the Duke of Viseo  
death, and to giue notice thereof to all men, caused his processe to be made after that  
he had slaine him, and condemned the rest. D. *Fernand de Meneses* and D. *Pedro* were be-  
headed and quartered as traitors. As for D. *Gustierre Coutino* he was committed to the  
tower of Auis, for D. *Vasco* his brother who had reuealed much of the conspiracy to the  
King, did a while prolong his life, neuertheless hee did not escape, nor is it certainly  
knowne how he died. D. *Garcia de Meneses* Bishop of Ebor, being prisoner in the ca-  
stle of Palmela, was found dead vpon the cesterne of the said fort, and there is great pre-  
sumption that his daies were violently shortned. At the same time, the Kings of Castile  
were at Siuill, where receiuing newes that the conspiracy was discovered, and imagining  
that the Duke of Viseo should bee committed to prison, and that King *Iohn* would not  
haue proceeded against him so indiscreetly, they hauing no notice of his sodaine death,  
did fend D. *Imigo Manriques* Bishop of Leon, and *Gaspar Fabro* a Knight of Arragon Am-  
bassadors into Portugall, with instruction to entreate the King to saue the Duke of Vi-  
seos life, if he were yet liuing, and if he were dead, to comfort the Dutchesse his mother,  
who had beene the cause of the peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall. The Ambassa-  
dors perceiuing the Duke of Viseo to bee dead, did their best to comfort the sorrow-  
full mother, and so returned into Spaine without speaking to King *Iohn*, who neuer  
ceased to pursue Don *Fernand de Silueyra*, vntill hee had driuen him out of Spaine:  
He was afterward slaine in Auignon by an Earle of Catalonia, who was likewise ba-  
nished from his country, but the French King had like to haue taken his head from his  
shoulders in requitall of his paines. This Earle was afterward liberally rewarded by king  
D. *Iohn*, for that he had rid him of an enemy. The Earle of Pegnamaçor died in Castile, D.  
*Aluaro* of Arayde liued a banished man during the life of King *Iohn*, and in King *Manuels*  
time returned into Portugall. By these seuerities King *Iohn* was feared of all his subiects,  
in regard he had not spared those two great Lords who were of the greatest parentage in  
Portugall.

An 1485.  
Castile.

7  
Moors.

The yere 1485, the commons of Castile sent their Deputies and Commissioners to Or-  
gas where D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, Duke of Villahermosa lay, who was capitaine generall  
of their Hermandades or brotherhoods, and with him D. *Alphonso* de Burgos Bishop of  
Cuenca, president of the royall Councel, and *Alphonso* de Quintanilla, who hauing pro-  
pounded the great costs and charges which the Kings were at in following the Moorish  
wars, did demad a subsidy, the which was very readily granted, in regard they did see that  
it should be employed in matters so worthy and profitable for the commonwealth.

The Gouvernors and capitaines on the frontiers of Andalusia would lose no fit occasion  
that might anoy the Moores, who did all of them in a manner follow King *Muley Albo-*  
hacen, and had almost restored him to all his lands in Granada, reuolting from *Mahomet*  
the Little, because he had beene aided by Christian Kings; so that they left him no other  
place of retreat, but only the city of Almeri, from whence hee made cruell warre vpon  
the Moores, which tooke his fathers part: they meaning altogether to despoyle him  
of all rule and gouernment in Granada, and perceiuing King *Muley Albohacen* to bee  
already

A already old and vnfit for warre, did elect, a brother of his, one of King *Ismaels* sonnes  
for their gouernour in Granada, who was likewise called *Muley Boabdalin*, who think-  
ing it most necessary for the establishing of his Kingdome to ridde his Nephew *Maho-*  
met out of the world, hee had secret intelligences, with the chiefe men of his faction  
which were neere in credit about his person in Almeri, whom he induced by promises  
to deliuer their Prince and City into his hands at a certaine time appointed, before  
which place *Muley Boabdellin* shewing himselfe, they failed not to open him the gates,  
& they let him in vpon such a sodain, as *Mahomet* hardly escaped with life, but God gaue  
him meanes to escape, leauing a young brother of his behinde him, who was cruelly  
murdered by his enemies: after the taking of which towne, *Muley Boabdellin* openly  
and without contradiction was chosen King of Granada both against the father and the  
sonne, who were driuen away, in the yere 1485. and the 868. yere of the reigne of the  
Arabians there; *Muley Albohacen* hauing reigned nineteene yeres. Now these two  
Princes of one name did make such cruell warre vpon each other for the crowne of Gra-  
nada as is not almost to bee beleueed. *Boabdellin* is a corrupted word, those which  
speake it better, call both of them *Aben Abdilleha*, but the truest is *Aben Abdella*. The  
Moores to make a difference betwixt them by some surname, called King *Albohacens*  
brother, *Zagall*, which signifieth valorous, and *Mahomet* the little his Nephew, *Zagois*,  
that is to say, the vnhappy.

### Muley Boabdellin 21. King of Granado.

I N the beginning of the reigne of *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal*, hee had to doe with the  
Earle of Cabra, with *Martin Alphonso* de Corduba, Lord of Montemajor, *Diego del*  
Castillo great Commander of Calatraua, *Pedro Ruis d' Alarcon*, *Diego Lopes d' Ayala*,  
*Francisco de Bouadilla*, and other, braue capitaines and Knights, who ouer-ranne the  
country neere to Nixar and Guejar beyond the City of Granada neere to the hilles  
called Sierra Neuada, where they tooke great booties, and made their retreat by means  
of the good garde which they had left at the difficult passages, by the aduise of *Pedro*  
*Ruis d' Alarcon*, after the new King had drawne great numbers of Moores out of the ci-  
ty of Granada and else where to enclose and defeat them.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* did then lie at Siuill where Don *Imigo Manriques*  
the Archbishop being dead, the Pope by his full power and authority gaue that Arch-  
bishopricke to the Cardinal Don *Roderigo Borgia*, who was afterward Pope *Alexander*  
the sixth: these holy fathers being not able to abstaine from breaking the concordats  
which did in some sort restraine their power, the which they pretend to bee absolute: but  
these courageous Kings, brideled them at this time likewise, and delt in such sort as the  
Cardinal hauing resigned that Archbishopricke, and put it into the Popes hands; it was  
giuen at the Kings entreaty to Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Bishop of Palence,  
and his Bishopricke of Palence resigned to Don *Alphonso* de Burgos Bishop of Cuen-  
ca, that of Cuenca to Don *Alphonso* de Fonseca Bishop of Auyla, and that of Auyla to  
Frier *Hernando* of Talauera, and Oropeza, Prior of the Monastery of Pré of Valiodel-  
lit and the Queenes Confessor: In this sort did euery one affect good Bishoprikes in  
recognition of their seruices: I call them good, in respect of their reuenues.

Whilst the Kings remained this yere at Siuill, they made diuers good Edicts and  
Ordonances for Iudges, and for the administration of Iustice, as also for the manning  
of the future warre: and the time drawing neere when as armies vsd to march into  
the field, and diuerse companies of horse and foote being already arriued from all parts  
of Spaine vpon the frontiers of Andalusia, they left Siuill and came to Cordoua: di-  
uerse great Lords, Knights and people of all sorts did come thither, who suted them-  
selues the best they could, which made a gallant shew, wherein great cost and super-  
fluity was vsed, as likewise, in feasts, games and other military sports: in regard whereof,  
the

Castile.  
Popes cannot  
keepe them-  
selues from  
breaking the  
concordats  
which restrain  
their power.

Profitable  
waies for to  
redresse super-  
fluous expen-  
ces.

## The generall History of Spaine.

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the Kings thought to redresse those matters by two courses, both profitable and milde, A namely, by admonishments which they themselves made to the noblest, and to others by religious persons of credit, and afterwards by their owne example shewing in their apparrell, traine and manner of life great modesty, wherein neuerthelesse some Maicsty did appeare, as was fitting for their degree.

As concerning the warre the opinion was, that Malaga should be besieged, and by the way they laboured (but in vaine) to take the castle of Montefrio. Passing forward, they did ouer-runne, spoile and destroy the country neere to Carthama, where the common opinion was to seeke to take Carthama and Coin before they did attempt any thing against Malaga, to the end to haue the country more at their commandement, the which was not the worst counsell: and because the army was great, part thereof was sent to besiege Carthama vnder the conduct of the Maister of Saint Iames, the Constable, and D. *Alphonso* D' Aguilar, and the other part to Coyne which was commanded by the Marquis of Cales, the Earle of Crugna, and D. *Hurtado* de Mendoza, with the Cardinalls people. The King with some part of his forces was lodged betwixt both these scages, to succor either of them as need should require. In the mean time the towne of Benamexi yeelded as it had done in time before: but it did reuolt when the Earle of Benalcazar was slaine, into the which fault it fell againe after it had yeelded, and was now taken by assault, the Inhabitants were taken or slaine, and the place razed to the ground: the King did choose out one hundred of the principall prisoners C and caused them to be hanged for a terror to the rest, chiefly for an example to them of Carthama, Coin and Ronde; yet notwithstanding they were not negligent in their owne defence. Certaine African Moores of Velez de la Gomera, being moued with zeale to their religion, came ouer into Spaine, and espied a fit occasion whereby to enter into Coin, which they did at such time, as a great and large breach was made, which the Christians did assaile, who by this new aide were rudely repulsd with great slaughter: there were slaine *Pero Luis Alarcon*, a most wise and valiant capitaine, and *Tello d' Aguilar* likewise, whose death did greatly greeue King *Fernand*, wherevpon hee caused the battay to bee redoubled and did to presse the besieged, as they beganne to take of composition. The King being highly displeased for his losse received at that assault, would not receiue them at the first vpon any condition, but at the last he graunted them their liues and goods, and so the towne was yeelded vp. Coin was a great towne and very hard to be kept, wherefore it was razed. Those of Carthama hauing notice that Coin was yeelded, did compound in like manner, whose example was followed by *Curiana*, *Paniana*, and others. The garde and defence of Carthama was committed to the Maister of Saint Iames vpon his entreaty, who left there for Lieutenant vnder him a Gentleman of his owne, named *Iohn de Cespedes*. About the same time, Don *Alphonso Henriquez* high Admirall of Castile died at Valiodolid, in whose place and dignity Don *Frederike Henriquez* his sonne succeeded. The Queene being at Cordoua tooke care to prouide the army of money and victuals, wherein she vsed incredible diligence and dexterity.

After the taking of the places aboue mentioned, the King passed on with a great number of men at armes and came within sight of Malaga, a strong towne, and exceeding well furnished with men and all things necessary for a towne of warre. The Moore King who lay within it made a sally with a thousand horse, which were the floure of his cavalry, where they skirmished valiantly on both sides, where D. *Fernand* D' Ayalos the eldest of that family was slaine. And because the army wanted water, the King went backe to Carthama, where sitting in counsell what was best to bee done, it was concluded to goe and besiege Ronde. D. *Pedro Henriquez* Marquis of Cales and capitaine of the frontiers of Andaluzia with other capitaines marched on before with three thousand horse and eight thousand foot to inuest the place, and the King followed them at the heeles with the rest of the army. The towne was stronge and defended by very warlike Moores, being besieged and furiously battered, the Christians in a few daies won the suburbs thereof, where *Alphonso Foyardo* shewed great prooffe of his worth and valor. The battay continuing against the towne albeit the Moores which were sent to the succor thereof, did

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A did their best to enter into it and did put the campe in continuall alarmes, the Christians neuerthelesse did so presse them as the besieged were faine to yeeld, vpon condition that their goods and liues might be saued, with liberty to liue in their owne sect in any place of Castile where they pleased. The King entred into the towne of Ronda vpon Whit-  
sunday; D. *Bernardin* de Velaasco, sonne to the Constable hauing first seized vpon a tower of the castle, and as soone as the Moore gouernor was gonne forth of it with his people to retire himselfe into the King of Castiles country to a place in the territory of Siuil, the towne was repeopled with Christians drawne from the same city, from Cordoua and other places of Andaluzia. The Queene made prouision for the ornaments of the Churches, and things necessary for their seruice; and the gouernment of the towne

Ronda taken,  
and the  
Moore liues,  
goods, and re-  
ligion granted  
vnto them.

B was giuen to *Antonio* de Fonseca. The Moores of that country hauing made themselves Mudejares, that is to say, vassals to Christians, were at that time religiously maintained and preferred, according to the capitulations and promises, by means whereof, diuers other townes did voluntarily yeeld themselves to the Kings, namely, Burga, Iunquera, Monda, Ganfin, Caleres, Montija, with other castles and fortresses of the mountaines of Ronda, Villalonga, and Carthema, who were permitted to liue in their owne religion, paying the same tribute which they were wont to giue to the Moore Kings. The places which did yeeld were more then forty in number. And because *Casaramouella* did make delays, King *Fernand* caused the Inhabitants thereof to bee summoned to yeeld, vpon paine of tasting of all the rigour of warre: wherevpon they submitted, vpon the same

Equity of the  
King and  
Queene of  
Castile.

C conditions as the rest had done, and the garrison thereof was giuen to D. *Sancho* de Rojas. Those likewise of Marbela, a sea towne, being sommoned to yeeld, made answer that they were contented so to doe, and they sent their gouernor or Alguazil Major to the King, who desiring to bee present at the yeelding thereof, brought thither his army by the way of Antequera, fetching a long circuit but easie and commodious: By the way he receiued letters from the Moores of Marbela, who demanded new capitulations, the which were not answered till the army was in sight: wherewith they being amazed, deliuered vp the town, and retired themselves, some into Affrica, and others into the Kingdome of Castile: Montemajor and other places of the country of Marbela did likewise yeeld. And because the army beganne to want victuals by reason that the tempests and stormes at sea did hinder the ships of burthen from sayling, the King was aduised to make retreat to Cordoua, so the army marched within sight of Malaga once againe, from whence the Moores came forth and skirmished, but to no purpose, the seege whereof had not bene in vaine nor without effect, if victuals had not wanted. The army being returned neere to Antequera, it was abundantly refreshed with victuals sent thither by the Queene. The King afterward entred into Cordoua with great ioy and applaud of the Queene, Prince and Infantas of the Court, the people, Clergy, and sundry Ambassadors: there were sollemne processions made, where the King in manner of a triumph caused great number of Christians to bee led in pompe, and in a glorious shew, which were redeemed from captiuitie, whose shackles and irons were afterward sent to Toledo, and there hung vp against the wal of the Monastery of Saint *Iohn* of the kings, which are to be seene at this day.

E For the maintenance and preservation of what had bene wonne and conquered, *Iohn* de Torres, a knight of the Kings house, was sent vnto the frontiers with a Prouost or Alcayde of the Court, named the Licenciante La Font, who distributed the lands to the new Inhabitants, for the ordinary garrisons were vp in the country of the Moores more then twenty leagues; and because diuers Pirates had robbed sundry Moores as they passed out of Spaine into Affrike, contrarie to the capitulations, informations being made therevpon, the Licenciante recouered all that had bene taken away, who demanding a safe conduct for his passage ouer into Affrica to restore to euery one what was his owne, the Moores made him answer that hee needed none other safe conduct then the greatnesse and renoune of the Kings of Castile his Maisters: wherevpon the Licenciante made himselfe ready to passe ouer, yet diuers of his friends counsellled him not to giue ouermuch credit to the light faith of the Moores, wherevnto with great boldnesse and constancy hee replied, that God forbid, that the power

Equity of the  
Kings of Cas-  
tile.



and greatnesse of his Kings honor should be impaired or diminished thorow his feare: a A  
 courageous speech of a most faithfull and affectionate subiect and seruant. And so he pas-  
 sed ouer and restored the Moores their goods, and promise was kept with him. In the  
 meane time the garrisons of Alhama hauing ouer-runne the country neere to Grana-  
 do, as they returned with great quantitie of cattaile and other booties, they met on a so-  
 daine and vnlooked for the King of Granada who came from Malaga thither, accom-  
 panied with great numbers of horse, by whom they were charged and pursued vnto the  
 very gates of Alhama with great losse of their people, beside the spoiles which were re-  
 couered from them. There remained yet some small season of this yeere 1485. fit to  
 make warre in, the which the Kings would not haue vnprofitably spent, without enter-  
 prizing some matter of worth: therefore they caused the forces of Andaluzia, Extrema-  
 dura, and the Marquisate of Villena to bee assembled (for they had licenced the men of  
 warre of the farthermost prouinces of Spaine to depart as soone as they returned to  
 Cordoua) whereafter diuers consultations, they resolved, at the perswasion of the Earle  
 of Cabra to goe and beseege Moclin: the Earle with *Martin Alphonso de Cabra* Lord  
 of the house of Montemajor, was sent before to shut in those of the towne with the for-  
 ces which he had in Baena, then their followed him with foure thousand horse and o-  
 ther forces the Maister of Calatraua, the Earle of Buendia and other Knights, the King  
 with the rest of the forces came after, and the Queene with the whole Court came to  
 Baena.

The Christians  
 defeated at  
 Moclin.

Those that went first with the Earle of Cabra being arrived on a morning neere  
 to Moclin fell vnawares vpon the King of Granadoes army which was come to Moclin  
 consisting of twenty thousand Moores as well horse as foote, who neuertheless began  
 to flie as soone as they did see the Christians whom they thought to bee farre more in  
 number then they were: but hauing better viewed them they returned and charged  
 them so brauely as they disordered and put them to flight: diuers were there slaine and  
 taken, the Earle escaped being hurt in the hand with a Harquebuz shot, his horse hauing  
 receiued foure wounds with a lance, his brother *D. Gonçall de Cordoua* was slaine, the  
 Moores following the chafe were staied and constrained to turne their backs, by the  
 troups of the Maister of Calatraua and the Earle of Buendia. This newes did greatly D  
 displease the Kings, who altering their determination left Moclin and turned their forces  
 against Cambill and Alhabar, very strong places on the confines of Iuen, and within  
 three leagues of the city, alwaies well kept and defended by the Kings of Granada. The  
 Marquis of Cales with the vangard did approach neere vnto their forts, whether the  
 Artillery was brought with great difficulty, and the battery made with all diligences  
 but they yeelded forthwith and the Moores which were within it were sent away free  
 with their goods into Granada: the Queene gaue these two forts to the city of Iuen,  
 where the King with the Maister of Saint Iames did determine to strengthen Alhama  
 with foure thousand horse and fife thousand foot which were appointed for the same  
 purpose. The Treasurer of Calatraua being gouernor of Alhama was solicited by a E  
 Moore of the garrison of Salea, to come thither with his forces, and hee did assure him  
 that he would finde meanes to cause him to enter into it: the Treasurer hauing first of  
 all well examined the Moore, and being assured that he ment no deceite went on a night  
 to Salea, where the traitors brother did let downe a rope from the walles, and helped  
 to erect the scaling ladders by which the Christians mounted, who after a dangerous  
 fight made themselves Maisters of the place, the Inhabitants whereof were all made  
 slaues.

Birth of the  
 Infanta Ca-  
 therine.

Pope *Innocent* the eighth being daylie aduertized of these goodly victories, graunted  
 this yeere to the Kings to raise greater subsidies vpon the Clergy, the which were mo-  
 derated by the Cardinall of Spaine to one hundred thousand golden florins of the  
 coine of Arragon. About the end of the yeere the Court leauing Andaluzia, came to  
 Alcala de Henares, where Queene *Isabell* was brought in bed of a daughter named  
*Catherin* who was wife to *Arthur* Prince of Wales heire to the crowne of England,  
 and afterward married to his brother King *Henry* the eight of that name.

In Alcala which was a place belonging to the Archbishop of Toledo, the Alcaldes and  
 Prouosts

A Prouosts of the Court executing their offices, were hindered by the Cardinall, who  
 was Archbishop of Toledo, who made grieuous complaints to the Queene, how her  
 Officers did vsurpe vpon his authority: the Queene told him, that shee being Soueraigne  
 in Castile, and in all other her realmes, might execute iustice in any place. The matter  
 being debated on both sides, it was referred to the compromise and iudgment of fife  
 persons of the counsell, whom the Queene would name, and to fife Channons of the  
 Chapter of Toledo for the Cardinall: but the other affaires of Court, the short staye  
 thereof at Alcala, with other hinderances, did end this strife, the which remained vndeci-  
 ded. Then were the Iudges of the Court discharged of part of the Processe which did  
 abound in all places where the King and Queene went, the which were turned ouer to  
 the Chancery at Valiolidit, where Don *Alphonso de Fonseca* Archbishop of Saint Iames  
 was made President, with eight Doctors for his Councell.

Contention be-  
 twixt the  
 Arche-bishop  
 of Toledo and the  
 Queene.

During all these warres and businesse Don *Ramir Nugnes de Guzman*, of whom wee  
 haue often spoken heretofore, had remained in Portugall, greatly honoured by King  
*John*. Hee vnderstanding of the Admirall of Castils death, his ancient enemy, procu-  
 red his friends to obtaine his pardon of King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell*, but be-  
 eing aduertised that the matter was now harder to bee effected then before, by reason  
 that Don *Frederick*, sonne to the deceased Admirall, who had begonne the quarrell,  
 was made Admirall in his Fathers place, and highly fauoured, hee desperately resol-  
 ued to kill him: and to effect his purpose, hee departed with leaue from the Court of  
 Portugall, and came to Braganca. Don *Frederick Henriquez* being aduertised by his  
 friends what his enemy did intend, hee thought, like a wise man, that it was not good  
 to hold him still in dispaire, and therefore hee sent to *Mary Osorio*, Don *Ramir Nugnes*  
 mother, to let her vnderstand, that if shee would come to Valiolidit to sue for her  
 sonnes restitution, hee would assist her therein, provided that shee would take order  
 that Don *Ramir* should returne back from Braganca, to the Court of Portugall.

This Lady being desirous to haue her sonne restored to his lands and goods, did  
 not loofe so fit and vnlook for an occasion, but came to the Admirall, with whom after  
 long conference, she went to the court being at Alcala de Henares, where she obtained,  
 D but not without difficulty, the goods of Don *Ramir*, as depositarie, and that hee might  
 returne into Spaine, vnder the keeping of the Earle of Feria. Don *Ramir* hauing no-  
 tice hereof, tooke his leaue of the King of Portugall, and came to the Earle of Ferias  
 house, where hee remained three yeeres, vntill his businesse were brought to this con-  
 clusion; that hee might enioy his goods, and marry with his promised wife, the  
 daughter to the Earle of Luna: but that hee might not goe to his owne lands, vntill  
 the King and Queene gaue him leaue. Afterward hee was permitted to come into his  
 owne houses, vpon condition, that during his life he should not come ouer the riuer of  
 Duero: such was the end of the quarrell caused by the Ladies of the Court, betwixt Don  
*Ramir Nugnes de Guzman*, and Don *Frederick Henriquez*.

Sentences of the  
 quarrell be-  
 twixt Don  
*Ramir Nugnes*  
*de Guzman*,  
 and *Frederick*  
*Henriques*.

E Before the Court departed from Alcala de Henares, Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza*  
 Earle of Tendilla, and Doctor *Iohn de Medina*, both of them of the Kings Coun-  
 cell, were sent Ambassadors into Italy, about the warre which was betwixt *Ferdinand*  
 King of Naples, and Pope *Innocent*; the which Ambassage they performed so wisely, as  
 they made peace betwixt those great Potentates. These Ambassadors did in open  
 Consistorie performe the obedience and submissions due to the Pope. King *Ferdinand*  
 and Queene *Isabell* did in the meane time cause diligent search and punishment to bee  
 made, vpon conuerted Iewes and Moores, which did returne to their old superstition.  
 In the beginning of the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, eighty and sixe, the Court  
 remooued to Medina del Campo, with intent to punish Don *Rodrigo Osorio* Earle of  
 Lemos, who did disquiet the countrey of Galicia, and had surprised the Castle of Pon-  
 ferrada, driuing thence the garrison which Captaine *George Abendaño* held for the  
 King, and had broken in all sorts the truce which the King had made betwixt him and  
 the Earle of Benauent. In regarde whereof hee was commanded to repaire in person  
 to the Court, but hee durst not, and adding crimes to crimes, hee committed sundry  
 excesses and robberies in Galicia.

The Queene being busied about the warres of Granado which she so much affected, and A not being able to goe in person into Galicia, gave commission to the Earle of Benauent his vicer enemy to repress this insolent Earle of Lemos.

The spring time drawing neere, the city of Cordoua began already to be filled with souldiars sent for by the Kings out of all the Prouinces of Spaine for the Moorish wars: wherefore the Kings parted from Medina, and passing along by Toledo came to Cordoua. There, did hourly arrive many troupes, not onely of Spaniards, but of Frenchmen, English and other foraine nations. Amongst the Lords of Castile, D. *Inigo Lope* de Mendoza Duke of Infantazgo made the bravest and gallantest shew. The army being mustered amounted to the number of twelue thousand horse, and forty thousand able fighting footmen, great number of Cannoniers and peeces of Ordinance of all sorts, thirty thousand beasts of carriage, two thousand waggons with their equipage and ment to drue them. With these forces Loxa was besieged. Into this towne King *Mahmet* the Little had shut him selfe, breaking his faith giuen to the Kings of Castile, for to reconcile himselfe to his vnkle: for the Moores perceiuing, though to late, that their ordinary diuisions and strifes had plunged them into extreame ruine, they did so handle the matter, as they made these two Pricies friends, who diuided the soueraine authority betwixt them, the city of Granado remayning neuerthelesse to King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagil*: in such sort as communicating their counsels and forces together to annoy the Christians, *Mahmet* the Little, did undertake to defend Loxa, from whence diuers sallies and hot skirmishes were made vpon the Kings vanguard, so as King *Mahmet* receiuing two wounds there, the Moores were shut in, the place was besieged, and the battery furiously begunne. The Duke of Infantazgo being one day vpon the garde, did take certaine Moores of Granado who would haue entred into Loxa, by whom he had notice that King *Muley Boabdellin* came with a great power to the aide of the besieged, wherevpon the guardes were doubled in all places of the campe, and preparation was made for whatsoever might happen. The suburbs being opened with the Canon, they were sharply assailed and well defended, neuerthelesse they were taken, with great effusion of Christian blood, where the Lord Scales Generall of the English was hurt. There was found in the suburbs a Moore that was a Weauer, who was so obstinate, as seeing the place to bee taken, and that the other Moores withdrew themselves into the towne, would not for all that leaue his owne house, saying, that hee had rather die by iron then die in irons, seeing that Loxa which was wont to defend the Moores and offend the Christians, was now the repaire of the enemies, and the grave of her owne citizens, and in this obstinacy hee was slaine. The suburbs being wonne, they beganne to batter the towne in such sort as in a short time, the walles, towers, and defenses were ouerthrowne, so as the Moores which defended them, lay open and exposed to the Cannons mouth, which did so terrifie and discourage them as they craued parley and composition vpon these conditions: That King *Mahmet* the Little should be pardoned for his disobedience passed: that hee should giue over the title of King of Granado, and intitle himselfe thence forward Marquis of Guadix, if so bee that hee could recouer the place within sixe monthes next ensuing, and that it might be lawfull for him to goe into Africa, or to liue in the country of Granado or else in Castile as should seeme best vnto him, and that the Moores which were within Loxa might doe the like. These things agreed vpon, Loxa was yeilded, and the gouernment thereof committed to Don *Aluaro* de Luna Lord of Fuente Duegna, processions and signes of ioy were made at Cordoua and else where for the taking of this towne. The Melquites being purged, the Queene provided them of ornaments after the accustomed manner.

From thence the King sent the Maister of Saint Iames and the Marquis of Cales, with foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot to beginne the sege of Illora a very strong place and well defended, distant three leagues from Granado: whither the rest of the army being come, the quarters and lodgings appointed, and well fortified hauing ser waches, and sentinells in the fields, vpon towers and high eminent places, to discover from a farre off, (for being so nere Granado, they feared some todaine and vnlooked for

The King of  
Castiles army  
at the sege of  
Loxa.

Loxa yeilded.

A for assault of the Moores) the suburbs were beaten and assailed, where the Duke of Infantazgo with his troupes, had the honour of the first assault: but he perceiuing his souldiars, who at the muster made the gallantest shew in brauery of armor and apparell aboue all others, to goe coldly to the fight, cried out vnto them, „How now my fellows, shall men say of you, that you are of the number of those braggarts which are of no other worth then to make a shew in the streetes and in a muster, where men are out of danger and farre from blowes; and that you are couragious in nothing but spending of your money in brauery like vnto women, no, no, souldiars, your honor consisteth in being valiant in fight, and therefore if you be men, preferre it before your liues, and doe not endure, that being beaten backe from this place with double shame, other men should carry away the glory from you: for mine owne part rather then I will bluth at your baseness and cowardize, I am resolu'd not to suruiue such a shame, but forgetting the place which I hold, I will cast my selfe into the breach amid the greatest throng of the enemies; and whosoeuer loue their honour let them follow me.

The souldiars being ashamed, at this speech reiterated by the Earle of Cabra and others, they tooke courage, beseeching their captaine to command them what they should doe, and they marched with such fury against the enemies, as entring into the suburbs, they made a pittifull slaughter of all those which could not soone enough get into the city; against the which, the cannon being planted, the flankes and curtines were soone ouerthrowne and infinite numbers of houses perced thorow: so as the Moores fearing to bee sooner forced by the enemies, then succoured by their friends, yeilded themselves and went forth of the towne with bagge and baggage, and without their armes. The King gave the garrison of Illora, to Don *Gonzalo Hernandez* de Cordoua brother to Don *Alphonso* d'Aguiar, who was afterward surnamed the great captaine.

The army after that, marched to Moclin, whether Queene *Isabella* came to ioyne with the campe at Loxa. The towne had beene newly fortified with towers and bulwarks, more then in former times, but the battery was made with such store of ordinance, as nothing could resist it: the Christians besides did vse diuers kindes of artificiall fiars, the which did great hurt to the besieged, and burnt all their store of gunpowder, by meanes of a pot of this wild fire which flew in the ayre, and did stick fast in a tower where the said powder lay, which was blowne vp into the ayre; wherewith the Moores being amazed, they did compound to depart with their liues and goods saued. Moclin being taken, part of the army was sent to beate Montefrio, they were the troupes of Suuill, Xeres, and Carmona, whilst the King with the residew thereof made spoile vpon the confines of Granado, not without diuers encounters and sharpe skirmishes with the Moores, who came forth of the head city. The King being returned to Moclin, the captaines of Montefrio and Colomera presented themselves vnto him demanding composition, which was granted them, and the Moores went forth of those two places to Granado with their goods, but they left their armor, weapons and victuals behind them. All these places which were taken were rampired and fortified with good garrisons, victuals, and other necessities, and hauing left D. *Frederike* de Toledo, sonne to D. *Garcy Aluarez* of Toledo Duke of Alua, captaine generall of the who country newly conquered, the King and Queene returned to Cordoua.

Not long after, they marched towards Leon, to order the affaires of Galicia, which was greatly troubled, by the insolvency of the Earle of Lemos, who neuerthelesse appearing before the Kings, did humbly craue his pardon and obtained it, being fauoured by diuers great Lords of the Court: Hee was notwithstanding enioyned not to enter into Galicia for a certaine time, and the places of Ponferrada, Sarria and Castro real were taken from him and were applied to the crowne, the Kings neuerthelesse giuing a certaine summe of money for the marriage of his aunts.

These things thus ordered, the Kings went to visit Saint Iames his Church, in the which city they builded a goodly Hospitall, for the releefe of the poore and of pilgrims, from thence fetching a circuit round about the country of Galicia, they redressed diuers tyrannies which were there committed, restoring diuers monasteries and Churches, which were

Illora yeilded  
to King Fer-  
nand.

Moclin taken.

The Hospitall  
of Saint Iames  
built by King  
Fernand and  
Queene Isabel  
for the releefe  
of pilgrims.

Mutinous and  
murderous  
persons  
sent forth  
of the  
Court under  
colour of other  
employment.

Mutiny under  
colour of re-  
ligion.

The first com-  
ing of Chris-  
topher Colom-  
bus, to the King  
and Queene  
of Castile.

Qualities of  
Christopher  
Columbus.

were by force dispossessed of their goods, lands, and reuenues by certaine Knights and Gentlemen. To containe whom and all others in their duties, they established a Iudgement seate of foure Auditors, which was the beginning of the Royall Audience of Galicia, and they confirmed Don *Diego Lopes* Earle of Haro in his dignity of Viceroy of the country, as he had bene in time before. And the better to procure the peace of the countrey, they caused diuerse strong houses to be ouerthrowne and razed to the ground which serued for the repaire of theeues and robbers, and carried away with them out of Galicia diuerse mutinous and quarrellous Gentlemen, to the end they should employ their strength and courage in the warre against the Moores. The Court being returned to Benauent, the Earle shewed himselfe very liberall and magnificent in the entertainment of the Kings and the great Lords: from thence they came to Salamanca, where they spent the remainder of this year 1486.

It hapned this year in the towne of Trugillo, that the Iudge or Corrigidor of the place, hauing laide hands vpon a Priest for committing some notorious crime, and not sending him soone enough to his ordinary Iudge, the prisoners kinfolke hauing taken a Crosse in their hands, ranne vp and downe the City crying out for helpe, and said that the holy Catholike faith was trodden vnder foote, the which did so stirre vp the brutish multitude, as they ranne to take Armes, and came in tumultuous manner to the Corrigidors lodging, who was glad to make hast to deliuer the prisoner, whereof the King and Queene had notice, who were greatly displeased with such seditions, and sent certaine Iudges and Commissioners to Trugillo with forces, who executed diuerse of the mutiners according to lawe.

This year, *Christopher Columbus* borne at Cugurco vpon the riuer of Genoa, came to the Court of Castile, who made offer to search the Occidentall Ocean, where hee did undertake to discover a great land, riche and abundant in gold and other commodities, crauing ayde of the King and Queen of money and shippes, to furnish him out on such a voyage. *Columbus* was a man very expert in Navigation, and vntill that time hee had gotten his liuing by making Sea Cardes. Hee being married, and dwelling in the Isle of Madera; a shippe of Bilcay, which had for many dayes bene driuen vp and downe by tempests, and cast vpon the same coasts, whereof hee did then speake, did happen to arrive in the Island, *Columbus* brought the Pilot thereof and three other Mariners home to his house, who hauing endured much misery at sea, did there dye, and in recompence of their kinde entertainment, they did amply informe their host, whereabout these lands lay, and with what windes a man might saile thither. *Columbus* being a man of a quick apprehension, and great courage, came to King *John* of Portugall, hoping to perswade him to undertake that Navigation, offering him his seruice therein, and after that to King *Henry* the seauenth of England; in the end to Don *Henriques de Guzman* Duke of Medina Sidonia, and to Don *Lewis de la Cerde* Duke of Medina Celi, who held commodious Hauens in Castile, beseeching them to ayde him in so worthy an enterprize: but all his trauaile was to no purpose, for they esteemed him as an Italian, who by bragges and vaunts of matters which hee knew not, endeouored to relieue his pouerty. Now this year hee came to Court with letters from Frier *John Peres de Marchena*, one excellently learned in all humane learning, who dwelt at *Ruida*, which gaue good testimony of *Columbus* skill, yet all this was to small purpose: and without the assistance of *Alphonso de Quintanilla*, hee was at the point to haue giuen ouer all: *Quintanilla* hauing brought him to his house, and well founded him, gaue him access to the Cardinall of Spaine, and after that, to diuerse of the Kings speciall fauourites, by whose meanes hee was sundry times heard discourse, in so much as his speech beganne to please, and the Kings promised him ayde and employment for the discouerie of a new world, so soone as the warres of Granada were ended: In this manner *Columbus*, full of hope and courage, did constantly pursue, for the space of fixe whole yeares, the effects of the Kings promise, till at last it was performed. Hee was a man firme and constant in what hee undertooke, strong and able in trauaile, seuer, and chollerick, bigge of limbes and stature, redde faced and full of pimples.

The

A The Court lying at Salamanca, the Kings caused the Court of Chancerie to remooue from Vailladolid into their owne pallace there, which was the Bishops house, to the end they might be eye-witneses, after what manner they ended suites, and did administer iustice, in regard many complaints were made of them. And being aduertised that the Marshall Don *Pero d' Ayala* had caused a Scriueners head to be cut off, who was one of his tenants, for giuing his mother Donna *Maria*, with whom hee was at strife, a coppie of his fathers will, they sent to take him prisoner, and to seize vpon his goods.

Princesse core  
full of iustice.

When he was brought to Court, the Constable, who was allyed vnto him, (for hee had married a Neece of his, daughter to the Earle of Miranda) would haue departed, saying, that he would not be present at the iudgement of one so neere vnto him: but the Queene assuring the Constable, that the Marshall should not bee touched neither in life nor member, stayed him there. The controuersie betwixt the mother and the sonne, was referred to the Kings Councell, as also the difference betwixt the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Earle of Alua de Lista, about the Earldome of Niebla, which the Earle said did belong vnto him in right of his mother, which controuersie remaines at this day vndecided. The countrey of Biscay being at this time somewhat troubled, in regard the Kings Officers did seeme to inroach vpon their priuiledges, the Licenciate *Garcy Lopes* of Chincilla, one of the Kings Councell, was sent thither, who did iustice, and reformed many matters: but he could neuer obtaine of the people, that the Bishops should come into the countrey to visit the Churches, who sayd, that it was against their priuiledges. In regard of the warre against the Moores great leaues of souldiers were made as well in Biscay, Alaua, Guipulcoa, Asturia's, as Galicia, who marched into Andalusia towards Cordoua.

Bishops banish-  
ed from Biscay.

The state of the Moores, which was the other day vnited, became on a sudden diuided; it being an impossible matter for two Soueraignes to commaund in one country. King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal*, which possessed the citie of Granada, with a great part of the countrey, began a fresh to pursue his Nephew *Mahomet* the Little; putting all those Moores to death which tooke his part, confiscating the goods of such as he could catch: and he laboured by all meanes to procure King *Mahomet* death by poyson or otherwise, who after the taking of Loxa, had withdrawne himselfe into the towne of *Velez* the white. To that place there came to him a very dangerous Ambassage from his vncle *Muley*, saying to treat of peace and concord, with too great submissions, the better to disguise his intent, which was to kill *Mahomet*, and the Ambassadors had expresse charge so to do, who brought him some poysoned presents, to the end that if they failed in the execution of the one, yet the other might take effect. King *Mahomet* being aduertised by his friends of the Ambassadors intents, would by no meanes heare or see them, nor yet receiue their gifts, but sent them word to tell his vncle *Muley Boabdellin*, that he was sufficiently warned of his proceedings, and that he would accept of no other conditions from him, but onely to throw him out of the royall throne of Granada, which was his true inheritance, and did in no sort belong vnto him, who was a tyrant and a murderer of the Princes of his blood, for the which he did hope shortly to chaunstise him, and to cut off his head.

Moores.

Now was King *Mahomet* ayded and assisted by the commandement of the kings of Castile, by *John de Benauides*, Gouverneur of Lorcia, and by Don *Frederick* of Toledo, Gouverneur of the new-conquered countreys, and other Christian Captaines, who did often enter into the lands and territories of Granada, and were sundry times constrained to beate backe the enemies, and to defend their owne gouernements from their inuasions. This assistance notwithstanding, King *Mahomet* the Little was euill intreated by the contrarie partie, dispossessed almost of all, and brought into despayre, by which he was driuen to a marueilous hazard, either to lose all, or winne all: for hee went secretly to Granada, not hauing any intelligence there, and arriuing in the night at the gate of the Albaycin, he called to the guards, by whom he was knowne and brought in, hauing but foure or foue men in his company: there he assembled diuers of the inhabitants of the Albaycin, and did so well lay open the tyrannies and wrongs which King *Muley* his vncle had done to him, and did so perswade them by forcible reasons to fauour his right to the Crowne

Resolute enterprise  
of K. Mahomet  
the Little.

Great felition  
in Granada.

Crowne of Granado, as euery one beeing mouued with pittie towards him, and rage A  
against the tyrant, did take armes in his behalfe, and raised a great tumult in the City,  
crying out, that *Mahomet* was lawfull King. In the morning King *Muley Boabdellin*,  
who lay in the Forte of *Alhambra*, vnderstanding that his Nephew had seized on the  
Albaycin, caused his people to arme themselves, and came forth into the City, where  
hee likewise had many partakers, where this cursed nation made such hauock and spoile  
one vpon another, as imagining the streetes not to bee spacious enough for their furie,  
they went forth into the fields, and fought a fierce combate, wherein dyed multitudes  
of men, and then returning euery one into his owne Forte, they renewed the skirmishes  
and assaults a freth: but *Mahomet* the little, perceiuing his party to be the weaker, hee B  
sent to Don *Frederick de Toledo*, eldest sonne to the Duke of Alua, who was Generall  
of the Christians in the next garrisons, to entreate ayde and succour from him. Don  
*Frederick* who was wife and discreet, gathered together all the forces hee could, and  
came neere to Granado, but would by no meanes enter into it, to meete whom King  
*Mahomet* sent a Moore Captaine named *Aben-Comix* with certaine troopes of horse,  
hee himselfe remaining in the City, fortifying himselfe in certaine places. King *Muley*  
vnderstanding of Don *Fredericks* comming, sent to offer him battaile, but hee would  
not accept thereof, saying, that the Moores feigned to haue quarrels among them-  
selves, by that meanes to entrappe him and his soldours, and to enclose them: where-  
fore keeping his forces in good order without stirring, hee placed the Moores horsemen C  
ledde by *Aben-comix* in the Front to sustaine the enemies skirmishes, which were furi-  
ous and bloody. King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal*, perceiuing that the Christians kept  
themselves in order, and that by no meanes they would come to battaile, hee did re-  
enter the City, and began to assaile the Albaycin, which was courageously defended,  
in regarde that Don *Frederick* stayed more then an houre after, in order of battaile be-  
fore the City: but afterward hee returned into his Fort, leaving the Moores to murder  
one another; and because hee knew that vpon *Mahomet* the lirtles victory, King *Fer-*  
*dinands* and *Queen Isabells* content and profit did depend, hee sent him certaine Har-  
quebuziers vnder the conduct of *Ferdinand Aluarez* Gouvernour of Colmera, by whose  
valour the Albaycin held out, and the assaults and combates continued fifty dayes after, D  
King *Boabdellins* people beeing vexed within by King *Mahomet*, and abroad, by the Chri-  
stians of the next garrisons.

Castile.

Whilest these troubles continued in Granado betwixt the two factions, King *Fer-*  
*dinand* hauing assembled and reuiued the troopes, which from all parts were arriued  
at Cordoua, hee went to field with an Armie of twenty thousand horse, as well men at  
Armes, as Genets, and of fifty thousand foote: the chiefe Commanders were the Mai-  
sters of Saint James and Alcantara, the Duke of Nagera, the Marquis of Cales, and  
Villena, the Earles of Benaucnt, Vregna, Cabra, Oropeza, Feria, Cituentes, Osorno,  
Medellin, and Ribaden. Don *Alphonso d' Aguilar*, the Treasurer of Calatrava, with the  
Captaines generall of the Frontiers of Andaluzia and Murcia. Those which sent their  
forces thither, were the Cardinall of Spaine Archbishop of Toledo, the Archbishop of  
Siuiil, the Bishops of Burgos and Cuenca, the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, Alua, Play-  
sance, Medina Celt, and Albuquerque, the maister of Calatrava, the Marquis of Astorga,  
and Aguilera, the Earles of Castro, Gragna, Saint Steeuens, Miranda, Nieua, Priego,  
Fuentisilla, Alua de Lissa, Montanaga, the Constable, the great Commanders of Calatra-  
ua and Leon, with other Lords and Knights of Castile. There came likewise from Arra-  
gon diuers great Lords, among whom was Don *Phillip* of Nauarre, bastard sonne to the  
late Prince *Charles* of Viana, whom King *Ferdinand* his Vncle had newly made maister  
of the order of Montela in the Realme of Valentia, hauing obtained it of the Pope, and  
deposed *Philip Boyll* from the same dignity, who had bene elected maister thereof con-  
uentually. Don *Lewis Borja* Duke of Gandia was likewise there, with many others of Ar-  
ragon, Valentia, Sicill and Sardinia. With these great forces they undertooke to goe and  
besiege Malaga, but first of all it was thought fit to remooue all lets and impediments  
that *Velez Malaga* might do vnto them, the which place was besieged in April 1487.  
And the king being delirious to lodge certaine companies of footmen vpon a rising hill,  
which

1487.  
Velez Malaga  
besieged.

A which did greatly import the safteie of the armie, the Moores making a furious salley  
foorth of the cittie, did beate them from thence, and the King was the same time armed  
with a Cuirasse, his sword in his hand, exposing himselfe that day to the enemies ar-  
rowes and shot, which fell round about him as thicke as haile, beeing in great danger of  
his person: neuerthelesse his people by his presence were encouraged, and forced the  
Moores to turne their backs, and to shut themselves into the towne.

Albeit, that this valour of the kings be prayse-worthie, and highly to bee extolled as a  
singular example, yet notwithstanding it may be reprobued, in regard of the consequence  
of a mischiefe which might haue happened, therefore they besought him, no more to ha-  
zard his person in such dangerous attempts. The next day they assailed the suburbs,  
where the Moores had barricadoed themselves, who defended it for the space of sixe  
whole houres with such obstinacie, as the Christians could not get one foote of ground  
from them, vntill that the Duke of Nagera, and the Earle of Benaucnt came with fresh  
succours, who caused the enemies to leaue the place, but to the cost of diuers: for *Nugno*  
*d' Aquila*, and Don *Martin* of Acugna were slayne there, Don *Carlo* of Gueuara, *Garcy*  
*Lazo de la Vega*, *Fernando de Vega*, *Iohn de Merlo*, with diuers other men of note were  
hurt. The Artillerie was not yet come to the campe, therefore King *Fernand* caused di-  
uers forts to be made against the citie, wherein he lodged diuers companies of souldiers,  
and being well acquainted with the Moores pollicies, he placed in all the wayes that led to  
the campe, in the mountains and vallies, which might any way be an hinderance to the  
armie, diuers watches and sentinels, with places for them to retire vnto, which were well  
furnished and defended by valiant souldiers, vpon which occasions, sundrie profitable  
things were ordained necessarie for martiall discipline, the Moores neuer ceasing from  
comming downe from the Mountaines, and making many enterprises vpon the armie  
which they kept in continuall alarme.

King *Muley Boabdellin* on the other side, beeing importuned by the Affricane Cap-  
taines, and old Moores of Granado to succor *Velez Malaga*, he went to field with great  
numbers of horse and foote, and passing thorough sharpe and narrow places, hee sent  
part of his forces from Bentomix against the Master of Alcantara, who conducted the  
artillerie; but hauing intelligence, that king *Fernand* had sent the great Commander of  
Leon for his conuoy, he called backe the Moores, and with all his forces hee beganne the  
very same night to come downe from the hilles, and presented himselfe in order of bat-  
tell in the view of the Christian armie, making shew as if they would succour the be-  
sieged, or else dye in fight. This sudden and vnlookt-for arriuall of the enemies, made di-  
uers at their wits end, and did in a manner terrifie them: wherefore it behooued king  
*Fernand* to vse his best skill and discretion, so to order matters, as he might not receiue a  
disgrace: but Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, brother to the Cardinall of Spaine, a  
braue and resolute knight, beeing in the fore-ward with the Cardinals forces, did put  
them out of feare: for he gallantly opposed himselfe against the front of the Moores bat-  
tallions, and made them to stand still. They perceiuing the Christians valour and bold-  
nesse, did dislodge by breake of day, like runaways in such amazement, as many of them  
flung away their weapons and armor, to be the lighter to run. This notwithstanding, the  
king would not be ouer confident, but caused euery man to stand still in his order the  
whole day long and the night following, vntill he had certaine notice that the Moores  
sight was not fained but true.

King *Muley Boabdellin* by this shamefull retreat lost his reputation amongst his own  
people, so as they beganne to detest him, and to incline to his aduersarie *Mahomet* the  
Little. This Moorish armie did disperse it selfe into sundrie places, and *Muley* with-drew  
himselfe to Alnuecar, and then to Almerie, from whence he went to Guadix. By this  
disgrace of his, King *Mahomet* the Little found meanes to recover the Alhambra, and  
all the strong places of the Cittie, where hee cut off the heads of foure Moorish knights  
of the noble family of *Aben Carrax*, because they had opposed themselves against him  
at his returne from prison. By this meanes he remayned King of Granado alone, and ma-  
king vse of the king of Castiles friendship, hee obtained two truces for his vassals, and  
sufferance to goe and trafficke in their dominions, and to buy all kind of merchandizes,  
armor,

Shamefull re-  
treate of the  
Moores.Moores.  
Muley Boabdellin  
retreated, &  
Mahomet the  
Little recovered  
by the Grana-  
dins.

armor, and victuals excepted: and hee did not onely obtaine it for those Moores, A which were now obedient vnto him, but for all those that would submit themselves to his Crowne hereafter, and besides that, souldiers, artillerie, and all other prouision to pursue his Vncle, and to annoy those places which were vnder his subiection, publishing declaratorie letters of his loue and good will towards all such as within fixe moneths after would submit themselves to him, and threatening grieuous punishment to the obstinate and rebellious.

Castille.

The Moores within Velez Malaga hauing scene the flight of their King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal* were out of all hope to receiue any succour from him, and fearing that as soone as the artillerie was come, they should be enforced to yeeld, they compounded by the meanes of the Earle of Cifuentes, and yeelded vp the place, their liues and goods B beeing saued, their victuals and armor excepted: and they had licence to depart into Africke, or else where, or if it pleased them, they might remaine in Castile. The towne of Benthomix followed the example of Velez Malaga, and the gouernement thereof was giuen to *Pietro Navarro*, who from a poore youth, (although a gentleman) and from being a mariner, as it is reported, attained to the degree of a Captaine, and afterward became one of the most famous men of his time, as well in the warres of Spaine as Italy, and was created Earle of Albeto. The towne of Comares, and diuers other Castles of the Countrey called las Alpuxares, hearing of the Kings of Castiles good successe, did at the first summons without any resistance submit themselves to their obedience, C paying the same tribute to them which they did vse to pay to the Moore kings; and vpon other conditions which were imposed vpon them, to the end to be the better assured of them, till such time as they did become Mudejares, whereby they might liue in their vain superstition. The gouernement of Velez Malaga was giuen to the great Commander *Don Gutiere de Cardagna*, Superintendent or high Treasurer to the Kings.

Malaga besieged.

The neighbour Countries beeing thus cleaned of the enemies places of retreat, the D armie marched to the seage of Malaga, a cittie, as hath beene sayd, exceeding strong, and well provided of men, victuals, and all other necessities: within the which a valiant Captaine called *Hali Dmax*, had the command of diuers valiant Moores, as well of the Realme of Granada, as of Africane Gomerres, but vnderneath a Generall, or Alcayde major, who was as Consable to the King *el Zagal*, whose name was *Amir-zeli*, who was then at Guadix, from whence the King made warre vpon his Nephew, and from thence, at the earnest entreatie of his subiects, hee intended to succour Malaga, if neede were; which the Kings of Castile sent to summon, promising libertie to the Moores, and assurance of their liues and goods: but they answered that their king had placed them there, not to giue the towne to the Kings of Castile, but valiantly to defend it, whereof they meant to shew sufficient proofes.

This answer beeing made, they consulted whether it were best to batter it, or else to E beseege it a farre off, cutting off their victuals, and annoying them by the neighbour garisons, vntill they were enforced to yeeld: the king remained firme in his opinion, which was to beseege it roundly neere hand, notwithstanding, that they prayed him to consider the great strength thereof, as well by nature as by art: for the cittie of Malaga stand vpon a plaine on the sea side, which beates vpon the walles, wherewith it is well rounded: and it was flanked with strong towers according to those times, hauing two Castles seated vpon a little hill, one of which is called *Alcapaua*, and the other *Gibraltar*, which is the highest of the two, whereunto men go from the one to the other, by a way about fixe foute broad, betwixt two great walles, wherewith it was couered, and these two fortresses were likewise compassed with strong walls and high towers, furnished with Artillerie, engines of defence, and great numbers of valiant souldiers, who were all of them determined rather to dye then to yeeld.

Now for the more easie and commodious lodging of the armie, it was needfull to winne a little hill, seated a stones cast from the fort of Gibraltar, betwixt the same and an high hill: there the Moores made great resistance, notwithstanding it was wonne, and foureene thousand footmen, and fixe and twenty hundred horse were placed there, vnder the command of the Marquis of Cales: the next day after, they disposed the quarters

A ters round about the towne: the Marquis had the first, with whome were *Don Gutiere* of Sotomajor, *Don Aluaro Baçan*, *Fernand de Vega*, and the Pourveyor of Villafrañca, *Don Pedro Vaca*, and *Garçy Brauo* Captaine of Atiença, with other Capraines and Knights, namely, *Charles Arellan*, *Hernand Carillo*, *Don Francisco* of Bouadilla, *Don Diego Lopes d Ayala*, *George de Veteta*, Gouernour of Soria, and *Michel d Abassa*. The next quarter belonged to *Don Diego Fernand* of Cordoua, hauing charge of the forces of the Dukes of Albuquerque, and of Medina Sidonia, and so consequently euery man had his quarter disposed to him round about the cittie, the Earle of Cifuentes, Captaine of the men of Siuill, *Don Lorenzo Snares Figueroa*, Earle of Feria, and *Don Gutiere* of Padilla, Treasurer of Calatraua with the forces of Eccia, those of the Earle of Benauent, those of *Pero Carillo* of Albornos, and of the Arch-bishop of Siuill, then the companies of the Earle of Vregna, those of *Don Alphonso* of Aguilar, of the Duke of Nagera, of *Don Fredericke* of Toledo, of *John Aluarez*, and of *Alphonso Osorio*: *Don Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza followed after with the forces of the Cardinall his brother, the Earle of Cabra, the great Commander of Leon, with the men of Cordoua, those of *Don Garçy Lopes* of Padilla, Master of Calatraua, of *Don Antonio* of Fonseca, of *Antonio d Aguilar*, of *Don Alphonso* of Cardagna, Master of Saint Iames, those of *Don Lewis Fernand Porro Carrero* Lord of Palma, and of *Don John* of Estuniga Master of Alcantara.

Malaga beeing thus beseege, the Kings tent was knowne by the Moores, who bestowed many cannon shot vpon it from the cittie, so as they were constrained to remove it behind a little hil. The batterie planted to the most conuenient places was great and furious from the Marquis of Cales quarter against the Castle of Gibraltar, the which in many places was pierced and ouerthrowne in many places, and as soone repayed by the Moores. The Marquis hauing taken away the towers which did offend him, aduanced his lodging a stones cast neerer to the fort, but hee was constrained to returne to his former quarter by the continuall sallies which the Moores made vpon him and his people, fighting with such furie, as they came to the poynyard, and slue the Captaine of Atiença, and *Inigo Lopes* of Medran, Lord of Catiagnillas, *Gabriel* of Sotomajor, and other valiant men, besides diuers hurt, in the number of whome was the Marquis, who D was shot into the arme with an arrow, for the Moores fought from a place of great aduantage. At this seage, two great shippes of warre arrived on the coast of Malaga, commanded by *Don Ladron de Gueuara* sent from Flanders by *Maximilian* of Austria king of the Romaines, husband to the heire of Bourgondie, and father to *Philip* which was sonne-in-law to the Kings of Castile, who for the seruice of this warre did send these two vessels laden with diuers peeces of brasse Ordonance, and barrells of powder, bels for the use of the Churches of the places newly conquered, great store of mettrall, with workmen to worke it, with other instruments and things necessarie for the warre, beeing desirous for his part to partake in some sort the honour of this great conquest which his posteritie enioyeth at this day. A tower of the cittie beeing wonne with great toyle and effusion of blood, was quickly recovered againe by the Moores, who grew more obstinate in their E defence, by meanes of a false rumor raised by certaine cowards of the campe, which desired to returne home againe, who sayd, that *Queene Isabella* did sollicite the King her husband to raise his seage, because the plague was within and about diuers places of the Cittie, and in this hope the Barbarians did valiantly resist all assaults. The King to let them vnderstand, that his intent was otherwise, sent for the *Queene* to come to the campe, who was accompanied thither by great numbers of voluntarie Knights: and then hee sent word to the beseege, that if they would yeeld, he would vse them gently as hee had done others, if not, he gaue them to vnderstand, that he would not depart thence, till the cittie were taken, and that then they should expect nothing but rigor; to the which they F made no answer, but did straightly commaund that not any one amongst them should dare, vpon paine of life, to talke of any agreement or composition with the kings of Castile: and they did indeed kill diuers vpon the same occasion, being resolved to hold out till their last breath, the which did greatly prolong the seage, where powder beginning to fayle, the gallies were sent to Valencia, Barcelona, yea into Sicill, which brought thither great quantitie.

The Emperor Maximilian sends Artillery and powder from Flanders to the king of Castile.



The King of Portugall beeing entreated to send some thither likewise, did it willingly, A  
& with great speed. There was no part of the day almost, which was free from skirmishes,  
where many men of either side dyed daily: wherefore certaine Moores of the Cittie bee-  
ing displeased with the losse of their friends, and fore-seeing the danger whereinto they  
were likely to fall, yet not daring to speake of composition, did secretly send a messen-  
ger to the campe, to tell king *Fernand*, that if he would promise to saue their liues and  
goods, they would giue him entrance, whereunto the king consented, and as this Moore  
returned, he was taken by certaine Gomeres of Affricke, who assayed him with their  
swords in such sort, as he returning hurt to the campe, dyed there, and so the treaty ended.  
As the land skirmishes were continuall, so were those at sea, where the armie of Castile B  
did hinder, as much as in them lay, any entrance of comming forth of the cittie, and to  
redresse the sallies by land, there were by the diligence of *Garcy Lazo de la Vega*, *John d'Es-*  
*piniga*, and *Diego* of Tayde, diuers forts made, and great trenches drawne, where diuers  
great Corps de gard were placed, so as the Moores in that manner shutte in, could not  
do so much hurt, nor vex the armie as before it had done, the Moores beeing neuer-  
thelesse constant in their resolution to hold out to the last man, notwithstanding that  
viſtualls did greatly decrease in the cittie: for they were aduertised by diuers traitors of  
the campe of what fouer was done there good or bad, and oftentimes they told them,  
that which was false, in such sort as they were not discouraged, but did beleue, that the C  
king and Queene would shortly bee constrained to depart thence, and there were some  
that left the cittie, vnder color of yeelding themselves to the King, and to become Chri-  
stians, who falsely reported, that there was great and incredible abundance of viſtualls,  
and all other necessities in the cittie, to the end thereby to cause the Christians to leaue  
the sege, the which report did put the King and his Councell into a studie, whether they  
should cease the batteries and assaults, and keepe the sege by sea with certaine gallies,  
or else by land with certaine forts to starue them by little and little: but weighing the na-  
ture of that nation, who liue with so little meate, as it is to be wondered at, this counsell  
was reiected as vnfruitfull, wherefore the batteries were renewed, and to that end diuers  
artificiall engines were made of excellent inuention, and mynes were wrought in diuers D  
places, which beeing discovered by the industrious and vigilant Moores, were cause of  
the death of a great number of braue souldiers. King *Boabdillinel Zagal* beeing daily sol-  
licit to succour Malaga, went forth of Guadix, with certaine troupes of horse  
and foote, but beeing met and encountered by the army of his nephew *Mahomet*, which  
came forth of Granado for the same purpose, hee was vanquished and put to flight,  
whereof King *Fernand* had speedie intelligence, to his great contentment. Within the  
besieged cittie were certaine Moores that were esteemed holy men, who with mad and  
idle prattle went about to encourage the souldiers, saying, that the dead did greatly de-  
sire to rise againe, for to helpe them to driue the Christians thence, with other such like  
words, which were of great force to animate that superstitious race. There arriued at the  
campe fresh supplies of horse and foote from Arragon, Valencia, and Cattalonia, E  
which did much encourage the assaillants, who had this aduantage, not to want viſtualls.  
The K. of Tremessen being aduertised by the Moores which daily past into Affricke vnder  
the Kings safe conduct of their great good successe in those warres of Granado, sent his  
Ambassadors to them with rich presents, who did request their friendship and prote-  
ction, and permission for their Kings subiects to saile vpon the seas without hurt or feare  
of the Spanish gallies, the which was graunted them, so as the King their maister did not  
giue ayde and assistance to those of Malaga, and other Moores of Granado their enemies.  
Matters standing at a stay, a certaine Moore borne at Tunis, leading a solitarie life neere  
to Guadix, called *Abraham Alguerri*, a man of a low stature, and aged, began to preach  
how that their Prophet *Mahomet* had reuealed to him, that if Malaga were this one time  
releued, it should neuer more be in danger to be taken: therefore vnder the conduct of F  
this Hermite, who was reputed a holy man, foure hundred horsemen did hazard to enter  
the towne, who making way thorough the guards and trenches of the campe, two hun-  
dred of them passed into the cittie, and the rest of them were cut in peeces.

The Hermite in the meane time had withdrawne himselfe aside, and looking as if hee  
had

The Arabians  
liue with a  
little.

A had beene rauished in spirit, was at his prayers in great deuotion: the Christian souldi-  
ors which pursued the Moores did finde him, and brought him before the Marquis of  
Cales, who askt him what he was, hee made answer that hee was a holy man, vnto  
whom God reuealed his great secrets, which should happen in that sege, and end by  
the taking of Malaga, which the number of seauen; and what signifies seauen sayd the  
Marquis, are they yeares or moneths? they are neither yeares nor moneths, quoth the  
Hermit but weekes, daies, or howers, but enquire no farther of mee, for *Ala* (that is  
God) hath commanded mee, to tell the rest in secret to the King and Queene, and to  
none others. The Marquis although hee made a iest of that hee heard the Moore say,  
B did neuerthelesse send him to the King, by a reuolted Moore; for hee would not leaue  
his owne quarter, especially so soone after the fight: when hee arriued, the King, was a  
sleepe, and the Queene taking no delight to behold such manner of foolish people, hee  
was brought into a tent, where Don *Beatriz* de Bouadilla was in talke with Don *Aluaro*,  
Son to the Duke of Bragança who was fled from Portugall, and *Ruy Lopez* de Toledo the  
Queenes Treasurer. The Marchiones looking vpon this old Hermit, bad them giue him  
some meate: hee seeing her to bee richly appattelled, and they that were with her in like  
manner, asked those that were next him, if it was the King, and Queene, they to mocke  
him, told him it was they. Then the villaine, who of purpose came from his cell with an  
intent to kill them, layd hand vpon a short Cimeter, that hee wore vnder his habit, and  
C therewith gaue Don *Aluaro*, such a stroake vpon the head, as he had well neere flaine him;  
and being ready to doe as much to the Marquis; the Treasurer there present did hold  
him backe, and the rest runne out of the tent, yet at the noyse diuers of the Marquis ser-  
uants, came running in and hewed the wicked Hermit in peeces. The King beeing a-  
wake and hearing what was done, did greatly wonder at his boldnesse, and was after-  
ward better guarded. The peeces of the Moores body, were with engines throwne into  
the City, in reuenge whereof the Moors did kill a Christian prisoner, who was a man of  
note, and setting him vpon an asse, they draue it towards the campe, where at the same  
instant Don *Henriques* de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia with his trayne did arriue,  
who besides the supply of souldiours, which hee brought, did lend the King twenty thou-  
D sand golden doubles, and the very day of his comming, more then a hundred shippes lo-  
den with viſtualls and munition did arriue in the roade neere to Malaga, where with the  
army was greatly refreshed, and the Duke highly honored and esteemed, for such a ser-  
uice: Soone after, there arriued other succors from the Duke of Infantazgo. The Moores  
being againe summoned to yeeld, and not to attend the miseries, which a victory gotten  
by force doth bring with it, being still obstinate, and hauing notice of certaine disca-  
ses in the campe, they would by no means harken there-vnto: wherefore they were as-  
sayled a fresh, and did as valiantly defend themselves, killing many Christians. The  
citty beeing in great want of viſtualls, the Moores did already beginne to eate roasted  
skins, and other such like things, but they had still some idle Prophet or other which con-  
E firmed them in there obstinacy: yet notwithstanding, two of the cheefest Moores in the  
citty, whose names were *Amet*, *Aben-Amar*, and *Ali Dudux*, and with them an *Alfaqui*  
called *Abraham Alharis*; with diuers Marchants, officers, and men of quality, being ioy-  
ned together, came and besought the gouernour to take some order, for the people of  
the City, which dyed for hunger, who without any hope of releefe, could not auoyd  
the enemies rigor, and that hee needed not to thinke it a disgrace to him to yeeld the  
citty of Malaga, seeing that other places as strong as it in the realme of Granado had  
yeelded to the Christians: if hee thought to better their estate by a battayle, they wist  
him to march forth to the fight, for they were not able any longer to liue, in so great  
necessity: but all this serued to no purpose. The King perceauinge the obstinacy of  
F this wretched people, caused certaine peeces of ordonance to bee bent against the tow-  
ers of the bridge, the first of which was wonne by assault, *Francisco Ramiers* of Madrid  
Captaine of the artillery, hastning and increasing the battery to prepare entrance for the  
souldiours was by the king made knight the same day for his good seruice. The besieged  
being brought to the last dispaire, a great troupe of horse and foote animated by one of  
their Prophets, made a furious sally vpon the quarters of the masters of Saint Iames, and  
Alcantara, where at the beginning they caused great disorder comming vnlookt for,  
but

A Mahometan  
Hermitee  
murderer.

Superstitions  
Moores.

Kkkk

but at the last they were repulsed and beaten back with great slaughter, and the Moore A Prophet was the first man that was slain. By this overthrow the Alcaide or Gouvernor being excused from making any more resistance, gaue the inhabitants leaue to capitulate as well as they could with the Kings of Castile: wherefore they sent *Amet-Aben-Amat*, and *Ali Dudux*, and three other principall Moores to the Campe, who besought the Kings to receiue them for Mudejares or vassals, and to giue to them and the rest of the Citizens, the towne of Coin to dwell in, and to permit those that would, to passe into Affrick with their goods: the King told them that the great Commander of Leon should make them an answer, the which was, that for as much as the extremity of hunger had constrained them to yeeld, and not any good will to the Kings, it behooued them to yeeld to their mercy. Those of the towne hauing vnderstood the Kings resolution by their deputies, did say, that in regarde they went about to take away the liberty of their persons, they were resolved to hang five hundred Christian prisoners on the walls, and then to come forth every man with his sword in hand, and to dye fighting: the King sent them word that if they did put one Christian to death, hee would without any mercy, put them all to the edge of the sword. Those of Malaga once againe sent fouretee Moore of euery quarter of their City to the Campe, who brought with them a writing which they shewed for an example of the deceased Kings of Castiles clemencie vnto the subuigated Moores, and with great humillity they begged for mercy. Diuers of the Lords and Captaines were of opinion to put all that raskally obstinate nation to death, C who were enemies to the name of a Christian: but the Queenes more iust and Christian-like opinion was followed, which was to saue all their liues. Then the King wrote back to them, that their liues were onely granted, and no more: whereat the Moores being much astonied, were at strife amongst themselves, some being of opinion to make a desperate sally vpon the Christians with their weapons, and to set fire on the City, and all the wealth thereof, following the examples of certaine townes of Spaine in antient times; but they who thought it better to become slaues, did preuaile. Thus was the City of Malaga yeilded: the great Commander of Leon entring first into it with his troops in armes, by means of hostages, who seized vpon the City, towers and Fortes thereof, and hauing disarmed the Moores of all their weapons and munitions, all people D of both sexes and of all ages were assembled in the two base Courts of the Castle of Alcaçauo, where most lamentable cries of Morish men and women were heard, lamenting their liberty, and goodly City lost, with their Fortes, Towers and Castles, which could not defend her Cittizens liues, nor giue them buriall after their death. Among the multitude, twelue renegades Christians were found, who serued as spies for the Moores, who were stricken thorow with Darts, and so slaine: the Christian prisoners were deliuered and sent home to their houses, fauoured and rewarded by the Kings. Two other Sea townes neere to Malaga, were likewise taken, and the Moores made slaues, by *Pedro de Vera* whom the King had sent thither.

After that all things were surely possessed by the Christians in Malaga, the Bishops E and Clergie made their entrance, who performed the accustomed ceremonies, purifications, dedications, with such other solemnities, as wee haue heretofore written: and the Kings hauing at the same time received a Bull from Pope *Innocent*, by the which hee granted them and their successors, authority to name and appoint Bishops and other Ecclesiasticall dignities needfull in the Realme of Granada, it was thought fit to restore the Bishops: so to the City of Malaga, as it had bene in times past, and Don *Pedro de Toledo* was chosen Bishop of the same, who was a Channon of Siuill, a man of great learning and merit, who was confirmed therein by the Pope, vnto whom the Kings sent a hundred Moores Gomerers of Affrick for a present, and to Queene *Isabe* of Naples the Kings sister, fifty Morish maides, and thirty to the Queene of Portugall: of all the other slaues, the third part of them was diuided among the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Captaines of the Campe: an other third part was imployed for the redemption and exchange of Christian Captines: and an other third part remained to the Kings, towards their great costs and charges sustained in that siege, the which lasted three moneths and one day, which was the eighteenth of August this yeare 1487.

The

A The order and gouernment of the Cittie being disposed, the commaund thereof was giuen to Don *Garcia Fernandes Manrique*, who had bene Corrigidor of Cordoua. The Iudges, Rectors, and Iurates, with other Officers of iustice, being established, the goods were distributed to such as were receiued for new inhabitants, who were provided of good and wholesome lawes, though fit and necessarie for those times.

These matters with others being dispatched, the King and Queene returned victorious and triumphant to Cordoua, where they were no sooner arrived, but they began to thinke vpon necessarie prouisions for the next yeares warre: for, seeing they had had so happy successe alreadie, they were very loth to giue it ouer by any interruption whatsoever.

B In the interim of these great busineses, the strifes of diuers Arragonois did still trouble the Kings eares, for that in regard of his long absence, all appeales coming before the Magistrate, whom they call Iustice of Arragon, all euident wrongs, excesses, and outrages committed by the great ones, were with partialitie drawne out in length. The Kings left Cordoua and came to Sarragossa, where they assembled the Estates to redresse those insolencies which were complained of. The Estates being perswaded by the Vice-chancellor of the Kingdome, whom the King had appoynted to speake vnto them, did relinquish diuers poynts of their pretended rights and liberties, and did suffer many things to be reformed, and namely, they were content to establish the Courts of iustice of the Hermandades or brotherhoods, after the manner of Castile, a most profitable and C necessarie matter for the whole cuntry, and did besides that obtaine great subsidies of money for the King towards the wars of Granada. And because the Inquisition brought great profite to the Kings coffers in Castile, of the goods of the Iewes and Moores, which were reuolted to their foolish superstitions: it was decreed, that like proceeding should be vsed against them in Arragon, and Iudges appointed to make their definitiue sentence. One of the sayd Commissioners had like to haue bene slayne, by those manner of people, on a morning in the Church of Sarragossa, which gaue them occasion to enquire more diligently of such as were faulty: wherein, choller, greedinesse of gaine, and desire to fill the kings coffers, made them greatly to exceed, the which the practise of D their successors at this day can very well witnesse: the obstinate were burned, and those which did reconcile themselves, or were in any fault at all, were fleeced to the very quick.

The Kings passing into the Realme of Valencia, which was troubled with the same diseases, did call the Estates to Orihucla, where they made diuers goodly Edicts. Whilst the Court lay at Valencia, there entred into Cattalonia an Ambassador from the French king *Charles* the eighth, sent to King *Fernand*, who sent to meete him, and to let him vnderstand, that vlesse he brought with him the restitution of the Earledome of Rossillon, he might returne from whence hee came, and for ought that the Ambassadour could say or do, he could not be suffered to come to Valencia, but was enforced to returne without being heard or seene. King *Charles* at the same time was troubled with ciuill warres E against the Duke of Orleance, Duke *Francis* of Brittain, and the Lord of Albret, who was dispossessed of his lands, father to *John* of Albret who was king of Nauarre, and with others.

Hermandades  
in Arragon.  
Inquisition in  
Arragon.

King *Fernand*  
refuseth to  
heare or see the  
French Ambassadour.

Kkkk 2

John

The City of  
Malaga yeeld-  
ed.

Don *Pedro de*  
*Toledo* Bishop  
of Malaga.

# John of Albret, and Katherine of Nauarre, Kings of Nauarre, accounted for the 35. in the order of the Kings.

Nauarre.

John Vicount  
of Narbonne  
quarrells for  
the Earledome  
of Foix, and  
Saigneary of  
Bearn.

JOHN of Albret, the sonne of *Alain*, of whom we haue made mention heretofore, was married to *Catherine* the heire of Nauarre: but before we come to the declaration thereof, it shall be needfull to speake of the state wherein the late King *Francis Phœbus* left the succession to his sister *Katherine* who reigned after him. *John*, Vicount of Narbone, vnkle B to her, and to the deceased King, did forth-with quarrell with the Lords of Foix and Bearn, saying, that for those lands, lying vpon the limits of the Realme of France, where women do not succeed, that Queene *Catherine* his Neece was incapable of enioying them, and therefore shee ought to content her selfe with her inheritance of Nauarre, which is gouerned by other lawes, and to leaue those two Lordships to him. Vpon this strife great warre arose betwixt the parties the Vicount of Narbonne, beeing fauoured by *Iasper* of Villemur, Seneshall of Foix, and the Lord of Calmont, *John* of Castel Verdin, and others; who the year 1484. leading with them forces of horse and foot, tooke, through the trecherie of one called *Romengas*, the towne of *Maçeres*, and then they seized on *Monthault*, and in the end they came to assaile *Pamiers*, where the citizens would willingly haue receiued the Vicount, whom they acknowledged to be a son of the house of Foix, but not his souldiers, whereat the Vicount being enraged, went to *S. Antonies*, which is the Cathedral church, and the Bishops place of residence, from whence he draue away *Paschal*, who was Bishop and possessor thereof, and enthronized *Mathew Artigalu* therein, who pretended and pleaded the sayd Bishopricke against the other: the Vicount moreover, doing his best to enter into *Pamiers*, but the inhabitants persisting in their resistance, he was constrained to retire to *Maçeres*, from which place he continued the war against his Neece, and the princeesse *Magdalen* her mother, who sent in the year 1485. *John* of Lautrec to keepe and defend the countrey of Foix with diuers troupes leauied in Bearn, and in the Earledome of Bigorre, as also to recouer that which *John* of Foix Vicount had vsurped. *Lautrec* marching on to execute his commission, was preuented by the way by *Raymond Lordat*, Lord of Rodel, who intreated him, from those of Sauardun, who some few dayes before had yeilded to the Vicount, to pardon them, in regard they did it to auoyd the present danger, and to appease the Vicounts furie, against whom they were not strong enough to resist, they being desirous with all their hearts to serue queene *Catherine* their naturall Princeesse, and that if her pleasure were to receiue them, they would obey her, and most willingly would cast off the Vicounts yoke: therefore the Lord of Rodell intreated him to make all the hast he could to Sauardun, assuring him that hee should be kindly welcomed, and let into the towne. *Lautrec* accepting this offer marched thither, and arriued at the bridge gate, at the same instant, when as the Vicount of Narbone, who was aduertised of all their practises entred at another gate called *Vlmet*. These two Lords being met together in this sort, did in stead of assailing one another, performe offices of complement, and they fell into discourse of peace, which grew to this conclusion, that *John* of Foix should enioy Sauardun, *Maçeres*, *Monthault*, and *S. Espartio*, with the church of *S. Anthony*, the castle of *Heremen* and *Montagu*, with other places and forts, the which agreement, as being vnlawfull, was not obserued: for within a few dayes after, *Odes* Cardinall of Carcasson, recouered *Montagu* and *S. Anthony*, and restored them to Queene *Catherine*. *Lautrec* likewise on the other side took *Montagu*, *S. Espartio*, with the castle of *Heremen*, which he ouerthrew. In those busineses was queene *Catherine* entertayned in the beginning of her raigne, to the great contentment of the chief Lords of the factions in Nauar, who in the meane time managed their owne affaires by the intelligences which they had in Castile, notwithstanding any impediment that the Lord of *Aubenas* was able to giue them, who was Viceroy in that Kingdome.

The yeare following, which was 1486. *John* Vicount of Foix in recompence of the losses he had sustained, did by intelligence with certaine of the Inhabitants surprize the towne

A towne of *Pamiers*, and left the Lord of *Lauellane* with certaine companies of souldiers there: but Captaine *Peter Bunsiere*, did, by the selfe same meanes, and by the helpe of a Locke-smith who made false keyes to the gate of *Conserans*, beeing sent thither by the Princeesse *Magdalen*, and the Queene her daughter, recouer the sayd towne, slew diuers of the Garrison with *Lauellane* their Captaine, and carried thence whatsoeuer hee found: yet for all this, the warre ended not; but continued to the great hinderance and preiudice of the countreies of Foix and Bearn: during which turmoyles, the Princeesse *Magdalen* reiecting the great and profitable match which was offered by the Prince of Castile, married her daughter to *John* of Albret, which caused many troubles in the Realme of Nauarre: For it was no easie matter to bring the factious to any reason. Those which had any intelligences with Castile; were so farre off from desiring this marriage with Prince *John* of Castile, as they hindered it to their vttermost power, because they would not be subiect to a Prince that was mightie, and had means to punish their crimes, and yet neuerthelesse, they could make vse of the occasion, why that match was not accomplished, by resisting their Princeesse and *John* of Albret her husband, and by that meanes vpheld themselves in their tyrannies. The absence of the Cardinall of Foix, the Queenes Vnkle, was a great hinderance to her affaires: For this yeare 1486. he was sent for to Rome by Pope *Innocent* the eighth, to be employed for the pacification of Naples, which was troubled with ciuill wars betwixt the Barons and their King *Fernand*, the same king beeing at great strife with the Pope, who sent this Cardinall to Naples with power as Legate *à latere*, where in some sort, he composed those differences: but he dyed at Rome, and neuer returned more into Nauarre: the state of which Kingdome beeing thus miserably distracted, *Amand*, Lord of Albret, father to the new king, did resolute to enter into Nauarre, where hauing had conference with the Lord of *Aubenas* his brother, who was Viceroy there, and then with *John de Ribera*, who spoiling the countrey for the King of Castile at the same time, vnder color of defending and vpholding the Constable *D. Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, and who had taken certaine townes, he delt in such sort, as he perswaded him to go with him to Valencia to king *Fernand*, where being arriued, the Lord of Albret beeing welcomed and kindly entreated, did beseech the King to accept of the desire he had to do him seruice, in stead of the effect, for so much as he was a poore Knight, vniustly expelled from his countrey by the French King, who was mooued against him, and *John* of Albret his sonne, whose person with his kingdome of Nauarre, hee came to offer vnto him, requesting him to receiue them into his protection: and also that he had commission to make the like request for the Dukes, *Francis* of Brittain, and *Lewis* of Orleance, pursued and afflicted by the same King *Charles*, each of whom promised him seruice and ayde for the recouerie of his Earledome of *Rosillon*, and in all other occasions. The Lord of Albrets speech was fauourably and attentively heard by King *Fernand*, who graunted all that which hee demanded in the behalf of the king his son, commanding *John de Ribera* to restore to him or his Lieutenants *Viana*, with all the rest of the places, which he held in the Realme of Nauar. And did moreover giue order for the rigging forth of an army by sea in *Guipuscoa* and *Biscay*, against the French King for the aide of the aboue-named Princes, who had likewise sollicitated *Henry* the seventh King of England to take their part, who inclined thereunto, so as a great number of Spanish shippes did lye vpon the coasts of Brittain, whose Admirall was Monsieur *Gralla*, with whom *Alain* of Albret returned, and an armie out of England was likewise sent, conducted by the Lord *Scales* to the hurt of the French-men, who by meanes of a victorie obtained by *K. Charles* or his Lieutenants, at *S. Aubin*, did deliuer themselves from all danger, the D. of Orleance, and Monsieur *Gralla* being taken prisoners: the Lord of Albret escaped, and the D. of Brittain died for griefe of mind, leauing two daughters, *Anne* the eldest, albeit that she was promised to *Maximilian* King of the Romans, who was of the D. of Orleance faction, was won by King *Charles* to be his wife, who was desirous by such a marriage to vnite the Dutchie of Brittain to his Crowne. And because he was betrothed to *Margueritt* of Austria, daughter to the king of the Romaines, who beeing very young, was brought vp in France, in hope of the future marriage, he sent her home againe, and she was afterwards married to Prince *John* of Castile.

The factious of  
Nauar hinder  
their Princeesse  
marriage.

Castilians foile  
the Realme of  
Nauar.

Amand of Al-  
bret, succiteth  
the K of castile  
to mar upon  
K. Charles the  
eighth.

King Fernand  
fauours Amand  
of Albret a-  
gainst King  
Charles.

K. Charles his  
victorie at S.  
Aubin.

The Britons  
oppose them-  
selves against  
the French  
King.

The Bretons euer hating the French gouernment, keeping their Princeesse in the Castle A of Nantes, made new practises with the Kings of Castile and England, and obtained great ayde from both of them, Don *Diego Peres Sarmiento* Earle of Salinas, beeing Generall of the Spanish Armie on the coast of Brittain, with Don *Pero Cavillo de Albornos*, and other renowned Captaines, hauing two hundred men at armes, and great numbers of footmen, Crosbowes, Pikes, and Harquebuziers, who were called in those dayes Espingardiers. King *Charles* in the meane time came with a mighty Armie, and besieged Nantes, and by intelligence with some, hee obtained the Citty, Castle, and the Dutchesse whom hee married in the yeare 1489. and made her French Queene, making himselfe Maister of her inheritance, in despight of the Britons. This faire and gracious Princeesse *Anne*, was daughter to Dutchesse *Marguerite*, and grand-child to Queene *Leonora* of Nauarre, as hath beene already said, and coosin germaine to Queene *Catherine* of Nauarre, of whom we now treat.

Castile.

Death of Don  
Garcy Aluarez  
and of D. Al-  
onso de Estu-  
niga.

Wee will now returne to the Kings of Castile. After the assembly of the states of the Realme of Valencia at Orihuela, where diuerse ancient customes were reformed, and many notable orders receiued and established, they came to Murcia, with an intent to warre vpon the Moores from that part. There did Don *Frederick de Toledo* Captaine of the Kings guards, aske leaue to visit Don *Garcy Aluarez de Toledo* his father, who lay deadly sick; in whose dignities, to wit, the Dutchie of Alua, the Marquisat of Coria, and Earldome of Barco, his sonne succeeded him. This yeare likewise dyed Don *Aluaro d' Estuniga* Duke of Playfance, leauing his sonne of the same name successor in his Dutchie. The Bishop of Astorga likewise dyed, in whose place *Bernardin de Carnajall* was substituted, who was afterward Cardinal of the Sea of Rome, of the title of the holy Crosse. The companies from all parts of the kingdome made their Rendez-vous at Lorca, whether King *Ferdinand* marched, hauing in his company the Duke of Albuquerque, the Marquis of Cales, the Earles of Lemos, Saint Steuens, Castro, Cibra, Montagü, Buendia, and Don *Henry Henriques* the great Maister, Don *Pero Lopes de Padilla* Captaine of the frontiers of Castile, Don *John Chacon*, Captaine of the frontier of Murcia and others. The Army beeing ready to march, the Marquis of Cales, and the Captaine of the frontier of Murcia leading the foreward, marched against the Citty of Vera, the inhabitants whereof, who were Moores, beeing assured that they came towards them, would not fall into the like mischief as those of Malaga, wherefore they sent out before to the Marquis, offering to yeeld their Citty to King *Ferdinand*, if hee were there in person: wherefore the King made hast, and the Citty submitted vnto him on condition that their liues, liberties and goods might bee sau'd, with promise to liue in their religion in the next townes, or else where they should thinke good. *Garcy Lasso de la Vega* Maister of the Kings Hall, was made Gouernor of Vera. Diuers others strong townes and castles on those marches, beeing moued by the reports of the Kings clemency, and fearing likewise their great power, sent their Alfaqins or wise Councillors and deputies, to offer them obedience and tribute, as they were accustomed to pay to the Moore Kings, and namely the two Velez, the white and the redde, Muxicar, Cucuas, Telleisque Huefcar, and Porchena, Tabara, Alborca, Serena, Torilla, Monjagar, Tabernas and Benamaruel: the inhabitants of which places and diuers others, made themselves Mudejars or vassals to King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell*, keeping their ceremonies and sect. The Armie after this marched towards Almerie, the which towne was then onely lookt vpon by certaine light skirmishes with the Moores of the garrison: then part of the army marched on forward within the view of Baza, where King *Muley Boabdellin* was then in person, who came forth with certaine troopes of horse and foote, and made a great skirmish, where D. *Phillip* of Nauarre and Arragon dyed, who was maister of Montezza, nephew to the King, and sonne to Prince Don *Charles* of Viana, by vs oftentimes heretofore mentioned, with other men of note, the which caused the Christians to make their retreat, who were insolently pursued in the Rere by the Moores, who notwithstanding were afterward beaten back by the Captaine of the frontier of Murcia. King *Ferdinand* leauing for that time Almerie and Baza, two strong places, marched towards Huefcar which yeelded, and Don *Rodrigo Manrique* was made Gouernor thereof.

Whilest

Vera yeilded  
by compulsion.

Places yeilded  
to the King  
and Queene  
of Castile.

A Whilest the warre continued in these quarters, the Capraine of Alua de Tormes, and the gouernor of the Duke of Aluas lands, did Bastonado one of the Kings Collectors of his rents, which the King hauing notice of, the Licentiate *Lewis de Polanco* Prouost of the Court was sent thither to doe Iustice therevpon, who tooke the Capraine of Alua in his owne Castle, and caused him to bee hanged in the same place where hee had done the deed: As for the Gouernour of the Countrey, hee was brought to the Chancery at Valiodelit, and there condemned to haue his hand stricken off, and to bee for euer banished out of the Kings dominions. In the which place of Valiodelit the Court came and wintered: there was an Edi& made concerning the moneys, that the siluer coyne should bee thenceforth made of the same sterling as that of Paris.

It was enacted not long before in Portugall, to coyne certaine kindes of gold of two and twenty Carates, of the golden mine of Guiney, and likewise certaine siluer money, called, Twenties, of the worth of twenty Res, which were equialent to the Maraudis of Castile: for thirty six Res, were at that time worth a Real, as thirty six Maraudis in Castile and Nauar: The affaires of which kingdome since the execution of the Lords made by King *John* were quiet and peaceable; for euery one seeing that hee had not spared his owne blood, kept himselfe still, and this King was not onely reuerenced in Portugall, but likewise in Affricke, where hee possessed much land: in so much as the Moores of Azamor, who had beene in times past vnder the subiection of Portugall, and were now reuolted, did againe this yeare submit themselues vnto it: about which time he built the Fountaine at Setuball. And hauing no businesse to hinder him, hee went about to pursue new enterprises, no lesse profitable for mankind, than honorable to the house of Portugall: Hauing had the opinion and aduise of diuerse great personages skillfull in Cosmographie, and all other Mathematicall sciences, and especially good Marriners, hee sent away *Bartholmew Dias*, with a certaine religious Frier, named *Anthony*, inioyning them to coast the shoares of Affricke of the Ocean sea, till they could bee able to relate vnto him how farre that land stretched, and how the voyage which hee conceived in his owne vnderstanding, might bee made by the South into the East, to the countreys and Islands where the spices growe: *Bartholmew Dias* and the Fryer arrived at the Cape of *Bona Speranza*, or good hope, which is the farthest stretched out point of Affricke beyond the Equinoctiall winter Tropicke, and doubting againe the East, they came to the mouth of the Iland termed by them, of the Infant, which is a hundred and fifty leagues farther then the Cape of good hope. There Fryer *Anthony* with the consent of *Bartholmew Dias* landed, and trauailed with such turnings vp and downe this vnknown world, as hee brought himselfe with great labour and danger, as it is credible, into Palestine to the Citty of Ierusalem, taking a carefull note of all things.

*Bartholmew Dias* returned by sea into Portugall, the same way hee came, and informed the King of all that hee had seene or knowne of the shoares and sea coasts: as Fryer *Anthony* did the like of his land voyage, beeing returned a good while after, the which encreased King *Johns* desire to execute his praise-worthy enterprise, esteeming, and not without reason, that by the knowledge and practise of that Nauigation great profit might redound to his kingdome. Now the better to vnderstand the costs and charges of this trafficke for Spices brought from the Islands of the Moluccoes, and to bee able to reckon what the commoditie thereof might come to, following the passage of the Ocean sea: hee sent *Pedro de Couanilla* and *Alphonso de Pajua* into the East, who were wise and discrete persons, and very skillfull in the Arabian tongue, to bring him word of the traffick of these countries: Hauing then furnished them with money, credit, and other necessities for so long a voyage, they went to Naples, and from thence by Rhodes to Ierusalem, from whence they passed by Alexandria to Caire, then they went to Aden, to Ormuz, and at last came to Calicut, and other places of the Indies, carrying with them for their conduct, a Carde or Compasse made by the licentiate *Caladilla* Bishop of Viseo, the Doctor *Rodrigue*, *Pero d'Alcaçaba*, and *Moyes* a Jew, who had drawne it after the description of *Martin* of Boheme the great Mathematician, taking information of all the parts of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia,

Injury done to  
one of the kings  
Receiuers of  
his money, and  
punishment of  
the offenders.

Moneys.

15  
Portugal.

Nauigation of  
the Portugals  
into the Ocean  
sea, pursued by  
the commande-  
ment of King  
John.  
Cape de Bona  
Speranza.  
River of the  
Infant.

Fryer Antho-  
nies long and  
dangerous  
journey.

King John  
diligence to  
leave the voy-  
age to the East  
by the Ocean  
sea, and the  
Iland of Mo-  
lucce.

Persia, and of the Indies where there is any trafficke, faires or assemblies of people. **A** *Alphonso Payus* died in this voyage: *Pedro de Couanilla* was deteined by *Prester John* Emperour of Ethiopia, so as the King could haue no relation from any of them concerning their voyage: yet *Couanilla* found meanes to write a discourse of what hee had learned, and sent it afterward to the King, by one *Rabi Abraham*, and *Ioseph de Lamago*, who hauing beene already in Persia, were sent backe againe by King *John* to heere some newes of the said *Pedro de Couanilla*. This discourse did whet on the Kings desire to effect this voyage, for the which purpose he did arme certaine Carauels this yeere 1488. at the same time the marriage of his sonne Prince *Alphonso*, and the Infanta *Isabella* eldest daughter to the King of Castile, whereof mention was made in the treaty of peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall, was wholly agreed vpon, albeit the Prince was then but thirteene yeeres of age: For the charges of which marriage the Estates of the Kingdome gaue to King *John* the sum of a hundred thousand golden cru- fadoes: at which time the King being desirous to aduance to wealth and honor *D. Pedro de Meneses Earle of Villareal* and Lord of *Almeyda* beeing at *Beja*, he created him Mar- quis of *Villareal*, and Earle of *Oren*.

Castile.

There came now into Castile a great Ambassage from *Maximilian* of Austria King of the Romans, who in the city of *Valiodelit* propounded to King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, the desire which that Prince had to ally himselfe more streightly with them by marriages, demanding the Infanta *Isabella* for himselfe, and the Infanta *Joane* their daughters for his sonne *Philip*, setting downe diuers commodities which such a coniunction might bring with it, namely in making warre vpon the French. These Ambassadors beeing come by sea, their charges borne thorow the Kings coun- tries, and highly honoured, they did returne with an answer, conteyning very gracious and pertinent excuses: to wit, that the Infanta *Donna Isabella* was promised to Prince *Alphonso* of Portugall, but as for the Infanta *D. Joane*, who was a young child, conside- ring that the long attendance for such a marriage might weary the Archduke *Philip*, they could say nothing, but that as soone as she should be of age, if the occasion should serue, they would esteeme the alliance and friendship of so great Princes as most honoura- ble and highly to be desired, and that they beeing at that instant greatly busied in the warres of *Granado*, could hardly thinke as yet vpon the French warres. Whilst the Court staid at *Valiodelit*, *Isabella* caused the city of *Playfance* to be surprized and taken from *Aluaro d'Estuniga* who bare the title of Duke thereof, where three esta- blished officers of the crowne: and because the castle made some resistance, shee cau- sed it to be beseged by those of *Salamanca*, *Ciudad-Roderigo*, and the men of *Extre- madura*: but the Duke knowing it to be to no purpose to make resistance, did forth-with commaund to yeeld it vp: so this city was reunited to the crowne this yeere 1488. The Dukes of *Playfance* did then and afterwards intitle themselves Dukes of *Bejar*. Those of the family of *Caruajall* did chiefly assist the Queene in this enterprise. The same yeere died *Donna Beatrice Pimentell*, who was wife to *Don Aluaro de Luna* Con- stable of Castile and Maister of Saint Iames, who was executed by order of law, shee liued fife and thirty yeeres in honest widdow-hood, and lies buried in the Cathedral Church of *Toledo* in the Chappell of Saint Iames neere to her husband. The Kings passed this yeere in the aboue named busineses about prouision of necessary things for the future warre of *Granado*, doing iustice, and in persecuting the new con- uerts returned to *Iudaisme*, who were oftentimes ouerthrowne by false and slanderous accusations, whereof inquiry was principally made at *Toledo*, where diuers false witnesses were punished.

Playfance ta-  
ken from D.  
Aluaro de E-  
stuniga.

Jewes and  
conuersted  
Moones obser-  
ued by Spani-  
shes repa-  
rati.

Moore.

During this stay in old Castile farre from the Moores, they taking aduantage of the occasion, did freely ouer-runne the country and surprized the city of *Nixar*, care- lessly kept by capitaine *Bernard Francisco*, where they slew three score gentlemen, and preuailed against the Christians in diuers other encounters, killing many, in number of whom the Commaunder *Ruy Diaz Maldonado*, sonne to *Doctor Roderic*, Lord of *Aquila Fuente* was one, who was a valiant knight, they tooke and burnt the towne of *Cuellar*, constraining the Christians that kept it to saue themselves within the castle, the

**A** the which they defended by the space of fife daies against the enraged assaults of the Moores by the discretion and valour of *Iohn d' Aualos* Lieutenant to capitaine *Charles de Viedma* who was absent.

In the spring of the yeere 1489. King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, departed from *Valiodelit*, and came by *Guadalupa* not without great deuotion, to *Iaen*, with intent to goe and beseege *Baça*: for this purpose they had leauied thirteene thousand horse, and foure and twenty thousand foote, who hauing mustered at *Sottogordo*, the army beganne to march, the Maister of Saint Iames conducted the vangard, and had for fore-runners, according to the antient custome, the capitaine de los Donzelles, with the Prouost Marshalls, whose charge was to provide the lodgings of the campe: King

**B** *Fernand* knowing that the sege would bee long and difficult, and that the Moores of *Guadix* and *Almery*, which held King *Boabdelsins el Zagals* part, would disturbe them as much as in them lay, did place guards and watches in fit places, as well to withstand sur- prises, as to secure the victuallers and other people which serued and followed the campe. The first attempt which the army made, was at *Cujar*, a strong place, and fur- nished with all manner of munition for the warres, by reason whereof being summo- ned, they answered with armes, sallying forth to skirmish: but it was to their losse, for beeing put to flight they lost their suburbs, which they had intrenched and fortified, from whence they were afterward so pressed, and vexed, as abating their courage, they would gladly haue yeelded vpon any reasonable conditions, the which the King refu- sed, being highly displeased that they had resisted his mighty army: whereat they be- came so enraged and desperate, as in the next skirmish they made such slaughter of the Christians, as the King resolued to grant them whatsoeuer they demanded: so they yeelded vp the towne, and retired themselves with all their baggage in safety to *Baça*: soone after the fortress of *Benfalema* yeelded it selfe, with others. The Earle of *Ten- dilla* receiued *Canillas* by composition beeing a league distant from *Baça*. The take- ing of these forts prepared the access to *Baça*, within which place, King *Zagall Boabde- lin* had put tenne thousand souldiers as well horse as foote, with diuers expert capitaines, taking the greatest care he could for the well fortifying and keeping thereof, being the

**C** place of most importance, and the chiefe Bulwarke of the small state that was left him: for that being lost, hee was no more able almost to make any resistance. The Christian army being re-enforced with new troupes diuided it selfe into two parts, which lodged round about *Baça* a farre off, which gaue libertie to the Moores to goe out and in at their pleasures without any difficulty or danger: wherevpon the King taking counsell, he caused the campe to remooue, and to place the quarters neerer to the towne: The Moores who thought it was not for their proffit, comming forth to fight, did main- taine it for the space of twelue houres with a wonderfull resolution, and it may well bee termed a battaile, for the whole forces almost of either side, came to ioyne, and a great number of valiant men were there slaine: the conclusion was, that the Moores were glad to retire, and were in despight of them shut in, and the Christian army lodged in their gardens. Yet notwithstanding, this feat of the campe being not thought to bee very commodious for diuers respects, the King caused the lodgings to be remoued where they were at first: and in this retreat the beseged failed not to anoy their enemies by all meanes possible.

The difficulty being great to hinder the furious sallies of those barbarous people, the opinions therevpon were sundry and vncertaine, so as the King was at the point to raise the sege, and to cause great forts to bee raised round about it, furnished with strong guards, and to strengthen the neighbour garrisons, and by these slow meanes to tame the enemies and make them yeeld: but because Queene *Isabel* did greatly desire to see an end of this warre of *Granado*, to whose constancy the pursute thereof and the conquest of that Kingdome, so long time held by the Infidel is to bee attributed, the King craued her opinion: who being wonderfully displeased that so dishonorable a resolution should be taken, did entreate the King to thinke better thereon, and for modesties sake would not utter her opinion: but perceiuing that want of victuals and money was the greatest hin- derance they stood vpon, which in so long a sege might disaduantage the army, shee said,

17  
Castile.

Dispaire some  
times brings  
helpe.

Sege of Baza.

The conquest  
of Granado  
attributed to  
Queene Is-  
bels constancy.



said, that they needed not to doubt any such matter, for shee would prouide in such fort, A as there should be no want of either of them: The King knowing the Queenes diligence in such matters, and the desire shee had that Baga might bee taken, commaunded the seege should bee continued with all vehemency, wherewith the whole army in generall was well pleased; wherefore the two camps were disposed and placed, a miles distance the one from the other & a great trench drawn from one to an other fortified with piles and fiftene sorts of timber and flags, where great numbers of souldiars were lodged, and by this means the city was more streightly shut vp. An other trench was drawne from the hills side of two miles long, so as the place was enuironed round about, in which workes they spent two monthes, in all which time they neuer left skirmishing. And as diuers Moores, distrusting the successe of the seege, fled to the Christians campe it was knowne by their meanes how that the city was not well prouided with victualls, wherein King Zagal had greatly failed, and besides, how that they had their water from a fountaine at the foote of the hill called *Alboahacen*, which being taken from them they would be in great want: wherefore the King hauing resolued vpon this intelligence to build a fort vpon that hill: The Moores being aduertized thereof by some spies, did preuent him, and they themselves made a fort there for the garde of their fountaine. In the meane space Don *Antonio de la Cueva* and others, ranne vp and downe the country, and spoiled the townes and villages neere to Guadix, from whence bringing great numbers of cattails of all sorts, the Moores came forth to the reskew of them, and there the Christians beganne to stand at a stay, and knew not whether it were best to leaue their bootie to betake themselves to flight, or else to tarry still and defend it valiantly. The valour of *Hernand Peres de Pulgar* encouraged the rest, who hanging an hand-kercher vpon the toppe of a pike, cried out aloud, let those that are no cowards follow this Enseigne, and in this sort marching against the Moores, they beate them backe with great slaughter, and returned victorious to the campe: in regarde whereof the King made *Hernand Peres* Knight: and permitted him to beare a white hand-kercher in his armes in token of his valor to his posterity.

King *Muley* did oftentimes attempt to victuall Baga but it was in vaine: and foreseeing that the end of the Moores reigne in Spaine was at hand, his last refuge was, D by the counsell of his friends, to haue recourse to the Soldan of Egypt, who in a manner commaunded ouer all the petty Kings of Affrica, vnto whom hee complained of the greedinesse of the Christian King, who did vniustly dispossesse him from the Kingdome which his Ancestors had enioyed so long a time: whereat the Sultan being moued, sent two friers Ambassadors to Pope *Innocent*, of those that dwelt in the Temple of Ierusalem which they call our Sauours Sepulchre: to let him vnderstand how that the Kings of Castile did deale vniustly in vexing the Moores that dwelt there by warres, wherein if they persisted, hee would vse the Christians in the same manner that liued in his countries and dominions: the Pope gaue notice thereof to King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, yet they for all that would not leaue of their desaigne, but E satisfied the Pope with reasons wherefore they pursued that warre: and being deuout and charitable Princes they gaue and assigned a yeerely stipend to the friars of a thousand ducats, which they enioy and is the fairest reuenue they haue at these daies: Besides that, the Queene sent a vaile wrought with her owne hand to hang ouer the Sepulchre at Ierusalem.

During the seege of Baga, this yeere 1489. Don *Garcia Lopes de Padilla* the last Maister of the Knights of Calatrava died: for the Maisterhip was then incorporated to the Royall crowne of Castile by the Popes authority, as not long after those of Saint Iames and Alcantara were: remaying euer after in the Kings hands with title of perpetuall administrators thereof: for in truth these masters did draw after them, by F reason of the authority which they had ouer so great a number of Knights, all gentlemen of great houses, to great a power and to be suspected by the Kings, as pernicious to a state, where in conclusion they were heads of factions, by whom, Spaine was many times torne in peeces.

The

The Soldan of  
Egypt's dilige-  
nce in the  
behalf of the  
Spanish  
Moores.

The King of  
Castile, gaue  
a thousand  
ducats yearly  
vnto the fri-  
ers at Ierusa-  
lem.

18

The Master-  
ship of Calat-  
rava incor-  
porated to  
Castile.

A The Knights of this order were permitted to marry the yeare one thousand, five hundred and forty, by Pope *Paul* the third. From the first institution of this order, vntill this time, and the death of Don *Garcia Lopes de Padilla*, eight and thirty maisters of the same order are reckoned.

The siege of Baga had already lasted foure whole moneths, without hope of winning it, against which the Artillery wrought no great effect: for that men in those dayes were not skilfull in the approches and neere batteries, as they are now in these times: Neuertheless King *Ferdinand* thinking it would bee a great blemish to his reputation, if hee should raise the siege, would by no meanes giue it over, being assured that B continuance of time would bring the Moores to reason: the besieged on the contrary, knowing that the losse of Baga would carry with it Almerie, and Guadix, and so consequently the whole ruine of the Moores state in Spaine, did all of them resolute to dye rather then to yeeld. And because the trench on the hills side was a great hinderance to them, they went out vpon a day to breake and fill it vp, where they gaue a very furious assault, wherein great numbers on both sides were slaine. Wherevpon the King commanded that no man should goe forth to skirmish without leaue, and caused all the Moores to depart out of the Campe, commanding that all those that should flye forth of the City should bee made slaues, but they had rather vndergoe that condition then to starue. Being besieged so farre of, the sallies were the easier and oftner; C but the Moores commonly had the worst: At one of these skirmishes Don *John de Luna* was slaine, a yong Knight, and heire to the noble houle of *Luna* in Arragon. Winter drawing on, gaue some hope to the besieged that their enemies would shortly dislodge, and therefore they meant to hold out a little longer: but when they saw that King *Ferdinand* caused Carpenters to build small houses and cabins for the Souldiars, they then perceiued that the King meant not to leaue them so soone. The season being wette and rainie, did greatly trouble the Armie before Baga, and that which was worst of all, the wayes were so deepe and full of water, that no victualls nor munition could bee brought to the Campe, but with incredible difficulty. But the diligence of the noble and courageous Queene surmounted all these inconueniences, D for shee hired foureteene thousand ordinary beasts of carriage, besides those which went vp and downe to the Campe for their priuate gaine, taking marueilous paines and care to provide all things necessary for the reliefe of the Armie, not sparing for any cost. For to defray which charges, shee engaged part of the Royall patrimony, and assigned pensions: shee borrowed money of Citties, and of priuate men and women, and pawned her owne Jewels; and for an argument of her great pietie and charity, shee kept foure great tents in the Campe, which were termed the Queenes Hospital, for the reliefe of hurt and sicke Souldiars, seeing for that purpose, diuerse Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, and provided for all other necessities, with such care, iudgement and diligence, as the conquest of the kingdome of Granada, E and expulsion of the Mahometan Moores forth of Spaine, may more iustly bee attributed to this Princesse then to any other.

It was thought fitt that the Ordinance which was in the Maister of Saint Iames and the Duke of Nageraes quarter, should bee brought neerer to the enemies fortres and defenses: the which was done with many bloody encounters: the Moores continuing still more obstinate, were diuerse times aduised to yeeld, and to enioy the fauour and bountie of King *Ferdinand*, who promised them the liberty of their religion, and not to take away their goods, lawes, and customes, notwithstanding that they were in great want of victualls and money for the payment of the Souldiars, for whose wages, the Captaines tooke away the Rings and Jewels from the women, to F the end to auoyde sedition and rebellion in the towne. The continuall miseries of that siege did likewise trouble diuerse that were abroad, who cunningly did counsell the King, who was resolute not to rise from thence, to cause the Queene to come to the Campe, saying, that it would cause the Moores viterly to dispaire: but indeed they thought that the Queene, seeing with her owne eyes the trauaile and miserie which the Armie endured, would bee a meanes to dislodge, and that the rected opinion

The Queenes  
Hospital in  
the Campe.

Queene Is-  
bella's great  
diligence.

opinion of besieging them by Fortes, would bee then renewed. The King wrote diuerse letters to the Queene who lay at Iuen, to cause her to come to the Campe, the which shee did, beeing accompanied with the Cardinall of Spaine, and other Prelates, leaving the Prince her sonne at Vbeda with the Archbishop of Siuill, and some others of his Councell. Her coming caused most of the Souldiours to forget their misery and traualle, and brought forth an effect contrary to that which some of them, who had bene the occasion thereof, did imagine; But the Moores were wholly confounded thereby, and discouraged to make any longer resistance. Wherefore their chiefe Commander, whose name was *Mahomet Abenhazan*, began to hearken to that which had bene so often propounded by the King and Queene, and craued a parley. Don *Gustiere de Cardena* great Commander of Leon, had Commission to treat with him, hee beeing an eloquent and discrete Gentleman, shewed him what fauour and good hee might expect and hope for from these victorious Princes, and that there was nothing more plaine, then that God had giuen an end to the Moores happinesse in Spaine: The Moore apprehending sufficiently what the Commander told him, did with very humble speeches desire to become their vassall, but hee sayd, that it behooued him to conferre with the inhabitants of Baga, before hee could giue any resolute answer: which beeing granted him; those people of iudgement which consented to the yeelding of the towne, were of opinion to let King *Muley* vnderstand vpon what termes they stood, to the end they might hee able to iustifie the yeelding thereof.

During this negotiation, a suspence from Armes was granted, and King *Muley* beeing aduertised and perswaded by *Mahomet Abenhazan*, did not onely consent to the yeelding of Baga, but compounded likewise for the rest which he held, and for his state hereafter: Namely, that Almerie and Guadix should bee deliuered into the Kings hands; the which was effected as soone as the Gouvernour returned back. The Moores of the garrison of Baga came forth with their Armor and baggage, and the inhabitants were permitted to liue in the neighbour townes, or else where in Spaine, where they thought good, without any molestation in their beliefe and superstition: and the Gouvernour *Mahomet Abenhazan* with all his kindred, was receiued into the Kings fauour as their subiect and vassalle.

The Christian Souldiers entred into Baga the fourth day of December, the seauenth moneth of the siege. The yeelding of that place beeing diuulged all ouer the country, the Captaines and Gouvernours of the townes of Almunecar, Porchena, Tabernas, and others of the countrey of Alpuxarras, from Almerie vnto Granado, came and presented their keyes to the Kings, remaining their vassalls and Mudejares, the Captaine of Porchena excepted, who reiecting all entreaties, gifts and offers, would needs passe ouer into Affricke. King *Ferdinand* went from Baga to Almerie, where King *Muley* lay, who came and met him, hauing layde by the royall Diadem, and like a private man, alighting from his horse, would in signe of homage haue kissed his hands: but King *Ferdinand*, considering the alterations wherevnto humane affaires are subiect, would not permit it, but caused him to remount his horse, and so receiued him neuertheless for his vassalle. The City of Almerie beeing receiued, and the same conditions granted to the Citizens as was to others, namely, to liue free, and to enioy without any molestation their goods, and the exercise of their religion, in paying the same tribute which they were accustomed to giue to the Moore Kings, the Kings went to Guadix, where the like was done. This was in the beginning of the yeare one thousand, foure hundred and ninety. The governments of these places were giuen by the King, that of Baga to Don *Henry Henriques* his Vnckle; Almerie to the great Commander of Leon, and Guadix to Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, the Cardinalls brother. The Gouvernour of Solobregna and other Moores, did likewise yeeld their Fortes and Castles to the Kings, and did taste of their mildnesse and clemencie. The towne of Andaraz was assigned to *Muley Boabdellin* for his residence, with a thousand Mudejares to his vassalls, and foure millions of Marauedis for his pension, which hee enioyed but a yeare: for disdaining to liue as a subiect, there where hee had reigned, hee went ouer into Affricke. By meanes whereof *Mahomet Boabdellin* the little, remayned sole King of Granado,

The Moores  
of Baga be-  
gin to parley.

Baga, Guadix,  
and Almerie  
yeilded.

*Muley Boabdellin*  
submits  
himselfe to the  
Kings of Cas-  
tile.

1490.  
Moores.

A Granado, who not long after, was brought to the same passe like his vnckle, as shall appeare. The Bishops and the Clergie did in these cities performe the accustomed purifications and ceremonies: and *Almerie* and *Guadix* were after that erected into Episcopall Sees.

The power of the Moores after the taking of these places was in a manner brought to nothing: the city of Granado with a few other places remayning to *Mahomet* the Little: but all that was done was to no purpose vnlesse Granado were taken, which had bene the chiefe of that rich and mighty Kingdome for many yeeres: wherefore *Mahomet* was entreated by the Kings to giue them the city of Granado, alleading a certaine agreement and promise which he had made vnto them, that vpon the conquest of the cities of Baga, Guadix and Almerie, by the King and Queene, they should giue them to *Mahomet* the Little, with certaine other places, vpon condition, that hee should liue vnder them as their vassall, and that hee should enioy the rents and reuenues of those places, and hee in regarde thereof should deliuer the city of Granado into their hands. But the said *Mahomet* thought it an hard matter from a Master to become a seruant, and from a King a subiect, therefore some times excusing himselfe, by the resistance of the Moores of Granado, from performing his promise, and at other times demanding more townes and reuenues, this last was graunted him, with promise to amplifie and enlarge his dominion, and as for the rebellious Moores, hee was enioyned to disarm them.

C Some, who saw that it must needs bee so, did yeeld vp their weapons, others who could not endure such basenesse, did stirre vp King *Mahomet* in such sort as hee rebelled openly with them: wherefore this yeere 1490. the Moore King beganne the warre againe, and tooke diuers castles neere to the city, driuing away the Christians from thence: by reason whereof the garrisons of Alhama, Loxa, the townes of Illora, Moclin, Montefrio, Alhedin and Colomera were fortified by the Kings: who contenting themselves for that time to haue secured the frontiers, and the new conquered cities, they went to Cordoua, and from thence to Siuill: where receiuing newes how the Moores spoiled the country, they appointed Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza* Earle of Tendilla Generall, who abiding at Alcala the real, did giue and take many defeats: but it was not long after, before King *Fernand* came in his person, with an army of fife thousand horse and twenty thousand foote, and spoyle all the territory of Granado, where hee left nothing for the Moores to liue on, or to yeeld them any ease or commodity, not without sharpe resistances skirmishes and dangerous and deadly encounters as well on the one side as the other: in the campos retreat the Marquis of Villenas brother called *Alphonso de Pacheco*, *Stefano de Luxon*, and an other captaine of the Marquis, did amongst others loose their liues: the Marquis of Villena himselfe was hurt in the arme, which hee felt euer after during his life, but at that time hee purchased the fame of a braue, generous, and charitable Knight towards his seruants: for perceiving that a groom of his Chamber was hand to hand in fight with fife Moores who had the oddes of him, hee not being able to endure to see his seruant in that danger, did not feare to hazard his owne person in his rescue, but spurred his horse against those Moores slue two of them with his owne hand, and put the other to flight: and there hee receiued that hurt.

After that King the had made his retreat and was gonne to Cordoua with the army, sending them home to their houses (for they were all of Andalusia and the neighbour Prouinces) the Moores hauing gathered together some forces in the city and out of the hill called Sierra Neuada, came and planted their seege before Alhedin, which was kept by *Mondo* of Quesada, where they did assaile furiously seuen daies and seuen nights, in such sort as the Christians, hauing no leisure to eate or sleepe, were constrained to giue ouer the place, except a strong tower whereinto they shut themselves where they made the best resistance they could.

The King hauing notice of the daunger they were in, did forthwith assemble forces for their succour, but it could not come soone enough, for the beseged Christians, hauing done as much as men could doe in their owne defence, were at

20

King Mahomet the Little  
enforced to re-  
bell.

Sharpe resis-  
tance of  
Moores.

The Marquis  
of Villena va-  
liant and cha-  
ritable.

Exploit of the  
Moors.

the last constrained to yeeld to the enemies discretion, who carryed them all away for slaves to Granado: when the King heard this, hee turned back againe: but the Moores proud of their victory, proceeded on in taking of places, as Marchena and others: and because there was nothing to bee had in the territory of Granado, they provided their victuals out of Affrick, having procured the Moores Mudeiares of Solobregna, a sea towne, against their faith giuen and sworne to the Kings of Castile, to giue them safe access in their harbor, with victuals, money, and other commodities, and they receiued King *Mahomet* into their towne, who a great while besieged the Castle, which was defended by *Francisco Ramirez* of Madrid, till such time as having intelligence of the coming of the Christian Armie, hee was constrained to abandon it, and to returne to Granado: whether King *Ferdinand* came to make an end of his former spoile. And because hee vnderstood that the Moores who remained in Baza, Guadix, and Almerie, had intelligence with King *Mahomet*, hee went thither, and caused that cursed race to bee expelled and dislodged out of all the walled townes and Castles, permitting them to dwell in the Villages thereabout if they would, and then went back to Siuill.

21  
Portugal.

In that City in the moneth of March this yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and ninety, were celebrated the promises of marriage, betwixt the Infanta *Isabell*, and Prince *John* of Portugall, Don *Fernand Siluera*, and Doctor *John de Taxeda* high Chancellor of that kingdome, beeing sent thether Ambassadors for that purpose, the Cardinall of Spaine performing the ceremonie. The feasts, costs, gifts and presents, were great and magnificent, and the Kings beeing at Constantine, vpon their returne to Siuill, they sent the betrothed Princesse into Portugall, who was attended on by the Cardinall of Spaine, by Don *Lewis Oforio* Bishop of Iacn, *Alphonso de Cardena* Maister of Saint Iames, *John de Esuniga* Maister of Alcantara, Don *Rodrigo Alphonso Pimentell* Earle of Benaunt, Don *Lorenzo Suares de Figueroa* Earle of Feria, Don *Pedro Porto cervero* Lord of Palma, *Rodrigo de Villosa* who went as Ambassador, with other great numbers of nobilitie. With this company the Princesse arriued at Badajoz in the beginning of Nouember, and passing on to the bridge of Caia, ouer a little streame which deuided Castile from Portugall, shee was deliuered into the hands of Don *Manuell* Duke of Beja, cousin germaine to the King, who beeing accompanied with the Bishops of Eбора and Coimbra, with the Earles of Monsanto and Marialua, and diuerse other Knights, they brought her to Estremos, where King *John* and the Prince his sonne met her, and in that place they were married by *George d' Acesta*, Archbishop of Braga: after that they went to Eбора, where they feasted with great pompe and magnificence. Don *George*, bastard sonne to the King, was present at the wedding, who was newly come from the Monastery of Iesus d' Auero, where hee had till then beene brought vp, vnder the government of Don *Joane* his Aunt the Kings sister, who dyed not long before. At these feasts the King maintained the tilt against all knights that would runne, furnishing them with horse and armor.

Caia a small  
streame diuis-  
ing Castile  
from Portugal.Marriage of  
the Infants  
D. Alphonso of  
Portugall and  
Isabell of  
Castile22  
Castile.

This yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and one, the kings of Castile beeing at Siuill, they began to giue order for the siege of Granado, sending for the Knights and men of warre from all places of the kingdome, as well on this side as beyond the hills, commanding them to meete at Alcalá the reall, to which place they went in the moneth of Aprill, having in their company, the Prince and the Infantas their children, who with the Queene remained at Alcalá. The king passing on into the plaine countrey of Granado with the Armie, consisting of ten thousand horse, and about forty thousand foote-men, in the which were in person, the Maister of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Villena, hee of Cales, and his brother in lawe Don *Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, who did begin this warre, the Earles of Vregna, Cabro, Cifuentes, and Don *Alphonso de Aguilar*: diuerse great Lords which came not themselves sent thither their forces. The Constable remained Viceroy in Castile the old.

The Campe having marched as farre as the place called Los ojos de Huefcar, stayed there, and the Marquis of Villena was sent with 3. thousand horse, and 5. thousand foot, into the valley of Alcin & to other places and passages of the country called Alpuxarras to

A to spoile it, and because the King was aduertized that in the same country were a great number of Moores able to make resistance, he followed the Marquis, and passing along by Granado he maintained skirmish with diuers Moores which came forth for that purpose, who with great losse were repulsd; the King went forward, and by the way met the Marquis and his troupes as they returned, who had burned and destroyed nine townes, and slue more then five hundred Moores, whom they found carelesse and secure, thinking themselves safe from any search in those sharpe and stony places: so their forces beeing ioyned together they returned againe into Las Alpuxarras to make an end of spoiling what was left. And King *Fernand* having notice that three capitaines of the Moores were come forth of Granado, and had made themselves masters of a passage, he sent the Marquis thither, who fought with them and draue them thence, hee slue about one hundred of them and tooke three score prisoners, and they destroyed fiftene townes more in the country, besides those nine about mentioned with great store of spoile which they carried away with them: for the Moores did alwaies thinke that their goods were safer in those places then in the city of Granado: After which exploit the army was brought backe to Pradal: & from thence marched to a place called Gosto: There the king by the aduice of the Lords which were with him, caused the compasse of a city to be measured out which was called Saint Foy, with an intent to build houses in that place for the beginning of the army if it should be constrained to winter there; and if the siege of Granado should bee drawne out in length, as it was greatly feared: they gaue it the title of Saint Foy, in regard that warre was vndertaken for the augmentation of the Holy Christian faith. Round about the foresaid compasse, the campe was lodged, being fortified and rampired with trenches and walls for feare of surprizes, in which workes the Moores failed not to hinder them by comming forth of Granado with continual skirmishes. The Queene with her children came from Alcalá to the campe; the Maister of Saint Iames and the Marquis of Cales went forth to meet them, and the with her Ladies were lodged in the safest place of al the campe, and they did oftentimes ride about the quarters, where for their disport they did many times behold the fights and skirmishes, which were almost euery houre made a farre off, and one especially among the rest where as the Moores in great troupes being come forth with two peeces of Artillery, did loose them, with 600. of their men slaine vpon the place, and more then fourteen hundred of them hurt, the Marquis of Cales leading the Christians, who attributed that victory to the Queenes good hap, and the ascribed it to the Marquis his good fortune. Now those of Granado were not long able to hold out: for the greater numbers of horsemen which were wont to fally forth of the city, were so diminished as they hardly had 300. horse of seruice, the rest, were lost and consumed in the last wars: and besides this; the city which containede about 200. thousand persons was very ill provided of victuals; so that diuers caualiers and men of great note began to deuise means how to treat with the Christians for their safety: to be short, al of them considering the state whereinto they were brought, and that they had no hope or expectation of reliefe from any place; they were glad to hearken vnto composition and agreement in yeelding vp the city to the Kings of Castile: wherefore King *Mahomet* the Little resolved to giue place to necessity, and to receiue this fatal wound, to fall from his crowne and regall dignity, and to become vassal and subiect to his enemies, and to that purpose he sent to entreat the Kings to appoint commissioners to treat and compound with him. This newes was pleasing to the Christians, who did not thinke to haue gotten it so good cheape: therefore D. *Gonçall Hernandez* de Cordoua, and the Secretary *Hernando de Sastre*, were appointed to capitulate with him; who after diuers goings and commings, did conclude with the Moores and their Prince *Mahomet* the Little, vpon these conditions following.

F 1 That King *Mahomet* should no more terme himselfe King of Granado: vnto whom the Kings of Castile should giue an honorable stipend for his entertainment, who might liue in the cities, lands, and other reuenues, specified, which hee had held in the daies of his father King *Maley Albohacen*; and the like to bee done to his mother Queene *Aixa*, his wife, sisters, and children.

2 That their traine, stufte, seruants and purueiors should be free from al tax and tribute.

LIII 2

3 That

Siege of Gra-  
nado.The city of  
Holy faith.A great skir-  
mish wherein  
the Moores are  
defeated.Great necessity  
in the city of  
Granado.

3: That the Moores should bee judged according to their owne lawes and customes, which they call Xaira, and if any Christian were a party, by Iudges that were one halfe Moores, and the rest Christians.

4 That their Armes should not be taken from them, (their Harquebuses excepted) the which no Moore might keepe without speciall licence.

5 That all Moores should bee suffered to liue in Spaine, with free liberty of their ceremonies and religion: and if they would goe ouer into Affricke, they might do so, and carry with them their mooueables, money, marchandise, and all other commodities, excepting Armor and munition for the warres, without paying any tribute for three yeares together, and they should bee furnished with shipping for their passage: After three yeares were expired, those that would depart should pay a Ducat for euery head.

6 That all Moores which possessed immouable goods in Spaine, might enioy them, albeit they themselves were in Affricke, and they might sell, let out, and accommodate them, and for that purpose they might keepe factors and Attorneys in the King and Queenes dominions.

7 That no Renegada Christian should bee constrained by force to returne to the Christian faith.

8 That within certaine dayes after the conclusion of this treaty, King *Mahomet* the little, or his Alcaides, should deliuer vp the Fortresse of Alhambra, with all the towers and other strong places of the city into the Kings hands.

9 That those of Granado should giue foure hundred principall Moores for hostage. As these matters were handling, the Queenes tents were set on fire by the negligence of one of the Queenes women; so as the whole Armie was in an vprore, and fell into order of battaile, thinking it to bee some Morish stratagem: but when the cause was knowne, all was quieted. The like inconuenience of fire hapned at the same time at Medina del Campo, by meanes whereof more then two hundred houses were burned. Now after that the aboue-named articles were agreed vpon, a great sedition was raised in the city of Granado, by more then twenty thousand of the common people, who tooke armes, gaine-saying the yielding vp of the city, in such sort as King *Mahomet* was glad to take the Fortresse of Alhambra with a strong garde, looking euery houre when they would haue assailed him: but their fury being appeased, he shewed them, that there was now no more time to make resistance, and gaue them many reasons for it: Neuerthelesse, hee perceiuing that there was euer some frantick Prophet or other among that nation which did put the people in those tumults, he wrote to the Kings, that without staying for the day appointed for the deliuey of the Alhambra, they should send to take present possession thereof, which King *Ferdinand* did forth-with, and marched with his forces against that Fortresse: from whence *Mahomet* the little, no more a King, went out to meete him, who with a sorrowfull and dejected countenance, presented him the Keyes, saying, that they were the Keyes of the Royall Pallace of Granado, the which, with himselfe, and all the men that were in it, were at his seruice. He pronounced these words with a broken and sorrowfull voyce, and would haue alighted from his horse to haue kissed the Kings hand, who moued with pity and compassion, would not suffer him so to doe, but did very gently and graciously comfort him. King *Ferdinand* gaue the Keyes to the Queene, shew to Prince *John* her sonne, and he gaue them to Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza* Earle of Tendilla, who with three thousand horse, and like number of footmen, entred into the spacious and royall fortresse of the Alhambra, with the Marquis of Villena, and other Knights: & Frier *Hernando de Talavera* Bishop of Auila (who was afterward Archbishop of Granado) did forthwith goe vp into the highest Tower there, and set vp the Crosse, which was the very same that the Cardinall of Spaine did vse to haue borne before him as Archbishop of Toledo and Primat, and the which is at this day kept in the Vestrie at Toledo: and then were the banners of Saint Iames and King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabella* set vp, with performance of the accustomed ceremonies: and soone after, other forces were sent to seaze vpon the gates and towers of the city, where the people were disarmed, and the armor carried into the Alhambra, sauing those which were hidden and afterward found, which cost diuers their liues, who were executed by course of lawe.

The

Capitulations  
betweene Fer-  
dinand and  
Mahomet the  
little.

Liberty of re-  
ligion graunte  
to the Moores.

Vicereis stir  
up the people.

The Alhambra  
of Granado  
yelded the  
yeare 1492.

Granado yel-  
ded up.

A The city was yeilded vp the first day of Ianuary 1492. the 675. yeere of the reigne of the Arabians there: and thereby ended the warre of Granado, which lasted tenne yeeres, and gaue end to the Arabians and Moores dominion in Spaine; but the most part of the Knights would not tarry there but went ouer into Affricke: the greedinesse, inconstancy, infidelity, and desire to rule which that Nation had, brought them to this misery. King *Fernand* aduertized Pope *Innocent* and other Christian Princes his friends of this great victory, and hee staid a great while in the city of Granado, to giue order for the government thereof, as also of all that they had newly conquered: where in Queene *Isabells* constancy and magnanimity deserves the first place, then King *Fernand* valour, wildome and good conduct, with other Lords and chiefe Knights of their Kingdomes: the cities of Siuill, Cordoua, Iuen, Eccia, Xeres, Vbeda, Baeca, Murcia, Cartagena and Lorca did not spare any of their publike and particular goods.

The same day that King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabell* made their entry into the city of Granado, D. *Pero Fernandes* de Velasco Earle of Haro, Viceroy and Constable of Castile died, whom D. *Bernardin de Haro* his sonne succeeded as well in the Earldome as Constableship, who this yeere was made Earle of Frias and married to Donna *Isaie* of Arragon the Kings daughter.

A little before the viceroys death, the President and Auditors of the Kings Chancery residing at Valiodolit, did greatly forget themselves, by receiuing an Appellation to Rome, for a certaine cause depending before them, for which the King and Queene depriued them of their offices, and placed others therein: they that were disposed, were D. *Alphonso de Valdinieffo* Bishop of Leon who was president, and Doctor *Martin d' Auila*, the Licenciat *Cinchilla*, Doctor *Cayo*, and Doctor *Olmedilla* Auditors: In their rooms were placed Doctor *John Arias del Villar* Bishop of Ouedo for President, the Licenciat de Villena, Doctor de *Palacios*, the Licenciat *Ville-Muriell*, the Licenciat *Palacios Rubies*, and Doctor de *Villoucla* Auditors. The Iewes did also grant a generall subsidy to the Kings, which was the last subsidy raised vpon that sect: for soone after they were all driuen forth of Spaine. The King and Queene hauing begunne to take the best order they could for the government of the new conquered Prouinces, in

D the month of March this yeere 1492. they came to Cordoua to intend the affaires of the rest of the Kingdome: there they made a statute, whereby all gentlemen of the Kingdomes and Lordships, subiect to the crowne of Castile and Arragon, were enioyned to come and make prooffe of their pedigrees and nobility: and because it was made at Cordoua, it was called the statute or law of Cordoua.

Whilest the King and Queene were busied in the warres and seege of Granado, the ioy and feasts in Portugall were sodainly turned into teares and lamentations: the marriage betwixt *Alphonso* of Portugall and D. *Isabella* of Castile being celebrated with great magnificence at Ebor, and the feasts and triumphes continuing at Saint Iren, whether the new married couple were gonne to auoide the great heate: the Prince on an Euening accompanying the King his father, and beeing mounted vpon a very ready and swift horse, would needs runne a race against an other horse, whereon Don *John de Menezes*, Commander of Algezier, did ride, but the Commander excused the matter by reason it was late and almost night, the Prince commanded a Mule to bee brought vnto him, and in the getting vp the stirrop brake, wherefore hee tooke his former horse, and continuing in his determination to runne, hee tooke the Commander by the hand, and giuing spurres to his horse, hee constrained him to runne the race with him: but the mishap was that the Princes horse stumbling at the races end, ouer-threw his rider vnder him, and did so bruze him, as hee lay speechlesse and almost dead vpon the ground. The King and all the standers by, being very sorrowfull, caused him to bee carried to the next cottage which was a fisher-mans, where the Princesses, the mother and the daughter in law, hauing vnderstood this pittifull accident did come on foote, where finding this poore Prince in such state as for no speech nor any thing else that cold be said or don, hee did make any sign or shew of vnderstanding ought: They did all melt into teares, vtering forth very strang cries and lamentations. Great and sundry were the diligences and remedies though superfluous, which the Physitions

The end of the  
Arabians rule  
in Spaine.

The President  
and Auditors  
of the Kings  
deposed and  
their names.

Subsidy raised  
vpon the Iewes.

1492.

Statute of Cor-  
doua for the  
nobility.

24  
Portugall.

A pittifull ac-  
cident hapned  
to Prince Al-  
phonso of Por-  
tugall.

Prince Al-  
phonso dies.

Princess: Isabella's lamentation.

and Surgions vsed for his recovery: the Physitions telling the King that his sonnes end A drew nere, he brought the Queene and the Princess to the houses of Vasco Pallas, which are vpon the riuer of Tayo, and the Prince died seuen and twenty houres after the accident, who was lamented and bewailed by all men, for the great hope and expectation which he gaue of himselfe in those young yeeres, hauing hardly attained to seuentene yeeres of age: and that which did more encrease the sorrow, was that he left the Princess Isabell a widow euen almost as soone as shee had bene a wife: for they had not bene married fully eight monthes. The Princes body was laied in a herse and carried to the Monastery of bataille. The Princess in token of sorrow, did cut off her heire, and clothed her selfe in garments besitting her griefe, and hauing remained fiftene daies in the house of Vasco Pallas shee went to the Kings pallace one euening without any light, where the King, Queene, and shee, kept themselves shut vp a long time, giuing themselves to much ouer to griefe, and forgetting the health of their owne persons: and being in this estate they were visited and comforted on the Kings of Castiles part. After this manner King Iohns Court remained desolate, and it may bee, that God caused this losse to fall vpon him, for ouer hastily destroying the great houses of his owne Kingdome, especially that of his Aunt D. Beatrice Dutchesse of Visco, whose sonne D. Domingo a Prince of his blood, hee had slaine with his owne hand. The obsequies and funerals being ended, where the King and the great Lords and Ladies of the Realme were present, Queene Elenor, and the Princess Isabell excepted, shee being sorrowfull and a widow was brought backe into Castile the same time King Fernand and Queene Isabell were about Granado in the New towne of Saint Foy which they builded. King Iohn being in this anguish went backe to Lisbon, where this yeere 1492. the two Maisterships of Saint Iames, and Auis, fell to his sonne D. George: for whose gouernor hee appointed D. Diego Almeyda sonne to the Earle of Abrantes.

*The end of the three and twentieth Booke.*

THE



## THE FOVRE AND TVVENT- tith Booke of the Generall History of Spaine.

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In



In this foure and twentieth Booke follo weth in  
the Line of Portugall,

#### 14. Don Manuel the first.



HE warre of Granado beeing happily ended, it was followed with other great enterprises, partly profitable, and partly preiudiciall: whereof, that of the discoverie of the new world might haue beene worthie of great prayse, if those vnto whome the great and good God did the fauour to discover those countries and nations, vntill then vnkown to our Hemisphere, and their posteritie, could haue rightly vsed, to his honour and glorie, the wealth and riches which they found there, as they were bound to haue done: but there is no memorie of cruelty, auarice, and dishonestie, to bee compared to the actions of the Spanish Christians in the conquest of the occidentall Indies: which their owne Histories beare witnesse of, with terrour to those which reade it, and as a publike scandall to the vnbeleeu-  
ing Nations which haue heard tell of their dealings, for the Christian Religion: the which they thinke by reason thereof, to be a bloudie Religion, which seekes nothing but gold and wealth with an insatiate desire of rule. But wee may easily beleue, that the excessse committed by the euill ministers in these searches of the Westerne Indies, was not by their Kings consent, whose zeale herein is rather prayse-worthie, but their negligence in redressing and punishing such mischiefs can hardly be excused. Of which voy-  
ages and discoveries we intend not to pursue the Historie at large, as wee did protest in the beginning of this Worke, but wee will content our selues with the declarations of the decrees and ordonances made in the Courts and Councils of the Kings of Spaine, for the regard of things executed and done in their names and authoritie in those farther Regions, and to handle, by the way, that which hath followed thereuppon in generall: for such matters require particular and distinct Treatises.

Wee haue heretofore declared, how that Christopher Columbus hauing bene diuers times heard to discourse of the nauigation which hee had conceiued in his mind to bee made towards the West, with knowledge of new lands, whereof there was no memory in precedent times, had hope and promises of Fernand and Queene Izabella, to giue him meanes to effect it at a time conuenient; the which beeing offered vpon the time that Granado was taken, hee obtained three Caruels rigged and furnished with sixe-score men, souldiers and mariners: for the setting forth of whome, the Councillor Lewis of Saint Angell did lend the King sixteene thousand Duckets. Hee departed then from Palos de Moguer in Andalusia, vpon a Friday the fourth of August, in the yeare 1492. and hauing sayled two moneths and eight dayes, hee discovered the land which hee so much desired, that is to say, vpon the eleuenth day of October of the same yeare.

The first man which cryed, Land, was one called Rodrigo de Triane, who deseried the Iland of Guanahami of Lucaios betwixt Florida and Cuba, where they first landed, and tooke

The Spaniards  
auarice and  
cruelty toward  
the Indians,  
makes Christian  
religion odious  
to the vnbeleeu-  
ing nations.

Christopher Columbus his first  
voyage to the  
Indies.

An. 1492.

rooke possession of that new world, in the name of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*: A then they sayled to Barucoa, the port of the Isle of Cuba, where they tooke certaine Indians, and afterward they turned towards the Isle of Hati, since then called Hispagniola, and entered into the port by them named Royall.

The Indians gentle and tractable.

There the Indians, at the beginning sterne and rough, at the view of such new people, did in such manner become tractable, courteous, and gentle, as they came and brought gold, with such victuals as they had to the Spaniards, exchanging them for bables and toys of small worth. One of their Kings whom they call *Cachiques*, whose name was *Guacanagari*, did shew himselfe so kind, tractable and obedient to these new-commers, as they lovingly receyued from him what commodities they would, so as it was lawfull for them, being ayded by the Indians and their *Cachique*, to build a fort in that countrey, wherein *Columbus* left eight and thirtie Spaniards with a Captain of Cordoua named *Roderigo d'Arana*, and with his two Caruels which were left, (for he had lost the third) he returned to Spaine from whence he came, carrying some Indians with him, with gold of the Countrey, and other singularities, which he brought to the aforementioned place of Palos de Moguer within the space of fiftie dayes: before *Columbus* departure, King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* did graunt him the twelfth part of all the royall rights of the lands which he should discover, with this reservation, that he should not in his discourie, do any thing that might prejudice the King of Portugals navigation.

2  
E is't against the Lewes.

There was a matter resolved vpon in the Kings Councell of Castile, as soone as they found themselves to be Masters of Granado, faire in shew, but of a pernicious consequence: For they made an Edict, whereby all Lewes, which inhabited in Castile and Leon, were enioyned to turne to the Christian Religion, and to be baptized within three moneths, on paine of having their goods confiscate, and perpetuall banishment. This decree was receiued, published, and executed by an inconsiderate zeale, and without the knowledge of the King and Queene, thinking thereby, as it is likely to augment Christian Religion, and to confirme vnto themselves the name and title of Catholike Kings: whereunto they were incited by the Prelates and slothfull Pastors, who contemned their charge of teaching good and wholesome doctrine; and likewise by the Monkes and other seditious Church-men, who desired rather to destroy, then to feed those miserable creatures, vnto whom they were in perpetuall detestation and skandall, by means of their wicked and corrupted liues, whereby it came to passe, that the name of God was prophaned and blasphemed among the Lewes and Mahometans of those times, who would rather haue retired a thousand leagues, then to draw neere to receive any religious instruction, from so irreligious people, whose pietie was but childish ceremonies, and external seruices, their knowledge meere cunning and deceit, to maintaine and increase their riches, ease, and vnruely appetites, and their ayme and end, honours and worldly glorie, with a popular opinion of wisdom in the affaires of this world: the which was playne and euident to people of vnderstanding among the Infidels: therefore it behoued such euill-affected persons, and no way disposed to amend, as were the Prelates of those daies to set forward such counsels, and to cause the Kings of Spaine to practise courses fit and pleasing to the Diuell, who is a murderer from the beginning of the world, and author of all ruine and desolation: the which hath beene since practised in all places of Christendome with very bad successe: for torments, death, confiscations of goods, and such other like violences, cannot beget a grayne of fayth in the heart of man, whose seed is the word of God; the watering, the holy workes of vnfeined charitie, by the example of the heavenly Father, and the increase thereof, the spirit of the Lord: but they may well bring fourth Atheisme, Hypocrisie, and despaire in abundance, which are the offerings which the enemy of Christ Iesus doth demanda.

The diuils of those who persecuted the Lewes.

Now the poore Lewes, at the publication of this Edict, were maruailously perplexed, and afflicted with sundry passions, for their religion, liues, and goods which were very great: whereunto perhaps, the Kings Councell had regard, thinking by their obstinacie, which is a vice proper and peculiar to that nation, to find meanes to fill the treasure emptied in the last warres, by the confiscation of so great wealth as they possessed in Spain, and to redeeme the alienated reuenues of the Crowne, and the Queenes ingaged Jewels.

Now

A Now the most religious Spanish Lewes, tooke counsell in these three moneths space of delay before they were to leaue the countrey, and found meanes, to send away their money and chiefe goods out of Spaine, wherein they were ayded and befriended by many honest-minded Christians, who being moued with pittie and humanitie, did helpe to hide them, and to conuey them into Portugall, Affricke, Italy, and else-where whether that nation went: great numbers of them did spred themselves ouer Macedon, Greece, and other Regions possessed by the Turkes, whom they taught to make Ordinance and Artillerie, and the art of making Gun-powder, Harguebuzes, and such other engins, which they haue sufficiently vsed to the hurt of Christendome.

Humanity of Christians towards the banished Jewes.

B The rest of them who loued their ease, did value the countrey where they were borne, and their goods, aboue all other matters, and were baptized, and made profession, either true or fained, of Christian Religion, such as they could learn and comprehend in so short a time, the which did cause another inconuenience: for in proceesse of time the noble families of Spaine, allyng themselves by marriage to that race, did wholly contaminate and pollute themselves both in bloud and beleefe. These are the effects which this violent law of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* did produce, by the which the Spaniards end in the 2082. yeare of the Lewes habitation in Spayne, if so be they faile not in their account. The same rigour was obserued against them in Arragon, Valencia, Cattalonia, Sicill, and other places vnder the Kings obedience, who from Cordoua went into Arragon to order the affaires of that kingdome.

The Turke and Infidels make profit of the Jewes banishment. The Nobilitie of Spaine contaminated by the alliances with the converted Jewes.

C Being in the Cittie of Barcelona, God sent them a small aduertisement: for as King *Fernand* on a morning came forth of the towne-house, where himselfe in person had assisted at the pleas of iustice, and being come downe to the foot of the stayres towards the kings house talking to his Treasurer, a certaine mad man borne at Remença, whose name was *Iohn de Cagnamates*, drew neere vnto him, and lifting up a short sword, hee gaue him such a blow from the eare downe to the shoulders, as it was a wonder that hee strake not off his head: Whereat the King being astonished, and thinking it to be some conspiracie, he cryed out, *Saint Marie helpe me, oh what treason, oh what treason*; thinking that some others would make an end of what that foolish fellow had begunne: but when hee perceiued that no man stirred, but that euery one stepped before him, to the end the other might not redouble his blow, and that a Gentleman that was his Caruer, and one more had stept to the offendour, meaning to haue stabbed him to death with poynards: hee commanded not to kill him; therefore they ledde him to prison; and dressed his wounds: being afterward examined who had procured him to commit that treason, they could neither then, nor after that hee was healed, by any torments whatsoeuer, get any thing out of him, but that the diuell had assured him, if he would kill the king, to beking himselfe.

3  
King Fernand hurt at Barcelona.

The cittie of Barcelona being highly displeased, that this act had beene committed in their iurisdiction, and beleueing verily that there had beene some conspiracie, did put themselves in armes, and the tumult could not be appeased, vntill the king, whose wound was newly drest, and stitched vp with seuen stitches of a needle, did come and shew himselfe out of his lodging windowes to the people, to assure them that hee was aliue: and then euery man went home to his own house. The foole who had committed the deed, was by law condemned to haue his hands and feete cutte off, his eyes pulled forth of his head, to bee dismembred, with burning pincers, and to bee drawn on a cart to the common dung-hill, where his bodie was burned, hauing bene first strangled, by the Queenes clemencie.

In these busineses the yeare 1492. was spent; in which the Brotherhood of the Court beganne, and the building the stately Colledge of the holy Crosse at Vailladolid was ended, and the same yeare dyed Don *Pero Fernandez*, Generall of the frontier of Andalusia, Don *Henrique de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don *Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, Marquis of Cales, by whose decease without children, the cittie of Cales returned to the Crowne: Don *Pedro* of Estuniga, Earle of Miranda of Duero, and Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, first Duke of Albuquerque.

Cales reunited to the Crowne of Castile.

Pope *Innocent* the eight dyed likewise at Rome, in whose stead was chosen *Rodrigo Borghia*,

*Borgia*, Cardinall of Saint Nicholas in *Carcere Tulliano*, Bishop of Alba, Porto, and S. A. Ruffine, Vice-chancellor and Deane of the Church of Rome, sonne to Don *Ieffrey Langsch*, Lord of Canales, and to a sister of Pope *Calixtus* the third, who was of the family of *Borgia*, from whence this man did take his name, and he was called *Alexander* the sixth, who soone after his assumption to the Papacie, made two Cardinals of his Bloud, the one his Nephew, named *Iohn Borgia*, and the other his owne sonne called *Cesar Borgia*, of whome we shall haue occasion to speake in this Historie.

The same yeare the sonne of Don *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, Cardinall of Spaine, whose name was *Rodrigo*, was by King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, honoured with the title of Marquis of Zenete, and they made an end of building the vaults of the Cathedral Church of Toledo, which were begunne in the dayes of King *Fernand* the third, and of the Arch-bishop Don *Rodrigo Ximenes*: the Court remayning stil at Barcelona about the beginning of the yeare 1493. *Christopher Columbus* arriued there, being returned from the West Indies, whose fame, for the discouerie of those new lands, was spread abroade over all Spayn: he presented the Kings with gold, beafts, and other things brought from those Regions, making an ample relation of his voyage, the which did greatly content them, who gaue him the title of Admirall of the Indies, with armes, wherein he vsed this Motto: *For Castile and Leon, Columbus hath gotten a new world*. If the finding out of the wealth brought from the Indies hath brought any commoditie to the courteous negotiators of our Regions, the euils which did accompanie them, did farre surmount and exceed them:

For then first of all, was the abhominable Venerean disease known, which in France is called the great pockes, brought by the Spaniards, which went with *Columbus*, who hauing had to do with the Indian women, which were infected there-with, as with a disease proper and peculiar to the Country, did communicate it to the women of Seuil, and of the Court, who distributed it to others: running on with such contagion and horrible accidents of knobbes and rotting soares, as in the beginning, when our Physicians knew not the remedie for such a disease, diuers did miserably perish, or remayned lame of their members, with a villanous and strange change of their forme and fauour, the reward of whoredom, ouer common then in Spaine and else-where, which neuertheless could not chastise the world in such sort, but that this sinne is at this day more in vse then euer it was, to the dishonour of God, contempt of his lawes, and confusion of all good order. The Spaniards in recompence of this euill brought brought from the Indies, carried thither the Kings euill and madnesse by the biting of dogges, which they brought thither with them, of which diseases the Indians had no knowledge at all.

The right remedie of this contagious infirmities, are Guaiacū, Chinaū, and Salsaparilla, which nature bringeth forth in abundance in that new world, where they haue daily need thereof. Another euill hath the desire of gold, pearles, and other high prized things found in those Ilands, brought with it, namely, that the Spaniards haue giuen ouer all honest and profitable exercises, the ground remayning vtilld in diuers places of Spaine, and other arts contemned, the people of Spayne making none account of any other matter, but onely of the voyage to the Indies: so that euer since, it hath had continuall need of the commodities of the neighbour regions.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* did forth-with send the desired newes of this discouerie to Pope *Alexander*, betwixt whome diuers discourses did passe by their Ambassadors, and letters to reduce the brutish and idolatrous people of that country, to the knowledge of the true God, and the benefite of Iesus Christ, which would haue bene a memorable worke. This Pope, in the Conhstorie of the Cardinals did approoue this enterprise and conquest for the Kings of Castile, granting and giuing to them and their successors by Apostolicall authoritie, the Indies, Ilands and firme land of the West, and did charge and enioyne them to cause the Gospell to be preached: the which moued the kings to furnish forth the number of eightene shippes, vsing therein the diligence of *Iohn Rodrigo* of Fonseca, Deane of Siuill, who was afterward Bishop of Burgos, and Superintendent of the Indian affaires: of which vessels, manned with fiftene hundred men, they gaue the charge to the Admirall *Columbus*, and to a brother of his named

At 1493.  
Christopher Columbus  
Admirall of the Indies.

The great  
Pockes, the disease  
of the Indians  
brought  
into Europe.

The Indies  
haue diminted  
the Spaniards  
from husbandry  
and arts.

The Pope giues  
the west Indies  
to the  
Kings of Castile

A named *Birtheolomew*, the dignitie of Gouvernour of those new Countries, who departing from Cales, did againe cut thorough the Ocean sea, and landed at the Iland called by them the Desired, from whence without staying they passed to the port of la Plata in the Iland Hispaniola, and came to the royall port, where they found their tort to be overthrowne, and the eight and thirtie Spaniards with their Captaine, whom they had there left, to be slaine by the Indians, who were enforced to fall vpon them for the spoiles and robberies which they had committed.

There came in this second voyage with the Admirall *Columbus*, Friar *Buyl*, a Monke of the Order of Saint Benet, a Cattelan by nation, with authoritie of the Popes Vicar, and twelue learned Clearkes of good and holy life, according to those times, diuers artificers, beafts, as well horse as neate, with others, store of victuals, stoffes, and necessary and profitable matters for the life of man: with these prouisions the better to be furnished for future times, the Admirall *Columbus* caused a new towne to be measured out, which he named *Isabella*, after the Queenes name, the which hee peopled, and pursuing his search, hee discovered Cuba and Iamaica, and other smaller Ilands: wherein being busied, the Spaniards, left with the Friar, beganne to enter into mutinie, and to commit many disorders, the Gouvernours authoritie, nor the Friars exhortations and interdictions not beeing able to containe them within their bounds, whom the Admirall punishing according to their deserts, at his returne it procured him enemies and hatred, who did vn-worthily vexe and pursue him, as shalbe hereafter declared.

Don *Alphonso de Cardenas*, Master of Saint Iames, beeing dead this yeare, King *Fernand* retoynd the Masterhippe, not suffering any new election to be made, as hee had done the like to that of Calatrava with the selfe same considerations and reasons, who by the Popes authoritie, remayned Administrator of them. Don *Alphonso* was then the Master of the same Order, and the three and fortieth in order and continuance: the same was done to the Order of Alcantara: the which three dignities were since that incorporated to the Crowne by Pope *Adrian* the sixth, in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was heire to the Kingdomes of Castile.

The same yeare the Kings of Castile were altogether rid of King *Atahomet Boabdellin* the Little, who beeing impatient of the daily solicitations which were made to him, for to become a Christian, and to receiue the water of Baptisme, did sell all the lands and rights which had bene giuen him by the capitulations, at such time as hee deliuered vp the Cittie of Granada, for foure-score thousand Duckets, and with his family retired himselfe into Affricke. There were new teares and lamentations renewed, when his owne mother vpbaying him, sayd, That it well became him to put finger in the eye and weepe like a woman, for the losse of his dignitie and pallaces, seeing that hee could not defend them like a man. He was kindly welcommed and receyued by the King of Fez, but within a few yeares afterwards he was slaine in his fierce and intestine warres against the Xerifs.

The Spanish Authours set downe for a memorable matter, that the Kingdome of Granada beganne and ended, two kings of Castile of one selfe same name raigning, namely *Fernand*, and the first and last King of Granada were called *Mahomet*. At the same time the Earledome of Rossillon was restored to King *Fernand* by the French king, *Charles* the eighth, who hauing vnderaken at the entreatie and request of *Lewis Sforza*, named the Moore who did vsurpe the Duchie of Milan, the Conquest of the Kingdome of Naples, did feare least the King of Castile should in his absence enterprise vpon France, in regard of the strife and contention about the sayd Earledome: Wherefore to free and acquit himselfe from that feare and suspicion, hee yeelded it vnto him, and renewed the peace and allyances betwixt the Kingdomes of France, Castile and Arragon, but it was euill and vnfaithfully kept: Wherein the Kings chiefe Councellours did greatly stand him in stead, namely, *Seephen Patissade vrs*, and Friar *Alphonso* of Albi, and namely, the holy man Friar *Francis de Raulen*, who died at Plessis les Tours, certaine of whose letters are yet extant, which he wrote therevpon, and to the same effect to King *Fernand*.

Friar Buyl the  
Popes Vicar in  
the Indies.

The Masterhip  
of S. Iames is  
the Kings hands  
in quality of  
administrator.

The Earledome  
of Rossillon re-  
stored to King  
Fernand.

King Ferdinand and uncharitable.

It was concluded in this agreement, that King Ferdinand of Castile should not give A  
ayde nor assistance to the King of Naples: whereby it appeareth that this Catholike  
King knew well how to vse the vncharitable rule, which sayes, that Charity begins by it  
selfe. For he to recouer the Earldome of Rossillon, without restitution of the money  
which King John his Father had borrowed of King Lewis the eleventh, did not greatly  
care to leaue the honour, state, and life, of his cousin germaine, and brother in law Ferdi-  
nand King of Naples for a prey to the French, or at the least hee promised it, and swore so  
to the French King, notwithstanding that hee afterward changed his minde. King Ferdi-  
nand and Queene Isabell having remained for a while in Catalonia, and afterward at  
Saragossa, they came to Valiodolit, where Don Roderigo d'Vlloa beeing deceased, who B  
was one of the superintendents of the treasure which they call *Cantador mayor*, they sup-  
pressed that superintendencie, retaining no more but the two that remained, namely,  
Don Gutierrez de Cardenas great Commander of Leon, and Don Iohn Chacon gouernor  
of the frontier of Murcia. Beeing departed from Valiodolit to Medina del Campo,  
they receiued newes of the death of King Ferdinand of Naples, whom his sonne Don  
Alphonso Duke of Calabria succeeded. The King at the same time had called in the  
towne of Tordesillas, a Chapter of the order of Saint Iames, and reformed certaine  
abuses, and there the differences were compounded, betwixt Castile and Portugall  
about the Indian nauigation.

6 Wee haue declared how that Pope Alexander had granted by his Bull, dated at Saint C  
Portugal. Peters, this present yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and three, and the first  
1493. of his Popedom, the west Indies to the Kings of Castile. Now for to limit the Streights,  
betwixt Castile and Portugall, he did draw a line or a meridionall in the Globe from the  
Poles of the North to the South, leauing a hundred leagues distance to the Portuguze  
towards the West, from one of the Isles to Cape vert, to make their nauigation of Af-  
frick, and the East Indies: wherewith the King of Portugall was highly displeased, and  
complained in such sort to the Pope, that the Kings of Castile entreated that the nauig-  
ation might be left free to him towards the west, of foure hundred leagues, and the  
Isles and lands within the same repured for his conquest, wherewith the King of Castile D  
was not onely contented, but added to it threescore and ten leagues more, so as the Por-  
tugalls nauigation in all, did stretch from the Isles of Cape vert, towards the west, foure  
hundred and seauenty leagues, passing the meridionall by that point round about the  
globe: but time made it manifest, that the King of Portugall thereby did smally better  
his condition: for the riche Islands of the Moluccos, from whence the spices come, are  
found to be within the streight of Castile: this Tranfaction was passed the seauenth  
day of Iune in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and foure.

Now King John thinking that the Moluccos were his part, hee sent certaine Car-  
uels this yeare to seeke a passage by the Affrican sea towards the East, but they went  
not farre beyond the Cape of Good hope: wherefore the King beeing very desirous,  
that in his dayes this vnknowne nauigation might be practised, could not haue that E  
good hap, for hee did not liue this yeare. In his time neuerthelesse the kingdome of  
Manicongo in Guiney was discovered, the King whereof with the most part of his  
nobility were Baptized. King John beeing oppressed with continuall melancholy for  
the death of his sonne Prince Alphonso, hee fell into a dropisie, which by little and little  
brought him to his end, nor without suspicion, that his discafe was procured or aug-  
mented by poyson: hee neuerthelesse made his abode in the Citie of Lisbon, and  
attended the affaires of his kingdome: but his minde was, about all other matters, set  
on this nauigation, the which hee did set downe according to the opinions which hee  
had receiued from diuerse places, which did confirme and verifie the discourse which  
Pedro de Cobanills had sent him, who remained in Kresler Iohns Countrey Emperour F  
of Ethiopia, from whence there arrived at Lisbon, a little before the Kings death, a  
learned and discrete Monke, who informed the king more particularly of diuers mat-  
ters, which serued afterwards to great purpose.

Now king John feeling himselfe neere his end, made his Will, and hauing no law-  
full children, hee knew that the kingdome was to fall to Don Manuell Duke of Beja:  
hee

The Pope limits the Spaniards and Portugall nauigation.

The Portugall nauigation limited towards the West.

The Moluccos found to be within the nauigation of the Castilians.

The King of Manicongo receives the Christian religion.

A Hee was therefore desirous to giue Don George his base sonne a portion, vnto whom  
hee gaue the Cittie of Coimbra, with the title of Duke, and Montmajor the old, and the  
lands of the Infantaigo, in the same forme, as his Grandfather the Infant Don Pedro, sa-  
ther to Queene Isabell, his mother, had possessed them: hee gaue him moreover, the Isle  
of Madera, Beja, and Visco, which was not performed afterward.

This will and Testament was signed by Don Manuel, and D. George, and by siue other  
personages of great place, who made vp the number of seuen witnesses. After this hee  
went into Algarbe to the Bathes of Monchiz, in the moneth of October the season be-  
ing cold, and visit for his discafe: and hunting the wild Bore vpon a wet rainie day, hee  
got a fluxe: Wherefore as soone as he came to Albor, assured tokens of death beganne  
to appeare vpon him, wherof he was admonished by D. Diego Ortiz Bishop of Tanger,  
and Don Diego Almeyda, Prior of Saint Iohns, who was Gouernour to Don George:  
then disposing himselfe to dye, hee appoynted certaine things, out of a little Booke, to be  
read, and accomplished at such time as he was readie to giue vp the ghost. First, hee cra-  
ued pardon of the Dutchesse Donna Beatrix his mother-in-law, of Queene Leonora his  
wife, and of the Cardinal Don George of Acofta, who then was at Rome; he likewise cra-  
ued pardon of the whole Estates of his Kingdome in generall. And to the end that his  
sonne Don George should not grieve and trouble his mind, hee caused him to be ledde  
foorth of his chamber, and there stood round about his bed, Don George of Almeyda,  
Bishop of Coimbra, and his brother Don Diego of Almeyda, Prior of Saint Iohns, Don C  
Iohn de Silua Bishop of Silues, Don Diego Ortiz Bishop of Tanger, and Don Iohn de  
Vasconsellas, Earle of Penela, with certaine Chaplens, who exhorted him for his soules  
health. In this manner this King died, hauing held the scepter of Portugall foure teene  
yeares and two moneths in the yeare 1495. and in the sixe and fortieth of his age: his  
bodie, by his owne appointment, was layd in the Cathedrall church of Silues, and was  
afterwards transported by the commendement of the King his successor to the Mona-  
stie of Battaile, beeing the last king that was buried there, and it is reported that yet to  
this day his bodie lyes whole and vnconsumed. He was an excellent King, and esteemed  
to be so by the other Princes of Christendome.

D Returning to the affaires of Castile, King Ferdinand and Queene Isabella departing  
from Tordesillas, went to Arevalo to visite the old Queene Isabella, mother to Queene  
Isabella then reigning, from whence they came to Segouia, and afterward to Madrid,  
where by the aduice of their Councell it was decreed, that the king, should take the Ma-  
ster-ship of Alcantara into his owne hands, as well as those of Saint Iames and Calatra-  
ua, for to be perpetuall Administrator thereof, and to the end that there might be no  
more masters in Castile, then the King and Queene: the which was approved by autho-  
ritie Apostolicall: Don Iohn of Estuniga beeing bereft of his Mastership, was otherwaies  
recompenced. This yeare also, the new Chancerie and royall audience at Citee reall was  
erected for pleas and causes depending beyond Tayo, this riuer separating the bounds of  
the two Chanceries: namely, of this, and of that at Vailiodolit, from this Spring in the  
mountaine of Cuenca, where it enters into the lands of Portugall, Don Alphonso Ca-  
rillo Bishop of Catania, and afterwards of Auila, was the first President thereof. Now  
the King and Queene had sent some few dayes before Antonio Fonseca Ambassadour to  
the French king Charles the eight, to the end to diuert him from the warre of Naples, en-  
terprized against King Alphonso their Nephew, and to declare plainly to him (now  
that they had gotten the Earldome of Rossillon) their meaning. And king Charles be-  
eing already come into Italy with a mightie armie, the Ambassadour mette him at Vilitri  
neere to Rome, where he deliuered his Ambassage, and did protest, notwithstanding the  
agreement and promises made at the restitution of the Earldome of Rossillon, that if  
F he did persist to pursue by armes his pretended right to the kingdome of Naples, king  
Ferdinand his master could do no lesse then shew himselfe his enemy, and take vpon him  
his Nephewes defence, and therefore he entreated him to thinke of it, and to referre all  
their differences to the Popes iudgement, who could very well iudge whither the king-  
dome of Naples did belong to the French or to the Arragonois.

The Ambassadour wold haue sayd more, but he was interrupted in his speech, by certain

M m m m 2

hor

Death of King  
John of Portugall.  
1495.

7  
Castile

8 hotte and fierie French Lords, who made him hold his peace, and told him that he spake A too arrogantly and impertinently: therefore the Ambassador following his instruction, tooke the Articles of the last agreement betwixt King *Charles* and King *Ferdinand* (which he brought with him) and rare them in peeces in the presence of the King, Lords, and Knights of his Armie: and hee warned at the same instant, *Charles de Arellan*, and *John Petit Cernillon*, Spanish Captaines, who serued in King *Charles* his Armie: that as subiects to King *Ferdinand* they should depart thence within three dayes, and giue ouer the French Kings seruice, on paine of being held rebels to their Prince: From the same time was the friendship betwixt those two Kings broken, and warre in a manner denounced. King *Charles* pursued his destinie, and without any difficulty made himselfe maister of B the Realme of Naples, King *Alphonso* before hee had fully reigned a yeare, hauing giuen ouer the kingdome to his sonne *Ferdinand*, went into Sicill, and there ledde a monastick life: but not long after, the Kings of Castile beeing at Tortosa in Cattalonia, did openly and by effect declare themselves enemies to the French, as well for feare least they being already Maisters of Naples, should seaze vpon Sicill, where they pretended like right, as also at the entreaty of Pope *Alexander* and other Potentates of Italy, being in the same feare of their owne estates, and would not permit the power of the French to grow so great in Italy: therefore they set forth a Nauie of Gallies and other ships, with fise thousand Spanish footmen, and sixe hundred horse, vnder the conduct of *Gonzalo Hernandez* of Cordoua: the which forces departing from Carthagena, arrived C safely in the Porte of Messina, this yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and fise, making a shew as if they would haue succoured the new King *Ferdinand* driven from Naples. These troopes of Spaniards among other memorable matters, brought the great Pockes into Italy, wherewith they of the countrey were soone possessed, and did communicate it to the French men, which were scattered heere and there in the kingdome of Naples, and they afterward brought it on this side the Mounts, and did distribute it to their neighbour nations, so as this disease beeing indeed of India, was called the Spanish, Neapolitan, and French disease, according to the next subiect where it was discovered, and from whence the contagion was perceiued to come.

The Great  
Pockes in Italy.

Death of the  
Cardinal Don  
Pero Gonfali  
de Mendoza.

Pilates original  
title set on the  
crosse of our  
Saviour, kept  
for a relic in  
Rome.

About the same time in the City of Guadalajara, dyed Don *Pero Gonçales de Mendoza* Cardinall, and Primat of Spaine, and *Gutierrez* of Toledo, Patriarke of Alexandria, and Bishop of Siguença (such were his titles) who beeing visited in his sicknesse by the Kings, and being demanded whom hee thought worthy to succeed him in the Archbishopricke of Toledo, hee named *Frier Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros the Queenes Confessor, Prouinciall of the order of Saint Francis in the Prouince of Toledo. This Cardinall had a singular affection to holy Crosse, who besides that it was his hap to haue the holy Crosse in Ierusalem for the title of his Cardinallship, hee builded a Colledge at Valiopolis, and an hospitall at Toledo neere the place of Codebecer, called *Holy Crosse*: hee re-edified the Church of Santa Cruz at Rome, where they say the original title written by Pilate on our Saviours Crosse in Greeke, Hebrew, and Latin, E was found in an vnfitte place, the which remains as a famous relique in that Church. Besides, it is reported, that beeing neere his end, a great white Crosse of more then forty Cubits length appeared ouer the house where he lay sick, which beeing reported to him, he did reioyce, and hauing caused a Masse of the Holy Crosse to be said, hee gaue vp the ghost: these things are written for wonders by the Spaniards: his body lies buried in the chiefe chappell of the Church of Toledo, in a sumptuous Marble monument. As concerning *Frier Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros his successor in the Archbishopricke of Toledo, hee was sonne to a solicitor of causes in the towne of Tordelaguna, called *Alphonso Ximenes*: his first rising was to the Arch-priesthood of Vzeda, and hee was great Chaplaine of Siguença, and the lxxi. in the order of the Archbishops, and hee was afterward created Cardinall by Pope *Alexander* the sixt, of the title of Saint Balbine: but *D. Bernardino de Carnajall* Bishop of Carthagena, was preferred before him to the dignity of a Cardinall by the title of Santa Cruz in Ierusalem, and was likewise admitted to the Bishopricke of Siguença vacant by the Cardinals death, and at the last obtained that of Playfance. *Frier Diego de Deza*, of the order of Friers Preachers, Schoole-maister to Prince

A Prince *John* of Castile, was likewise made Bishop of Salamanca.

The affaires betwixt Castile and Nauarre, since the time that *Alain* of Albret came to Valencia to King *Fernand*, were peaceable: but the kingdome of Nauarre was still vexed by the factions: those of Beaumont, had euer for their chief the Constable *Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin: those of Granmont ioynd themselves with the Lord of Abernas, Viceroy and Gouvernour of the Countrey, waiting with great desire for the coming of King *John* and Queene *Catherine*, vnto whom they protested all obedience. Now the great affaires which these Princes had on this side the mountaines, detayned them a long time there: for besides that they were in no sort fauoured by *Charles* the eight, the poursuites of their vnkle *John* Vicount of Narbonne had continually disquieted them, vntill the yeare 1493. that they fell to agreement with him: and to secure the countries of Foix and Bearne in their absence, from his surprizes and vsurpations, they had made ouer to him the townes of Sauardun, Maseres, Monthault, and Gibel.

This Vicount was a widower, by the death of Donna *Marie* of Orleance, sister to *Lewis* the French King, who left him two children, namely, *Gaston*, who was duke of Nemours, and *Germaine*, which was afterward wife to King *Fernand* of Arragon after Queene *Isabella*'s death. Hauing then contented the Vicount, and King *Charles* busied in his journey to Naples, *John* Lord of Albret, and Queene *Catherine* his wife, went into Nauarre, leading with them great troupes of souldiers, for feare lest the Constable should rebell, who held the citie of Pampelona in such sort at his command, as he disposed of all matters there, as if he had beene King: and when the Princes came to the gates thereof, their entrance was denied, and they were constrained to lodge at Egues, where they remayned certaine dayes, vntill the Constable and his Faction were pleased to giue them entrance. In that Citie were the Estates assembled, and the King and Queene were crowned with the vsual ceremonies, in the presence of diuers Prelats, Knights, and the Ambassadors of diuers Princes. It was the last Coronation which was made in Nauarre in our time: for this kingdome beeing soone after in the Kings of Castiles possession, they would no longer continue such ceremonies, being content to receiue the oath of the Estates after the manner of Spaine. The titles of King *John* and Queene *Catherine* of Nauarre, were D Kings of Nauarre, Dukes of Nemours, Gandia, Momblanc and Pegnasciell, Earles of Foix, and Lords of Bearne, Earles of Bigorre, Ribagorça, Pontieure and Perigort, Viscounts of Limoges, Peeres of France, and Lords of the citie of Balaguer.

The yeare 1494. *Cesar Borgia*, who was after Duke Valentino, Cardinall and sonne to Pope *Alexander* the sixt, did by his procurators take possession of the perpetuall administration of the Church of Pampelona, by the decease of Don *Alphonso Carrillo* the Bishop, and by the grant of the Pope his father: and the yeare following 1495. *Princessse Magdalen* of France dyed, who was mother to Queene *Catherine*, in the same citie of Pampelona, who accompanied her daughter to her coronation, and had euer vertuously employed her selfe about the conseruation of her childrens estates for the space of fise and twentie yeares, all which time she had liued in holy widow-hood: her bodie lies buried in the great Chappell of the Cathedrall church of the same citie. About that time Queene *Catherine* visited the King and Queene of Castile at Alfaro, by whome she was greatly honoured and welcommed, as befitted so great a Princessse: and we reade of none other occasion of her coming thither, but onely for to see them.

Now after that the King and Queene had made themselves masters of the Citie of Pampelona, the chiefe of the Kingdome, and of many other places which they feared, they were obeyed and reuerenced by the most part of their subiects, and strongly accompanied with Knights and men at armes, they did call to remembrance many rash actions committed by the Constable *Lewis* of Beaumont, as well against King *John* of Arragon, and Queene *Leonora* their Grandmother, as against King *Francis Phelias* and themselves, namely, that the Beaumonts had denied to open them the gates of Pampelona, with other such recent occasions, whereupon they began to persecute him very sharply, so as the Realme of Nauarre was againe in as great confusion as euer it had beene: the two old Factions not forgetting to make vse of any occasions that might hurt one another: the which stormes were in some sort quietly calmed by the mediation of King *Fernand*

to  
The last coro-  
nation at Na-  
uarre.

*Cesar Borgia*  
Cardinal Bishop  
of Pampelona.



of Castile & Arragon who procured this agreement, that the Constable *Lewis* of Beaumont his brother in law should withdraw himselfe into Castile for a certaine limited time, in which meane space either part should lay by their armes, and that the said Constables goods and lands should be laied in *deposito* in King *Fernands* hands. And in this sort the Constable left Nauarre, but he lost nothing thereby, for King *Fernand* gaue him twice as much reuenue as he had before, and made him Marquis of Huescar in Granado. The name of open warre ceased in Nauarre, but they left not of committing of many murthers and robberies without feare of law, for that nation had beene a long time accustomed to such outrages in contempt of the law; the which waxed still worie thorow King *Iohn* and Queene *Catherines* negligence, who by euill counsell, and particular afflictions, vnworthy of soueraigne Princes, did at the last bandy themselves in leagues one against the other, the King taking part with those of Beaumont, and the Queene with the Grammontois whereof infinite miseries ensued.

During these troubles *Gonsalo Fernandes* de Cordoua, surnamed the Great captaine, hauing ioyned the forces that hee brought from Spaine with those that King *Fernand* had, who was driuen forth of Naples, and beeing accompanied with *D. Hugo* Cardona the Sicilian, did to handle the matter as after that King *Charles* was departed forth of the Kingdome hee recouered Calabria from the French, and draue thence the Lord *Aubigni* who was gouernor in those marches, notwithstanding that soone after hee received an ouerthrow by him neere to Seminara, where King *Fernand* of Naples had like to haue beene taken prisoner: after which *Gonsalo Fernandes* hauing made his retreat to Rijsles, where he stood a certaine time on his defence, and beeing afterwards re-enforced with new supplies out of Sicile, and a navy of three score and tenne ships brought from Messina by King *Fernand*, hee had courage and meanes to beseege and make himselfe Master of the city of Naples, with her castles, and draue thence Lord *Guilbert* of Montpensier, whom King *Charles* had left there for gouernour and Lieutenant Generall, making such sharpe warre vpon the rest of the French that were left there, as King *Fernand* in short time was restored to his Kingdome, by the valour, prowess, and discretion of this great captaine: which when Don *Alphonso* vnderstood, who of a King was become a Monke in Sicile, hee laboured to recouer his former dignity: but his sonne who was in possession thereof, and who had valiantly employed himselfe in the recovery of that which his father had carelessly lost, would not giue it ouer: wherefore Don *Alphonso* did not liue long after in his monasticke state, for hee died this yeere 1495.

The succesfull exploits of the Spaniards in the Kingdome of Naples did greatly reioyce King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, who beeing at Tortosa, did agree vpon the marriage of Prince *Iohn* their sonne and heire to the Kingdome, with *Marguerite* of Austria, daughter to *Maximillian* then Emperor, who was sent home, as hath beene said, by *Charles* the French King: and by the same meanes the marriage was concluded betwixt *Philip* of Austria sonne to the said Emperor and Donna *Isabe*, second daughter to the King and Queene of Castile and Arragon. These Princes and Princesses which were married, brother and sister to the brother and sister, were very nere of kinne by the line of Portugall: for Donna *Isabella* of Portugall, wife to Duke *Philip* of Burgondy, was mother to Duke *Charles* father to *Mary*, who was mother to *Philip* and to *Marguerite* of Austria.

And on the other side *D. Leonora* of Portugall the Empreffe, wife to *Frederike*, mother to *Maximillian*, father to *Philip* and *Marguerite*, was cofin getmain to King *Fernand*, daughter to Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, sister to King *Iohn* his father, the which Donna *Leonora* was wife to King *Edward* of Portugall. These treaties being made, the King made some stay at Tortosa, and then returned into Castile: but they were not long there, till the King was constrained to returne to Tortosa to take order for the warre which the French had raised in the Earldome of Rossillon: for King *Charles* beeing highly moued that the King of Castile, contrary to the agreement and promise which hee had made him, had sent aide to the King of Naples, fought against his armies and townes which hee had conquered, had sent a mighty army to

*Lewis of Beaumont made Marquis of Huescar.*

II  
Castile.

Exploits of  
Gonsalo Her-  
nandes of Cor-  
doua surnam-  
ed the Great  
captaine.

*D. Alphonso*  
from a King  
become a  
Monke, stri-  
ueth in vaine,  
from a Monke  
to become a  
King.

Alliances be-  
twixt the  
houses of Au-  
stria and Ca-  
stile.

12

*VVarrs be-  
twixt the  
French and  
Spaniards in  
the Earldome  
of Rossillon.*

13

A to the Pirenean hills, the which did assaile *Sausses*, defended by Captaine *Bernard Francis*, who was ouer-come and taken, and almost all the Spaniards were cut in peeces in the sight of the Spanish Armies, commanded by Don *Henry Henriques* Earle of Alua de Lista, and by the King himselfe, who was come as farre as Gyronc, thinking by vaine shewes to cause the French to retire: the which they did, but it was because winter drew on, and for want of victuals, the enemies Armie being in the like necessity. *Sausses* beeing forsaken, dismantled and burnt by the French, a truce was taken for foure moneths. Among other men of name which dyed at the taking of *Sausses* were Don *Diego de Azucedo*, and *Pedro de Solis*: the same hapned the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and sixe.

Queene *Isabell* remaining at Burgos, gaue order for the Iourney of her second daughter Don *Isabe* into Flanders to *Phillip* of Austria, vnto whom shee was promised, and for the same purpose shee caused a great Nauie to be rigged in the Porte of Laredo, whether shee came in person, after shee had celebrated the obsequies of Queene *Isabell* her Mother, who dyed at the same time at Areualo, hauing liued a widow the space of two and forty yeares, troubled with sicknesse both of body and minde, whose body beeing then laide in the Monasterie of Saint Francis of Areualo, was afterward transported to the Carthusians in the City of Burgos, called Mirefleur, where King *Iohn* her husband was buried. The same yeare dyed in Guipuscoa Don *Iohn de Gamboa*, a personage full of yeares and honour, who was Maister of the horse to the Kings of Castile, and of their Councell, Captaine generall of the frontiers of France and Nauarre, and gouernor of Fontaraby. This Knight left onely two daughters, one of which was married in Guipuscoa in the family of *Sarauz*, and the other into Biscay into that of *Arceaga*: the Queene gaue the conduct of the Nauie, and of the Infanta Donna *Isabe* her daughter, to Don *Frederick Henriques* high Admirall of Castile her Vnckle, beeing accompanied by Donna *Maria de Velasco* the Admiralls Mother, with other Lords, Ladies and Gentlewomen, who beeing shipped, the Queene went back to Burgos, and from thence into Cattalonia to ayde the King her husband.

In the meane space, the great Captaine continued the warre on the one side, and King *Ferdinand* on the other in the kingdome of Naples, who were resisted in Calabria by *Eberard Stuard* Lord of Aubigni, assisted by the faction of *Aniow*, and with a few French forces which were left him, and in the territorie of Lauoro by the Lord *Guilbert* of Montpensier Lieutenant generall to the French King, in the same kingdome, who was besieged in the City of Auerfa by King *Ferdinand* and the great Captaine both together, and was brought to such extremitie, as hee promised, if within thirre dayes hee were not succoured, to yeeld vp all that the French men held in the kingdome of Naples, excepting *Gaietta*, *Venosa* and *Tarentum*, which were in the hands of strangers, vpon condition that they would furnish him with shippes to carry him and his people into France: there fell afterwards great sicknesse among the men of warre on either side: and Lord *Guilbert* of Montpensier dyed at Pozzuolo with other French Lords, and there dyed likewise on the enemies part diuerse men of note, as namely King *Ferdinand*, who had for successour his Vnckle Don *Frederick* of Arragon, brother to Don *Alphonso*. King *Frederick* stayed not long ere hee besieged *Gaietta*, during which siege the Lord *D. Aubigni* rendred the places which hee held in Calabria, by whose example *Gaietta*, *Venosa* and *Tarentum* were yeilded, and King *Frederick* by that meanes recouered all the realme of Naples.

In this warre all the Potentates of Italy shewed themselves enemies to the French, the Florentines excepted, who thought by the meanes of the Frenchmen who held *Pisa*, to bring that Citie into their subiection. And the warre beeing ended, Pope *Alexander* did sharply persecute the *Vrsins*, friends and seruants to the house of France, and the chiefe of that family *Virginio Vrsino*, an excellent Captaine, of all which matters, King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell* of Castile were aduertized to their great contentment.

The beginning of the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninetie and seauen, the Kings beeing in the City of Burgos, they receiued aduertisement that the Armie of Castile

*Sausses taken by the French.*

1496.

*Queene Isabell the Dowager, sick both in body & minde.*

*Death of Don Iohn de Gamboa.*

*The Infanta Don Isabe voyage into Flanders.*

*All the Potentates of Italy enemies to the French except the Florentines.*

1467.

Frier Francis  
Ximenes Arche-  
bish. of To-  
ledo.

Castile was returned, which had conducted the Infanta Donna Joane, wife to Philip of Austria, and brought Margueret, sister to the said Philip, betrothed to Prince Iohn, who were married in the same City, Frier Francis Ximenes of Cissneros Archbishop of Toledo and Primat of Spaine doing the ceremony: and they had for their God-father Don Frederick the Admirall, and Donna Maria de Velasco his mother for their God-mother. The feasts and magnificences were great and pompous, whereat dyed Don Alphonso de Cardega second sonne to Don Gutierrez de Cardega, great Commander of Leon.

The wedding being ended, the Court came to Medina del campo, where Christopher Columbus arrived as a prisoner by the slanders and accusations of the Spaniards his enemies, who were impatient of discipline, the most envious of whom was Frier Buil, who came back the same time into Spaine: nevertheless the Kings thinking it an unseemly matter that such a personage should yeeld account of his actions in quality of an offender, they did absolve him of the great rigor which hee had executed by justice on the Spaniards, with commandement thence-forward to vse those more gently, who did crosse so many seas to doe them service, and they willed him to returne to the Iudges, they being highly contented with the reports which hee made of the great riches and wealth which those countries yeilded: whereof hee brought them proofes of golde, Brazil, mother of Pearle, Amber, pretious Feathers, Indian tapstrie, and other strange things: They did againe rigge forth eight ships for him, furnished with men and victuals, two whereof hee sent away before laden with victuals and weapons to his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who had begun to builde the Cittie of Saint Domingo, vpon the riuer of Ocamia in the Island of Hispagunola: hee with the other sixe parted from Saint Lucar de Barameda, and beeing arrived at Madera, vnderstanding that there were French Pirates at sea that watched for him, beeing drawne thither by the renowne of the wealth of the Indies, hee sent onely three of his shippes directly to the Island of Hispagunola, and hee with the other three sayled towards the Isles of Cape vert, tending to the Equinoctiall, and after great traual of heates, and calmes, hee arrived at Paria the firme land of those West Indies: then coasting three hundred and thirty leagues vnto Cape de Velas, hee discovered and tooke note of all that countrey, D where are Cabo Anegado, the point of Salinas, Cubagua, otherwise called the Isle of Pearles, the point of Araya, Cumana, Chirivichi, the Gulphe of Cariari, Curiana, Saint Roman, Venezuela Coquibocoa, and other places, from whence hee passed to the new City of Saint Domingo, and there was receiued for Gouvernour, to the great griefe of diuerse.

14  
Columbus his  
third voyage  
to the Indies.

This was the third voyage that Columbus made to the Indies, and then they had already begun to trade and negotiate with the Indians by force of armes: for the violent vse of them had made them become strange, and enemies to the Spaniards, so as they left off tilling of their grounds, and sowing of their Maiz, to the end to constrain them by hunger to leaue the contrey, and at the same time as these shippes arrived, great number of Indians beeing gathered together, did besiege the Spaniards of the Forte of Saint Thomas du Ciabo, who were put to flight by Alphonso de Hoiedo. Having then gotten the Cachique Coanabo into the Forte keeping him prisoner for the death of diuerse Christians, more then five thousand Indians assembled themselves, beeing conducted by a brother of his, for to deliuer him, who were likewise defeated by Hoyeda, having but a hundred Spaniards in his company, and some amongst them were horsemen, the which made the Spaniards to bee greatly feared, and much more afterward when Bartholomew Columbus by night defeated fiftene thousand Indians, tooke fiftene Cachiques, and a Generall about all the rest named Guarioux, all which hee set at libertie vpon their words and promises to continue subiects to the Kings of Castile.

Enterprizes  
vpon the In-  
dian Moors.

Besides these conquests in the Indies, the Spanish Nobilitie, who seeing that there was no more warres in Spaine against the Infidells, began to enterprize vpon the neighbour shoare of Affrick, and this yeare the City of Melilla, neere the sea in the kingdome of Tremessen, was taken by Don Iohn de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, who

A who led a sufficient army thither, at his owne costs and charges. This was the first place which the crowne of Castile did possesse in that country beyond the sea, which gaue beginning to the warres of Affrike, which continued afterward, and whereof wee will speake in his place. This exploit of the Duke of Medina was acknowledged and rewarded by the King, who lying at Valencia of Alcantara did treat the marriage of their daughter, the Infanta Isabella the widow, with the new King D. Manuel of Portugall, of whom we must discourse.

## B D. Manuel the fourteenth King of Portugall.

This Prince succeeded King Iohn his cosin and brother in law in the crowne of Portugall the yeere 1465. being seuen and twenty yeeres of age: hee was sonne to Don Fernand Duke of Viseo, and of the Infanta Donna Beatrice, grand-child to King Edward, and great grand-child to King Iohn the first, whose aduancement to the royall crowne had bene fore-told by certaine Soothsaiers and Astrologians: he obtained it by right of lawfull succession, and by the testamentary appointment of King Iohn his predecessor: in whose life time he did in no sort take vpon him the title of Prince and heire of Portugall, but onely of Duke of Beja and Master of Christus. Hee was a iust King, and loued honour, religious and zealous in the faith which had bene taught him, vsing the Nobility kindly, the which hee increased and aduanced in his dominions as much as hee could: he was gentle, liberall and a great giuer of almes, especially to religious friers as well of his owne Kingdome as to strangers, diligent and carefull in the administration of iustice, an enterprizer, lucky in voyages, nauigations and discoveries of countries, whereby he greatly augmented and amplified his Kingdome and Siegnories: hee was beloued and esteemed as well of his owne subiects as of strangers: magnificent and sumptuous in buildings, which the royall monastery of Belen or Bethlem, of the order of Saint Ierosime doth beare witness of, edified for the buriall of the Kings: the castle of Belen, which stands almost in the riuer of Tayo, for the garde of the Port of Lisbon; the Monastery of Saint Mary de la Pegna of the same order of Saint Ierosime neere to Sintra, and that of Saint Clare the New in the towne of Estremos: all which workes were by him built from the foundation; and hee did moreover restore and augment the couents of Saint Francis of Lisbon, Eboria and Saint Iren. The bridge of Coimbra, and that of Oliuena vpon Guadiana are likewise of his structure, with diuers others publike buildings and reparations: all which vertues and magnificencies were blemished by one vice, wherevpon Princes and great Lords doe often stumble, namely, he was to light of belcefe. Whereby hee shewed himselfe inconstant and variable, retracting on euery small occasion his decrees, orders, gifts and priuiledges by contrary commandments.

15  
Portugal.

Qualities of  
King Manuel.

Buildings of  
King Manuel.

This King Don Manuel was thrice married, and all his wiues were Infantaes of Castile, and the two first were sisters: his first wife was Donna Isabella, widow to the Infanta Don Alphonso his Nephew his sisters sonne, on whom hee begat a sonne named D. Michel, who was borne in Arragon in the city of Saragossa at such a time as shalbe set downe hereafter, who if hee had liued, had bene heire to all Spaine: Donna Isabella being dead, his second wife was her sister, called the Infanta Maria of Castile, third daughter to King Fernand and Queene Isabella by whom hee had a great issue. First of all, D. Iohn heire of Portugall borne at Lisbon in the pallace of the Riuer, the Infanta Donna Isabella borne in the same city, who was Queene of Castile, Leon, Arragon and Nauarre, and Emperesse of Germany, married to Charles the fifth. Donna Beatrice who was Dutchesse of Sauoy, wife to Charles the ninth, and mother to Duke Emanuel Philibert of Sauoy, D. Lewis borne in Abrantes, father to D. Antonio who was at strife for the kingdome of Portugall with Philip king of Spaine in our time; next D. Henry, who in our time was a Cardinall, borne likewise in Abrantes on the riuer of Tayo, D. Alphonso

Genealogie of  
Portugal.

*Alphonso* who was borne in the city of Eborā, and was likewise made Cardinall at seuen A  
yeeres of age by Pope *Leo* the tenth; Don *Catherine* who died young, then *D. Fernand*,  
Don *Edward* and Don *Antonio*. His third and last wife was Donna *Leonora* daughter  
to *Philip* of Austria, Infanta of Castile, and sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, by  
whom he had a sonne named *Charles* who died young, he had moreouer by her a daugh-  
ter, borne after his death, named Donna *Maria*, who liued in great chastity in our daies:  
So as this King had by his three married wiues thirteene children liuing, namely nine  
sonnes and foure daughters: This Prince comming to the crowne hee erected diuerse  
Earledomes for the ornament of the Nobility of Portugall, hee gaue that of Portalegre  
to *Diego* de Silua his gouernor, who enioyed but the title onely, for the Inhabitants B  
of Portalegre did defend themselves, by reason of their priuiledges: hee made Don *Vasco*  
de Gama Admirall of Portugall Earle of Bediguera, Don *Martin* de Castil-blanc  
Earle of Villanoua, Don *Iohn* de *Meneses* Earle of Taroco and prior of Saint Iohns,  
Don *Rodrigo* de *Merlo* Earle of Tentugall, Don *Pedro* de Castro Earle of Montsancto,  
Don *Françisco* de *Sofa*, sonne to the Bishop of Eborā Earle of Bemiofo, and Don *An-*  
*tonio* of Portugall Earle of Lignare, honouring in that manner, by liberality and royall  
bounty the Nobility of Portugal.

At the instant entreaties and requests of the widow, Queene *Leonora* his sister,  
and of the Dutchesse Donna *Isabel*, widow of Bragança, hee restored to the honours  
and goods of the deceased Duke, *D. James*, vntil then in exile in Castile, who was the C  
Dukes second sonne, for Don *Philip* the eldest died in Castile, because the Princes of his  
Dukes should not liue in such calamity, and that so noble a race might not faile in Por-  
tugall: he shewed the like grace and bounty to diuerse other Lords, who were absent, for  
offences committed against the crowne, albeit that the new Duke *D. James* had for his  
owne part no way offended, but had run into his fathers disgrace who was executed by  
law. For a notable and religious act, as he and his counsel thought, he gaue commande-  
ment that all Iewes and Moores should voide forth of Portugal, vnlesse they would bee  
baptized, confiscating their goods, and children of euery sex, excepted vnder thirteene  
yeeres of age, whom by force he caused to be baptized, but beeing afterwards better ad-  
uised, hee retained onely the men and women of those sects by force, causing them to D  
receiue baptism, and to confesse Iesus Christ with their mouthes, but, as it is to bee pre-  
sumed, without beleeuing it in their hearts, and people constrained, and not wel instruc-  
ted, the which did beget infinite apostacies, sects, and heresies in Portugal, as it could not  
fall out otherwise.

Following the steps of his predecessor King *Iohn*, hee sent men into the parts of  
the East to make ample and certaine information of the trafficke of spices, and hee  
caused Don *Vasco* de Gama to pursue the nauigations and discouery of the shores of  
Affrike, who departing from Lisbon this yeere 1497. with two ships, the one na-  
med the Angel *Gabriel*, the other the Angel *Raphael*, manned with a hundred and E  
forty men, coasted about Affrike, and touching at the Isle of Saint Iames, and that of  
Saint Helen, places by him so named, hee came into Maçambuque a country of the  
Moores, and from thence, by a long and tedious journey passing hard by a rocke, which  
hee called Saint George, and by the shelues and sands of Saint *Raphaell* hee arriued at  
Mombaga a land fertile, pleasant, and of great trade and commerce, then going forward  
he came to the city of Melinde, in the which hee had not only some rest and refreshing  
from his painefull journey, but did likewise contract peace and alliance betwixt the King  
of Melinde, and King *Manuel* his Master: at the last sayling farther, he came to Calicut the  
place so much desired which was the aime of his enterprize. He found Calicut to be a  
great and wel peopled city, and of great trade for spices, he saw in the haven more then a  
thousand fine hundred saile of marchants ships, great and small, but ill built and vnserui- F  
ceable for long voyages, without art in their sailes, anchors and tackling, nor vsing the  
compasse, and wholly vnfit for sea fights, not beeing able to saile vnlesse they had a fore  
winde.

Now King *Manuel* beeing such an one as wee haue described him, and in his flo-  
rishing age, the marriage betwixt him and the Princesse *Isabella* of Castile, who  
was

A was a widow was concluded at Valencia of Alcantara, at the same time as Prince *Iohn*  
of Castile newly married to *Marguerite* of Austria fell sicke of the disease whereof hee  
died at Salamanca: the which caused King *Manuell* to hasten the effecting of this mar-  
riage: because that after Prince *Iohn*, the succession of the Realmes of Castile and Ar-  
ragon fell to Donna *Isabella* as to the eldest. Therefore hee vsed such diligence as the  
marriage was accomplished before the Prince his death, who deceased to the great griefe  
of the kings his father and mother, and of all their subiects, having not fully attained to  
the twentieth yeere of his age, and was buried in the Monastery of S. Thomas of the frier  
preachers in the city of Auila. All the Gentlemen, Knights, Lawiers, and other men  
of note in all parts of Spaine, did in signe of mourning for his death cloath themselves  
in blacke frise, or such like course cloath of meane price. The Princesse *Marguerite*  
his widdow, who was with child, was brought in bed soone after in the towne of Al-  
cala de Henares of a dead daughter. King *Fernand* beeing the first that receiued these  
lamentable newes, fearing lest the Queene his wife would fall into some great per-  
plexity for the losse of an onely sonne, heire to so great a state and of such young  
yeeres, did determine to send her newes that he himselfe was dead, and then when shee  
should enter into teares and lamentations, to come into her presence at the same in-  
stant to comfort her, and then plainely to tell her the truth of their sonnes death, ima-  
gining that a sodaine consolation betwixt two extreame griefes, would greatly mode-  
rate both the one and the other: the which tooke good effect, by the good reasons and  
examples which hee alleadged vnto her. By Prince *Iohns* decease, Donna *Isabella* his  
sister was Princesse of the Asturias, and eldest heire to the Kingdomes of Castile and  
Aragon.

This yeere died Don *Iohn Arias* de Villār, who was Bishop of Ouedo, the which  
place was giuen to Don *Garcia Ramires* de Villa Escusa, last perpetual prior of Saint  
Markes of Leon, and euer afterward the Priors of that place were but from yeere to  
yeere. There died also by a lamentable chance, the Court beeing at Alcala, Don *Lewis*  
*Pimentell* Marquis of Villa-franca, eldest sonne to Don *Rodrigo Alphonso Pimentell*  
Earle of Benauent, who fell downe to the ground out of a gallery. Don *Diego* of Ca-  
stile great commander of Calatrava did likewise die, and his commandery was giuen  
to Don *Gutierre* de Padilla Treasurer, and his place to Don *Alphonso* de Silua, brother  
to the Earle of Cifuentes. Now the new Queene of Portugall, Infanta of Castile and  
Aragon, hauing right to so great a succession by the death of Prince *Iohn* her brother:  
it behoued the King her husband and her selfe to passe into Castile, to receiue, in quali-  
ty of future heires to those Kingdomes, the oth of the States: therefore leauing the  
widow Queene *Leonora* Regent in Portugall, they came to the city of Toledo the  
yeere 1498. where Queene *Isabella* of Portugall was sworne, and acknowledged Prin-  
cesse of the Asturias, heire to Castile and Leon: then going into Arragon, the like  
was done for the succession in those Kingdomes. But this Princesse being with child,  
shee was brought in bed and died in the city of Saragossa, leauing heire to all her fa-  
thers and mothers dominions, the child newly borne if he had liued, who was called *D.*  
*Michel*, who in that infancy was sworne Prince of Girone and heire to Arragon and Si-  
cile. With this sorrow *D. Manuel* returned a widower into Portugal, leauing his on-  
ly sonne in Saragossa. The dead Queenes body was brought to Toledo and buried in  
the Monastery of Saint Antolin, which is a parrish Church where were Religious Nuns,  
which was builded by Don *Agnes d Ayala*, wife to the Admiral of Castile, grand-mo-  
ther to King *Fernand*. And afterward because of this Princesse, which was there buried,  
it was called the Monastery of Saint Elizabeth, and the parrish remooued to Saint Markes  
which was of the number of the Musarabes.

F About this time *Lewis* the twelfth of that name, before Duke of Orleans hauing suc-  
ceeded *Charles* the eight in the crowne of France, and hauing his thoughts wholly  
bent to dispossesse Duke *Lewis Sforza* of the Duchy of Milan, which hee said was the  
ancient maternall inheritance of the house of Orleans, peace was granted to King  
*Frederike* of Naples, and an agreement procured betwixt France and Castile: there-  
fore

Earldomes  
created in  
Portugall by  
King *Manuell*.

*D. James* re-  
stored to the  
Duchy of  
Vasco and to  
his fathers  
goods.

*Jewes* con-  
strained to be  
baptized.

16  
*D. Vasco* de  
Gama a Por-  
tugal Captaine  
in Calicut.

17  
Castile.

Death of  
Prince *Iohn* of  
Castile.

General mourn-  
ing.

A good means  
to comfort an  
extreme for-  
row.

An. 1498.

*D. Michel* that  
new borne In-  
fant sworne  
heire of Ar-  
ragon.

*On to the Infant D. Michel for the future succession of Castile.*

*D. Mencía de Mendoza wife to Earle Henry of Nassau.*

18

*The brothers Columbus brought backe against prisoners into Spaine.*

*Pero Nugno voyage.*

*The voyage of Vincent and Arias Pinson.*

Portugal.

fore Don *Gonzalo Hernandez* surnamed the great capitaine, returned out of Italy into Spaine, full of victory and honor. The Court being come to Ocagna, where Queene *Isabella* found her selfe somewhat well at ease the yeere 1499. the Infant Don *Michel* was sworne Prince of the Asturia's, and heire to Castile. There arose a great quarrel in Ocagna amongst the courtiers, wherein Don *Alphonso Pimentel*, sonne to Don *Iohn Pimentel* was slaine.

The Court comming to Madrid, the marriage was celebrated betwixt D. *Rodrigo de Mendoza* the first Marquis of Zenete, a widower by the death of his wife D. *Leonora de la Cerda* Marquise of Zenete, onely daughter to the Duke of Medina Celi, and Donna *Maria de Fonseca*, daughter to D. *Alphonso de Fonseca*, of which marriage was borne a daughter and heire called *Mencia de Mendoza*, who was wife to *Henry Earle of Nassau*.

The affaires of the Indies grew worse and worse, the Spanish arrogancy not being able to endure a bridle to restrain them in their disorders, for *Rowland Ximenes* from a seruant being become great Prouost and President of iustice in the Indies, by the fauour of the Admiral *Christopher Columbus*, did openly mutiny against *Bartolmeu Columbus* the gouernour, and with threescore and tenne of his confederates, hee sequestred himselfe and went into Xaragua, protesting that hee did not forsake the Kings seruice of Castile, but onely his obedience to the Geneuois, whose pride he could not beare: the Admirall endeouored by all meanes to appease this tumult, but he could not, wherefore they fell to writing one against an other into Spaine, and to lay great offences to each others charge, so as the Kings sent *Francis de Bouadilla*, a Knight of the order of Calatrava with foure caruels, with ample power and authority to the Indies to make information of these matters, who being arriued in the Island of Hispanuola, found, after enquiry made in the city of Saint Domingo, that the two brothers *Columbs* were in the fault, therefore hee apprehended them, and sent each of them in a caruell prisoners in fetters into Spaine.

Being landed at Cales, the Kings hauing notice of their arriual, caused them to be set at liberty and to come to Granado where the Court then lay, where notwithstanding their iustifications, the government of the Indies was taken from them. And so the Admirall remained three yeeres in Spaine, without returning to the countries by him discovered. The Kings the same yeere gaue leaue to *Pero Nugno* borne at Palos de Moguer to goe to the Indies with a ship and thirty mariners, on condition that he should not land, nor come neere the lands discovered by *Christopher Columbus* by fifty leagues: who being arriued at Parias, and hauing well noted the coast even to Curiana, which is nere to Venesuela, he landed in Curiana, where he found the people to be simple, with whom he exchanged his pedlery ware of smal value, for very precious pearles. This *Pero Nugno* being returned into Galicia was accused by his own fellowes, and had a long suite before *Hernando de Vega* Lord of Grayales viceroy in that country. Other inhabitants of Palos Moguer, who had bene in the voyages of *Christopher Columbus*, and had enriched themselves were desirous to saile againe to the Indies, as namely, *Vicent James Pinson*, and *Arias Pinson* his nephew, who at their owne charges hauing victualled and rig'd foure caruels, they passed by Saint Iames his Isle, one of those of Cap-ver, and arriued at the Cap of Saint Augustin, a country very thicke of trees, amongst the which they found one that sixteene men could not fadom, where they wrote their names, and thole of their King and Queene in token of possession: then coasting along the shoares (not without danger) where they thought to land, in regard they found there very fierce and barbarous Indians, they came to the mouth of the great riuier Maragnon, in the gulphe of Parias, and to that of the riuier Oreillana, which are the greatest in the world, and doe runne almost euer vnder the Equinoctiall: the which riuier of Oreillana the *Pinsons* hauing sailed, and spent tenne monthes in those nauigations; they returned into Spaine with two caruels onely laden with brail and drogues, but no gold nor pearles.

Don *Vasco de Gama* arriued likewise this yeere in Portugal from his voyage of Calicut laden with spices, which hee had bought at a cheape rate, from which place hee departed

A parted in the month of September of the precedent yeere, captaine *Nicholas Coelho* going before from the Cap of good hope to bring the King of Portugall good newes thereof, after whom the said *Vasco* arriued, who was most graciously welcomed, and largely rewarded for his trauaile which lasted six and twenty monthes, and of all the men which he carried out with him hee brought home fifty onely. The Portugalls from that time, did ordinarily saile to the East Indies.

This yeere the Princeesse *Margueret* of Austria widow, parted from Spaine to returne into Flanders, afterward shee shas married to *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, by whom hauing had no children, after his death she remained a widow, and gouerned the country of Flanders a long time: the Monastery called *Brunes* neere to Bourg in Bresse, was builded by her. The Court being at Granado, Queene *Joane* of Naples, widow to the late King *Fernand* the first came thither, shee was sister to King *Fernand* of Castile. In her company was the Cardinall *Lewis* of Arragon, sonne to Don *Roderigo* of Arragon bastard to the King her husband: and in Flanders the Infanta Donna *Joane* wife to *Philip* of Austria was brought in bed of a daughter named *Leonor*, who was Queene of Portugall, married to the King Don *Manuel* and afterward to the great King *Francis* of France.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* being come from Granado to Siuil, being moued with zeale to religion, and the better to obtaine the title of Catholike Kings, by the counsell also of the Prelats, and namely of frier *Francis Ximenes* de Cisneros Archbisshop of Toledo, frier *Thomas* of Torquemada, the chiefe Inquisitor of Spaine being deceased a while before, they vndertooke the voluntary and forced conuersion of the Moores, contrary to the promises and capitulations made vnto those which yielded during the warres, whereof great troubles ensued.

The Archbisshop *Ximenes* was at Granado to assist frier *Hernand* of Talauera a little before made Archbisshop of Granado, who laboured to procure that conuersion to be voluntary, without vsing constraint. But hee of Toledo imagining that the other had proceeded ouer gently, did beginne to presse the Moores that were inhabitants of the Albayzin after his owne humor, giuing hard speeches to such as would dispute of religion with the Monks and Curats, who thought to conuert them: and then comming to deeds, he laid hands vpon a chiefe Moore of the familie of Zigrí, who was descended from the Kings of Granado, and kept him so long in prison as to recouer his liberty, hee said that hee was contented to beleue in Iesus Christ, and that hee had had a vision which did assure him that it was the right way of saluation. Hee sent after that, one of his household seruants named *Sazedo*, with a Prouost that was very ill beloued to apprehend a woman dwelling in the same Albayzin, but both of them were there slaine. Diuers Moores being gathered together at the womans cries, who after the deed ranne to the Archbisshop of Toledos lodging to haue done as much to him: but he and his people did valiantly defend themselves vntill the Earle of Tendilla the Gouernor came and freed him from them: the which Earle with the Archbisshop of Toledo delt in such sort as the murinous people were appeased, and their Alguazils were heard, who protested that they did not rise against the King, but onely to hinder the breaking of the Articles agreed vpon, which were, not be enforced to change their religion.

This was the first attempt of the Moores conuersion, with no small daunger and tumult, which lasted tennedays. The King hauing notice of what was done, was highly moued against the Archbisshop of Toledo; but hee contented him with reasons wherewith hee was not vnfurnished, and caused him to allow and approoue to haue them conuerted by force: for at the report of what the Moores of Albayzin had done, those of the mountaines, and of the country called *Alpuxarres* did fall into a mutiny, to chastice whom they were constrained to proceed by armes the yeere following 1500. In the same yeere Pope *Alexander* the sixth, celebrated the tenth Iubiley at Rome, whether people of sundry Nations went in great numbers: and they beganne to conuert the Moores of Granado, this yeere where diuers of them

N n n n

did

19  
Moores slaine  
deciates enforced  
to change  
their religion.

did mutiny: neuertheless more then fifty thousand of that sect receiued the water of Baptisme, and their Mosques were blessed and consecrated to ceremonies and vses accustomed amongst the Christians of that age: those amongst them who would not change their religion at the Kings command, were constrained to doe it by force of armes, and because the townes of Huescar, Lanjaron, and Andarrax in the country of Alpuxarras did make the greatest resistance, the inhabitants being enforced were made slaues. And the same yeere was borne in the city of Gaunt vnto *Philip* of Austria and *Donna Ioane* of Castile vpon Saint Mathias day, a sonne named *Charles*, who was heire to all the Kingdomes of King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabella* his grand-father and grand mother, and Emperour of Almaine, the fifth of that name, a great and an excellent Prince. It is reported that when the newes of his birth was brought to Queene *Isabella* his grand-mother, she in a propheticall spirit of his future vniuersal succession in the great dominions of Spaine, spake these words, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, *The lot is fallne vpon Mathias*, noting thereby, that *Don Michel* of Portugal then liuing should not inherite, but that it should bee hee who was borne vpon Saint Mathias day: the which in deed fell out to be happy for the Emperour *Charles*, it is the foure and twentieth day of February.

Birth of Charles  
of Austria who  
was King of  
Spaine and  
Emperour.

Saint Mathias  
day lucky to  
Emperour  
Charles.

Nauarre,

20

King John of  
Nauarre his  
iourney into  
Castile.

King *Fernand* being returned from the Catholike warre of the country of Alpuxarras in the Kingdom of Granado vnto Siuill, hee was visited by *John d' Albret* King of Naurre, whom hee welcomed with great honour and curtesie, for the space of seuentene daies that hee remained there. Diuers busineses moued this Prince to come into Castile, but there were two of greatest importance, for hee imagined to get againe the townes of La Garde, Arcos, Saint Vincent, and Bermedo, the castles of Toro and Herera, and other places of La Soterra which the King of Castile possessed of the antient patrimony of Naurre; hee did moreover, in the right of the late Queene *Blanch* of Naurre, first wife to King *John* of Arragon, and great grand-mother to Queene *Catherine* then reigning, and by grant made in the contract of her marriage, demaund the Infantaigo of Castile, the Duchy of Pegnafiell and Lordship of Lara, with many other lands, and therewith all the sonne of 420112 florins, sixe shillings eight pence of the coine of Arragon: for which matters King *John d' Albret* and Queene *Catherine* of Naurre being at Pau, had not long since sent two Franciscan friers in Ambassage to the Kings of Castile, who were men of vnderstanding, namely frier *John de Padre* Warden of Corella, and frier *John de Ro*, warden of Tafalla, with ample instructions to obtaine them: but they brought away nothing but pleasing words and dilatory excuses. Besides this businesse, the suspicion which they had of the Earle of Lerin did greatly trouble them, who was newly come into Castile, and was much honoured and aduanced there, and it was reported to them that King *Fernand* had often times solicited him, to make ouer vnto him all the lands, goods, rights and actions which hee had in the Realme of Naurre, promising him treble recompence for them in Castile; the which the Earle had neuertheless refused, either for the naturall loue which hee did beare to his country, or else that hee did better esteeme the place which hee held, almost as King of Naurre, then to bee in Castile, where diuers others tooke place before him as it was fit: These two chiefe occasions caused the King and Queene of Naurre to depart from Pau, whether they were goone as soone as they had newes of King *Charles* the eight his death, and to returne into Naurre, where the Queene remained gouernesse assisted by frier *Pedro Eraso* Abbot of the Monastery of Oliua: King *John d' Albret* went to Siuill to bee resolu'd by King *Fernand* concerning these busineses, to prevent the inconueniences which he feared, and to renew the peace, friendship and alliance betwixt those two Kingdomes: Hee was highly honoured, as hath bene said, by the Kings of Castile, and lodged with them in the fort of that magnificent city: and the more to gratifie and reuerence him the Constable, the Earle of Lerin, was forbidden to come into the castle.

King Fernand  
desirous to get  
the Kingdom  
of Naurre.

It is reported that King *Fernand* caused the King of Naurre to bee sounded whether he thought well of the exchange which hee desired to make with the Earle of Lerin of

of the lands which he possessed in his Kingdome, for other recompence in Castile, and that hee would giue King *John d' Albret* a good summe of money, if hee would consent that those lands should remaine to Castile: who notwithstanding the euill will that hee did beare to the Earle of Lerin, vttered his opinion concerning it, which was, that a man should neuer exchange lands and reuenues for money. King *John d' Albret* got no other matter by this iourney but good cheere, and diuers presents of rich plate, hangings, horse, iewels, and other such like things: wherefore hee returned into his Realme of Naurre, leauing the matters hee went for vn-effected. The Earle of Lerin Constable of Naurre being at that meeting reconciled to him did follow him and staid in Naurre, certaine monthes in good quiet. We haue made mention how that Cardinall *Cesar Borgia*, sonne to Pope *Alexander*, had the Bishoprike of Pampelona in nature of perpetuall administrator thereof, hee resigned the same to the Cardinall of Saint Praxede: hee laide aside likewise his Cardinals hat, and followed the warres wherevnto he was more inclined then to Church matters, and was made by his father Duke of the country called in old time Flaminia, and Gonfalonier and capitaine Generall of the Church, this was the Duke Valentino.

A man should  
neuer exchange  
lands for mo-  
ney.

Cesar Borgia,  
made Duke  
Valentino.

In these daies beganne the warre which in proceesse of time did subiect the state of Milan vnder the dominion of the Kings of Castile. King *Lewis* the twelfth, of the house of Orleans, pretending that the right of that Duchy belonged vnto him as the proper inheritance of the Duchesse *Valentine* his grand-mother, lawfull daughter to Duke *John Galeas* Viscont, and heire to her two brothers *John Maria*, and *Philip*, successiue Dukes on after an other, who died without children, hee gaue ouer all thought of the conquest of Naples, the right of the house of Aniou, and turned his forces against the Duke then reigning, *Lewis Sforza* vsurper of that state, whereat not onely the Potentates of Italy, hating the French dominion, were discontented, but they drew the Spanish forces to the defense of Prince *Sforza*, wherein chiefly King *Frederike* of Naples employed himselfe, soliciting King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabella* by continuall messengers and letters to oppose themselves by all meanes against the greatnesse of the French in Italy, who if they should obtaine the Duchy of Milan, hee did assure them that they would passe on to Naples, and after that into Sicile which was their antient right: Therefore it was concluded in the counsell of Castile, to send backe *Don Goncal Hernandez* the great capitaine; who tooke shipping at Malaga the eight of Iuly, this yeere 1500. and led into Italy, eight thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, where being arriued, to auoide idlenesse, hee went ouer with his army into the Isle of Zante in old time *Zacinthium*, in the Illiri an sea, to the end to aide the Venetians oppressed by the Turkes army, which had taken from them Modon, Coron, Crisse, and Pila in Morea, and the Island of Cephalonia, in which the Spanish army ioyned to the Venetian, commanded by *Benedetto Pezaro*, did land, and there behaued themselves so valiantly, as they brought againe that Island vnder the Venetians power, the army of the Turke *Bajazet* then reigning, being gonne to Constantinople. The Venetians in acknowledgement of which seruice did honour the great capitaine with the title and priuiledge, of a Gentleman of their commonwealth, a thing rarely granted by them vnto strangers, who brought backe his army victorious to Messina, wayting for an occasion to employ it to the preiudice of the French.

During these stirres, the Court being at Granado, there died the Prince *Don Michel* heire to these Kingdomes, to the great grieue of the Kings of Castile his grand-father and grand-mother, and of King *Mannell* his father, hauing not exceeded the age of two yeeres, who lies buried in the chappell of the Kings, since then builded in the same City: By his decease the Infanta *Donna Ioane*, wife to the Archduke *Philip* had right to the succession of these great Estates; and so consequently the lotte fell vpon her sonne *Charles* borne on Saint Mathias daie, as Queene *Isabella* had fore-told, the Archduke and *Donna Ioane* his wife being called vpon that occasion, prepared themselves for their iourney into Spaine. The same yeere died *Don Inigo Lopes de Atendoza*, second Duke of Infantaigo, who was buried in the

21  
Castile.

VVars of the  
French against  
Lewis Sforza.

22  
Portugal.

D. Ioane wife  
to the Arch-  
duke Philip,  
presumptiue  
heire of Castile  
and Arragon.



Conuent of Saint Francis at Guadaluja, King *Manuel* being a widdower and without children, contracted marriage with the other sister of his deceased Queene named *Donna Marie*, third daughter to the King and Queene of Castile, by whom he had many children, as hath beene heretofore declared. The new Queene of Portugal departed from Granado in the monthes of September this yeere 1500. and was conducted to the King her husband by *D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Archbishop of Siuill and Patriarke of *Alexandria*, who was afterward Cardinall, with diuers other Lords and Knights.

Castile.

23  
The Moores  
persecuted in  
Spaine, so  
caused them to  
turne to Chri-  
stian religion.

Cruel execu-  
tion of the  
Moores at  
Benisique,  
Nixar, &c.

Warrenned  
by the persecu-  
ted Moores.

The conuersion of the Moores of the Kingdome of Granado, begunne by King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabel*, was so greatly by them desired as they would not depart out of that country till they had brought it to such passe as they intended: the Moores on the other side nor being instructed, and seeing diuers contempts of religion, and infinite euill examples amongst the Prelats and in all the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy of the Christians; they thought it a strang matter to be enforced to change their religion which they thought to be holy, and that they should so perfidiously breake the agreements and promises, vpon which they had yeelded themselves to the Kings of Castile: wherefore they made all the resistance possible: Neuertheless the inhabitants of Las Alpujarras, those of the cities of Almeric, Guadix and Baça, did in some sort fashion themselves to the Kings religion: but those of Benisique, Nixar, and Guijar, ranne to armes and resolved rather to die then to bee so euill intreated: wherefore they were constrained to send an army thither, by which those townes were taken by force and cruell slaughter made of the inhabitants: namely after the fury of the fight, the Kings caused all the male children, which were of age to beare armes, to be executed by law, and as for the women they were all sold for slaues; and this was done to quench the bloody thirst of the prelats and monkes, counsellors and solicitors of that ill vnderstood conuersion. Yet for all that, after the fury was past, the King caused the children of either sex amongst those miserable people vnder eleuen yeeres of age to bee separated and baptized, giuing them their liberty as innocent of their fathers obstinacy. This rigour was so farre off from fearing or abating the courage of the rest as they thereby became more stubborn: their being no spurre in the world more sharpe, then religion, to make men giue ouer and contemne life, and all other things to be beloued in this world, when they are constrained to take armes for that respect: for diuers Moores dwelling vpon the coast of Ronda, *La Sierra Vermeille*, and *Villa longa*: being brought to the last hope of beeing able to liue in the freedome of their consciences, and to keepe their old religion, did arme themselves, to the number of twelue thousand persons, which caused the Kings to thinke that they were entred againe into a very difficult warre, and that the conquest of the kingdome of Granado was not yet ended.

And because it behoued them to giue a present remedy to this fire which kindled, they dispatched away *Don Alphonso d' Aguilar*, and the Earle of Vregna, with as great forces as the present necessity could furnish: but *Don Alphonso* who was old, and a well experienced captaine, protested that with so small a number, he could doe the King no seruice, but should receiue losse and dishonour; for the Moores were foure to one of his people: neuertheless being vrged to it, he marched against the enemies, who keeping themselves close together, and in strong places, would not giue the least advantage to the Christians; for whom they laide waite in the valleies and streight places of the country, well knowne to themselves, to the end to surprize and defeat them, the which came to passe: for the Christians being lodged one night at the foote of *Sierra Vermeille*, in such a place as *Don Alphonso's* troupes were separated from those of the Earle of Vregna by a great botome which was betwixt them, the Moores at the shutting in of day-light fell vpon *Don Alphonso* and his people with such fury, as they cut them all in peeces, *Don Alphonso* himselfe lay dead vpon the place: his sonne *Don Pedro*, hauing his reeth beaten out with the blow of a stone, and hurt with an arrow, with great difficulty escaped at the beginning of the fight, the Earle of Vregna beholding the slaughter of his friends, not being able to succour them by reason of the

A the botome that lay betwixt them, or else because hee would not, as diuers did thinke, for euer among great Lords, and chiefe commanders vnder one Prince are enuy, iazozie, and emulation found, which cause such effects to the losse of their Prince and commonwealth.

King *Fernand* did greatly apprehend this losse, as also *Don Alphonso's* death, the which could not bee imputed to rashnesse: for he had protested that such resolute men as those Moores were, who were in their forts, ought not to haue beene assailed with such weak forces: and that they knew very well, the common proverbe, which saith, that for to fetch a dead man out of his owne house, there must alway bee foure, how much more then did it behooue them to goe strongly accompanied against those with whom he had to doe, who were living men, souldiers, and well armed: It is reported that as he was assailed, diuers Knights were of opinion to turne their backs and to flee, but he would needs make head, saying, that neuer any of his race did turne their backs to a Moore. Wherefore being kept backe by shame and dishonour hee sustained that conflict, whereas hee might haue made an excusable retreat. Now the King being in a mercurious chollor, departed from Granado against these Moores, with an intent to punish them rigorously: but perceiving that it is euermore harder to execute then, to counsell, hee was content to permit them to passe ouer into Africke, and to leaue the country: by this meanes after sundry defeats and slaughters on either side, he obtained his desire, and returned to Granado, where the marriage of *D. Catherine* his fourth daughter with *Arthur* Prince of Wales, heire to the crowne of England, was treated of. This Princesse tooke her journey towards her husband the yere 1501. accompanied by *Don Alphonso de Fonseca*, Archbishop of Saint Iames, *Don Antonio de Rojas* Bishop of Majorque, who was afterward Archbishop of Granado and President of the royall counsell, and *D. Diego Fernandes* de Cordoua Earle of Cabra: and at the same time Queene *Ioane*, the widdow of Naples, sister to King *Fernand*, tooke her leaue of him and withdrew herselfe to Valencia: The Archduke *Philip* of Austria making preparation for his voyage into Spaine, was father of his third child, *Donna Ioane* his wife beeing brought in bed of a daughter named *Donna Isabella*. This Princesse was wife to *Christierne* King of Denmarke, hee who was deposed by his vnckle *Christierne* King of Swethland, taken by him, and kept in perpetuall prison: by which *Christierne* shee had two daughters, that is to say, *Dorothy*, future wife to *Frederike* Earle Palatin, and Elector of the Empire, and *Christine*, who was married to *Francisco Maria Sferza*, Duke of Milan the yeere 1534. who died the yeere after; shee was secondly married to *Francis* Duke of Lorraine, father to Duke *Charles* who liues in our time. After that King *Christierne* was deposed from his owne Kingdome, for inuading that of Swenia: this Princesse *D. Isabella*, went into England, where her Aunt *Donna Catherine* was married, and then she died being six and twenty yeeres of age.

Whilest these things passed on in Spaine, the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, did luckily end his enterprife of Milan, and did shut vp into close and perpetuall prison Duke *Lewis Sforza*, surnamed the Moore, the Author of all the warres and ruines of Italy in his time: the which King *Frederick* of Naples considering, hee was moued partly by feare, least he should againe haue to doe with the victorious French armies, partly not to oblige himselfe ouer much to the Kings of Spaine, and not to giue occasion to the Spanish insolency to grow ouer saucie in his Kingdome: and namely because King *John* of Arragon, and *Don Fernand* his sonne, had at one time called in question the late King *Alphonso* his testamentary decree, whereby hee had left that Kingdome to his bastard sonne, incapable thereby (as they said) of so great an inheritance: wherefore hee beganne to haue secret intelligence with the French King, whereof King *Fernand* was soone aduertized: who thought, that hee was very ingratfully delt withall and ill requited for all his cost bestowed in the recouery of that kingdome out of the French mens hands: and he imagined that hee should not transgreffe either diuine or humane lawes, if he reputed that conquest to belong to him selfe; and if hee should ioyne this action to that which his father and hee pretended in the said Kingdome by

N n n 3

reason

Particular  
crimes at-  
taining cap-  
tains  
of one side  
sides, and  
times cause the  
probable cause  
to be forgot-  
ten.

Vnreasonable  
ma-  
nanimity  
of D. Alphonso  
de Aguilar.

24  
Sforza taken  
by the French.



Earles of Oropeſa, Miranda, and Benalcaſar, Crugna, Siruella, Ribadeo, Fuençalida, A Ajamonte, and others, with the Procurators, and Commiſſioners of all the citties and prouinces of Spaine, which haue place in ſuch aſſemblies. This oath beeing made for Caſtile, King *Fernand* was deſirous to haue the like done for the Kingdome of Arragon Caſtile, King *Fernand* was deſirous to haue the like done for the Kingdome of Arragon and dependancies thereof: and ſo he iourneyed towards Sarragoſſa, leauing the Queene with the Princes at Toledo, who went to paſſe away the hotte time of Iuly and Auguſt at Ocagna, recreating themſelues in the pleaſant forreſt of Aranjués neere to the river Tayo: and from thence they departed to Sarragoſſa, where by the Eſtates they were like- Tayo: and from thence they departed to Sarragoſſa, where by the Eſtates they were like- B wiſe declared and ſworne Princes of Gironne, heires to Arragon, Valence, Cattalognia, Sicill, and other Countries belonging to that Crowne. The Queene in the meane time ſtaying at Toledo, remooued to Madrid, where ſhe beganne to be euill diſpoſed of her perſon, which cauſed king *Fernand* to haſten his returne to her, the Princes deſiring to follow him, did ſeparat themſelues, becauſe the Princeſſe was with child, wherefore ſhee remayned at Sarragoſſa, and the Prince went to Madrid. Theſe matters fell out, the yere 1502. where in dyed the Cardinall *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza in the ſame cittie of Ma- drid. Don *Iohn* of Eſtuniga, who had bene Maſter of Alcantara, and afterward was Car- dinall ſucceeded him in the Arch-biſhoppricke of Siuill. The Marquis of Denja dyed like- wife. The precedent yere, about the time that the Princeſſe *Catherine* departed into En- gland, Don *Iohn d Arias del Villar* dyed, who was Preſident of Vailladolid, and Biſhop of Segobia, in whoſe place ſucceeded Doctor *Iohn de Medina*, Biſhop of Carthage- C na. There dyed alſo *D. Lewis de la Cerde*, firſt Duke of Medina Celi, ſonne to Earle *Gaſton*. The Prince of Wales, huſband to the Infanta *Catherine*, died likewiſe this yere; and the Cittie of Gibraltar was re-uniſed to the Crowne, and another perſecution was raiſed a- gainſt the Moores.

Before the Kings of Caſtile departed from Siuill to come to Toledo, they had ſent an Ambaſſadour to the Souldan of Egypt, who was as Emperour of Arabia, acknowledged then for Soueraigne, ouer all the Kings of Affricke, who had bene informed by the Kings of Tremecen, Fez, Bugie, Tunis and others, of diuers rigors and inhumanities ex- erciſed vpon the Moores and Iewes dwelling in Spaine, which that Prince did greatly recent. The Ambaſſadour ſent thither was called *Peter Martyr Angleria* of Milan, Deane D of Granado, a learned and well-experienced perſon, vnto whom were letters of credite and inſtructions giuen, how to appeaſe the Souldan, and to perſwade him otherwiſe, then he had bene before informed: Wherefore he went by Venice, where the Seigneu- rie provided him of a ſhippe to carrie him to Alexandria: there he found diuers Chriſtian Merchants, with a Conſul, who was a Cattelan by nation, by whom hee was well enter- rayned. The Warden of the Monafterie of mount Sion beeing aduertized, ſome few dayes before of his coming, ſent him word, that he would meeete him at Cairo: there- fore *Peter Martyr* ſent certaine Friars before to Cairo, whom he had brought with him, for to receiue that Friar Warden: and to obtaine a ſafe-conduct for his owne perſon and trayne from the Souldan, to the end to declare his Ambaſſie vnto him. The father Warden E and his Friars beeing arriued at Cayro found a Truch-man or Interpreter there who was a Spaniard borne at Momblanc in the Realme of Valencia, vnto whom hauing gi- uen notice of the Ambaſſadors arriuall at Alexandria, and demanded the ſafe-conduct, the Souldan granted it, and ſent word to the Gouvernor of Alexandria, whom the cal Ad- mirall, to cauſe him to be conducted in ſafetie. But the Monkes hauing vnderſtood by their conferences with the Truchman, how ſiniſterly the Souldan was poſſeſſed againſt the Kings of Caſtil, by the reports of the Moores of Granado, and the Iewes which were expelled out of Spaine, they did aduertize him to be well aduiſed what he did, and to fore- ſee the danger he had put himſelfe in, by comming to the preſence of that angry Prince, whoſe anſwer, perhaps might be death: but the Ambaſſador was no whit amazed thereat: F but ſayd, that it would be a great happineſſe for him to die in ſo honourable a cauſe: ſo he tooke his iourney, going againſt the ſtream of the riuer Nilus, accompanied by diuers Mameluke ſouldiers, which were Chriſtians renied, or children of bought Chriſtians, in whoſe hands lay the government of al the affairs of Egypt, and namely, out of their bands was the Souldan choſen.

Being

26  
The king of Ca-  
ſtile ſends an  
Ambaſſade to  
the grand  
Cairo.  
Peter Martyr  
of Angleria  
Ambaſſador.

Mamelukes in  
Egypt.

A Being come to Caire, he was longed in the ſayd Truchmans houſe, and then the day following, he was ledde to the Caſtle to the Souldans pallace, and paſſing thorough di- uers galleries full of Mamelukes, he was brought into an hall where the Souldan taried for his coming: Hee found him ſitting vpon a bed of State, like vnto women, made in faſhion of an altar, clothed in a gowne of ſkarlet with large ſleeues ſurred with Martins, and vpon his head a rich Turbant, with two hornes after a ſtrange faſhion, and a ſword neere vnto him, being compaſſed about with diuers Gouvernours of Prouinces, which they called Admirals. Before this Emperour, the Ambaſſadour preſented himſelfe, appa- B relled in a coate of blacke ſattin, and a gowne of purple veluet, kneeling vpon one knee, the Monkes and other Chriſtians which followed him, kneeled on both their knees and hands, as though they would haue kiſſed the earth, then riſing vp, and going on neerer by two and two paces, they made three ſuch reuerences: then ſtanding vpon their ſecte, the Ambaſſadour went a little forwarder neere to the Prince, and hauing made a fourth reuerence, he ſtood vp, and preſented the Kings of Caſtils letters of credit to the Truch- man, the which beeing opened and read with diuers ceremonies, the Souldan told him, that hee was welcome. Then the Ambaſſadour making a great reuerence, told him, the Kings his Lords and Maſters had ſent him thither to ſalute and viſit him, in their name, and to offer him whatſoeuer was in their power, excepting that which belonged to Chri- ſtian Religion, and that he had commandement and inſtruction to communicate diuers C buſineſſes with him, Wherefore he beſought him to be pleaſed to giue him audience in a more priuate manner: the Souldan answered him, that he was contented to do ſo, and told him, that if in the meane time he wanted any thing, he ſhould ſpeake, and that what- ſoeuer he demanded ſhould be giuen: The Ambaſſadour hauing againe thanked him, and ſayd, that he could deſire no more fauour and courteſie then hee had already recei- ued, then tooke his leaue and returned to his lodging; whether the Souldan ſent him di- uers preſents of meares.

Three dayes after, the Ambaſſadour accompanied by the Truch-man, was brought againe to the Pallace early in the morning, before the Ambaſſadors of the Kings of Af- fricke and the Moores were riſen, and finding the Souldan at leiſure, he gaue him ſecret audience, where he answered very pertinently to all the Souldans demaunds, and did D highly content him, and this conference betwixt them laſted till two of the clocke in the after-noonne, all the contrarie Ambaſſadors beeing come to Court, in hope to ſee the Spaniſh diſgraced: but they were deceyued, for they beheld him returne to his houſe ve- ry honourably accompanied. Afterward, the Moorish Ambaſſadors in two ſeueral au- diences, preſſing and accusing the Kings of Caſtile, *Peter Martyr* did ſo well diſguiſe and handle the matter, as he perſwaded the Souldan, that whatſoeuer his aduerſaries had ſaid, was but meere vntruths: Wherefore hee beeing ſent backe againe the ſame time, the Truchman procured a fourth audience, wherein the Ambaſſador of Caſtile being heard E almoſt an whole day, did in ſuch manner content and ſatiſfie the Souldan, as hee procu- red his fauour and friendſhip for his King and Queene. And as hee was going forth of the Souldans preſence, two Admirals cloathed him with a gowne of Damaske ſurred with very rich Ermines, (it was in the moneth of Februarie) for which hauing giuen thanks, and made his vſual reuerences, hee returned with his trayne. In this manner are the faults of great men excuſed by great men. Before *Peter Martyr*s departure, he feaſted and banqueted the Admirals and chiefeſt Mamelukes, ſo as they were highly contented with him: and departing from Cayro, he went to viſit the notable places of Egypt and Syria: of which voyage and ambassage hee wrote a diſcourſe at his returne. This is hee which wrote an hſtorie of the Indies by Decades in Latin, which he entitled, *The Ocean*, vnto the yere 1526. He returned into Spaine with honour, and gaue good account to F the Catholicke Kings of his Legation.

The nauigations to the Indies were this yere very common, diuers particular perſons, tickled with a deſire of gaine, vndertaking thoſe dangerous voyages at their owne coſts, by the Kings permiſſion notwithstanding. *Rodrigo de Baſſidas* was one of thoſe aduenturers, who ſet forth two Caruels at his owne coſts, and *Iohn de Ledesma*s and others, carrying with him *Iohn de la Coſa*, an excellent Marriner borne in Saint Mary port,

Admirals Go-  
uernours of Pro-  
uinces.

27  
Voyages of di-  
uers particular  
perſons to the  
Indies.

Nicholas d'O-  
nando Gouver-  
nor of the In-  
dies.

The Governour  
Bouadilla drown-  
ed, with three  
hundred Spa-  
niards.

Columbus his  
fourth and last  
voyage to the  
Indies.

Columbus fore-  
tells an Eclipse  
of the Moone  
to the Indians  
to scare them.

28  
Portugal.

port, who departing from Cales, sayled neere to Cape de Vela, and ranne one hundred A  
three score and tenn leagues vpon the coast from that Capeto the Gulph of Vraha,  
and Darian, in which are found Caribana, Zenu, Carthagena, Zamba, and S. Martha,  
places inhabited by people called Caribes, who feed on mans flesh, without law or natu-  
rall honestie, beeing armed with darts and poysoned arrowes. *Rodrigo de Bassida* beeing  
afterwards come to the cittie of Domingo, did lose his Caruels there, and was commit-  
ted to prison by the Commander *Francisco de Bouadilla*, Gouvernor of the Iland of Hispa-  
gniola, laying to his charge, that he had trafficke with the Indians for gold, defrauding  
the king of his right: wherefore he sent him prisoner into Spaine: but the kings set him at  
libertie, knowing that this voyage was for the publike good, and gaue him 200. Duckets B  
of rent. *Nicholas d'Oonando*, Commander of Larez, of the Order of Alcantara, a valiant  
Knight, did by the kings commandement, set sayle, with thirty shippes, and a great com-  
pany of souldiers, to succede the Commander *Bouadilla*, taking along *Rowland Ximenes*  
in his company, the enemy and accusers of the breethren *Columbus*, did embarke himselfe  
in the same vessell, which had brought the new Gouvernour, whereof *Antonio de Torres*  
was Captaine, hauing with them more then an hundred thousand Duckets weight of  
gold, and among others, a graine of pure gold to present vnto the Queene, weighing 3.  
thousand, three hundred Castillans: but their hap was such, as both they and their wealth  
perished by sea: the Admirall *Columbus*, and his brother beeing by that meanes reuenged  
of the great rigour that *Bouadilla* had vsed towards them, by fending them from the In- C  
dies in yrons into Spayne, and of *Rowland Ximenes* ingratitude and rebellion, with whom  
were drowned more then three hundred men, so as of those thirty ships, hardly sixe elca-  
ped. *Nicholas d'Oonando* remained in his gouernement of the Iland of Hispagniola, the  
space of sixe yeares, all matters succeeding well and prosperously with him, by reason of  
his humanity and gentleness: he conquered the Prouinces of Higney, Zauana, Guaycari-  
ma, he pacified that of Xaragua, and vsing all his authoritie with such courtesie and mo-  
destie, he got honour and wealth for himselfe and the Kings his masters, vnto whom hee  
sent great treasures, in recompence whereof he was made great Commander of Alcan-  
tara. Then was the Admirall *Columbus* permitted to go to sea, who departed with foure  
Caruels set forth at the Kings cost, with an hundred, three score and ten saylers: but be- D  
eing come to the mouth of the riuier Oçman in the Iland of Hispagniola, the Gouvernour  
*Nicholas d'Oonando* would not suffer him to come into the city of S. Domingo: wherefore  
he sayled to the port Escondido or hidden, and after came to the riuier and cape of Fi-  
gures: from whence he ran more then three hundred and seuentie leagues alongst the Sou-  
therne coast, desirous to find a passage beyond the Equinoctiall, he came to a place cal-  
led Nombre de Dios, and from thence returned to Cuba, and fourth-with passed to Ia-  
maica where he lost two Caruels.

In this Iland the Admirall had many crosses, for most of his people fell sicke there to  
the death, then they mutined, and would haue slaine one another, *Francisco de Porras*, E  
Treasurer of his nauie being author of that sedition: and besides that, the Indians refu-  
sed to giue him victuals, which did greatly trouble him: for this he found a present reme-  
die, and beeing a good Astronomer, he knew that the day following, there would bee a  
great Eclipse of the Moone, he told the idolatrous Indians, that if they gaue him not vi-  
tuals, they should all of them die of the plague, and for a true token thereof, they should  
the morrow after see the Moone appeare all bloudie; the which by reason of the Eclipse,  
became duskie and spotted: the Indians were to greatly amazed thereat, as they befought  
the Admirall to pardon them, and to reconcile them to the Moone, and brought him  
more victuals then he had need of. Hauing remained a yeare in Iamayca, the Admirall  
*Columbus* returned into Spayne, from whence he neuer afterwards did stirre: this was  
his fourth and last voyage to the Indies.

The same course held king *Mannuel* in his navigation to the East Indies, wherein hee  
spared no cost: for hauing had ample information of the whole voyage of Calicut by D.  
*Vasco de Gama*: he had sent thither in the yeare 1500. a Nauie of twelue Carauels, vnder  
the command of Captaine *Pero Aluarez Cabralde*, a Gentleman of Portugal, followed  
by other Gentlemen manned with fiftene hundred souldiers, carrying along with him  
fue

A fue Friars, and good store of merchandize, to exchange for spices, and other things  
which the East produceth, all of it according to the order and appointment of Don *Vas-  
co de Gama*.

These Caruels hauing sayled in view of the Ilands of the Canaries, and arriued at S.  
Iames, as they discovered the Ile of Brefill, there appeared to them a Comet with long  
and fearefull beames towards the East: continuing their voyage, there arose so great and  
strange a tempest, as by day the water of the sea seemed as blacke as pitch, and in the  
night like to fire, which swallowed foure of those shippes, the rest of the Nauy sayling on  
in great danger, came in sight of Cape Double, and from thence arriued at Mosambique,  
then sayling towards Melinde, and beyond that to Anjauina, they came at last within a  
league of Calicut: from whence he beganne to contract with the King of the same coun-  
trie: but afterwards they fell at oddes, which caused losse to either of them. Vpon this  
occasion, *Pero Aluarez Cabralde*, went into the land of Malabar, belonging to the King  
of Cochin, with whome he agreed, and found meanes to laide his ships with spices: and  
so returning homewards, he touched at the cape of Good hope, and from thence to Lis-  
bone, where he arriued in Iuly, in the yeare 1501. with sixe Carauels of twelue, that hee  
carried ouer with him, hauing bene in that voyage neere sixteen moneths.

Before his returne *John de la Nueva Gallego*, departed from Lisbon with three shippes  
and a Caruell for the selfe same voyage of Calicut: but King *Mannuel* conceyuing in his  
mind to find a way to the Isles of Moluccos, and those countries where the spices grow,  
C he sent the same yeare 1501. a skillfull marriner called *Americus Vesputius* a Florentine,  
with foure Carauels, who passed not much farther then Saint Augustines Cape, and  
without taking notice of the great riuier of siluer, or Rio de Plata, he returned home.

The yeare 1502. Don *Vasco de Gama*, Admirall of Portugal, was againe sent by the  
King into the East, with thirteene shippes, and three Carauels, manned with great num-  
bers of Gentlemen and souldiers, with Merchandizes, munitions and victuals, and all o-  
ther things necessarie for so long and painefull a voyage: and within few dayes after, hee  
sent other five shippes to follow Don *Vasco*, commanded by *Stephano Gamo*. By these  
were new lands discovered, to the great profit and commodity of the nations of Europe.  
D This same yeare King *Mannuel* had by his wife Queene *Mary*, a sonne called *John*, who  
succeeded him in the Kingdome, the day of whose birth was rainy, and such thunder and  
lightning on the day of his christening, as the Royall pallace was in danger of beeing  
burned.

And the yeare following 1503. his daughter the Infanta *Isabella* was born, who came  
to be Empresse of Germany, and was mother to king *Philip* the second deceased. Don  
*Vasco* beeing returned from his luckie and prosperous voyage, king *Mannuel* gaue no in-  
termission to that most profitable and honorable nauigation: but the Portugals hauing  
raised warre in the East betwixt the Kings of Calicut and Cochin, tooke the King of Co-  
chins part, beeing by him receyued and welcommed into his countrie and hauens: so as  
he of Calicut did in short time know, that he had greatly erred in wronging his guests.  
E The yeare 1504. King *Mannuel* hauing notice of this warre, was displeased therewith, and  
set forth a Nauy of twelue great shippes, Don *Lopes Suares de Merefes* beeing Admirall  
of the same, who arriued in safetie at Cochin, by meanes whereof they did greatly en-  
crease the renowne of the Portugals, and established the trafficke, purchasing their  
King friends, not onely among those Easterne people, but also tributarie Princes for his  
seruants. These conquests were pursued by *Ferdinand* of Almeida, and *Alphonso* of Al-  
buquerque, and other vertuous and valiant Capitaines, which haue continued those voy-  
ages since, and by meanes thereof haue carried some knowledge of the name of Iesus  
Christ to those barbarous and vnbeleuing people.

F The Court of Castile lying at Alcalá de Henares, the yeare 1503. the Princeesse D.  
*Isabe* was there brought in bed of a sonne, who was named Don *Ferdinand*, who was  
king of Hongarie and Bohemia, and at the last Emperour. In Alcalá dyed Don *Gutierrez  
de Cardena*, great Commander of Leon, a most faithfull seruant to the Kings, who  
would haue giuen the great Commanderie to *John Lopes* of Leçarraga their Treasurer,  
but he refused it, saying, that he had already too much wealth: hee likewise refused the  
place

1501.

Voyage of  
John de la  
Nueva a Por-  
tugal.

An. 1502.  
Don Vasco de  
Gama his se-  
cond voy-ge.

Birth of prince  
John of Por-  
tugal.

An. 1503.  
Birth of Infan-  
ta Isabella.

An. 1504.  
Voyage of Lo-  
pes Suares de  
Merefes.

29  
Castile.

place of generall Superintendent of the Kings reuenues, and left behind him the report A of a loyall, faithfull, and iust man in all his affairs: he was borne in the towne of Ognate.

The affaires of Italy not succeeding prosperously for the Kings of Spaine, they began to resolute vpon somewhat that might bee hurtfull to the French: The great Capitaine kept himselfe in Barletta, being constrained to retire himselfe thither, and wanting all necessarie things: so as the French foraged the countrey at their owne pleasure: but at the last hauing new supplies, as well from Sicill, (from whence *Hugo de Bonarides* B entred into Calabria, with certaine companies of Spaniards, which had serued the Duke Valentino, when hee warred vpon the Vrsins, with intent to haue made himselfe Lord of Romagna) as also from Spaine, from whence the King sent Don *Manuel de Bonarides* B with certaine numbers of horse and foote: with which troupes *Antonio de Leua* did first passe into Italy, who was a famous Capitaine in the warres of Lombardy and Piedmont, betwixt France and Spaine, and likewise after that other Spanish companies arrived vnder the conduct of Don *Pedro Puerto Carrero*, who dying in Italy, hee left his men vnder the command of *Ferdinand* of Andrada, who hauing receyued by the gulph of Venice some Germaines, which had bene leauied by him, hee employed these forces in such sort, being sometimes diuided, and sometimes vnited, as hee soone restored all things, and suppressed the enemy by the winning of many victories, Spayne hauing alwaies after that time the advantage. Yet they had treated an accord betwixt the two Kings, *Lewis* C and *Ferdinand*, and had sent Ambassadors to that end, but without any effect: vntill that the passage and the returne of the Arch-duke *Philip* Prince of Spayne, into Flanders, gaue some greater hope of an agreement. This Prince passing thorough France in his returne, as he had done going, was honorably receiued in all places, especially at Blois, whereas King *Lewis* attended him, who, to vse the Arch-duke with greater courtisie, and to assure him the more, had sent certaine French Noblemen into Flanders for hostages, vntill he were arriued, the which the Arch-duke caused to returne, being loath to yield vnto the King, in demonstrations of friendship and ceremonies. Being at Blois, they treated an accord betwixt the French King and him of Spaine, the Arch-duke *Philip* hauing an ample Commission, with this onely restraint, that hee should communicate all things to the Ambassadors of Castile, which were sent expressly with him, and shold D gouerne himselfe by their counsell.

Matters being debated, in the end they were concluded, by the confirmation of a future marriage betwixt the Ladie *Claude* of France, the Kings eldest daughter, and Don *Charles* of Austria, sonne and heire to great Estates which fell to the house of Austria: capitulating, that the Lands which were in question in the Realme of Naples, should be left in deposit, in the Arch-dukes hands, and the future spouses should from that time intitule themselves Kings of Naples, and Dukes of Calabria. That the French king should enioy that portion which did belong vnto him in the sayd Realme, and appoint whome he pleased, to gouerne it in the names of the Princes *Charles* and *Claude*, and that the marriage being consummated, he should giue it in dowrie with his daughter.

This peace was solemnly sworne in the Church at Blois, but yet it prouoed of no effect: for notwithstanding that the Arch-duke gaue speedie aduice vnto the Kings Don *Fernand* and Donna *Isabella*, yet they did not forbear to make warre in the Realme of Naples, whence they had daily intelligence that their great Capitaine prospered: wherefore hee being required by the Duke of Nemours, Lieutenant for the French King, to stay all acts of hostilitie, he answered, that hee had no such commaundement from the King Don *Fernand* his master, but continuing to make warre, as well in Calabria, as in other parts of the Realme, the French had alwaies the worst, hauing had two Armies defeated in lesse then eight dayes, one in Calabria, led by the Lord of Aubigny, who was then taken, with many other Noblemen: the other at Cirignole, whereas *Lewis* F of Armagnac Duke of Nemours, their Generall, was slaine with many French. By means of which victories the great Capitaine tooke Naples, Capua, Auerfo and Melfi, by composition, and in the end the two castles of Naples by mynes and other practises inuented by *Peter* of Nauarre: so as the French had nothing but Gayette, and some other small places remayning in the Realme of Naples.

The

*Antonio de Leua* his first passage into Italy.

*Prince Philip* in Flanders.

Treaty of peace betwixt France and Spaine.

A The kings of Castille being aduertised of these things, they little regarded the accord made by the Archduke their sonne in law, alledging for excuse, that he had exceeded his charge, and had not gouerned himselfe by the aduice of the ambassadors which went in his companie: Yet they sent embassadours into Fraunce, to treat a new peace, in a more honest forme than before, propounding, that the realme should be restored to king *Frederic*: But king *Lewis* holding them but mockeries, and that the kings of Spaine had no wills to dispossesse themselves, seeing that all things succeeded wishfully for them, he sent backe their embassadours without any other answer.

30 Before that the Court of Castille parted from Alcala, *D. John Chacon*, gouernor of the frontire of Murcia, died. From Alcala the queene came to Madrid, and from thence to Segobia, where she had news of the death of Pope *Alexander*, by poison which had bin prepared for certaine cardinals; by the duke of Valentino, his sonne, the which he also drunke, through the negligence of the cup-bearer, or butler, who tooke one bottle for another. Cardinall *Francisco Thadeschin Piccolomini* of Siena, succeeded him, who was called *Pius* the third; but hauing held the See but six and twentie dayes, there was chosen Pope *Julian* of Rouere, bishop of Alba, and then of Ostia, cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula*, whom they named *Julio* the second. In these elections of Popes, which are made through the fauour of the princes and great monarches of Christendome, for the interest of their temporall estates, the citie of Rome was in great feare and ielousie, that the great capitaine would approach with his victorious armie on the one side, and on the other the lord of Tremouille being sent into Italie, by the French king, with great forces, and assisted by Florentines, Siennois, the duke of Ferrara, and the marquess of Mantoua, either of them to fauour the cardinals of their faction, and to make a Pope by force, to the prejudice of the citie, and of the whole territorie. This yeare there were sixteene foists of Moores scoured the coasts of Valencia; who landing, mette vnto the riuer Xucar, assailed the towne of Cullera, carried away seuentie prisoners, and committed other spoils. The duke of Valentino, at his fathers death, was so ill with this drinke which he had taken, as he was constrained to be a neuter; as he had carried himselfe in the warres betwixt Fraunce and Spaine, yet adhering more to the great capitaine, for the designe which they both had D to inuade Tuscanie, when as the warres of Naples should be ended. Hauing entertained himselfe in fauour with Pope *Julio*, at his aduancement, they fell afterwards to quarell, for certaine places in Romania, held by the duke of Valentino, which the Pope would haue, so as the duke was staied at Ostia, meaning to imbarke, & to go to Specie, and from thence by Ferrara to Imola. Afterwards hauing in some sort satisfied the Popes desire, and being set at libertie, he retired to Naples, hauing a passport from the great capitaine, thinking to beverie safe there: whereas propounding many great enterprises, euen vpon Tuscanie, and beginning to make preparation to put his designe in execution, the great captain staid him prisoner, saying that it was by the commaundement of the king *D. Ferdinand*, to whom he ought more reuerence than to the passport he had giuen him, and so he sent him E into Spaine, where he was lodged in the castle of Medina del Campo, called la More. By this meanes the great capitaine kept this turbulent man from troubling the affaires of Italie any more. The armie led by the lord of Tremouille, being come into the realme of Naples, did nothing but increase the glorie and reputation of the great capitaine, who by a memorable victorie gotten at the riuer of Garillan, did there fettle the Spaniards commaund: for soone Gajete, which was the onely hope of the French, yielded, vpon condition, that all prisoners should be deliuered, and that the French might retire safely into France, who being naked, and vnprovided of all things, perished in a manner all by the way of hunger, cold, and other extremities. At the same time king *Lewis* hauing appointed two armies to inuade Spaine, one by Guipulcoa, the other by Cattelonia, that which F marcht towards Fontarrabie, wherof the lord of Albret had the charge, could neuer come together; the other led by the marshall of Rieux, entred by the countrey of Rossillon, and besieged Sausses, but not being able to take it, he was forced to retire, both for that he fell sicke, as also for that *D. Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alua, Generall of the Spanish armie which was raised at Perpignan, began to march to raise the siege, king *Ferdinand* being also come in person into Cattelonia, to giue order for the affaires of this warre, the

O o o

which

1594  
Excuses of the  
Catholike kings  
for not maintain-  
ing the  
peace.

Death of Pope  
Alexander the  
first.

Quarrell be-  
twixt Pope Ju-  
lia and the duke  
of Valentino.

Duke of Va-  
lentino sent  
prisoner into  
Spaine by D.  
Gonsalo.

Retreat of the  
French out of  
the realme of  
Naples, verie  
miserable.

Two armies of  
French in Spaine



1504

which afterwards had some intermission; by a truce of five monethes, which was made at the instance of king *Frederic*, who was not out of hope to returne into his realme: Which conceit was grounded vpon the demonstrations of fauour, were made him both by France and Spaine; which was but a vaine content, and a comfort to him in his miserable estate. This truce was afterwards continued for three yeares, both by sea and land, with free trafficke for all their subiects, except the French in the realme of Naples. For the great seruices which *D. Gonfalo Fernandes*, surnamed the Great Captaine, had done to the kings *D. Ferdinand*, and *D. Isabella*, in this warre, he obtained the duchie of Terra noua, and of Seffa, besides the duchie of S. Ange, which king *Frederic* had giuen him; when as he fauoured him, and the Constablarship of the realme of Naples. *Pedro Nauarro* had also for his good seruices, and in recompence of his great industrie during the warre, the countie of Albeto, in the same realme of Naples, neere vnto Aquin. This man from a small condition came to this greatnesse by his vertues: for his beginning being scarce knowne, he first of all went to sea, and was a mariner, after which he was a footman to the cardinall *D. Iohn* of Arragon, then a souldier, and in the end a famous captaine, and an earle. After the swearing of the said truce, there was a great earthquake throughout all Spaine, so the great terrour and amazement of all men, by the which many houses, churches, forts, and other buildings, were shaken and ruined.

*D. Gonfalo Fernandes* made duke of Terra noua and Seffa.  
*Pedro Nauarro* made earle of Albeto: his beginning.

Earthquake in Spaine.

At that time, they say, the testament of the deceased king *Henrie* the fourth, was found by the diligence of *Hernando Gomes* of Herrera of Madrid, who having notice from the curat of S. Croix, of the same towne, that this testament was in the towne of Almeyda in Portugal, whither he had transported it with other writings of importance, he aduertised the queene, and by her commission went to Almeyda, with the curat, found these writings, and brought them away: In recompence whereof, the king made the bacheler *Hernand*, Alcayde, or Prouost of the justice of his house and court. The queene did not see this testament, as it is probable; for she fell extremely sicke, and after foure monethes languishing died, at Medina del Campo, in the yeare 1504, being 53 yeares old, and seven monethes, and the thirtieth yeare of her raigne. A princeesse adorned with great vertues, which may couer some excesse of ambition; & her other imperfections: she was zealous in religion, chaste, liberall, and courteous. Her bodie was transported to the citie of Granada, and remained long there in the Alhambra, in the habit of a Franciscane Frier, as she had ordained: And after the decesse of her husband, which was twelue yeares after, it was layed with his, in the royall chappell of that citie. That yere died *D. Magdeleina*, Infanta of Nauarre, in the same towne of Medina del Campo, being daughter to the king *D. Iohn* of Albret and *Katherine*, then raigning. *D. Henrie Henriques*, vncle to king *Ferdinand*, and his lord steward, and *D. Pedro* of Esluniga, cardinall, and Archbishop of Seuille, did also leaue this world: which Archbishopricke was giuen to *Diego*, of Deca, borne at Toro, being then bishop of Palence, a doctor in Diuinitie, and afterwards Inquisitor generall, Confessor to the king, and founder of the colledge of *S. Thomas* of Aquin, at Seuille.

Death of the *Q. Isabella*.

Bodie of the *Q. Isabella* in a Friars weed.

THE



## THE 25 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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D. Philip I. and D. Ioane, 21 Kings of Castille,  
and 42. of Leon.

1504



He Castellans and Leonois, for want of their Queene proprietarie,  
D. Isabella, began to accustome themselves to the yoke of German  
princes, having presently servd in Castille the Armes of the Arch-  
duke Philip of Austria, and of D. Ioane, heire of these realmes in her  
mothers right; and D. Frederic of Toledo, duke of Alba, advanced  
these banners in their name: yet the king D. Ferdinand continued  
lawfull gouernour vntill the coming of these princes, who had  
aduertisement sent them presently into Flaunders of the Queenes death. The Archduke  
Philip was then six and twentie yeares old, faire of face, well proportioned of his mem-  
bers, of a good grace, mild and courteous in speech, of a great spirit, active, quick, and  
learned: by reason whereof being in him more then ordinarie, hee was furnished the  
Great. Whilest that he made preparation to come and take possession of this great in-  
heritance, king Ferdinand, after the royall and stately obsequies of the deceased Queene,  
and the bodie transported to Granado with a great traine, he retired himselfe to the  
monasterie of Meiorada, and from thence hee past to Toro, being accompanied by  
D. Francis Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, Diego of Deza, Archbishop of Seuille, and  
others of great qualitie and learning, to conferre about the execution of the deceased  
Queenes will.

Voyage of Iohn  
de Cosa.

In the meane time Iohn de Cosa, a good sea-man, rigged forth foure Carauels, out of  
port S. Maria, at his owne charge, and by Iohn of Ledesma of Seuille, and others, desir-  
ous to enrich themselves, vnder taking the conquest of that countrey at the Indies, which  
was held by the Caribes: Whereupon setting saile he came and toucht at a place  
called Carthagena, there being joynd vnto him captaine Lewis Guerres who begin-  
ning to make warre together, they tooke sixe hundred of these Barbarians in the  
island of Codego: then coasting along the shore, desirous to barter wares, and to buy  
gold, they entred into Vtuba, where they found some little gold in the sand; and from  
thence they returned into the island of Hispaniola, and the citie of S. Domingo, laden  
with men, but scant of victuals, and of all other things, especially of gold, whereof they  
were exceeding greedie.

Fernando Cor-  
tez voyage to  
the Indies.

The same yeare 1504, there went vnto the Indies Fernand Cortez, borne at Medellin in  
Estremadura, one of the most famous men that hath beene in these conquests vnto our  
dayes. He arriued at S. Domingo in a ship belonging to Alphonso Quintero of Palos of  
Moguer, where he was well entertained by the Secretarie Medine, the gouernour being  
then absent, and afterwards by the gouernor Nicholas d' Ouando himselfe, being returned.  
This was he which conquered Noua Hispania. Of the maners of the Indians, their idola-  
tries, and damnable superstitions, the curious may be more amply informed by the parti-  
cular histories of the Indies, written by Peter Martyr of Angleria, Gonfal Fernandes of Qui-  
edo, Francisco Lopes of Gomara, and others.

During king Ferdinands gouernment in Castille, the Estate began to be troubled by some  
noblemen, who thought that queen Isabel being dead, they might lawfully tyrannise: but  
the king hauing called the Estates to Toro, in the yeare 1505, he caused a new oath to be  
taken to the queene D. Ioane his daughter, and to her husband, as kings of Castille, Leon,  
Granado,

1505

A Granado, &c. and by his wisdom pacified those tumults and disorders which were like-  
ly to grow: Which yeare, for many reasons, the Chauncerie which was at Cité Royall,  
was transported to Granado, where since it hath remained. And by the perswasion of D.  
Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine, there was an expediti-  
on attempted against the Moores of Africke, nothing concurring with the embassage  
which had beene sent to Caire, whereof mention hath beene made.

2 The Primate had had sundrie discourses with a Venetian, called Ieronimo Vianello, an  
industrious man, and knowing the countrey of Africke. His designe was vpon the citie of  
Oran, well peopled, free, hauing priuat lawes, rich, a common haue for all nations traf-  
ficking into Barbarie, who entertained an ordinarie garrison for the safetie of their mar-  
chandises, and payed some tribute to the king of Tremessen, for protection; and they say,  
that it contained about 6000 families. This citie is seated vpon the descent of a high hill,  
enuiroined about with wals and towers: the sea is within a stones cast on the one side, and  
on the other side they haue pleasant gardens, & store of fountains. The countrey men call  
this citie Madaura, Aera, Auran, Guhara, all names signifying a place hanging, and expo-  
sed to the winds: but we call it Oran. The Archbishop Ximenes did easily conceiue by Via-  
nellos discourse, that it were labor lost to assaile that citie, if they were not first masters of  
the coast about it, whereof Vianello made him a model in wax, which represented vnto him  
the hauens, ports, hills, vallies, townes, rockes, forts, and other particularities of that

Description of  
Oran.

C countrey, namely, of the watch called the Lampe, which is set vpon the top of a high  
mountaine, the which is inaccessible, but by one difficult passage, whereby they must ne-  
cessarily passe that will goe to Oran. This watch hath on the one side the citie of Oran,  
and on the other the port called Mercalcabir, or Marfael-quibir, great and famous, the  
which they must first get, to make the expedition of Africke profitable and easie. Ha-  
uing acquainted king Ferdinand with these designs, and seeing that there wanted mo-  
ney to effect it, the treasure hauing beene wasted in the warres of Granado and Italic,  
the Archbishop offered to lend money to pay the armie two monethes; whereupon  
they began to make readie for the voyage, whereof the young courtiers were verie de-  
sirous. The charge of General was given to D. Diego Fernandes of Cordoua, who af-  
terwards was marquisse of Comares, who had for assistants D. Raymond of Cordoua,  
General of the gallies, Diego Vera, master of the ordnance, Gonfal Ayora, captaine of  
the gards, Ieronimo Vianello, conductor of the enterprise, Pero Lopes of Oresco, and other  
old captaines and of great experience: Who parting from the port of Malaga came  
within few dayes neere vnto Mercalcabir, whereas the Moores being aduertised of their  
coming, had prepared to receiue them. Wherefore as soone as the armie was disco-  
uered, they gaue signes in such sort as all Africke had soone notice thereof, and all the  
countrey was full of souldiers of that nation, which came to succour them. Notwithstan-  
ding the Spaniards woon the port, and landing, had meanes to campe, and to fortifie  
themselves from so great a multitude of enemies which came running from Oran and  
other neighbour places.

Mercalcabir a  
great port in  
Africke.

E To gard the port there was a fort built vpon a rocke enui-  
roned by the sea but of one side where it joynd to a mount that did commaund the  
fort; which the Spaniards seeking to win, and to plant their batterie thereon, they found  
a sharpe and bloudie resistance made by the Moores: notwithstanding they planted their  
ordnance there, and began to batter the fort furiously, both from thence, and from the  
gallies, vntill the captaine, who employed himselfe vertuously for the defence thereof,  
was slaine with a bullet. In the meane time the king of Tremessen had sent an armie,  
against the which the Christians had many skirmishes, sometimes with gaine, some-  
times with losse; yet the siege of Mercalcabir continued still, whereat the souldiers be-  
ing discouraged, by reason of the losse of their commander, and also for that they  
F saw the passages both by sea and land were stoppt by the Spaniards, so as they could nei-  
ther be releued with men nor victuals, they did capitulate, after some resistance, That  
if within certaine dayes the king of Tremessen did not come and succour them, they  
would yeeld the place to the Spaniards; the inhabitants and souldiers departing with  
their wiues, children, and baggage. No succours appearing, the fort was yeilded  
the fiftieth day after they parted from Malaga. The Moores went forth, the Christian  
armie

Mercalcabir  
taken by the  
Castilians

O o o o iij

armie being in battell, and proclamation being made, that no man should goe out of his ranke, to offer them any violence vpon paine of death: the which a Spanishe souldier tried, who for that he had offered to spoile or rauish a Moorish woman, was by the commaundement of *D. Diego Fernandes* slaine with darts. This conquest being made to the great contentment of all men, the king *D. Ferdinand*, and the Archbishop *Ximenes* were instantly aduertised, where attending the kings pleasure, the fort was rampared and furnished. They say, that most of the men of qualitie and wealth, which dwelt at Oran, being amazed at the taking of *Mersalcabir*, retired to *Tremessen*, thinking that the Christians would not stay long to come and besiege that citie, as it fell out: But foure yeares being past, and nothing attempted, they all returned to their losse, except one Moore, who was verie rich, who was still constant to remaine at *Tremessen*, and foretold the ruine of the rest. *D. Diego Fernandes* having well manned his conquest with good souldiers, he sent back the rest of his armie into Spaine, which was full of joy for so important a victorie, whereby not onely the coasts of Spaine were assured from the spoyles of pyrats, Moores, but also there was a faire way made for the Spaniards to inuade *Africke*. *D. Diego Fernandes* stayed still in *Mersalcabir*, vntill he had a new commaundement from the king. In the meane time *Diego de Vera*, *Gonsal Agora*, and *Pero Lopes Orofco*, sumamed by the Arabians *Alcagal*, past into Spaine, and there was presented vnto the Primate *Ximenes*, by *Pero Lopes*, a staffe of Ebene, which the Cadis or high Priests of the Arabians were accustomed to carrie, the which he carried many dayes for his sake, and then he sent it to his Academie at *Alcala de Henares*, for a monument of this *Africane* victorie. The king sent *D. Rodrigo Diaz* of Roia, a man of great worth and valour, for the gard of the fort and port of *Mersalcabir*, with one hundred light horse, and foure hundred foot, and called home *D. Diego Fernandes*, whom he honoured with the gouernment of his conquest, & other fauours, *D. Rodrigo Diaz* being his lieutenant, who ouerran the countrey, & kept the Moores still in alarme during his aboad there. There is one of the strangest blowes reported of him, that euer was giuen of any; who with an *Azagay*, or Iauelin, pierced a man thorow the pomell of the saddle and the horse necke. The fort of *Mersalcabir* hath since beene much fortified by the kings of Spaine, especially by *D. Philip* the second, who made it impregnable.

Birth of the Infanta Marie, who was queen of Hungarie.

The same day that *Mersalcabir*, or *Masalquiuir*, was woen, which was the 13 of September, *Queene Jone* was brought in bed in Flaunders, of a daughter called *Marie*, who was *Queene* of Hungarie and Bohemia, married to king *Lewis*, sonne to *Ladislaus*, after whose decease, remaining a widow, she gouerned the Netherlands, and then came and died in Spaine, in the towne of *Cigales*, neere to *Vailedolir*, in the yeare 1558, and lyes in the monastirie of *S. Benedict* of *Vailedolir*.

3 Whilest that the *Queen D. Isabella* lived, they did still practise some meanes of peace betwixt France and Spaine, and to this end the kings of Castille and Arragon had their embassadors in the French kings Court, making shew that they would restore king *Frederic* to his realme of Naples, or giue it to *D. Ferdinand* duke of Calabria, his eldest sonne, who was resident in Spaine: but it was not credible, for that is not the custome in our age, to giue away kingdomes which they doe quietly enjoy, especially hauing gotten it with so great charge, neither did he any thing: But the yeare of her decease there was a peace concluded betwixt the Emperor *Maximilian* and his sonne *Philip*, and king *Lewis*, by the which it was the third time agreed, That prince *Charles* of Austria should marrie *Claude* of France, with the consent of the princes and noblemen of France, by the kings commaundement, and namely of *Francis* duke of Angoulesme, who was next in degree to the Crowne. It was also concluded, That the Emperor *Maximilian* should grant the inueftiture of the duchie of Milan to king *Lewis*, for him and his heires and successors males, and for want of males to his daughter, and to her future spouse prince *Charles*, who dying before the consummation of the marriage, she should be giuen in marriage to the Infant *D. Ferdinand* his brother, and they & their descendants should enjoy the said duchie of Milan. For the expedition of which priuiledge and donation, king *Lewis* should pay vnto the Emperor 70000. ducats vpon the deliuerie of the letters, and the like summe six moneths after, and euery yere vpon new-yeres day a paire of gilt spurs, in signe of honor.

Be.

A Betwixt the Pope, the Emperour, king *Philip* his Sonne, and the French king, there was a league made against the Venetians, to recouer the townes, and Lands which either of these Princes pretended to belong vnto him, and had beene vsurped by this Common weale, into which league *Ferdinand* king of Arragon might enter if he pleased, and there was not any mention made of the realme of Naples; in expectation whereof king *Frederic* ended his daies that yeare 1505. at Tours. That yeare the truce betwixt *D. Ferdinand* king of Arragon and the French king, was conuerted to a peace, vpon condition that king *Ferdinand* should marrie *Germaine* the kings neece, daughter to his sister and to *John* of Foix and of Nauarre, Vicount of Narbone, which Lady was allyed to King *Ferdinand* in the third degree, the Vicount of Narbone being borne of queene *Leonora* of Nauarre his Sister: by reason of which consanguinity they had a dispensation from the Pope, and in consideration of this marriage it was agreed, that the part which the French king might pretend in the realme of Naples, should stand in stead of a dowrie for his Neece, the future queene of Arragon; vpon condition that the king *D. Ferdinand* should pay vnto the French king seven hundred thousand ducats for the charges hee had beene at in the warre of Naples, and moreover should indowe his spouse with three hundred thousand ducats: and in regard thereof a peace being concluded, the Noblemen and Barons of the Realme that were prisoners in the Spaniards hands, should be deliuered, and the banished men restored to their estates, all confiscations being void.

C That queene *Germaine* dying without children before the king *D. Ferdinand*, her dowrie should remaine to him, but if she survived and had no children, it should returne to the crown of France: That king *Ferdinand* should be bound to assist *Gaston* of Foix, brother to his future spouse, to conquer the realme of Nauarre which he pretended to belong vnto him, and not to queene *Katherine* his cousin: That the French King should giue leaue to queene *Elizabeth* widowe to King *Frederic*, to retire into Spaine with two children which shee had in France, to whom the King *D. Ferdinand* should giue honest meanes to liue: and if she should refuse to goe, that the French king should not giue any entertainment to her nor her children. That for a stronger bond of peace and assurance of the two realmes, the king of Spaine should be bound to aide him of France with two thousand light Horse, three hundred men at armes, and six thousand foot, the French king him of Spaine with a thousand Lances, and six thousand foot in their warres.

The king of England was caution for both of them for this peace, whereunto and to the marriage king *Ferdinand* did easily incline to quiet his minde in regard of the realme of Naples, being also aduertised that his sonne in law king *Philip* contenttning the will and testament of queene *Isabell* his mother in Lawe, did not meane that hee should gouerne the realme of Castille. The widow queene of Naples, being chased out of France according to the accord, she desired rather to teryre to Ferrara vnder the protection of Duke *Alfonso* of Este: than to go into Spaine, fearing; it may be, that king *Ferdinand* would put her children to death, that there might not be any to pretend to the realme of Naples. King *Ferdinand* hauing remained most part of the yeare at Segobia, and hunting at Cerezuela, hee came to Salamanca there to spend the remainder, in which yeare there dyed many great men of Spaine: *D. Alfonso* of Fonseca Bishop of Oña, to whom there succeeded an ignorant and vicious Prelate, base Sonne to the Admirall *D. Frederic Henriquez*, called *D. Alfonso Henriquez*, borne of a slave, of which promotion the king did often repent him, and was much blamed for it by other Prelates, namely of frater *Antonie de la Perna*, who preached before him: There dyed also *D. Pero Aluarez Osorio*, Marquess of Astorga, who left for successor his Sonne *D. Aluar Peres Osorio*, *Di Gomes Suarez* of Figueroa, Earle of *Reña*, to whom succeeded Don *Lawrence Suarez* of Figueroa his Sonne, who hauing married *D. Katherine* of Cordoua, eldest Daughter to *D. Pedro* of Cordoua, and neece to the great Capitaine, came by her right, to be Marquess of Priego, *D. Alfonso* of Fonseca, Lord of Coca and Alacxos, and *D. Francisco* of Velasco, Earle of *Smuela*, *D. Hurtado* of Mendosa gouernour of Casoria, brother to the deceased Cardinall *D. Pero Gonsales* of Mendosa, did also end their daies this yeare. The plague did also carry away infinite numbers of people in the citie of Burgos, so as it was in a manner left desolate.

League made against the Venetians.

Peace betwixt France and Spaine.

Treatie of marriage betwixt Ferdinand and the Lady Germaine of Foix.

Isabel widow to Frederic of Naples chased out of France.

Death of many Gentlemen in Spaine.

1506

Difference be-  
twixt D. Ferdi-  
nand king of Ar-  
ragon, and D.  
Philip, and D.  
Joane king of  
Castille for the  
government.

D. Philip & D.  
Joane driven in-  
to England by  
a storme.

King of Englad  
foreeth king  
Philip to deli-  
uer him the  
duke of Suffolke.

Marriage of the  
king of Arra-  
gon with Ger-  
maine of Foix.

Death of Chri-  
stopher Colum-  
bus.

4 In the year 1506, vpon the controuersie growen betwixt the two kings father G in lawe and sonne, touching the gouernement of Castille, Leon, Granado, and o-  
ther the hereditarie lands of the deceased queene D. *Isabella*, and for the which king  
*Philip* had sent embassadors into Spaine, it was concluded that the kings, D. *Ferdinand*,  
D. *Philip*, and D. *Joane* should bee all three gouernours, and that all letters should bee  
dispatcht in their name, whereupon their armes and Ensignes were againe set vp, ac-  
cording to the ancient custome; and this accord was proclaimed in the Citie of Sa-  
lamanca, on Twelfth day: and soone after the kings, D. *Philip* and D. *Joane* parted from  
Flanders with many Ships, who were suddenly disperfed by a violent storme, and ma-  
ny of them driuen into diuers parts of England. That wherein the kings were and H  
two other ships came to Hampton, where they caused some alteration in the towne,  
the inhabitants fearing they had bene enemies, but being knowne they did them  
honour, as was fit for so great Princes. Many knights and men of experience of  
their traine, perswaded them not to land, foreseeing that which did happen; but  
king *Philip* hauing bene extreemely sicke, and seeing the queene and noblemen which  
did accompany him in the same estate, would not beleue them, but was the first  
who leaping into a boate caused himselfe to bee carried to land. It being bruted a-  
broad that a storme had driuen the kings of Castille vpon that coast, a knight, whose  
name was *Thomas Trenchard*, hauing his house there nere adioyning, came to doe him  
reuerence, offering him his lodging, with other commodities, and entertained him I  
vntill that king *Henry* the seventh then reigning, was aduertised by messengers, sent  
in post: then many men drewe thither in armes, with a captaine called *John Carew*,  
who in the company of *Thomas Trenchard* besought king *Philip* not to depart out of  
England, vntill that hee had seene their king, who was his friend. Then did king *Phi-  
lip* find that hee had erred, in not beleueing the counsell of his followers, and the  
queene more, who notwithstanding carryed this crosse courageously: wherefore seeing  
that this intreatie was a commandement, and that hee must obey it, hee staid, allea-  
ging in vaine that his voyage was verie hastie, with much other excuses. Soone af-  
ter there arriued many English noblemen, who conducted them with great honour  
to the castle of Windsor, whereas king *Henry* attended them. There king *Philip* K  
was required by the king of England, to deliuer vnto him *Edmond de la Poole* duke  
of Suffolke his Competitor, who was then a prisoner in the castle of Namur: and  
so great was his desire to haue this duke, as forgetting the lawes of hospitality  
and the friendship which princes allies should beare one vnto another, hee forced  
the king of Castille, notwithstanding all excuses, to giue him the duke, vpon a pro-  
mise that hee should not put him to death: whereupon men were sent into Flan-  
ders to fetch this poore duke. In the meane time king *Henry* led his guests to Lon-  
don, where hee entertained them with great and statelie feasts, and royall sports;  
and the prisoner being arriued, they had libertie to depart at their pleasures. So as  
these kings hauing renewed the league with the king of England, they imbarked and  
continued their voyage towards Spaine. L

In the meane time *Germaine* the new queene of Arragon came to Duegnas, wher-  
as king *Ferdinand* came and married her. There passed many noblemen of the realm  
of Naples of the Angeuin faction, with her out of France into Spaine, who soone  
after did accompany the king D. *Ferdinand* to Naples. After the consummation of the  
marriage, the king led the queene his wife to Vailledolit and there leauing her with  
D. *Joane* his sister, the old queene of Naples, and one of her daughters, hee went  
to Burgos, to receiue the kings, D. *Philip* and D. *Joane*, thinking that they had  
landed at Laredo, or some other place of Biscaye, but it fell out otherwise: for they  
tooke port at Corunna, or the Groine in Galicia, whereof king *Ferdinand* being ad-  
uertised, hee tooke the way to Leon, and then to Torquemada, to goe and meete  
his sonne in law and his daughter. M

5 At that time there dyed in Vailledolit the admirall *Christopher Columbus* the dis-  
couerer of the Indies, whose body was carryed to Seville, and was buried in the mo-  
nasterie de las *Cuenas* of the Cartusiens. To him his sonne *Diego Columbus* succeeded  
in

1506

Library gathe-  
red together by  
Diego Columbus

Princes seruaunts  
follow for profit  
and not for af-  
fection.

Order touching  
the government  
of Castille.

King Ferdinand  
retires into Ar-  
ragon.

Death of Philip  
King of Castille.

Voyage of king  
Ferdinand into  
Italy.

A faithfull ser-  
uant.

A in the Admiraltie of the Indies, who married D. *Maria* of Toledo, daughter to D.  
*Ferdinand* of Toledo great Commander of Leon: hee left another Sonne called D. *Fer-  
dinand Columbus* who was neuer married. Among many deeds worthie of commen-  
dation, of this Admirall D. *Diego Columbus*, hee gathered together in the citie of Se-  
uille, one of the greatest and goodlyest Libraries in Christendome, seeking out with  
great care and charge, all good bookes, in what language soeuer: so as there were  
about twelue thousand volumes: for the keeping, maintenance and increase of which  
library, he left and assigned sufficient rents.

6 At the arrivall of the new kings of Castille, the king D. *Ferdinand* found by ex-  
perience that princes seruaunts doe most commonly follow them for profit, and not  
for loue and affection: for many of those that were with him in this voyage, left  
him without leaue, and went before to offer their seruice, and to accompany their  
new master, the which discontented him very much. These princes met betwixt Pu-  
chla of Sanabria and Asturie, where hauing conferred together touching the manner  
of government, they did not agree: whereupon the king D. *Ferdinand* came to Corde-  
illas, much distast of the king his sonne in law, who with *Queche D. Joane* part to  
Benauent: The diligence and care of the Archbishopp of Toledo, to reconcile king  
*Ferdinand* and his children, was such, as they concluded that the king of Arragon  
should inioy the three masterships of Castille, Saint Iaques, Calatrava, and *Alcantara*.

C with the reuenues of the Indies, and eight millions of *Mazaudis* of yearly  
rent during his life, which queene D. *Isabella* had left him: in regard whereof hee  
should bee contented to remaine in his countie of Arragon: to consume which ac-  
cord, the two kings had an enterview within a league of Vailledolit, in the Vestrie of  
Renedo, whereas the archbishopp himselfe kept the doore: There they say king *Ferdinand*  
gave much counsel to his sonne in law, by whome hee was intreated, notwithstanding  
their accord, to remaine in Castille, and to helpe him to gouerne, but he refused him, and  
went away this year 1506, in Iuly, leading his wife *Queene Germaine* with him into Ar-  
ragon. The kings D. *Philip* and D. *Joane* entered into Vailledolit, whether they had called  
the estates of the realm, and there took a new oath, causing their eldest sonne D. *Charles* to

D besworn heire to the crown of Castille, Leon, & Granado. In these princes were enited  
vnto the realms of Castille and Leon, and there dependances, the great estates of the low  
countries and Burgundy, and afterwards Arragon, Sicile, Sardynia and Naples: At  
Vailledolit there were many noblemen honored with the order of the golden fleece.  
The gard of the castle of Segobia was taken from the marquesse of Moya, & giuen to D.  
*John Maunell*, who was much fauored by the kings, who being at Tudela of Duero, there  
appeared a strange comet in the firmament, foreshewing (as they said afterwards) the ap-  
proching death of king *Philip*, which happened soon after in the city of Burgos, to the ge-  
nerall griefe of all his subiects, the comet still reigning, whereunto he did attribute his  
death, saying often in his paines and agonies, *Ha cometa, ha cometa*: He died in the floure  
of his age, in the constables house, this yere 1506, hauing reigned 1 yere and ten monethes:  
his body was laied many yeres after by the commandement of the Emperour *Charles* his  
sonne, in the royal chappel of Granado, hauing remained in diuers places. This summer  
which was very drie, there died in Castille D. *Gutierre* of Toledo bishop of Plasencia, to  
whome succeeded D. *Gomez* of Toledo, sonne to D. *Gutierre de Solis* earle of Coria.

7 At the time of the death of the king D. *Philip*, king *Ferdinand* was at sea sayling tow-  
ards Italie: for after the enterview of these two princes, & the order taken for the gouern-  
ment of Castille, he went to Cattelonia, where hauing caused a goodly fleet to bee made  
readie at Barcelona, he imbarked to go and visit the realms of Naples, & of Sicile, hauing  
conceiued a ieaousie that the great captaine did fauor the designs of the king of Castille  
his son in law: for hauing sent often for him to come into Spaine, hee had still delayed it  
with excuses, as he thought. At his departure out of Castille, he was abandoned by all  
the great men, except the duke of *Alua*, who did accompany him to the frontiers of Arragon.  
He who shewed himselfe most faithfull of all the noblemen, was D. *Bernard* of Rojas and  
Saudoual marquesse of Denia, who neuer abandoned him, neither aliuie nor dead: for hee  
retired many of his officers and household seruaunts, which had no maintenance. It was con-  
cluded

Sinceritie of the  
great Capitaine

Entrie of king  
Ferdinand into  
Naples.

D. Joane queene  
of Castille  
saunt in her  
senect.

Councell of Ca-  
stille.

Enterview be-  
twixt the fren-  
ch king and him of  
Arragon.

cluded by the last accord made betwixt him and king *Philip*, that the realme of Naples, G although it had been conquered by the means and forces of Castille, more then by those of Arragon, should remain to the crown of Arragon. Being therefore ready to set saile to- wards his realme of Naples, he receiued letters from the great capitaine, by the which hee did assure him of his sinceritie and seruice, and did aduertise him of the estate of the coun- try, wherewith he was so wel satisfied, as he did confirme all his former gifts vnto him. & added new, yea he was much more pleased with him, for that contrary to the opinion of many he came and met him at the port of Genoua: for both the Pope and all the Potentates of Italy, thought that he was gone from Naples, with an intent to retire himselfe in- to Castille, and not to see king *Ferdinand*, as if he feared to looke on him. The king being H staid there some daies by reason of contrary winds, he had news of his son in laws death, for the which he seemed verie sorrowful: & notwithstanding that he was presby the widow queen *D. Joane* his daughter to returne into Spaine, yet he went on his voyage to Naples, where he enred in great pompe, vnder a canopie of cloth of gold, the city wal being bea- ten down for the more state, hauing all the honors and ceremonies accustomed at the re- ceptions of new kings: he staid 7. months there to the great content of the whole realm, and of all the Potentates of Italie, who posselt with an opinion of his iustice and equity, long to visit him by ambassadors, and made him arbitrator of many cotrouersies, that were amongst them. The Neapolitanes offered him great summes of money and other com- modities, but he would not accept any but 30000 ducats, for the charges of his voyage. Hee I would not at that time breake with the Venetians for the Popes pleasure or of any others, and yet they detained certain places from him, referring that quarel to a more conuenient time. He pacified and ended many quarrels, and pretensions of Barons, yea, of the Ange- main party, who were yet disposelt of their goods, which had been confiscated, & past into priuacemens hands, to whome they had been given in recompence of their seruices: and that which he could not end, he left in charge to the Viceroy *D. John* of Arragon earle of Ribagorça, whom he left in the place of *Gonsalo Fernandes* of Cordoua, the great Capitain, whome he caused to imbarke with him at his resume, and carried him into Spaine, being jealous of the honor which he had gotten in the conquest of the realme. In regard of the realm of Sicile, he made many good lawes, but he could not goe thither in person, being K prest by the queen *D. Joane* his daughter, the counsell, cities, and communalities of Castille to return into Spaine: for this poore princeesse, besides her affliction for the death of her husband, had other infirmities, which she did inherit from her grandmother by the mo- thers side *D. Isabella* of Portugall, wherefore finding her selfe vnable to gouern so great a state, she put all ouer into the hands of *D. Francisco Ximenes* Archbishop of Toledo & primate of Spain, & of doctor *D. Alfonso Suarez de la Fuente del Sauz* bishop of Iaca presi- dent of the kings counsell, *Garcia* of Muxica licentiate in the laws, born in the prouince of Guipuscoa, doctor *Pedro* of Orepeça a most religious Baron, the licentiat *Fernando Teller*, doctor *Laurence Galindez* of Camail, & the licentiate *Lewis* of Polanco, with others of the counsell, who took charge of the affairs, in the absence of the king *D. Ferdinand* her father, L the Prince *D. Charles*, who was then bred vp in Flanders, being yet a childe of 7 yeres old. Pope *Julius* staid many daies in the castle of Ostia, thinking that *K. Ferdinand* would land there to see him, but he excused himselfe by reason of the smal intelligence that was be- twixt them: for the king hauing demanded of him the confirmation & inuestiture of the realm of Naples, he would not graunt it, but with heauier conditions then other kings of Arragon his predecessors had held it. Queen *Germaine* did accompany the king her husband in all this voyage, who sailing towards Spaine, they toucht at Sauone, which place was as- signed for an enterview, betwixt them and *Lewis* 12. the French king, who was already M arriued with a goodly train of his nobilitie. At the comming of the Spanissh army king *Lewis* shewed so great a confidence in the vertue and generosity of king *Ferdinand*, as he made no difficulty to enter into his galley, without any guards, by a bridge of wood made to that end, and there hauing conference awhile together, they entred all into the city: queene *Germaine* going betwixt the two kings, the king her husband being on the right hand, and the French king on the left, who were immediately followed by the Cardinall of Rouan, and the great captain, and then by many noblemen, ladies and gentlewomen, richly atty- red.

A red: king *Ferdinand* made shew of as great confidence to the French king, entering into Sauone, a towne held by him, where hee was lodged in the Castle, and king *Lewis* in the bishops Palace. For three daies space that these great Princes were together, they treated of many matters of importance, in the which the Cardinall of Praxeda, the Popes Legate, was a great dealer: king *Lewis* spake much concerning the renewing and strengthening of their leagues, and the friendship which he desired to en- tertaine with the emperor *Maximilian*, who was greatly discontented with him, for many reasons, but especially for that the lady *Blanche* the eldest daughter of France, so often promised to prince *Charles*, had been lately made sure to *Francis* duke of Angoul- B leme: the which king *Lewis* excused, saying, that he had done it at the instant request of the estates of his realme. They did also treat of many things concerning Italy, and yet neuer entered into any speech of the realme of Naples: but the French king shewed great hatred to the Venetians, and little loue to the Pope, against whome hee pro- pounded to haue a generall Councill called, being animated thereto by the Car- dinall of Rouan, desirous to finde a meane to attaine vnto the dignitie of Soueraigne bi- shop, whereof he had some hope, when the seat was voided by the death of *Alexander* the sixt, wherein there were resolutions then taken to the contentment of both kings: but as for a Councell, king *Ferdinand* excused himselfe, saying that it was a dangerous thing for the common weale of Christendome. The French king, hauing often desired to see and C know *Gonsalo Fernandes*, called the great capitaine, he embraced him with much honour, and could not be satisfied in looking on him, as admiring those great matters which hee had heard of him, getting leave of king *Ferdinand* that hee might eate at their table, whereas Queene *Germaine* sayed (it may bee indiscreetly) that he which had vanquish- ed kings, should eat with kings: Some say, that at that time onely hee purchased the surname of Great, for that king *Lewis* did so call him, saying freely vnto king *Ferdinand*, that hee did enuie him for so worthy a man, whome hee honoured with praises and great titles in all his discourses, and taking a chaine of gold of great price from off his owne neck, he put it about his. The fourth day of this enterview, the kings parted one towards Fraunce, and the other continuing his course towards Spaine, D where the flecte arrived in mid-August 1507, at the port of Valencia, from whence without stay, the king and queene went to Almasan, a towne of Castille, nor without discontentment of the Arragonois, who found his short abode among them verie strange, to buse himselfe with the affaires of a realme where hee had found so much ingratitude. The great Capitaine was receiued in Spaine with great fauour of all men, being held the honour and ornament of Castille, but hee neuer saw Na- ples more, where he was exceedingly beloued, and desired. They say that at his de- parture from Naples, hee gaue a great part of his meanes to such as had bene faithfull full companions vnto him in the warre, to performe the which he sold some of his lands.

E 8 Whilst that the king *D. Ferdinand* was in Italie, the duke of Valentinois, who was a prisoner in the Castle of Medina del Campo, being ill garded slept downe by a roape, and escaped going towards Guipuscoa in a disguised habit, whereas he found in the towne of Mondragon, one *Lewis Lauregui*, who had serued him in Italie, and was then one of the chiefe of the place, who gaue him meanes to passe into Na- uarre, towards king *John* of Albret, whose sister hee had married. *D. Joane* queene of Castille being with childe at her Husbands death, had bene deliuered of a Daughter in Torquemada, who was named *D. Catharina*, future wife to *John* the third of that name, king of Portugall. This yeare one thousand five hundred and seuen, there was a change of Bishops in Spaine from lesse to greater, after the accus- F tomed manner: for by the death of *D. John* of Medina Bishop of Segobia, *D. Fre- deric* of Portugall was aduanced to that Bishopricke, and that of Calaozza, which hee held, was giuen to *D. John* of Velsco, who before was bishop of Cathagena, the which was bestowed vpon doctor *Martin* of Angulo, Archdeacon of Talauera in the church of Toledo: The archbishopricke of Granado in like manner being void, by the death of officer *Hernando* of Talauera, there was preferred to that dignity *D. Anthony* of Rojas, Bi- shop

Councils are  
dangerous for  
the church of  
Rome.

Gonsalo Fernan-  
des honored by  
Lewis the 12.

Bounty of the  
great Capitaine.

Duke of Valen-  
tinois escapes  
out of prison.

Change of bi-  
shops in Castille.



1507

Archbishop of  
Toledo made a  
Cardinal.9  
Nauarre.Genealogie of  
Nauarre.Diffusion of  
king Iohn of  
Nauarre.

shop of Maiorca, and his Bishopricke was given vnto D. *Diego* of Riueria. By the decease G  
also of D. *Garcia Ramires* of Villa excusa Bishop of Ouiedo, who was the last Prior of S.  
Marc of Leon, D. *Valerio Alfonso* of Villaguiran, was made Bishop in his place; and the  
bishopricke of Villaguiran & citie Roderigo, which he held, was given to D. *Francisco* of  
Bouadilla, son to the Marquesse of Moya. The same yere D. *Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros  
Archbishop of Toledo, obtained a Cardinals hat, with the title of *Sancta Balbina*: and  
for that he was primate of Spain, he was called Cardinal of Spaine: And D. *Alonso Fon-*  
*seca*, was allowed to resigne the Archbishopricke of Saint Iaques to his sonne, carrying  
the same name, for the which Cardinal *Ximenes* did greatly reproach king *Ferdinand*,  
who had countenanced it, saying, that he made Archbishopricks hereditarie, and that hee  
should see if women were excluded. King *Ferdinand* was then come to Sancta Maria del  
Campo, with the queene his daughter, where they made the anniuersarie for the  
deceased king *Philip*: from thence they went to Arcos, where the Queene staying,  
the king came to Burgos, where during his long aboad, wee will come to the af-  
faires of Nauarre. The king D. *Iohn* of Albret, who is numbred for the five and thir-  
tieth king of Nauarre, and the third of that name, had by his wife *Katherine* of Foix,  
a great issue, *Iohn* and *Andrew Phabus*, who dyed both young, *Henrie* who succeeded them  
in the estates of Foix & Bearn, and in the title of Nauarre, and was born three daies after  
the death of *Andrew Phabus* his brother, in the town of Sanguessa, in the yere one thou-  
sand five hundred and three, in the month of Aprill: the godfathers at the Christening I  
were two Germaine Pilgrimes, which past by chance at the time of his birth, to goe  
to Saint Iaques, whereof the one was called *Henrie*, and the other *Adam*: the which  
the king his father did by deuotion: but the Spaniards say that it was an aduertise-  
ment and presage of his future condition, that he should liue a stranger and Pilgrim  
out of his realme: Besides these, hee had *Charles*, named by some *Francis*, who dyed  
in the Lord of Lautrees voyage to Naples: *Katherine*, *Anne*, *Quiterie*, *Magdeline*,  
*Isabell*, and five other children, whose names are not specified, for they dyed young.  
Of the daughters, *Anne* was betrothed, but not married: the earle of Candale, for  
shee dyed at the assurance making: into which house the Queene of Nauarres  
aunt, called *Katherine* also, had bene married: shee was mother to Queene *Anne* K  
of Hungarie, wife to king *Ladislays*: *Isabell* married with the earle of Rohan in  
Brittaine. This king D. *Iohn* of Albret was full of pompe and state in his court, and  
house, the which was frequented by the nobility both of Spaine, France, and other  
nations, as much as any of the greatest monarchs. His studie and delights were diuers,  
for he loued learning and books, whereof hee made a goodly Librarie: hee was curious  
in the search of Genealogies of noble families, and would vnderstand their armes, and  
blasons; yet sometimes he made some noble, that were of small merit: hee tooke great  
delight to discourse priuately and familiarly with his vassals and others, as if hee had been  
no king, but a priuate gentleman: hee daunced willingly, and did so little mainteine  
his royall grauitie, as hee made no difficultie to come into publike assemblies, and to  
dance in the streets with wiues and virgins after the cuntrye maner: he went familiar-  
ly to dine and sup, and to make good cheare in his subjects houses, inuiting himselfe,  
the which did winne him the loue of some, and made him to bee scorned of others,  
as not knowing how to hold his ranke: the which hee held of the French humor,  
whereas the princes doe sometimes make themselves too familiar with petty compani-  
ons. Hee was so giuen to his pleasures, as many times hee referred matters of grea-  
test importance to others, the which did purchase him contempt and hatred with many:  
for by this meanes against his oath and promise made at his coronation, many stran-  
gers were admitted to estates, offices, and benefices within the realme of Nauarre,  
whereof there were sundrie admonitions and protestations made vnto him in the assem-  
blye of the estates by the noblemen of the realm, but he did not regard it: for hee thought to  
find a great support in the king of Castilles friendship: yet notwithstanding king *Ferdinand*  
did not forbear to capitular with *Lewis* 12 the French king who should help to dispossesse  
him of the realm of Nauar, to inuest *Gaston* of Foix duke of Nemours son to *Iohn* vicont  
of Narbone, & brother to queene *Germaine*, which D. *Ferdinand* did afterwards seale on  
vpon

1597

Iohn of Albret  
king of Nauarre  
& the Queene  
his wife fall in-  
to factions.10  
Rashnesse of the  
Earle of Lerin,  
which caused  
his ruine.Sentence against  
the Earle of Le-  
rin.Castle of Viana  
besieged by the  
Duke of Valen-  
tinus.Viana vidual-  
led by the Earle  
of Lerin.

A vpon another occasion, as we will shew. About the end of the yere one thousand five  
hundred and sixe, the Duke of Valentinois hauing escaped from *Medina del Campo*, and be-  
ing come, as we haue said, into Nauarre, he found that the King D. *Iohn* of Albret, and  
the Queene his wife were growne into factions one against another; the King fauouring  
them of Beamont, and the Queene the others of Gramont: wherefore the Duke shew-  
ing therein both iudgement and affection, hee dealt so as hee reconciled them, making  
the King his brother in law to fauor the faction of Gramont, wherewith the contrary par-  
tie was much troubled: yet *Lewis* of Beamont the Constable, a man of a great courage,  
maintained himselfe still proudly in his ranke, so as on a time a certaine Officer comming  
to giue him notice of some commaundement from the King, he caused him to be beaten  
with cudgells, and to be cast into prison in the castle of Larraga, making shew that he did  
B not much respect the King, nor his Aduerfaries of Gramont which were fauored by him,  
which was the cause of his ruine: for the King being iustly incensed at this audacious fact,  
hauing by many messages sent for him to Court, and hee not obeying, hee resolved to  
ruine him quite. He had to friend, although he were of the contrary faction, D. *Alonso*  
*Carillo* of Peralta Erle of Saint Stephen, sonne to *Troilo Carillo*, and grandchild to D. *Al-*  
*fonso Carillo* of Acugna Archbishop of Toledo, who did aduertise him of all that was prac-  
tised against him, aduising him by no meanes to come to the Court, vnlesse hee would  
fall into their ambushes. By reason of this contumacie, the King hauing caused his pro-  
cesse to be made, he was condemned to loofe both life and goods, as guiltie of high trea-  
C son: and hauing sent forth troupes for the execution of this Sentence, he gaue the charge  
to the Duke of Valentinois his brother in law, to pursue him with all extremite of warre,  
the which the Duke beganne by the siege of the castle of Larraga the eleuenth of Febru-  
ary 1507. But a Gentleman called *Oger* of Beraitegui who commanded there, defended  
it brauely, so as both the King, who was there in person, and the Duke, left it, and went  
to Viana, whereas the towne made not any resistance, but the castle held good, although  
they were scant for victuals: whereof the Earle of Lerin the Constable being aduertised,  
he resolved to relieue it; for the effecting whereof hauing gathered together about  
two hundred horse and some foot, hee came to Mandauia to watch some opportunitie  
to execute his designe, the which succeeded happily, for the same night there did rise a hor-  
D rible tempest, which made the Duke thinke that the enemy would not goe to field, and  
that they would not adventure to succour the besieged; wherefore he retired his gardes  
and sentinells which hee did vsually set vpon all the approches to the castle, wherein hee  
was deceiued although he were held for a wise and discret Communder: for through  
fauour of the noyse of the winde, and the great raine, three score horses parted from  
Mandauia, euery one carrying a sacke of meale, and some baked bread, which prouision  
they put into the castle by a postern, and were not discovered: Morning being come,  
in their retreat they discovered certain horsmen vpon the way of Logroño, which made  
them thinke that it was a supply of 300. Castilian horse which the Duke of Negera had  
promised to send vnto the Constable, wherefore they beganne to crie, Beaumont, Beau-  
E mont, which gaue an alarme vnto the Towne. The Duke of Valentinois hauing caused  
himselfe to be richly armed by a groome of his called *Ianico*, who had sometimes serued  
the Constable; he went forth brauely mounted, and followed by a thousand horse, and  
a great troupe of foot, and so hee went towards Mandauia, saying, Where is this pettie  
Count? I vow to God I will this day kill him, or take him prisoner, I will not leaue him  
vntill he be quite ruined, and will not pardon any one of his, all shalbe put to the sword,  
euen the dogges and cattles. Being thrust on with this violent passion, hee aduanced his  
troup, following 60. horse which retired before him. The Constable had sent forth some,  
aswell to receiue those (if need were) which were gone to victual the castle of Viana, as  
to discover what the enemy did, who seeing the Duke whom they knew not come thus  
alone, and with a great assurance, doubting that he was followed by some great troupes;  
they retired to the place where the Constable remayned, who wondering what this  
F Knight should be; and at his hardinesse, What? (saies hee) is there no man here that  
dares affront this gallant, which comes so nere vs? Then there disbanded three gentle-  
men of his troupe, who went to incounter him in a hollow way like vnto a ditch, whereas  
P p p p the

1507

Death of the  
duke of Valen-  
tinois.

the duke could not well vse his force and dexteritie, nor mannage his horse, who ha-  
uing charged their Lances against him, one of them tooke him vnder the right arme pit,  
where hee was vnarmed, as hee did lift vp his arme to charge his lance, and so ranne  
him through, hee falling downe dead to the ground. They saie that hee that gaue the  
blow was one of the Garceses of Agreda: The bodie was presently stript by these three  
companions, and left naked in the way, hauing couered his priuie parts with a stone:  
they carried these rich spoyles vnto the Constable who beganne to retire, not knowing  
any thing of him that was slaine, but that hee should be some great capitaine, vntill that  
the same morning *Janicot* the groom of his chamber, who had followed his master, and  
mist his way, was taken by some and led to the Constable, by whom it was knowne af-  
ter that he had seene his armes and habiliments, that it was *Cesar Borgia* duke of Valen-  
tinois which had bene slaine, whose bodie was found by the army which followed af-  
ter. King *Iohn* himselfe being in person in the rereward, who lamented much for the  
death of his brother in lawe, and couering him with a cloake of scarlet he caused him to  
be carried to Viana, and to be buried in the great chappell of the parish church of Saint  
*Mary*, where this epitaph is to be read.

*A qui iaze en poca tierra  
El que toda le temia,  
El que lapas, y la guerra  
Por todo el mondo hazia.*

*O tu que vas a buscar,  
Dignas cosas de loar,  
Se tu loas lo mas digno,  
Aqui pare tu camino  
No cure de mas andar.*

It is obserued in Spaine for a memorable thing, that the death of the duke of Valenti-  
nois happened in Nauarre the like day that hee had in the same realme taken possession  
of the perpetuall administration of the church of Pampelome, the chiefe of that realme,  
which was the eleuenth day of March, on the which God would shew some testimonie  
of his wrath against him, who in contempt of all religion had quit his Ecclesiasticall es-  
tate, and the Ministerie, to follow the practise of armes: The Constable would  
haue bene more ioyfull if hee had bene taken aliue, to haue presented him to king  
*Ferdinand*. The king of Nauarre by reason of this death fell into such a rage against the  
Constable, and all his house, as euen some of his kinsmen which followed the Kings  
armie were forced to retire, not daring to present themselves before him: against  
whom the castle of Viana did still make resistance, notwithstanding that his armie was  
much increased by certaine troupes which had bene sent him out of Castille from D.  
*Bernardin* of Velasco Constable and Duke of Frias, and the Earle of Nieua, with  
whom and with the Earle of Aguilar, the king had alwayes entertayned a strict friend-  
ship: but hee past into the Constables lands where hee committed all the spoyles that  
an incensed enemy could deuise: hee tooke the towne of Lerin, where hee ouerthrew  
and ruined the sepulchre or monument of the house of Lerin, and the Constables pro-  
genitours, which was a sumptuous and stately building; hee rased his houses, cut vp  
his vines and trees, then taking the rest of his places and castles, some by a voluntarie  
yeelding, and some by force, where hee caused the captaynes which made resistance  
to be hanged, hee reduced him to that extremitie, as hee was forced to retire him-  
selfe into Castille to D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon his brother in lawe, being follow-  
ed by many other knights of the faction of *Beaumont* which was then vnderfoote, and  
that of *Gramont* aduanced, amongst whom was the Marshalls place; and moreover  
by the Constables retreat they obtayned that Office for D. *Alphonso Carrillo* of Peralta  
Earle of Saint Stephen: Then the castles of Viana and Larraga yeelded. And in this ex-  
ile the Constable being old and disposed, died some moneths after in Arragon, in  
the towne of Aranda: His wife D. *Lionora* of Arragon dyed likewise at the same  
time in the citie of Tortosa in Cartelonia. The Constables bodie hauing bene left for a  
time in the monasterie of Veruela, was afterwards transported to Lerin, where he lies:  
his sonne D. *Lewis* of Beaumont succeeded him after the conquest of Nauarre, made by  
D. *Fer-*

Warre against  
the Constable  
of Lerin.

Death of D. Le-  
wis of Beaumont  
the Constable.

1508

A D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, in the office of Constable, and of high Chancellour of  
the realme, and in all his other estate and lands being by his mothers side, nephew to  
the king D. *Ferdinand*, and graundchilde to D. *Iohn* king of Arragon the second of that  
name. There was a bruite, that the Constable and his sonne had treated with *Lewis* the  
twelfth to dispossesse king *Iohn* of Albret of the realme of Nauarre, and to inuest *Gaston*  
of Foix duke of Nemours his nephew, and that *Lewis* of Beaumont, the sonne of D. *Fran-*  
*cis* of Beaumont, and D. *Pedro Menat* of Beaumont went into France to sollicite  
the king in this businesse, assuring him that all things should be easie for him, and fauou-  
rable, but that the king being then busied in other affaires, especially to reduce the ci-  
tie of Genoua which was then rebelled, to his obedience, would not hearken to it:  
B wherefore D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, and D. *Pedro Menat* returned into Arragon, leauing  
D. *Francois* in the French kings seruice, where hee continued vntill that hee was called  
home by his father D. *Iohn* of Beaumont, who had a certaine quarrell with *Amador* of  
Lascan, whose challenge hee could not answer by reason of his age, so as hee came and  
presented himselfe to the combat against *Amador*, during the raigne of these kings; but  
there growing a certayne question being ready to fight, vpon the qualitie of the armes,  
they spent the whole day in disputes, and nothing was done. The cardinall D. *Anthony*  
bishop of Pampelone being dead about the end of this yeare one thousand five hundred  
& seuen, there was preferred in his place by pope *Iulio* the second, the cardinall of Sancta  
Sabina, called *Facio*; but the chapter of the church of Pampelone, hauing already cho-  
sen cardinall *Amad* of Albret of the title of Saint *Nicholas in carcere Tulliano*, the kings  
brother, for their bishop, the cardinall of Sancta Sabina was reiected and kept from the  
possession of that bishopricke: whereupon Pope *Iulio* did censure the whole realme of  
Nauarre in the beginning of the yere one thousand five hundred and eight, and did con-  
tinue a whole yere, to free them from the which they were forced to accept of the car-  
dinall preferred by him for their bishop of Pampelone, whereof he tooke possession  
by his deputy, and the election made by the chapter was declared voyd. This cardinall  
*Facio* liued not long after, wherefore cardinall *Amad* of Albret the kings brother reco-  
uered his right, and was receiued in the place of the deceased. The archdeacons ship of  
D the table of that church, a chiefe dignitie, and of great reuenues, was giuen vnto D. *Iohn*  
of Beaumont, for his sonne called also D. *Iohn* brother to D. *Francois* of Beaumont a-  
boue mentioned, who being returned out of France into Nauarre, was, notwithstanding  
the hatred and factions of *Beaumont* and *Gramont*, much fauoured by the Marshall  
D. *Pedro*, who was then in greatest esteeme and authoritie with the Kings D. *Iohn* and  
D. *Catherina*.

11 This yeare one thousand five hundred and eight *Muley Mahomet* king of Fez, of  
the family of the Merins, besieged the citie of Arzilla, in the which the earle of Redon-  
do a Portugall was gouernour, and hauing taken the towne with his great power, be-  
ing about a hundred thousand fighting men, hee also tooke part of the castle, and for-  
ced the Earle to retire into a tower with some souldiers: whereof king *Ferdinand* being  
aduertised, hee sent to the Earle *Pedro Nauarro* an excellent capitaine of his time, being  
at Malaga, to goe and succour the Portugalls at Arzilla, appoynting him certaine old  
souldiers which were come from Naples, who were then lodged in the Axarchia of Ma-  
laga. The earle hauing receiued this charge, imbarqued with great speed in a shippe of  
his owne, which was called *Mariette*, with other shippes which hee found readie, and  
four gallies, about two thousand and five hundred of these souldiers, and so sayled to-  
wards Arzilla, where vpon his first approach hee so terrified the Moores, which besie-  
ged the Tower where the Earle of Redondo was, with his great ordonance from the  
shippes, as they suffered him to land his men, with the which hee entred the citie, and  
fought so valiantly, as hee chased away the Moores, whom he found lodged, and for-  
tified there, striking such a terrour into the king of Fez his armie, as the same night it  
retired about two leagues from the towne: D. *Pedro Nauarro* encouraged with this good  
successe, going forth with certaine field peeces, and setting a countenance on it, hee  
led the enemies in such doubt, as they retired to Fez, and Arzilla was freed, whereas  
within few dayes after the armie of Portugall arrived, being sent to succour it by the king

Pppp ij

D. Ma-

Castile.  
Arzilla besie-  
ged by the  
Moores, and  
the towne  
taken.

Exploit of Pe-  
dro Nauarro  
at Arzilla in  
faueur of the  
Portugalli.

1503

D. Manuel, the which had come too late without the diligence and good office of King Ferdinand, and the Earle D. Pedro Navarro, who having sent backe part of his souldiers in the Mariette, hee ranne along the coast of Barbarie with his foure galleies, vnto Belis or Veles of Gomera, who discovering a rocke in the sea fit to build a fort on, for the defence and safetie of the coast of Spaine, especially for the streit, and the rest of Adalusia hee put thirtie souldiers in garrison there, in despite of the Moores: And being returned to Malaga, hee aduertised the King of the commoditie of this feat, yeelding him many reasons to induce him to build a fort there: whereupon the King sent a gouernour thither, whose name was John of Villalobos, capitaine of Trebeja, and rector of Malaga, who entring into this place called Pegnon de Veles, with three score and tenne souldiers, he spent his life there in garrison, and after him his sonne, who put in his place an vncle of his called Francis of Villalobos, in whose time this fort was taken by the Moores, eight yeres after it had beene first fortified by the earle D. Pedro Navarro.

Pegnon de Veles fortified.

Prouost of the court troubled in his charge, and the punishment the king inflicted.

Portugal.

Sedition at Lisbon for religion.

12 The king D. Ferdinand hauing this yeere sent one of the Prouosts of his Court called the Bachelier Hernando Gomes of Herrera to Cordoua, for certaine executions of Iustice, hee had such a quarrell with D. Pero Fernandes of Cordoua, nephew to the great caprayne, as the marquisse caused him to be taken prisoner, and to be carried to Montillo, wherewith the king found himselfe much wronged, and loath to imploy anie other, hee went himselfe to punish this disobedience and contempt. Wherefore comming to Toledo, and from thence by Cite royall, Syerra Morena, Pedroche, and Adamuz hee entred into Cordoua, where he beganne to haue informations made against the marquisse, for whom the great capitaine and other noblemen were suiters, intreating him to remember how D. Alphonso d'Aguiar the marquesse's father died, and how his vncle the great capitaine had liued: yet the marquisse was condemned in a great fine, his house of Aguiar rased, and himselfe banished for a certaine time.

13 In Portugall the king D. Manuel attending the gouernement of his realmes, and the navigations to the East Indies, made his greatest residence in the citie of Ebor, whilst that Lisbon was afflicted with cruell seditions, by reason of religion; an ordinarie thing in this later age, whenas most Christians iealous of their owne glorie, worship their opinions, and maintaine their ceremonies by tumults and effusion of blood. It did seeme vnto some women of the auncient families of Christians in that citie, that some of the new conuerts or of their descendants, being in the Conuent of the friers of Saint Dominike had mockt at the hoste, which they are accustomed to keep in their churches: wherewith being moued with a womanish choler, they beganne to cast their pattens at them, saying, Goe you wicked dogges, God forbid that the plague and other miseries should fall vpon vs for you. At this noyse there came two friers running, who moued with a monkish zeale, tooke vp a Crosse, and running vp and downe the streetes, cried, Kill, kill these wicked hereticall dogges, for both plague and famine will fall vpon this countrey for their impieties: with which cries they stirred vp the people, so as falling vpon these new Christians (as they call them) they slue about 4000, regarding the innocent no more then the offender: and that which was the chiefe motiue, they spoiled their goods, sackt their houses, and burnt many in the streetes, and publike places of the citie: the which the officers of Iustice could not help. In the end, being tired rather then glutted with killing and spoiling, the tumult ceased. King Manuel beeing aduertised of this excesse, caused the two friers which were the authors to be apprehended, and to be publicly burnt at Ebor, and informations being made against the mutines, and spoilers, about 70 of them were most iustly hanged, wherein it is strange how often they were then abused, who leauing Mahumets or the Iewish impietie, came into the bosome of the Romish church, thinking to find a safe refuge, or some mildnes and humanitie there, whereas they did often make triall of the smothered hatred, and crueltie, of these proud and rauishing olde Christians, as they call them in Spaine; men truly vnfit to draw infidelles to the healthfull Doctrine of IESVS CHRIST: for this detestable example could no wayes edifie the sonne of the King of Manicongo, who was sent a while after into Portugall, to bee there instructed in the Romish Religion. This King ruling vpon the westerne shoare of Asrike beyond the Equinoctiall, was vassall and

Lib. 25.

A and alied to the king D. Manuel, the infant his sonne was named Henry, and was bred vp and instructed in the Latine tongue and the sciences for the space of xviij yeeres, at Saint Eloy in Lisbon, after the which hee returned into his countrey, being accompanied by many of the monkes of S. Eloy, carrying with him many ornaments serving for the ceremonies of the Romish religion, and many gifts from the King D. Manuel.

1508  
Henry Infant of Manicongo baptized.

14 D. Ferdinand King of Arragon for his part, seeking the propagation of religion, following the aduice of his counsell and of the diuines of Spaine, gaue leaue this yeere one thousand five hundred and eight, to some Spaniards dwelling at the Indies to search into the maine land there, to conquer prouinces and people, and to conuert those infidelles to the Christian religion, by armes, if they did not willingly submit themselves; sending ample instructions vnto them. The first that vnderooke that enterprise was Alphonso of Hojeda or Fojeda, borne at Cueneza, hauing dwelt long at the Indies, who departing from the port of Beate of Saint Dominike with foure shippes and three hundred men, came vnto Carthage, being followed by an other shippe, in the which there should be certaine mares, swine, and other cattell to breed, being conducted by the bachelier Martin Fernandes of Enfiso with an hundred and fiftie Spaniards. Hauing landed, Alphonso of Hojeda caused the Caribes a cruell and barbarous nation, which inhabite that countrey, to be summoned, to yeeld obedience to the King D. Ferdinand, and D. Ismael of Castille, and to receiue the preaching of the gospel, offering them peace with great priuiledges and exemptions: but they making no regard of all these things, Hojeda made cruell wars against them, killing or making slaues all he could get, according to the instruction of the diuines of Spaine. He marcht about five leagues into the land, and besieged a little borough of some one hundred houses, where there might dwell some three hundred persons of these Caribes, who defended themselves in such sort with poysoned arrowes, and their other armes, as they slew three score and tenne Spaniards, and among them Alphonso de la Cosa of Palos of Moguer in Adalusia, a man expert in nauigation, and lieutenant at that time to Hojeda, which was a great losse; and had not Diego of Nicuesa of Basca arriued, they were in daunger to haue receiued a greater losse D and affront. Nicuesa parting from the same port of Beate of S. Domingo, had brought foure score Spaniards in seuen shippes and two brigantines. Hojeda hauing ioyned with 780. did easily force the borough, and burnt it with all the Indians, who had no leasure nor meanes to flic, of the which they retayned seuen prisoners: and hauing gathered vp some little gold in the ashes of this fire, these captaines diuided themselves, Hojeda bending towards Vrabia, and Nicuesa to Beragua.

castile.

Alphonso of Hojeda first discoverer of the firme land at the Indies.

Caribes defend themselves courageously.

15 This was done at such time as the Christian princes made a league at Cambria against the Venetians, into the which D. Ferdinand King of Arragon and Gouernour of Castille entred. The Venetians who alwayes knew how to make their profite by other mens quarrels, held Padena, Vincence, Verona, Friuli and Treuifo which the emperour pretended. The French king as duke of Millane demanded of them Cremona, Ghirardada, Brest, Bergamo and Crema, for the pope there was exacted the towne of Farafe, Rimini, Rauenna and Ceruia, and King Ferdinand desired to retire the places and ports of the realme of Naples; which had beene engaged vnto them by the old King D. Ferdinand of Naples: for these considerations all their embassadors met there together, to conclude a warre against the Venetians; but king Ferdinand had no great will to take armes against that common weale, proiecing other meanes to recouer his right, but to please the Emperour hee ioyned in this warre, and for that there was some discontentment betwixt the king D. Ferdinand, the emperour and prince Charles, by reason of the gouernement of Castille, it was said, that there should be no speach of it, vntill the end of that war. There were many other particularities treated of and concluded there, every one of these princes seeking more his owne priuate interest then the good of the league in generall. King Ferdinand was then at Tordeuillas, whither hee had accompanied his daughter the Queene. D. Joane, who liued there, and hauing beene a widow eight and fourty yeeres, ended her dayes there. In May, in the yeare one thousand five hundred and nine, queene Germanie wife to king Ferdinand was deliuered

Pretensions of Christian princes against the Venetians.

1509

Genealogie of  
Aragon.Fort built by  
the Spaniards  
in the firme  
land of the  
Indies.Policie of the  
Indians.

Nùbre de Dios

of a son at Vailledolit, who was named *John*, but he lived not long, after which this prince had not any more children: but the king her husband before he married her had *D. Alphonso* of Arragon by the vicountesse of Eboli, he was archbishop of Saragossa, a prince of singular vertue: he had also *D. Joane* of Arragon who was wife to the Constable *D. Bernardin* of Velasco: and moreover by a gentlewoman of Bilbao called *D. Totá*, he had *D. Maria* of Arragon, who was a nunne at Madrigal: and of a lady of Portugall of the family of the *Pereiras*, an other daughter named also *D. Maria* of Arragon, who was in like manner a nunne in Madrigal with her sister; this was the posteritie of king *Ferdinand*.

16 That yeare *Alphonso* of Hojeda or Fogeda, running over the countrey of Vraza, tooke in the strong Iland two men and seven women, and got about two hundred ounces of gold: and having landed in Caribana, hee beganne a fort and towne, which was the first the Spaniards made in the firme land of the Indies. The Spaniards being entred foure leagues into the countrey, they assailed a little towne called Taripi, whereas the Indians made great resistance, and they had this policie, to draw their enemies on with gold, whereof they knew them to be very covetous, casting it in certaine places, that comming to gather it vp, they might pierce them more easily with their poysoned arrowes, whereof they died like mad men. *Hojeda* prest with these difficulties, and with hunger, raised his siege, and went to another Borough, where he found some small store of victuals, and tooke some prisoners, and among others, a woman, whose husband came before *Hojeda*, and promised by a certaine day to bring her ransome, at which prefixed time hee came, being accompanied with eight archers, who began to shoot many poysoned arrowes among the Spaniards, wherewith *Hojeda* himselfe was hurt, and others died, wherefore the Spaniards slue them all nine. Hereupon *Bernardin* of Talavera arrived with a ship laden with victuals and three score and tenne Spaniards to succour *Hojeda*, but this did not much comfort the Spaniards: wherefore *Hojeda* fearing that they would mutine, hee resolved to returne himselfe to Saint Domingo, to make sufficient provision of victuals and other things necessarie, leaving for lieutenant in his place *Francis Picarro*, who was afterwards marquisse of Atabillos, with an expresse charge, that if within fiftie dayes they had no newes of him, they should make the best shift they could. So *Hojeda* parting from Caribana, hee arrived in the Iland of Hispaniola a citie of Saint Domingo, where being tired with the toyle hee had endured, and with the bad successe of his voyage, desperate, wounded, and sicke of his person, he became a Franciscan Frier the remaynder of his life. *Diego* of Nicuesa who had taken the rout of Beragua, aduanced with a carauell and two brigantines, and past the land without discoverie: but one of his brigantines commaunded by *Lope* of Olano, turned backe to consider of that coast, then returning to the other brigantine they went together, to enter in at the mouth of the riuer of Chagre, which they called Lagartos, where they found the rest of the army, except *Nicuesa*, who was strayed with his carauell. Being come to the riuer of Beragua, thinking to finde their captayne *Nicuesa* there, but hearing not any newes of him, they were out of hope euer to returne vnto their houses, breaking their vesselles in peeces which were halfe rotten, they chose *Lope* of Olano for their captayne, who beganne to make a fort there, and to till the ground, meaning to make his abode there. In the meane time *Nicuesa* who had lost his carauell, was come to Sorobaro in great want of victuals, so as hee and his companie liued some daies with wild fruits, the which was reported to *Lope* of Olano, by those men who had stolne away his carauells cocke-boat: wherefore hee presently sent a brigantine vnto him laden with victuals, in the which he came to Beragua: but there envying the good successe of *Olano*, he began to charge him that he had incroched vpon his authoritie, intreating him ingratfully, whereat the whole company was much discontented: after which he caused them to dislodge, and to leaue that country, where they had sown much Mays, leading them to Porto Bello, where hee left halfe his men, and led the rest to a place called Mammoll or Marbre, where hee began a fort, which since hath bene verie famous, which he called Nombre de Dios; there *Nicuesa* and his people were in such extreame necessitie, as they were forced to eate their dogges, whereof some were sold

for

Extremitie of  
the Spaniards  
at the Indies

A for five and twenty ducats of Castile, yea they did eate the flesh of an Indian; whom they found dead and halfe rotten. They which *Hojeda* had left in Caribana, seeing that their captaine returned not at the fiftieth day assigned, being oppressed with hunger, they imbarqued by the aduice of *Francis Picarro*, and hauing lost one brigantine, they sayled towards Cochibocoa, neere to the which they met with the bachelier *Martin Fernandes* of Enciso, hauing a shippe laden with victuals and men, and a brigantine, who commaunded them to returne backe with him: and hauing landed and watered at Camari, they came to Vraza, in which gulfes they built a Towne, the which they called Guarda. The King or Cachique of that countrey called *Cemaco*, being incensed that without his leaue they built vpon his land, hauing hidden all the wealth of his towne among the reedes, hee drew together five hundred Indians, and beganne to threaten the Spaniards: then was the Bachelier in great distresse, and beganne to make vowes and promises, That if he got the victorie of those men, hee would build a Temple of the Cachiques towne, the which he would haue called, Our Lady of the Ancient of *Darien*, and that he would send a certayne quantity of gold and siluer to the church of our Lady the Ancient of Seuille: whereupon a hundred Spaniards did charge these Indians, and defeated them, and their towne was taken and spoyled, and their hidden treasure found, which was not small, & then they began to build the towne and colonie of the Antique of *Darien*.

C 17 Whilest that these men guided by auarice, & by the practise of cruelty, thought to amplifie the religion of our Lord Iesus Christ at the west Indies, the cardinall *D. Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros archbishop of Toledo, vnder the same pretext, but it may be thrust on by some other affection, made offer to go in person into Affrike, and there to make warre against the Moores, animated thereunto (besides his owne desire to make that enterprife) by the spoyle which some pyrates Moores had lately made vpon the coast of Spaine, from whence they had carried away many poore slaues of all ages, men and women: and that which did more pricke him forward, was, that *D. Diego Fernandes* Gouvernour of Merscalabler had bene lately defeated by the Moores of Oran, importunately prouoked by him; which disgrace hee desired to reuenge vpon that citie. These things happened during the kings absence, whenas he was at Naples, from whence being returned, hee was presently sollicitated by the Cardinall to vndertake this enterprife of Oran, whither hee offered to goe himselfe: wherein hee had many oppositions and crosses, not so much by the king, as by the noblemen of the court, who scorned him, holding him for a man drunke with ambition, and ignorant how to maintaine himselfe in his ranke and profession, saying, That it was a pleasant change to see the great captaine *Gonsal Fernandes* famous for so many victories which hee had obtaigned, now telling of his beads at Vailledolit, and the archbishop of Toledo to leaue his mitre and crosse and to put on armes, hauing no thoughts but of killing and shedding of blood: but those courtiers which found this so strange, had not perused the Annales of Spaine, where they might haue read warrelike exploits of many other Bishops, equalling the greatest captaines of their time. Notwithstanding all the oppositions of these disdainfull spirites, yet the cardinall obtained what hee pretended: for the king knew his qualities and vertues better then any other, and could so extoll him to his Councell, and other noble men in Court, as in the end they did allow of the Cardinalls proposition, they commended it, and perswaded the youth to follow him into Affrike. This warre being concluded, there was present order given, that all the gallies and other vesselles of warre, and ships to carrie victuals and baggage which were made ready in diuers ports, should come to Malaga or Carthagen: there was provision made in diuers places of come and all kindes of victuall, great store of caske to water in the enemies countrey, and of powder in euery part of Spaine: and there was commaundement given to all vassals holding fees, commaunders, and militarie benefices, to be there in person, and no man to be exempted but for a very lawful cause, and for the necessary defence of the Christian commonweale: the souldiers which were in the kings pay, and remaining in ordinarie garri- sons were also sent, and new leues made. There were also two Alcades or Prouosts of Iustice of the court appoynted to assist the cardinall, which were *Callego* and *Aguirro*, who

Enterprife of  
Oran by Ximenes.

in

in the Kings name, and by his authoritie, should containe euerie man in his duetie. **C** Herewithall there were giuen vnto the Cardinall many blankes signed and sealed by the King, to vse them when neede should require, namely, to institute and appoynt Iudges to punish offenders: wherewith the cardinall would not meddle, for that hee was a Franciscan Friar, and a man of the church. These things provided, the great captain *Gonsalo Fernandez* did aduise, that the managing of the warre should be giuen vnto *Pedro Nanarro* Earle of Albeto, who some few moneths before had built the fort of Pegnon de Veles against the Moores, and was a captaine of iudgement and great experience. The cardinall conferred with him of all matters, and did write to *Vargas* of the Kings counsell, and to *Villalobos* commissarie of the victualles, that they should deliuer the victuals and munition ordayned for this warre, as *Pedro Nanarro* should appoint, and to the colonels to cause their men to march towards Malaga: the chiefe of which were *D. Rodrigo Moscoso* Earle of Altamira, *D. John Spinosa*, *Alphonso Vaneza*, *Gonsalo Ayora*, *Pedro* of Arias, and *John Vilalua*, having many good and valiant captaines vnder them. To *Garcia Villaroello* was giuen the commaund of the horse: *Ierome Vianello* was made marshall of the campe, by reason of the experience and knowledge hee had of the countrie of Africke, and therefore held fittest to choose the situation of the camp, and the places where they should assaile the Moores. Thus the cardinall drew together about foure thousand horse and tenne thousand foot. To this warre, besides the money which the king did furnish out of his treasure, and that which the cardinall drew out of his coffers, the chanons of Toledo did also contribute: for the cardinall knowing that money is that which maintaines and giues perfection vnto warre, hee would not make any iust proportion of the charge of this worke, or what it might amount vnto, but sought to gather so much together, as hee might haue an ouerplus. The execution of all these prouisions was much delayed, and the voyage almost broken, for many did still detract the Cardinall and his enterprize to the king, tearing it foolish and vnfit for a man of his coate, so as the king being almost altered, was in a manner resolved to referre it to another season: the which the commissaries, collectors, captains of gallies, gouernors of townes, and others hauing publique charges, perceiuing, there was not anie one that cared to doe his duetie, nor to obey *Pedro Nanarroes* commaundement; there came not a shippe to Malaga, the victuals and munition which was not neere, were made deere for the cardinales men, who had not his money yet readie: the which *D. Pedro* seeing, he sought himselfe to diuert this expedition by another enterprize which he propounded vpon some other parts in Africke; wherewith the cardinall was much perplexed, but hee must shew his magnanimitie and perseverance: for then hee resolved to employ all his meanes, and friends, rather then to faile in that which hee had vnder-taken, which was published to all the world, and had beene a great dishonour to the king, to him, and to all Christendome, if after so great a shew of armes, they should retire without cause: which hauing made knowne vnto the king with pertinent reasons, and vehement persuations, hee had answer from the king according to his desire, that although hee were dissuaded, yet hee would haue the armie passe into Africke at the first opportunity, yet notwithstanding there grew new difficulties, the souldiers being hardly stayed, and the victuals and other prouisions, through the couctousnesse and malice of the commissaries, delaied, and in a manner denied, and many of the men at armes gone backe: yet hee surmounted all these difficulties, making the rendes-vous for his armie at Carthagea: he himselfe parting from Alcala, being accompanied with a great number of his friends and seruants in armes, where there were many Friars of his household, which girded themselues with swords vnder the habite of Saint Francis, hee came to Toledo, where hee made knowne vnto the Chapter the cause of his voyage, and hauing recommended the charge of the archbishopricke in his absence to *D. John de Velasco* bishop of Calaozza, he came to Carthagea. Many of his chanons desirous to see the world, would haue followed him, but he stayed two onely, and sent backe the rest: those two were *Francis Aluares* learned in the lawes, and *Charles of Mendosa* Abbot of Saint Leocadie. Being readie to imbarque, the souldiers began to call for money, else they would not goe: the author of this sedition was a rascall of Alcala of Henares, called

conscience of  
Ximenes.

*Pedro Nanarro*  
chiefe condu-  
cter of the Af-  
ricane warre.

Colonels at the  
warre of Oran.

Worsight of the  
Cardinal.

Magnanimitie  
of the Cardinall  
Ximenes.

Sedition in the  
Cardinals camp  
caused by a ras-  
call.

**A** called *Arnold*, who had beene a broker in his youth: the which did somewhat trouble the cardinall, not knowing whether it had a further reach, being resolved not to giue the souldiers any money vntill they were past into Africke. *Vianello* master of the campe, caused as many of the seditious as hee could lay hand on to be hanged, or to passe the pikes: wherein vsing too great severity, the Cardinall sent *Garcia Villaroello* vnto him, to admonish him to proceed more mildly for the loue and respect of his person, and the religious habite which hee bare, whom so great rigour did not befit, and the rather for that manie of these souldiers were raised in his Archbishopricke, and were come to the warres for the loue of him, abandoning both wife and children. It is not well knowne in what manner *Garcia* deliuered his message to *Vianello*, but he made him a proud answer, to the disgrace of *Garcia*, and of the Cardinall himselfe; with which affront *D. Garcia* being incensed, he could not containe himselfe, but drew his sword and hurt *Vianello* very sore, and then hee fled into a castle, whereas a kinsman of his was captayne, fearing the Cardinales indignation, who was much offended with these actions. *Vianello* hurt did somewhat stay the departure of the armie; in the meane time they got the mutined souldiers to imbarke, with promise that they should haue money as soone as they were on shippe boord, the which was perfourmed. Being then imbarked, especially by the care and policie of *Salazar* colonell of them of Toledo, they sawe in the Generals galley manie sakes full of crownes, deckt with bowes, and many barkes about it, drest in like manner, with a great noyse of trumpets and drummes, which made them forget all discontent, receiuing their pay with great ioy. The Cardinall did also imbarke, but hee was forced to stay some dayes for a winde, the which tuning faire, they past happily into Africke, beeing foure score shippes of burthen, thirteene gallies, and many other smaller vessells, carrying tenne thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with many marchants, victuallers, groomes, pioners and other people necessarie in a campe. The Spaniards which write of this action, say that the Cardinall at his departure from Carthagea, had conceiued such a hope of victorie, as hee did sollicite the king by his letters to prouide for the gard of Oran which hee had already conquered, assuring him that he might shortly make vse of the armie which he led, for his affaires of Italic, whether hee himselfe would goe if need required, and that it should please him to command him. Hee was not deceiued in his conceit: but comming to the coast of Africke on Ascension day, the whole countrey was presently aduertised by the watches and fiers which were made by the Moores, and all the Christians shippes came safely that night into the port of Mersalcabir, although it were verie darke. Hauing called a Council, it was resolved to seaze presently vpon the streit passage which is betwixt Mersalcabir and Oran, whereas the beacon is set, and to bring the shippes of burthen in view of Oran, and to plant their batterie speedily, before that the Alarabes being aduertised from all parts, should gather together to make head, and hinder their descent. Vpon this resolution *Pedro Nanarro* caused all the vessells as soone as the souldiers were landed, to passe towards Oran, and presently to towne all the barkes which should carry the horse, holding them vnecessary in a Countrey which was rough and vneuen: the which the Cardinall not vnderstanding so well as the other, hee held it for a disgrace which *Nanarro* meant to doe him, commanding the horse that they should follow by land as well as they could, disposing gardes in conuenient places, for feare of the Moores surprises, the which did serue to some purpose. The passage was attempted and woon, not without great difficultie, being defended by the Moores, and Alarabes, which came out of Oran: the which was in the meane time battered from the Christians shippes and gallies. It happened that many souldiers landing out of the gallies, they hindered the Moores and the Alarabes from flying into the towne, hauing beene charged from the passage of the mountayne, and were pursued by *Pedro Nanarroes* troups, so as the Citie wanting men to defend it, it was taken none knowes how the souldiers climbing myraculously ouer the walles and rampiers, with the helpe of theyr pikes: the which beeing tryed by manie after the taking of it, they could not

*Vianello*, Master  
of the Campe,  
hurt by *Garcia*  
*Villaroello*.

Army parts  
from Carthagea  
generally.

Oran taken  
miraculously.

get



1509

get vp by reason of the height of the walles, and the weakenesse of theyr pikes, G  
so as this prise was held miraculous; *Sosa* who carried the Cardinales cornet was  
the first that mounted, crying *Saint Iago, Ximenes*, and victorie. The Moores fayl-  
ing both in defence and courage, shut themselues into their Mesquites, or into their  
strongest houses, some held the market places, being resolved to die fighting. But the  
citie gates being broke open, and all the armie brought in, all this wretched multitude  
ranne towards the port which is towards Tremessen, to see if they might escape. But  
*Garcia Villaroello* was set there in gard with some horse, to put all them to the sword that  
should seeke to flee away. It happened that neere vnto that port there lay hidden in the

Treacherie of  
the mercenarie  
Moores.

gardens and other places couered with trees a hundred and fiftie horse *Alarabes*, of those  
which had bene chased from the passage of the mountaine, with no other intent but to H  
spoil the people that should flee out of the citie (such trecherous and couetous theues  
they bee) when as they saw these Christian horsemen, who watcht also for their pray,  
they charged them suddenly and with such fury, as before they had viewed them, they  
flew tenné, and put the rest to flight, whereas *Garcias* horse was slaine. This accident  
gaue many poore Moores meanes to escape. Within the citie the victorious army put all  
to the sword that they found in the streetes or houses, in hatred of their religion, not  
sparing neyther age nor sex, neyther did the care of the commanders and captaines pre-  
uaile any thing, who causing a retreat to be founded, called euery one backe into his  
quarter, the night approaching: for most of the souldiers being dispersed in the Moores  
houses and streetes, hauing fed well, fell so soundly asleepe among the dead bodies, as I

Dutie of a well  
advised cap-  
taine.

many of them could not bee awaked the next day at noone: wherefore it was needefull  
that the Earle *Pedro Nauarro* and the captaines with troups chosen out of their best men  
to watch that night. *Pedro Nauarro* being sufficiently aduertised of the Moores subtil-  
ties, did neuer disarme, neyther did he sleepe, vntill hee saw all things assured, perform-  
ing therein the dutie of a well aduised captaine. The Moores which had fortified them-  
selues in their Mesquites and other places, being summoned to yeeld, and refusing, de-  
resting the conquerers crueltie, were forced. In this slaughter there was a miserable  
spectacle of a little infant which stroue to take the mothers dugg being slaine. There

Number of  
them that were  
slaine at Oran.

were slaine as some write, aboute foure thousand, and aboute fise thousand prisoners, or  
eight thousand, as *Ierosme Lulien* the cardinals Secretary writes, and of the Christians K  
only thirtie. The spoile of that citie was esteemed to be worth aboute 500000 crownes,  
the which is credible, for they hold that there were fiteene hundred store-houses, or  
marchants shoppes. To conclude, all men made themselues rich there, yea the venie  
horse boyes. The cardinall being in the fort of Merfalcabir hauing had intelligence of  
the winning of the citie of Oran, caused himselfe to be conducted thither in the galleys,  
where hee entred with great acclamations, causing a crosse to be carried before him:  
there hee receiued the keyes of the Alcazaue, that is to say, of the chiefe fort, from  
whence there were drawne about 300 poore Christian prisoners and set at libertie.

Distribution of  
the spoyle at O-  
ran.

The spoyle being all gathered together, and kept to be presented vnto him, that he might  
dispose thereof as generall of the army, hee retained nothing for himselfe, but onely cau- L  
sed certain things to be layd a part for the king: he did separte also a part for the com-  
moditie and vse of the army in generall, leauing the rest to the captaines and souldiers:  
many of the which who had shewed themselues most valiant he honoured with presents.  
It was no small difficultie to cleanse the towne of dead bodies, which did already stinke,  
and were likely to corrupt the ayre, for the number being great, after that they had bu-  
ried many in great and deepe pittes, and burnt many, yet did they many dayes after  
finde some in the streetes and houses; besides, there were few men that would busie  
themselues to bury the dead, for there was not so great gaine, as in killing them that  
were liuing. They found aboute three score peeces of ordonance, and an infinite number  
of other engins for defence, so as it is admirable, that a towne so well peopled and so  
well fortified made no defence, being assured of succours from the *Alarabes*, vagabonds  
and mercenaries of Afrike, whereof they had means to entertaine good numbers. True it  
is that some say this city was taken by practise and treason plotted by the Cardinall, and

A and by the ministerie of *Martin Argoto* of Cordoua, and *Alphonso* of Martos prisoners  
in Oran, since the defeat of *D. Diego Fernandes* gouernor of Merfalcabir, and that these  
two did corrupt *Hamet Acanix*, or *Aben Canex*, and *Isael Otaybi* receiueurs of the reuenue  
which the king of Tremessen had there, and a lew dwelling at Oran, called *Cetora*,  
who were the cause that the ports were shut against the *Alarabes* which were repul-  
sed, from the passage of the mountaine, of the watch, and gaue entrie to the Spaniards:  
the cardinall hauing had aduice by these traitors, that he must assaile the towne the day after  
his arriual, for if he delayed it, he should be deceiued of his expectation, for that the king  
of Tremessen had a mighty army which marcht to succour the city. And they say, that he  
that was captaine of the Alcazaue or fort of Oran, called *Cedrin*, was kinsman to *Acanix*,  
B and a partisan of his treason, the which is probable: for in truth the Spaniards did first  
enter into Oran by the fort. The cardinall hauing cleansed the Mesquites, the chiefe of  
them was dedicated to the Annunciation, and an other to *Saint Iaqués*: hee made an  
hospitall called *Saint Bernard*, and two Couents, one of Franciscan Friars, and the o-  
ther of Iacobins, and hauing ordered all things concerning religion the best he could, he  
left the care of state and warre to *Pedro Nauarro*, and so returned into Spaine, for there  
was no good agreement among them. The cardinall spent a whole yeere in these mat-  
ters, for he arriued in Spaine the same day that he parted: He did erect a dignitie with  
the title of an Abbot in regard of this victorie, to the which hee assigned a seate in his  
church of Toledo.

C 18 This yeere, one thousand fise hundred and nine, *D. Catherine Infanta* of Castille,  
widow to *Arthur* prince of Wales, was married to *Henrie* king of England, the eight of  
that name, brother to her deceased husband, who was that yeere come to the crowne,  
by the decease of their father *Henrie* the seuenth, and was crowned on *Saint Iohn* Bap-  
tists day, which by reason thereof was solemnized with extraordinarie pompe in Ca-  
stille by king *Ferdinand*, who to perform the articles of the league made at Cambray, sent  
at the same time a sea-army to the realme of Naples: wherefore the Viceroy of Naples  
beganne to shew himselfe vpon the coast of Apulia in shew of an enemy, to force the  
Venetians to yeeld vnto the king his master, the townes of Manfredonia, Trani, Mono-  
poli, Brindez and Otranto, which had bene engaged vnto them, during the precedent  
D warres with France. The Pope, the Emperour, and the French King did likewise invade  
them, the euent whereof I will forbear to relate, it belonging not to this Historie of  
Spaine.

Army of Spaine  
sent to annoy  
the Venetians.

During the warre against the Venetians, there was a controuersie reconciled betwixt  
the emperour *Maximilian*, and king *Ferdinand*, touching the gouernement of Castille,  
after the death of king *Philip*. The emperour thought, that being grandfather by the fa-  
thers side vnto prince *Charles* the heire of that realme, and of his brother and sisters, *D.*  
*Ferdinand*, *D. Leonora*, *D. Maria*, *D. Isabella* and *D. Catherine*, issued of his sonne and *D.*  
*Ioane*, and therefore pretending right in Castille, it was more fit that hee should haue  
the gouernement, than the king *D. Ferdinand*, their grandfather by the mothers side;  
E but king *Ferdinand*'s title seemed to be the better, for that *D. Ioane* his daughter, the pro-  
prietarie Queene of Castille was yet liuing, and that it was an vnwoorthy thing that the  
gouernement of a realme, which had bene honored and enlarged by him with such great  
conquests, should be taken from him, to giue it vnto strangers. This controuersie was  
ended by the mediation of the French king, vpon these conditions, That the king *D.*  
*Ferdinand* should gouerne the realme of Castille, Leon &c. in case hee had no sonne by  
queene *Germaine*, vntill that prince *Charles* should come to the age of fise and twentie  
yeares, at which time hee should resigne the gouernement vnto the prince, with this  
charge, that during the life of queene *Ioane* his mother hee should not intitle himselfe  
king of Castille: That during this time king *Ferdinand* should pay vnto the emperor fifty  
thousand ducats yearely, and to prince *Charles* other great summes of money, and that  
F persisting in the accords of the league made at Cambray, hee should contribute to the  
warre of Lombardie against the Venetians. After this accord the Emperour and the  
French King vnderstood, to their great griefe, what the Pope and King *Ferdinand* had  
done with the Venetians.

Controuersie be-  
twixt the empe-  
rour Maximili-  
an & king Fer-  
dinand recon-  
ciled.

*Practises of  
pope Iulio the 2.  
against the  
French.*

19 The pope doubting that the French king who was mighty in Italie, would seeke some revenge against him, he began to study by what means he might diuert him from Italy, and if occasion were offered to expell him quite: wherefore he drew the Suisses vnto him, hee did sollicite the king of England to make war against the French, and did what hee could to cause D. Ferdinand to declare himselfe their enemy; but the Popes practises were then of small effect, for England stirred not, & king Ferdinand seeing that the French king made no shew that hee meant to annoy the pope, hee persisted in some sort in the league of *Cambray*, saying that hee would according to the treatie made with the emperor, assist him in the warre of Lombardie whither he sent foure hundred horse, and two thousand Spanish foote, vnder the command of the duke of Termini. The pope fearing that the Venetians ruine would also cause that of the state of Rome, and of the other potentates of Italy, he sought to haue some pretext to quarrell with the French king, hoping that if hee declared himselfe his enemy, with any colour he should sway the league of *Cambray* much; wherefore he tooke an occasion for that king *Lewis* fauored *Alphonso* of Este duke of Ferrara, against whom hee had a quarrell, punishing him with his spirituall and temporall armes: and to gratifie king Ferdinand and to draw him to his deuotion, hee confirmed vnto him the possession of the realme of Naples, with the said conditions that the king of Arragon his predecessors had formerly held it: the which hee had before refused, and moreover hee drew a promise from the king, to aide him with three hundred men at armes, if need were, for the defence of the territories of the church. King Ferdinand foreseeing and fearing the miseries that might ensue, if the French king and the pope should grow to an open quarrell, he did all good offices to reconcile them, but hee could not: for the pope was obstinately bent to oppresse the duke of Ferrara, and the king held it dishonourable for him to abandon his allies: whereupon king *Lewis* moued with a iust indignation, began to treat a new league against pope *Iulio*, with the emperor and other princes and potentates of Christendome, persuaading *Maximilian* as emperor, to pursue the vnitie of the lands held in Italie by the popes as belonging rightly vnto the empire, and that the Germans and French ioyntly should demanda a generall Councell, for the reformation of the pope and clergie: and to giue some forme thereunto for his part, hee called an assembly of the prelates of France, in manner of a Nationall Councell, in the citie of Orleans, to the end they should withdraw themselves from the popes obedience by a decree. The prelates hauing transferred the assembly from Orleans to Towers, they drew some articles to be presented vnto the pope in the name of the French church, and in case hee did refuse them, then to protest that they did not acknowledge him for their superiour, appointing in that respect an other assembly within fixe moneths after, of the clergie of France. To this enterprise the king had drawne some cardinals, namely D. *Bernardin* of Caruajal bishop of Siguenfa cardinal of Saint Croix a Spaniard, who had bene apostolike legat in the emperours court, hoping to make king Ferdinand to yeeld vnto it, for the respect hee bare vnto the emperor. The pope besides the interest of the Venetians and of all Italy which did moue him, being in heart an irreconcilable enemy to the French, and to all them beyond the mountaines, he desired nothing but troubles, as appeared by his courses. In the mean time king Ferdinand, by reason of an army of Turkes which had bene discovered neere vnto Otranto, was forced to call home his souldiers which he had sent into Lombardie, in fauour of the league of *Cambray*: which made the emperor and French king suspect that hee would ioyne with the pope; whereupon they sent vnto him to know his intent: whereunto king Ferdinand made a plaine answer, without any ambiguitie, that although by reason of the see of Naples, hee had furnished the pope with some horsemen, yet hee meant not for all that to leaue the league of *Cambray*, but would entertaine it more then before: and therefore hee promised to send his souldiers backe into Lombardie: but as for the other league which they treated of, hee could not yeeld vnto it, and much lesse that which concerned a generall councell, for that, sayd this catholike king, it were a scandalous thing, and would trouble all Christendome; being most apparent, that this councell was not propounded but to offend the pope, whom both he and all Christian Princes did acknowledge to be Christs vicar in the church of God: and that peace and vnion should be

*Councell propounded to reforme the pope.*

*Cardinal of S. Croix a Spaniard against the pope.*

*Excuses made by king Ferdinand for not yielding to a councell.*

*Excuses made by king Ferdinand for not yielding to a councell.*

A bee the end of all holy councells, wherefore hee excused himselfe from entring into any other league, then that of *Cambray*, exhorting them for the tranquillitie of the state of Christendome (tome and dismembred with warre) to hearken to some good agreement with the Pope, notwithstanding which answere the French king and the Emperour made a new League, for the executing of the league of *Cambray* against the Venetians, leauing libertie for the Pope to enter within fixe monethes, and for the kings of Spaine and Hungarie within foure: and if the Pope should refuse to enter into their league, then they would call a generall Councell: for the effecting whereof, the Emperour should assemble the Prelates in Germany, as the French king had done them in France. Thus, great miseries did threaten Italie, through the obstinacy of Pope *Iulio*.

20 Whilst that the Christian Princes of Europe treated of these things in the yeare one thousand five hundred and tenne, the coast of Africke was much annoyed by the army of Spaine, of the which the earle *Pedro Nauarro* was gouernour, who tooke the citie of Bugia, which had bene a great Vniuersity for the Moores; the which strooke so great a terrour throughout all Africke, as the towne of Algier and many places vpon that coast became tributaries to the crowne of Castille, agreeing with *Pedro Nauarro* what annual rent they should paie, and sending embassadors into Spain, who brought with them 50 Christain, slaues, and they landed at Valencia, at such time as king Ferdinand hauing left the Infant D. Ferdinand his grand-childe with Cardinal *Ximenes*, whom they called the Cardinall of Spain, and the councell at Valladolid, he came into Arragon, and called the estates of the realmes to Monson. The earle *Pedro Nauarro* continuing his conquests, hee woone Tripoli in Barbarie: and soone after, about the middest of August, D. *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo arriued at Gelbes with some ships and Spanish souldiers, the which hee ioynd to the army of D. *Pedro Nauarro*. D. *Garcia* was eldest sonne to D. *Frederic* of Toledo duke of Alua, a gallant knight, but vnfortunate in this expedition, for hauing landed in that countrie with his troopes, hee was fought with all, vanquished and slaine vpon the place by the Arabians, and could not bee reliued by the earles army, which was at sea, his men before they came to fight with the enemy, being almost dead with thirst which they had endured in that drie and barren countrie. Some did taxe the earle D. *Pedro Nauarro* for this rout of D. *Garcia*, saying, that hee would not succour him as he might, being discontented and iealous of his comming in qualitie of generall of that lamentable enterprise.

*Bugia taken by Pedro Nauarro. Algier tributary to Castille.*

*Tripoli in Barbary taken.*

*D. Garcia Aluarez of Toledo slaine by the Arabians.*

21 At the west Indies *Diego* of Nicuesa had not much better successe in his Colonie of Nombre de Dios, which was built vpon the firme land. Those also that were in the Colonie of the Antique of Darien were also in mutinies & seditions among themselves, raised by a great souldier, but verie mutinous, called *Vasco Nugnes*, of Balboa, borne at Badajos, who had incensed some of the people, against the bachelor *Martin Hernandez*, of Enciso, who was appointed gouernour in that place by the king: but the Bachelers Letters were vnfortunately lost, whenas hauing caused *Francisco Picaro*, and the companions of *Hoieda* to returne with him, the ship wherein hee was, was cast away at his comming to Vraba: wherefore *Vasco Nugnes* hauing quarreled with him, saying, that such charges did not belong to Bachelers, and hee opposing to the contrarie that he had receiued it frō the king, he could not shew it: so as there was great & long contention betwixt them, vntil the comming of *Roderigo Henriques* of Colmenares, with two carauels laden with victuals and prouisions, and 70 men, who went from the port of Beata of S. Domingo, to seeke out *Hoieda*s companions. He being come to a place called Garia, had landed with fifty Spaniards, to fetch water, but they were instantly charged by a great number of Indian archers, who slue 47 and tooke the rest aliue, and then they eate them all: whereupon *Roderigo* dislodging, he entred into the gulph of Vraba, where he found some steps and marks of the Spaniards landing: wherefore he shot off certain peeces of ordnance, and made a great smoake, to giue aduertisement that he was on shoare, to end that if there were any Spaniards they should answere him. Those of the Antique of Darien perceiuing the smoake, and hearing the shot, made answere in like maner: wherefore

*Behaviour of the Spaniards at the west Indies. Seditions among them.*

1510

fore *Colmenares* directed his course that way, where he was receiued with great ioy. The Spaniards were relieued by him of their miseries & pouertie: for had he not arriued, they had been cut in peeces, or perished for hunger. *Roderigo Henriques* of *Colmenares* labored in such sort as he did pacifie these mutines of the Antique of *Darien*, making them all consent, except *Vasco Nugnes* of *Balboa*, and the Bachelor *Martin Hernandez* of *Enciso*, who were the heads of the factions, that the superintendency & authority should bee giuen to *Diego Nicuesa*, as to him who had order from the king to comand. And then *Colmenares* set saile towards the sort of *Nombre de Dios*, with one ship & a brigatin, & hauing found *Diego Nicuesa* there poor, he did comfort him with good news of his election, so as after much discourse of his misfortunes, he embarked him 60 with of his companions, to carry him to the Antique of *Darien*: but *Nicuesa* being an indiscreet man, & full of arrogancy, he began in his voyage to braue & threaten them which had not yet receiued him for their magistrat, saying, he would teach *Balboa* and *Enciso*, the authors of these factions, to hazard the affairs of the king their master by their diuisions, & that he would punish them severely, and put others in their places, that he would take away their gold, & doe many other wonders: which words proceeding as from a mad man, displeased *Roderigo Henriques* of *Colmenares*, and others of his company, who failed not to make report thereof to them of the Antique, yea to the 2 heads of the factions, who receiued *Nicuesa* with 1000 scoffes & iniuries, making him to take another course with his 60 companions. This wretch directing his voyage to the Iland of *Hispaniola*, with an intent to accuse the bachelor *Enciso*, & *Vasco Nugnes* of *Balboa*, before the admiral *D. Diego Columbus*, eldest sonne to *Christopher Columbus*, then lieutenant general or viceroy in those countries, in the place of the commander *Nicholas* of *Ouato*, he perished at sea, with all his copany. The dissention betwixt *Enciso* & *Balboa* continuing, *Roderigo Henriques* of *Colmenares* did adhere to *Vasco Nugnes*, of *Balboa*, who shewed himself so proud & rash as he not only attempted to put the bachelor *Martin* into prison, & to confiscate his goods, but, if some had not staied him, he was resolved to do him a publike shame, which he himselfe did better deserve.

1511

The yere 1511 being come, in the which king *Ferdinand* after the assembly of *Moson*, being returned to *Madrid*, & grieving for the death of *D. Garcia Aluarez* of *Toledo*, and of his men at *Gelbes*, he caused a great fleet to be made ready in the ports of *Malaga*, *Gibraltar* & *Calis*, being resolved to go in person into *Africke*, & to make war against the Infidels: from the which he was diuerted, by the intreaties of the estates of his realms, shewing him the inconueniences which were to be feared, if his person should miscarie, beseeching him to giue the charge of that war to his captains. The hatred betwixt the Pope and French king, was very great: the Pope did besiege *Miradola*, with such vehemency, being himself at the siege in person (against the aduice of the colledge, & the dignity of his papal estate) that he took it, and hauing put 500 Spaniards, & 300 *Italijs* there in garrison, he took the way to *Bolonia*, the princes seeking to quench this fire by all good means, yea the king *D. Ferdinand* by his ambassadors, *D. Ierosme Vich* of *Valencia* in the court of *Rome*, & *D. Pedro* of *Vrrea*, in that of the emperor, whom he desired to reconcile with the *Venetians*, hoping that the French king would afterwards yeeld vnto it: intreating them all to giue him this contentment, to see *Christendom* at peace, that he might with more liberty attend the war of *Africke*: an enterprize which by reason should please, and be fauoured by all *Christian Princes*: but he labored particularly to diuert the emperor from proceeding to an assembly or conuocation of the Prelates of *Germany*, concerning a Councell, the which hee did utterly disallow: propunding instead thereof an assembly of ambassadors in the city of *Mantoua*, to consult of a pacification. By his care and diligence this assembly was made, and there met at *Mantoua*, for him the aboue named ambassadors; for the emperor the bishop of *Gurgensis*, and for the French king, the bishop of *Paris*, whose labour proved fruitlesse. The time was come in regard of the league of *Cambray* to retire king *Ferdinand* three hundred men at armes, which had serued the Pope, wherefore these horsemen being retained longer then was agreed, they returned to *Naples*. The Pope being obstinate and furious, not caring for the Emperor, and much lesse for the French king, was forced to dislodge from *Bolonia*, for feare of the French army, which did approach, which city, either for that it was abandoned by them he left there, or

Arrogancy of  
Nicuesa makes  
him lose the go-  
uernment of the  
same land as  
the Indies.

King Ferdinand  
opposeth against  
the calling of  
a Councell.

A or by intelligence with the *Bentiuolo*, came into the power of king *Lewis*, without any difficulty: and soone after there were bills set vp in the publike places at *Mantoua*, and at *Bolonia*, declaring that a generall councell was assigned in September that yere 1511, to the which (the Pope and his adherents being accused of many crimes) were cited: for the which the Pope (being a cholericke and furious man) thought to run mad, calling those Cardinals which were opposite vnto him, wicked Sectaries, vsurpers of the Soueraigne bishops authority, to whom only (said he) it did belong to call a councell, inciting the Vniuersities, and faculties of diuinitie, who declared this act to be hereticall. The Emperour had made offer as a fit place, and fatal to disordred Popes, of the citie of *Constance*, *Turin* had also bene propounded, but *Pisa* was held most conuenient. The fury of this war was so great in *Italie*, as king *Ferdinand* (being iealous of his realm of *Naples*) sent three thousand Spaniards to his viceroy *D. Raymond* of *Cardonea*, vnder the command of *Pedro Nauarro*, earle of *Albeto*, still doubting that king *Lewis* did gape after it, notwithstanding the accords made in regard of the marriage of *Queene Germaine*; and hee deferred his voyage of *Africke*, attending the issue of these troubles, and of the councell of *Pisa*, the chiefe fauourers whereof, were the Cardinals of *S. Croix* a Spaniard, *Bayeux*, *Saint Malo*, *Albret*, brother to *John* of *Albret* king of *Nauarre*, Frenchmen; they of *Colensa*, & *Saint Seuerin*, *Italians*: but Pope *Iulio*, for that he would not seeme to faile in his pastorall office, pretending that the calling of a councell did belong to him, and to disperse that of *Pisa*, hee did publish another at *Saint Iohn de Latran* in *Rome*: the which wrought great effects in the hearts of princes, and of religious people which did abhor schismes. So as notwithstanding that the French king had sent 24 bishops to *Pisa*, in the behalfe of the Clergie of *France*, expecting that the emperor according to their accord should do the like for the Clergie of *Germany*, yet whether retained by conscience or otherwise, he neither sent bishops nor embassidors, finding sometimes one euasion sometimes another.

23 King *Ferdinand* being also sollicit by the Pope, and (as it is credible) hauing good intelligence with him, he made a publike declaration, that seeing neither by intreaties, nor persuasions, he could not diuert the French king from his resolution to disquiet the *Apostolike* sea, hee tooke it into his protection: and it is likely that the emperor *Maximilian* had bene also wonne by these two. This declaration was made at *Seuile*: whether soone after came letters from the councell of *Pisa*, summoning king *Ferdinand* to send his Prelates, and embassadors thither, whereof hee made no accompt: whereupon he parted from *Seuile* and came to *Burgos*, from whence as the Spaniards say, he sent to *John* of *Albret* king of *Nauarre*, to intreat him him not to beleue the councell of the Cardinal his brother, nor to adhere in any sort to that false Councell of *Pisa*. Yet the k. of *Nauarre* joined with the French king, & was declared a schismaticke, which made king *Ferdinand* to invade his realm, as we wil shew. And being now come to open war king *Ferdinand* sent the whole army which he had prepared for *Africke* to *Naples*, whereof he made *D. Alfonso* of *Caruajal*, son to *D. Diego* of *Caruajal*, Lord of *Xodar*, general, and one called *Camudio*, Colonell of the foot. In this army were 3000 foot, and some 1100 horse, whereof 600 were light horse. During his abode at *Burgos*, he had news that Pope *Iulio* was fallen dangerously sicke, so as there was neither hope of life nor recovery, the which held many Potentates in suspence, fearing some great alteration, but he recovered. From *Burgos* he sent embassadors to *Henry* king of *England* his son in law, to moue him to make war against the French king vpon his old pretensions; against whom & his Councell of *Pisa*, there was a league made, which had bin breeding betwixt the king *D. Ferdinand*, the Pope, & the *Venetians*, since the beginning of these quarrels, vnder colour to defend the rights of the *Apostolike* sea, to disperse the schismatical & heretical councell of *Pisa*, for the recoveries of the cities of *Bolonia* & *Ferrara*, & the restoring of them to the church. King *Ferdinand* did offer for this war 12 hundred men at armes, one thousand light horse, & 1000 Spanisht foot, the Seigniorie of *Venice* eight hundred men at armes, one thousand horse, and 8000 foot, & the Pope 400 men at armes, five hundred light horse, & 6000 foot: Moreouer 12 galleys for the king *D. Ferdinand*, & 14 for the *Venetians*: making *D. Raymond* of *Cardone* viceroy of *Naples*, general of this warre: for the entertainment of which army the Pope should furnish twenty thousand ducats a month, and the *Venetians* as much, and forty thousand

1511  
Public  
a councell  
den at Pisa.

Cardinals fa-  
uouring the  
councell of Pisa.

Warre betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.

League betwixt  
king Ferdinand  
the Pope and  
the Venetians.

1511

thousand presently: and this league was published at Rome, in the church of Sancta Maria del populo, in Octob. this yeare one thousand siue hundred and 11, into the which the king of England should be admitted, if he would. After which they did admonish & proceed against the Cardinalls which disobeyed the Pope with the accustomed ceremonies, solemnities, and delaies, to bring the into the bosom of the holy mother church, that is to say, to the Councell assigned by the Pope at Saint John de Latran: which if they disobeyed, they should be deprived of their dignities and livings, and punished as schismatikes and heretikes; which act was celebrated by the Pope, in his pontificall habit, and in a consistorie of seuen partiall Cardinalls. Those of the contrarie faction, notwithstanding all this, began to hold the councell of Pisa, whereas the Florentines would not suffer 3 hundred Frenchmen at armes to enter, which the Fathers and Prelates demanded for their gard, being led by *Gaston* of Foix, the kings nephew, and duke of Nemours, fearing least they should seafe vpon that city for the French king. The fathers comming to the first session, they were so mockt by the people, & receiued so many indignities, as they were forced to transfere the councell of Pisa to Milan, where they had neither more honor, nor better vsage, notwithstanding that they were in the French kings dominion, where they held their second session, the Cardinall of Saint Croix a Spaniard being president; where they attended the prelates of Germany, and the Emperors embassadors in vaine, but they wanted no excuses.

Order of the  
conception of  
Nunnes.

These seeds of warre being cast among christians, Pope *Iulio* doing his duety in matters, of religion, he confirmed the new order of the conception of Nunnes, instituted in the citie of Toledo some yeares before, by one of the ladies of Queene *Isabell*, who was second wife to king *Iohn* the 2, her name was *D. Beatrix de Silva*, of Portugal, who being suspected by her mistresse, for that by reason of her great beauty, many courted her, and there grew daileie quarrels among the courtiers, she was put in prison, where being kept three daies in teares and heauines, without bread or drinke, shee was moued to make a vow of chastity, and for this cause, they say, the virgin *Mary* appeared vnto her in the habit which the Nunnes doe now weare, that is, a blew cloake, and a white hood, and did comfort her. Being out of prison, and going to Toledo, with an intent to be a religious woman, there appeared two Franciscane friers vnto her, which sight made her think that they were sent to cōfesse her, & then she should be put to death: but these fathers told her that she should be the mother of many daughters, declaring vnto her the spirituall vnderstanding of it, that it should be of many religious women, & then they vanished: wherefore she going on her way, being come to Toledo, she put herselfe into the monasterie of religious women, of S. Dominike the royal, where she remained 30 yeres in a secular habit, liuing holily; afterwards she remoued with 12 nuns to a place where now S. Foy is, which in former times was called the palace of galiena, being desirous to institute an order in honor of the virgin *Mary*, and there she remained with her company, by the permission of the queen *D. Isabella*, wife to the king *D. Ferdinand* now reigning, vntill that the habit was confirmed vnto them by Pope *Innocent* the eight, & the office of the conception, vnder the rule of *Cristeaux*, without any other new order: in the which hauing cōtinued some time, they ioyned with the Nunnes of Saint Peter de las Duegnas, of the order of Saint *Benet*, making a medley of the rules of the *Benedictins* & *Bernardines*, vntill that Cardinall *Francis Ximenes*, then prouinciall of the Franciscans, and generall reformer in Spaine, made them to leaue the rules of Saint *Benet* and Saint *Bernard*, and to take the habit and the Office of the conception, vnder the rule of Saint *Clare*, putting them into the monasterie which at this day is called of the Conception, which was wont to be the conuent of *Franciscane* Friers, transported by reason of them to S. *Iohn des Rois*. There this yere 1511 Pope *Iulio* confirmed them in their own rule and order of the conception, leauing that of S. *Clare*. This yere all the coast of Affrike was terrified vpon the brute of the great preparation which had been made in Spain, to inuade them: The king of Tremessen sent his embassadors to king *Ferdinand*, to offer him vassalage, and a tribute of 13000 double ducats of gold payable in the citie of Oran. In Spain there died *D. Beatrix* of Bouadilla, Marquesse of Moya, and soone after her husband *D. Andrew de Cabrera*.

The yeare one thousand siue hundred and twelue following, king *Ferdinand* ha-

uing

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ning vnder taken the Popes defence, hee commanded *D. Raymond* of Cardoua vice-roy of Naples, appointed generall of the holy league, to ioine his forces with the Popes and Venetians; the which was done at Imola, where they made the body of the army, in the which was Legate for the Pope Cardinall *Iohn* of Medicis, of the title of Sancta *Maria* in *Dominica*. These forces entering into Lombardie, in a manner all that the duke of Ferrara held on this side Po, yeelded vnto the league, without any force, but La *Bastie*, which the earle *Pedro Nauarro* tooke: and then they camped before *Bolonia*: but *Gaston* of Foix duke of Nemours, a gallant young nobleman comming to releuee it, the army of the league was forced to retire to Imola. On the other side the Venetians tooke *Bresse*, but not the Castle; and *Bergamo*, with other places were yeelded vnto them: but the duke of Nemours comming to succour the castle of *Bresse*, hee encountered *Iohn Paul Baillon* vpon the way, with part of the Venetian army, and put them to rout, and then hee entered the towne and put eight thousand Venetians and inhabitants to the sword, hee tooke *Andrew Gritti* their commander prisoner, with *Anthony Iustinien*, and other men of great quality; and soone after recovered *Bergamo*, and all the places which the Venetians had taken. In the meane time king *Ferdinand* prepared a fleet in the ports of *Biscaye* and *Guipuscoa*, to assaile France vpon the coast of *Guienne*, hauing induced the king of England to reuiue the old quarrell, who at the persuation of the Popes embassador, had made an assemblie of the Prelates of his realme, and promised to send to the Councell of *Latran*: and for a greater demonstration of his hatred, hee caused the French embassadors which did reside in his court to dislodge.

Exploits of  
Gaston of Foix.

25 During these troubles, the king *D. Iohn*, and the Queene *D. Catherine* of Nauarre his wife, did enioy their realme in peace, since the expulsion of the earle of *Lerin* the Constable, and of *Lewis* of Beaumont his sonne, with others of that faction: then all their care was to restore it to the ancient estate, and the places reunited which were distracted and held by the king of Castille: for the which, and to demand other rights which they pretended, they had sent many embassadors to king *Ferdinand*, who had returned with good hope to obtaine what they demanded, or the greater part: wherefore they sent againe doctor *Iohn* of Lassu Seignior of *Pauierre*, *Ladron* of *Monleon*, and the Protonotarie *Martin* of *laureguisar*, who were of the councel, with ample instructions to capitulate, compound, and end all their pretentions, in this form: That they should intreat the king of Arragon, Regent of Castille, that, if he made any accord with the French kings, the kings of Nauarre might be comprehended. That the embassadors should make great instance to king *Ferdinand* that the townes of Saint Vincent, Sos, Arcos, Garde and Bernedo, and moreouer the places of *Sofieria*, held by him, and the crowne of Castille, might be restored vnto them according vnto the will of the deceased Queene *D. Isabella* at her death, as places belonging to the Crowne of Nauarre: That in like manner they should demand as hereditarie things, the Duchies of *Gandie*, & of *Mombanc*, the earldome of *Ribagorça* and the citie of *Balaguer* in Arragon; the duchie of *Pegnafiel*, and the *Infan tazgo* of Castille, the townes of *Cuellar*, *Castro Xeris*, *Haro*, *Villalon*, and other lands; and moreouer the summe of foure hundred and twenty thousand a hundred and twelue florins of gold, sixe soulz and eight deniers of Arragon, giuen in dowrie by king *Charles* the third of Nauarre, to his sonne in law, *D. Iohn* king of Arragon: These were the pretentions of the kings of Nauarre against Castille; for the which they had beene fed with many vaine hopes, that reason should be done them: but in effect king *Ferdinand* shewed by his delaies that he had no such meaning, & that he expected some other occasion to acquit himselfe, and yet not to leaue any thing that he held: wherein the best euasion hee had was the restitution of them of Beaumont, which he knew to be most odious to the kings of Nauarre. The embassadors hauing done their duties, and lost many iourneys in following the court of Castille, they returned without any effect, discharging themselves vnto their kings *D. Iohn* and *D. Catherine*, who were in France: whereupon they returned into Nauarre, whereas being, when as the aboue-mentioned warres were hottest in Italie, king *Ferdinand* who had a designe to leade an Armye into *Gascogne*, in fauour of the English, sent to demand

Nauarre.

Embassade of  
Nauarre to  
king Ferdinand

demaund a passage of them for his souldiers victuals, and munition, and for his assurance, they should giue him in hostage, the castles of Estelle and Maye in Nauarre, and that of Saint John de pied de Port, vpon the frontiers of Fraunce: promising them, as hee had done at other times, in requitall of this pleasure, to restore vnto them the townes of Saint Vincent, Arcos, Garde, and others, of the principallitie of Viana. The king D. John, and D. Katherine were much troubled at this demaund, for they saue themselves much engaged to either of these two realmes of France and Castille, so as in the quarrels of these great Monarchs, taking the party of the one, they declared themselves enemies to the other, and being natures, they were a pray to both. Being thus in suspence, their owne vncle Amand of Albrer, Lord of Obal, being then in their court embassador for France, made them to adhere to king Lewis his master, promising them infinite fauours, and aduancements, from the which Mondogredo embassador for the king of Castille sought in vaine to diuert them, shewing them the miseries that would ensue. King Ferdinand being presently aduertised hereof, hee thought it a fit occasion to further his designs, and to vnite the crowne of Nauarre to that of Castille: wherefore hee made great complaints of this resolution and adherence of the kings of Nauarre to the French king, whome hee called schismaticall, and an enemy to the church of Rome, and to Pope Iulio, who hauing vsed the ordinarie meanes, by admonitions and fatherly persuations to these princes, according to the forme and stile of Rome, to quit the alluance of the peruers, and to ioyne with him and his adherents, seeing that they did persist to hold the party of France, hee proceeded against them by the last remedie, declaring them by the aduice of the consistorie of Cardinals, schismatickes and heretikes, depriuing them and their posteritie, of all right to the realme of Nauarre, and of all their goods, giuing and transferring them to king Ferdinand, regent of Castille, whose forces being prepared to passe into Guienne, did send him sely to conquer Nauarre. King John of Albrer vnderstanding of all these proceedings, hee sent D. Alfonso Carillo, his constable, and D. Pedro of Nauarre marshall of the realme, embassadors, to prevent, if it were possible, these apparent dangers, who hauing found Lewis of Beaumont, and other banished men in the court of Castille, much fauoured, soliciting D. Ferdinand to vndertake the enterprise of Nauarre, holding it to bee the onely meanes for them to bee restored, they were so ill entertained, as they made all the hast they could to returne, to make report vnto the king and to the estates assembled at Tudele, that all things tended to warre. King Ferdinand hauing the Popes sentence for a pretext to assaile this countrey, and for meanes the intelligences of many fauorers, of the faction of Beaumont, hee held it an easie matter to conquer it: wherefore hee deferred the warre of Guienne: yet for his greater iustification hauing gathered his armie together about the citie Victoria, whereof Frederic of Toledo duke of Alua was the generall, hee sent againe to sommon the kings of Nauarre to deliuer into his hands the aboue named places and castles, aduertising them that vpon refusal thereof, hee would put the Popes sentence in execution, and spoile them not onely of Nauarre, but of all that they held in France. Notwithstanding all these protestations, king John refused him the passage, and the delinerie of the castles, obiecing the league and alluance which hee had with the French king, neither could hee persuade himselfe that king Ferdinand, whome hee had neuer offended, should pursue him with such rigour as hee said, but hee found himselfe deceived, for the duke of Alua had commandement presently, that leauing the way of Guipuscoa, hee should enter into Nauarre, to conquer it. At that time by the death of D. Bernardin of Velasco, first duke of Castille. There dyed also that yere D. John de Sylua, earle of Cifuentes, president of the council, and Ferdinand infant of Granado, sonne to king Mauley Alboacen. In Germany the emperor who sought but an occasion to breake with the French king, had called an assembly of the Prelates at Ausbourg, who declared the councill of Pisa to bee odious, and worthy to bee reiected: The emperor had in like sort refused the marriage which had bin offered by king Lewis of his second daughter Renee with prince Charles

King of Nauarre adheres to the French king.

Sentence giuen by the Pope against John Albrer king of Nauarre.

Demands vncle made by king Ferdinand to him of Nauarre.

Castille.

- A of Austria, and the restitution of that which he held in Bourgondie: Yet the warre continued still in Italie, and succesfull for the French, who hauing taken many places in Romania, and deliuered them to the cardinall of S. Seuerin, who was created Apostolike Legat for the Councell at Pisa, they besieged Rauenna, which the armie of the league comming to succour, the French defeated them in battell, but with the losse of their generall Gaston of Foix, duke of Nemours, who pressing the enemy that fled, was slaine. The losse of this battell much troubled the Pope and all the cardinals at Rome, and their onely care was how to auoyd the furie of the French, whom they thought to be at their backs: And had not king Ferdinands embassadour vsed great diligence, Pope Iulio had
- B cast himselfe into the Florentines armes, who were friends and allies to the French king, to obtaine some good conditions of peace by their meanes: but being better informed of the whole successe by Iulio de Medicis, who was afterwards cardinall, and then Pope Clement the seventh, he changed his resolution, and continued the warre, being encouraged by the descent of the Swissses into Italie, to defend the Church of Rome. At that time began the first fession of the Councell of Latran, that of Milan being so ridiculous, as the cardinall John of Medicis, a prisoner, hauing ample authoritie from the Pope, gaue dispensations, absolved from censures, and did all acts of an Apostolike Legat; with a great concourse of people, before the cardinals and prelates of the opposite Councell; the which the gouernours of Milan for the French king did not contradict.
- C King Lewis fearing to be assailed in Fraunce by the forces of Spaine and England, and the Swissses being incensed against him, hauing passed the Alpes with the cardinall of Sion, the Popes Legat, the Emperour Maximilian hauing also called home all the Germans that serued the French, prest with many difficulties, he was forced to yeeld the field to the enemy, and (after that he had sought an accord in vaine) to abandon the estate of Milan, and to retire his forces into France, and to defend his owne. The cardinals of the Councell of Pisa retired: Bologna, and in a manner all other places were recovered, Genoa obtained her libertie, and John Fregoso was chosen duke; so as the French king had nothing remaining in Lombardie, but the castle of Milan, that of Cremona, Bresse, Cremona, Lignago, the Lanterne of Genoa, and Castellet.
- D 28 Thus Pope Iulio seeing his affaires so succesfull, began to thunder out his spirituall censures and fulminations, against K. Lewis, causing him to be declared, by a decree of the Councell of Latran, an heretike and schismaticke, depriuing him for that cause of all honour and royall dignitie, yea of the name of Most Christian, which had bene so long ascribed to the kings of Fraunce; which title he would transference to the kings of England: And on the other side hee did honour the king D. Ferdinand with the title of Catholike, the which the kings of Spaine carrie at this day, vnder colour of the happie warres which hee had made and ended, against the Moores which had vsurped the prouinces in Spaine, and other Infidels; but being chiefly moued by the good offices which hee had done for him and the See of Rome, opposing himselfe at that time against the French and the Councell of Pisa, and fauouring the designs of Pope Iulio, which were to prejudice the Crowne of France: whereof letters and Apostolike briefes were presented vnto king Ferdinand, being in the citie of Burgos, in the yere 1512.
- E The realme of France was not so easie to be swallowed vp as that of Nauarre: which was inuaded by the duke of Alua, king John and queene Katherine being at Pampelone, and the Castilian armie within eight leagues of them; they were so vnprouided of all meanes to make resistance, as king John could take no better resolution, then to abandon the realme, and retire himselfe into Fraunce. The inhabitants of Pampelone seeing themselves forsaken, demaunded of him, That seeing hee left them, what his pleasure was they should doe; Defend your selues (said he) as well as you can, and if you cannot make it good, yeeld vnto king Ferdinand vpon some good conditions, for I will take good order that hee shall not long enjoy Nauarre. Queene Katherine found it strange, that the king her husband should so soone abandon his realme, before that the armie of Castille had done any notable exploit: but whether it were feare, or distrust that hee had of them of Pampelone, who hee knew were affected to the earle of Lerin, and to the faction of Beaumont, hee left it, notwithstanding all her reasons and persuations, on the two and twentieth

Battell of Rauenna.

Despaire of the Pope.

Victorie of Rauenna vnprofitable for the French.

Popes fulminations against K. Lewis the xij.

Nauarre.

King John of Albrer forced to retire into France.



of Iulie, this year 1512; saying, That he had rather liue in woods and mountaines, than to be a prisoner in his owne countrey. His retreat was by the vallie of Baztan, and the castle of Moya, and so went to the Court of France, leauing the queene his wife at Pampelone, who hauing stayed there but two dayes after him, followed him, with prince *Henrie* her sonne, and three daughters; and hauing ouertaken him, among other speeches full of bitterness, she said vnto him: *O King; you shall remaine Iohn of Albret, and neuer thinke more of the realme of Nauarre, for that hauing bene superfluously good, you haue bene the lesse esteemed of your subjects, and haue vndone your selfe and your realme.* D. *Pedro* the marshall of the realme, parted with these princes, and many other knights of the faction of Gramont. D. *Lewis* of Beaumonts, earle of Lerin, had such intelligences in the Court, and throughout the realme of Nauarre, as hee had particular aduise of all that was done, whereof he aduertised the duke of Alua, who marching before, came and camped within two leagues of Pampelone, hauing in his armie six thousand foot, a thousand men at armes, and fiftene hundred light horse, Castilians, besides the supplies of Beaumont, their friends, kinsfolkes, and partisans. Then the inhabitants of Pampelone sent forth vnto the duke, requiring that they might be receiued vpon certaine lawes and conditions (for they had no power to defend themselves, nor, it may be, will: ) To whom answer was made by the duke, That it was for the vanquisser to prescribe lawes vnto the vanquished; wherefore they should resolve to yeeld themselves freely into his hands, or to attend all the miseries and calamities which are vsually felt in the expugnation of townes: by reason whereof he restrained their demands to the obseruation of their ancient priuiledges and liberties, the which was granted them, and moreover some prouisions for the present estate. Among these articles that were agreed vpon, the chiefe of them were these.

Speech of Katherine to the king her husband

Fallū of Beaumont in the Court of Nauarre.

Articles vpon the yeelding of Pampelone to the duke of Alua.

1 That the duke of Alua should from thenceforth be patron and mediator for the inhabitants of Pampelone, in the demands and requests which they should make vnto the kings D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Ioane*, for all matters either honourable or profitable.

2 That such as should remaine vassals or seruants to the kings of Castille, should be maintained in their goods and estates, fees, rents, and pensions whatsoever, which they had bene accustomed to receiue from precedent kings. And to such as meant to retire themselves, such things should not be payed, but to the day of the yeelding vp of the citie.

3 That the kings receiours should gather vp the rents, reuenues, imposts, and other profits of the Crowne, as they had bene accustomed, so as they did remaine in the citie of Pampelone.

4 That the wages of Counsellors and Presidents of justice, Auditors of the royall accounts, and other officers and magistrats of the kings D. *John* and D. *Katherine*, should be paid them, with condition that they should remaine in Pampelone.

5 That the inhabitants of Pampelone should remaine faithfull seruants to the kings D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Ioane*, and in regard thereof they should enjoy their goods mouable and immouable, rights, and ancient priuiledges: And in like manner those which had followed the kings D. *John* and D. *Katherine*, if within thirtie dayes they did returne into the countrey.

6 That the inhabitants of Pampelone should not be bound to lodge any one without paying for it, no more than they of Saragosse, Valencia, and Barcellona.

7 That all knights and gentlemen which within thirtie dayes should submit themselves to the seruice of the kings D. *Ferdinand* and queene *Ioane*, should be well and honourably intreated in their persons and goods, and nor called in question for any crime formerly committed in the time of the dissensions and factions of Beaumont and Gramont.

8 That when they should goe vnto the warre, their priuiledges and rankes, touching their persons and qualities, should be maintained, as in the time of precedent kings.

9 That the rights of prouisions of victuals, filkes, money, and other things due by the kings D. *John* and D. *Katherine*, to their officers, citizens of Pampelone, which came to serue the kings of Castille, should be paid them, so as it were duely verified.

10 That if any of these articles were prejudiciall to any one, the judgement thereof should

A should be referred to the kings of Castille, D. *Ferdinand*, and D. *Ioane* his daughter.

Many other heads were propounded, whereof some were granted, and others sent backe vnto the king and his counsell; but these were the most remarkable, the which were promised and swome by the duke of Alua, in the name, and with the consent of the kings of Castille, the foure and twentieth of Iulie, in the presence of D. *Lewis* of Beaumont the constable, D. *Antonio* of Acugna, bishop of Cuenca, *Pedro Lopes* of Padilla, *Ferdinand Suarez* of Toledo, and other knights. And notwithstanding that the duke had promised not to enter into the citie vntill the next day, least it should be reproached vnto them, That they had yeelded before they had seene the enemye, yet the earle of Lerin,

B who was constable of Nauarre, entred the same day, being the foure and twentieth, and the five and twentieth the duke with the rest of the armie. Thus the kings D. *John* and D. *Katherine*, were spoyled of their realme of Nauarre, which they had held together eightene yeares and a halfe, and the queene almost ten yeares alone, after the death of her brother *Francis Phelipe*. From the 25 of Iulie 1512, being S. *James* day, Nauarre was vnto the Crowne of Castille, 468 yeares after that it had bene diuided from it, in the time, and by the death of the king D. *Sancho* the great. After the yeelding of the chiefe citie, the duke of Alua caused the other places of strength within the realme to be summoned to yeeld, promising that in so doing they should be intreated with the like clemencie to Pampelone; if not, he would pursue them with fire and sword, as sectaries to princes, who were declared schismatikes and heretikes. In the beginning some townes seemed difficult, but hauing better considered of their affairs, the townes of Lumbier, Sanguesse, Montreal, Olite and Tafalla, with the citie of Tudele, yeelded, yet the castle thereof held good for the kings that were expelled, *Denis* of Desá, a gallant knight, and a good seruant to his masters, commanding therein. They of the vallie of Roncal, and of the vallie of Amescua, trusting in the naturall force of their mountainous countrey, made no account to yeeld. King *Ferdinand* being at Burgos, hearing the successe of this conquest, sent supplies of men to the duke of Alua: And the better to iustifie his actions, he sent D. *Antonio* of Acugna, bishop of Zamora, embassador into France, to king *John*, offering him, That if he would quit the friendship and alliance of king *Lewis*, he would restore his

Duke of Alua enters into Pampelone.

Union of Castille and Nauarre by conquest.

Denis of Desá faithfull to king Iohn of Albret.

C realme to him againe. The bishop came not to king *John*; for notwithstanding the prerogatiue of embassadors, he was staid prisoner in Bearn, from whence he parted not, but for a great ranfome. Vpon this excesse the duke of Alua was readie to passe into Bearn, to bereuenged of the wrong done vnto the king his master, and to his embassador: but seeing the townes of Tudele, Olite, Tafalla, and Estella, begin to be somewhat moued at the brute of king *Johns* comming with a French armie, he remained in Nauarre; where hauing ordered matters in such sort as they seemed secure, he assembled the chiefe men of Pampelone, in the monasterie of S. *Francis*; where hauing made a long discourse vnto them, to iustifie the conquest which his master had made of that realme, he required them to take an oath to king *Ferdinand*, and they demanded three dayes respite to consider thereon; which being expired, they said, That they were content to take an oath as subjects, but not as vassals. And what difference, demanded the duke, make you betwixt vassals and subjects? He (said they) is to be vnderstood a vassall, whom the lord may intreat well or ill, at his pleasure; but the subject ought to be well intreated by him. Then the duke hauing shewed them that they should not doubt but the king would intreat them well and fauourably in all things, he alledged many reasons which induced them to take this oath, acknowledging king *Ferdinand* for their king, who parting from Burgos, came vnto Logroño, neere to Nauarre, where he staid the remainder of that yere, to prouide for the defence of this new conquest.

King Ferdinand's embassador arrested in Bearn.

Difference betwixt a vassall and a subject.

D This yere died D. *Pascall*, of the Order of the preaching friers, bishop of Burgos, at Rome D. *John* of Fonseca, bishop of Palence, and superintendent of the affaires of the Indies, was preferred in his place; D. *John* of Velasco, bishop of Calaoorra had that of Palence and D. *John Castellan* of Vilalua, came to that of Calaoorra; he was brother to the colonell *Valalua*: D. *Valerio Alphonso Ordognes* of Villaquiran, bishop of Ouedo, died also, and his bishopricke was giuen to D. *Diego* of Muros, who was bishop of Mondognedo, he who did found the colledge of S. *Sauier* in the Vniuersitie of Salamanca, which hath the name of

of Ouiedo : the bishopricke of Mondogredo was giuen to D. Diego of Villamuriel, Pre- G  
sident of the Chauncerie of Granado.

Exploits of  
Vasco Nuges  
of Balboa.

29 King Ferdinands affaires standing in these termes in Europe, the Spaniards remay-  
ning at the Indies, at the place called the Antique of Darien, being commaunded by Vas-  
co Nuges of Balboa, they obtained of him the deliuerie of the bachelor Martin Hernan-  
des of Enciso, who could not be staied by any intreaties in that countrey, to be chiefe lu-  
stice ouer all, but went presently to S. Domingo, and from thence into Spaine, where hee  
made his complaint vnto the king, accusing Vasco Nuges of much wickednesse and ex-  
cesse: whereupon there was a grieuous sentence pronounced against him, the punish-  
ment whereof he auoyded by his great future seruices. The first voyage which Vasco Nuges H  
made against the Indians, was against a Cachique, or king of that countrey, called Ca-  
reta, lord of Coyba, who hauing refused him victuals and gold, was by him & his troups,  
which were 130 Spaniards, assailed, taken, and his burrough sackt, where they found  
three Spaniards, who, for villanies committed, had fled from their captaine Nicuesa,  
and had beene receiued and wel intreated by this Cachique, at whose intreatie he was de-  
liuered, and held for a friend, and Vasco Nuges promised to aid him against another Ca-  
chique, his enemy, who was called Ponfa. Being preft with hunger, and want of all neces-  
saries, these Spaniards of Antique sent Samudio and Valdiuia, two of their men, into the I  
island of Hispaniola, to fetch them victuals; and another into Spaine, called Zamudio, who  
carried the processe of the bachelor Martin Hernandez of Enciso. Vasco Nuges in the  
meane time went in person against the Cachique Ponfa, who fled away with his people,  
carrying all their wealth with them: whereupon he went against another Cachique, cal-  
led Comagro, whose land was not farre from the South sea: for the region of Darien is but  
an isthmus, or a strait necke of land. Vasco Nuges contracted friendship and alliance with  
this Cachique, for he found him mild and tractable. He lodged him in a hall which was  
150 paces long, and 80 broad, whereas he and all his Spaniards made good cheere with  
their victuals, wine of dates, and other fruits after their maner: and the Cachiques eldest  
sonne brought the weight of 4000 dragmes in gold wrought, and seuentie slaues, which  
he gaue vnto the Spaniards; who seeing them through greedinesse to contend and quar-  
rell about the diuision of these things, he wondred much, and said vnto them, That seeing K  
they had so great a desire of gold, which was but earth, as for it they did thrust themselves  
into so great dangers, and did trouble so many peaceable nations, he would shew them a  
region not farre of, and neere vnto the other sea, where they should glut their couetous-  
nesse; but they must not goe with so small a troupe; being necessarie to lead a thousand  
Spaniards thither. Vasco Nuges and Roderigo of Colmenares being verie joyfull of this  
aduertisement, and more for that they heard him speake of another neere sea, imbraced  
this lord, who was called Panquiao, intreating him to become a Christian, and that hee  
should goe with them: the which he did willingly yeeld vnto, and was baptised Charles, in  
honour of prince Charles of Austria, the heire of Spaine. This region whereof Charles L  
Panquiao spake, was called Tumanama, to come vnto the which they must of necessitie  
passe the mountaines and woods inhabited by the Caribes, cruell people, and eaters of  
men, carrying arrowes dipt in deadly poison, which made them madde that were woun-  
ded therewith: and therefore Vasco Nuges returned to Antique, to provide all things  
necesarie for this voyage and conquest. Hauing found Valdiuia returned from S. Domini-  
go with some victuals, he sent him into Spaine, and with him 15000 dragmes of gold, for  
the kings fift part of diuers booties which they had taken; giuing him charge to beseech  
the king to send a thousand Spaniards for the conquest of the South sea. But Valdiuia mis-  
carried by the way, he and all his treasure being drowned. In the meane time Vasco Nuges  
with a brigantine and many barks began to saile into the gulph of Vraha, to seeke for M  
victuals, and finding a great riuer which he called S. Iohn, he went ten leagues vp against  
the streame, but he found not any man, for all were fled vp into the countrey, hauing bin  
terrified with the crueltie and insatiable couetousnesse of the bearded Spaniards (as they  
called them) by Cemaco the Cachique, who had beene vanquished by Martin Hernandez  
Enciso: yet the Spaniards foraged the countrey neere vnto the riuers sides, and made  
great bundels of arrowes and other armes, nets, coverings, and other Indian implements, the

Darien an isth-  
mus or neck of  
land.

Couetousnesse of  
the Spaniards  
somewhat chec-  
ked by an In-  
dian.

A the which afterwards they cast into the sea, for that in their returne they were taken with  
a storme, carrying away the value of seuen thousand Castillans in gold, but nothing that  
could satisfie hunger: for these people in truth were poore, and liued only of fishing, ex-  
changing their fish with their neighbours for Mays. Roderigo Henriques of Colmenares  
running vp along the riuers side with seuentie companions, returned without bread, or a-  
ny other victuals; but he brought much Casse-fistula, which he found growing in those  
regions in great abundance. Hauing joyned againe with Balboa, they entred into the  
mouth of a floud, which they called the blacke riuer, where they were to encounter a Ca-  
chico, called Abenamaquer, whom they defeated and tooke prisoner, whose arme a vil-  
lanous Spaniard cut off, in cold blood, for that he had been wounded during the skirmish.  
B Colmenares remaining there with this Cachico, and the moitie of the Spanish troups,  
Balboa with the rest past on, & came vnto a place where as he found a building made vpon  
great old trees, much like vnto a cage to keepe birds in: there a Cachico kept, who  
thinking himselfe to be in a safe place, & inexpugnable, they mockt at the Spaniards who  
were on the ground, & did summon the to yeeld: but when as they saw them begin to o-  
uerthrow the foundation of his palace with axes, he came downe with two of his sonnes,  
and presented himselfe humbly to Balboa, excusing himselfe that hee had not any gold,  
whereof he had no need, but promised that he would goe and seeke some, if he would suf-  
fer him at libertie. Balboa trusting him, let him goe free, but he was deceived: For this  
C Cachico falsifying his faith, comforted with other Cachicoes and their people, in great  
numbers, who fell vpon the Spaniards, but to their owne losse, for they were repulst with  
the losse of many Indians. Not content with this insolencie, the Cachicoes about the  
blacke riuer and that gulph, conspired to assaile the Antique of Darien suddenly with all  
their power, and to kill the Spaniards and eat them: The which was discovered to Vasco  
Nuges by a faire Indian woman whom he entertained as his friend, who had beene ad-  
uertised to free her selfe of this danger, by a brother of hers, who was of the conspiracie,  
and for her sake did frequent familiarly among the Spaniards. Vasco Nuges of Balboa  
caused this Indian to be taken, & hauing vnderstood the truth from him, and what course  
the Indians meant to take to execute their enterprise, he wrought in such sort on the one  
D side, and Colmenares on the other, as they dispersed their forces, put a confusion in their  
counsels, and did in a maner subiect all the countrey of Vraha. Being returned to the An-  
tique of Darien, they sent Iohn of Quincedo, and Roderigo Henriques of Colmenares, into  
Spaine, to make relation vnto king Ferdinand of that which they had done, and of the con-  
quest of the South sea, which they intended, and to beseech him to send them 1000 Spa-  
niards to that end. That yeare there went out of Spaine, with the kings leaue, and at his  
owne charge, Iohn Dias de Solis, pilot major to the king, who taking the course of Pinsons,  
past beyond S. Augustines cape fortie degrees vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto the great riuer  
of Parauaguasu, which signifies in the Indian tongue, great water, the which was by Iohn  
Dias called the riuer of Plata, that is to say, of siluer, for that they found there some grains  
E of that mettall: and hauing planted many crosses there in signe of possession, he returned  
into Spaine, laden with Brasil, where he gaue an account vnto the king of his nauigation.

Riuer of Plata  
found by Iohn  
Dias de Solis.

THE



## THE 26 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

### The Contents of the 26 Booke.

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- 3 Practises of the duke of Ferrara against king Ferdinand. Death of Pope Iulio the second, and election of Leon.
- 4 Queene Germaine giues a drinke to king Ferdinand her husband, to haue children by him, which causeth his death.
- 5 Warre of Milan, and dissolution of the Councell of Pisa.
- 6 Discoverie of the South sea at the Indies, by Valco Nugnes of Balboa.
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- 9 Designes of Pope Leo, an enemy both to Spanish and French.
- 10 Seditions at the Indies. The miserable end of Valco Nugnes of Balboa.
- 11 Comming of king Francis to the Crowne, and treaties betwixt him, the Emperor Maximilian, and king Ferdinand.
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- 15 Exploits of the king D. Manuel in Affricke. Exactions vpon the Clergie of Portugall. His third marriage.
- 16 D. Charles of Austria, first of that name, 22 king in Castille, 43 in Leon, and 20 in Arragon, and in Nauarre the fourth of that name, and 36 king. Government of cardinall Ximenes and doctor Adrian, in the kings absence.
- 17 Estate of king Charles his house.
- 18 Troubles in Spaine by D. Pedro Giron and others, pacified by the wisdom of cardinall Ximenes.
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- 21 Troubles at Malaga by reason of the priuiledges and iurisdiction of the Admiraltie. Punishment of the inhabitants.
- 22 Contentions for the towne of Arenal, and reprehension of Velasques of Cuellar.
- 23 Pitifull estate of queene Ioane, mother to Charles of Austria, troubled in her senses.
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- A 24. Arceuals and storahouses for munition appointed in Spaine.  
 25. Search of euasions, writings and instructions for the publike good, appointed by cardinall Ximenes in Spaine, by the which many frauds were discovered, &c.  
 26. Algier taken by Horusco Barberousse, and the vaine attempts of the Spaniards.  
 27. Rigorous Edict in Spaine against the Genouois. The cause thereof, and the reuocation.  
 28. Vniust proceedings against the accused by the Inquisitors. Contention for the bishopricke of Sigüenza.

B

In this six and twentieth Booke are vnited the  
Realmes of Castille, Arragon, and Nauarre, in

D. Charles of Austria

22 in Castille 1.  
 43 in Leon 1.  
 20 in Arragon 1.  
 36 in Nauarre 4.

C



He realme of Nauarre being conquered with so great happinesse and ease, was afterwards defended and kept with more difficultie. 1512

About the moneth of May the English armie landed in Guipuscoa, being eight thousand foot, most archers, and some other men of warre, whereof the lord marquisse Dorset was Generall, who stayed some dayes vpon those marches, attending the duke of Alua, who was busie in subduing the vallies of Amescosa, Salazar, and Roncal, with the helpe and diligence of colonell Vilalua: whose armie being fortified with new troupes sent from king Ferdinand, who was offended at the detention of his embassadour, the bishop of Zamora, in Bearn, it was led to Saint Iohn du pied de Port, which place yeelded vnto him: From whence he sent word vnto the marquisse, what he should doe to come and besiege Bayone. But the English generall thinking that the duke of Alua had caused him to stay there for the conquest of Nauarre, which concerned his master, after that he had burnt Saint Iohn de Lus, and done some other spoyles vpon the sea coast, he imbarct his men, and went home; saying, That he would returne another time: besides, there was a brute of a great French armie which marcht through Guienne, to make head against these Spanish and English forces; by reason whereof the duke of

Alua hauing fortified the castile of Pied de Port, and rased that of Montgelo, he returned into high Nauarre. The French armie whereof the brute was, was led by Francis of Valois, duke Angoulesme, who was afterwards French king, in the which there was king Iohn of Albret, Charles of Montpensier, duke of Bourbon, Odet of Foix, vicont of Lautrec, the earles of Palisse and Longueuille, and others, making about fortie thousand foot and foure thousand horse. About the end of the yeare 1512, the king of Nauarre aduanced with six thousand foot, and a thousand horse, accompanied with the lords of Palisse and Longueuille, he entred into his countrey by the vallie of Roncal, where hee tooke Burgui, hauing cut the Spaniards in peeces which were in garrison, with their commander Valdes, captaine of king Ferdinands gard. On the other side the duke of Angoulesme caused the duke of Bourbon and the lord of Lautrec, to enter by Guipuscoa, with ten thousand foot, and foure hundred horse, who ruined Yrum, Vranis, Ojarcum, and the townes of Hamam and Renterie, and besieged S. Sebastien, but they left it soone, the vicont of Lautrec going to joyne with king Iohns forces, who marcht towards Pampe-lone. At that time Diego Lopes of Ayala, lord of Ceuole, was gouernour of Fontarrabie, who caused the platforme called Diego Lopes to be built towards France. The marshall

Rrrr

D. Pedro

S. Iohn du pied  
de Port taken  
by the duke  
of Alua.

Armie of Frēch  
goes into Na-  
uarre.

King Iohn of  
Albret goes into  
his realme of  
Nauarre with  
an armie.

1512

Places returne  
to the obedience  
of king Iohn.

Victorie of go  
men ouer 600  
Arragonians.

Iohn Ramires  
of Baquedan  
faithfull to his  
prince.

Pampelone be-  
sieged by king  
Iohn.

Assault main-  
tained by the  
garrison of Pa-  
pelone against  
the French.

Siege of Pampelone raised.

Armes of the  
province of  
Guipuscoa.

D. Pedro was in king Iohns armie, with many of the faction of Gramont, whose partisans G being disperfed throughout the realme, caused many places to renok to the king, as Iohn Ramires of Baquedan, lord of Saint Martin, the towne of Estella, Ladron of Mauleon, that of Mirande, Martin of Gomis Tafalla, Pedro de Rada, thar of Murillo; Jaime Velaz de Medran, S. Care, with others by other men. The king thought that the citie of Pampelone would haue done as much, but he was deceiued. Hereupon D. Alphonso of Arragon, base sonne to king Ferdinand, and Archbishop of Saragosse, sent six hundred men from Teruel, Daroca, and Albarrazin, to enter into Pampelone; who passing with- in halfe a league of Saint Martin, they were charged by fourescore and ten footmen of the vallie of Roncal, and five horsemen, who defeated them, stript them into their shirts, H and sent them home: their colonell came to Olite to demand aid, but he was in danger to be hanged by the Archbishop. Anthonie of Fonseca recovered some of these reuol- ted places, and brought the hostages to Pampelone; into the which he put himselfe. D. Francisco of Beaumont, the constables cousen, set vpon Estella, and tooke the towne, but not the castle, and recovered that of Bernette: and D. Pedro of Beaumont, the constables brother, the castle of Montjardin. The duke of Alua being in the meane time in a ma- ner inclosed in betwixt the armies of the duke of Angouleme, and the king of Nauarre: he deceiued them, escaping by vnknowne wayes, and came with his armie to Pampe- lone. And to the end the siege of Estelle should not stay and disturbe the forces of the king of Castille, Diego Hernandes of Cordoua, was sent with a supplie to them that besie- ged it: Wherefore Iohn Ramires of Baquedan being extreamely prest, was forced to yeeld it, vpon condition, That they should depart with their armes, baggage, and ensigns displayed, refusing the great offers which king Ferdinand had made him, if he would come to his seruice: So this good knight came to the king of Nauarres campe. The towne of Larraga defended by a French capitaine, was also yeelded by composition. The king of Nauarre tooke the castle of Tiebas by force, where was the ladic of Gurendayn, of the house of Artieda, whom he suffered to goe away freely: and hauing receiued a new supplie of two thousand Germans, he besieged Pampelone towards Saint Nicholas port, where there were many sallies and skirmishes made, whereby the king of Nauarre vn- derstood, that the force of the besieged was great. The duke of Alua put some of the K faction of Gramont, whom he suspected out of the towne, and hauing visited thole parts of the towne which might be dangerous, ordering all things, and ramparing vp the breaches which the enemies made with their furious batterie, he prepared himselfe to maintaine the Assault which was giuen on Saturday, the seuen and twentieth of Sep- tember, from the which the assailants were repulsed with great losse. King Ferdinand being in the meane time at Logrogne, and aduertised of the estate of his affaires, hee had drawne together the forces of Alua, Biscaie, Rioja, and part of Guipuscoa, norwith- standing that a good part of the French armie was yet in thole limits, being in all fiftene thousand fighting men, assigning their rendez-vous at Pont de Roynie, whither he sent D. Pedro Manriques, duke of Nagera, surnamed the Strong, to be generall of this armie. L At the brute whereof the king of Nauarre, being out of hope to take Pampelone, and in great necessitie of victuals, Winter also tying his armie, he raised his siege the last day of Nouember, by the counsell and persuation of the lord of Palisic, and other captains of experience: And the next day the duke of Nagera arriued with his armie, whereof there was not any need, seeing that the siege was rayfed, who for that reason refused the battrell which the French sent to present vnto him, by a king at Armes. So king Iohn of Albret complaining his ill fortune, returned on this side the Pyrenes, in the straits of which mountaines the reereward of the French armie was much trou- bled by the Guipuscoans, and other mountainers, being forced to leaue in the moun- taines of Velate, and Leysondo, part of their artillerie, the which was drawne to Pam- pelone with great pompe, in the castle of which citie there are many peeces to bee M seene at this day: By reason of which prowesse and good seruice, the king, besides ma- ny exemptions and priuiledges, added to the Armes of the province of Guipus- coa, the twelue peeces of ordnance or in a field of azure, the which it carries at this day.

The

1512

Castile.

Pope Iulius ha-  
tried to the  
duke of Ferrar-  
ta.

Estate of Flo-  
rence vexed by  
the Viceroy of  
Naples.

- A The duke of Nagera having brought his armie backe to Logrogne, the duke of Alua remained Viceroy of Nauarre, which realme he brought all vnder the obedience of king Ferdinand, except the castle of Moya, which held long for the kings of Nauarre, who were expelled vnder a pretext of schisme, as we haue said.
- Vpon the same occasion D. Bernardin of Cardajal, cardinall of Saint Croix, and bi- shop of Siguenza, was depozed by the Councell of Latran, from all Ecclesiasticall digni- tie; and to his bishopricke D. Frederic of Portugal, bishop of Segobia, was preferred; to Segobia D. Diego of Ribera, bishop of Majorca; and to that doctor Roderigo of Mercado, Abbot of Saint Martha; borne at Ognate, who was afterwards bishop of Auila, and B President of the Chauncerie of Granada.
- 2 During the warre of Nauarre king Ferdinand sent a new supplie of men into Italie, with the commander Solis, and was in a manner resolved to send the great capitaine thi- ther, had not the counsell of some eniuous disserred him. The French affaires declining there, the duke of Ferrara, who in all their actions had assited them, found himselfe in great danger to be depriued of his estate, and expelled by the Pope, his deadly enemy: to preuent the which, and to purchase vnto himselfe friends and fauour, he set Fabrizio Col- lone, his prisoner, at libertie, without ransom; by whose meanes, with the embassador of Spaine and others, he obtained a safe conduct, with the which he went to Rome, to treat of his affaires: but he could not make his peace with the Pope, being obstinately bent C to dispossesse him of Ferrara, and to vntie the citie to the estate of the Church, offering him in recompence the countie of Ast, which he held not, but maintained that it was of the patrimonie of the Church: so as Fabrizio Colonne and the rest, who had assured his coming to Rome, were forced to put themselves in armes, to warrant him, and to con- duct him to a place of safetie; whereof there followed great hatred betwixt the Pope and the Colonnais. And king Ferdinand was no lesse displeased at these violent proce- dings of the Pope; for he had a particular affection vnto duke Alphonso, his kinsman, borne of a daughter to king Ferdinand the first, of Naples. But to make an end of that which had bene concluded by the league: that is, to chase the French out of Italie, and out of the world, if they could, D. Raymond of Gardone, Viceroy of Naples, who since D the battrell of Rauenna had bene in his gouernment, returned this yeare with his ar- mie about Bologna, to continue the warre: But the Pope and the Venetians finding themselves seised of a good part of that which they pretended, refused to furnish mo- ney for the entertainment of his armie, as had bene agreed by the treatie of the league: so as there grew a great mutinie in the campe among the souldiers, for want of pay, and the Viceroy was forced to retire, with great danger of his person, to Modena, where he found meanes to recouer some money, with the which he returned, and kept his souldiers together, who began to disband.
- At that time there being a day appoynted at Mantoua, to consult of the affaires of the warre, the Viceroy of Naples came thither, with deputies from the Pope, Emperor, E Venetians, and Suisses. There it was concluded, That they should put Maximilian Sforce, sonne to Lewis Sforce, in possession of the duchie of Milan: And moreover it was propounded, to assaile the Florentines, who were friends and allied to the Crowne of France, as wel for this cause, as to restore the familie of Medice, expelled out of that com- monweale, to their goods and honours: the which the Pope did presse much, in fauour of cardinall Iohn of Medicis, his legate, and others of that familie. This was the Vice- roy's first taske, after his returne to the armie, to lead it into the estate of Florence, from whom he tooke the town of Prato, where there were slain about two thousand men of the Florentines part, and many taken. Whereat the citie of Florence being amazed, and their Councell vnprouided of forces and meanes to resist, they yeelded to the restitu- F tion of the Medice; and to whatsoever the Viceroy would impose vpon them. For besides the summes of money which they payed for the entertainment of the Spanish armie, and another summe vnto the Emperour, they made a league with king Ferdi- nand, promising to entertaine two hundred men at armes in the armie of the league, and yet the people were depriued of a good part of their libertie, by the cardinall of Medi- cis, who created magistrats and officers at his pleasure.

Rrrr ij

Thefe

These exploits being done in the Florentines countrey, the Viceroy led his armie to G Bresse, which the Venetians did besiege, so as the lord of Aubigny was out of hope to be able to keepe it, this Spanish armie hauing so great a fame, for that it had humbled so powerful a commonweale as that of Florence: and therefore he did capitulate with the Viceroy of Naples, although the Venetians had layed the siege, and yielded it vpon conditions to depart himselfe and his men free, with their armes and baggage, their colours flying, and without arillerie. After the taking of Bresse, the bishop of Gurcensis, embassadour for the Emperour, came to Rome, whereas he of Spaine laboured much to reconcile the Emperour and the Venetians, there remaining no difference but onely for the citie of Vincence. This embassadour did also seeke to reconcile the Pope with H the *Colonna's*, with whom he was much displeased, for the duke of Ferrares cause. Yet there was a new league made betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, against the Venetians, approued by the Councell of Latran, leaving aplace for king *Ferdinand* to enter. The reason of this league was, for that the Venetians would not yield to certaine conditions which the Pope propounded vnto them. King *Ferdinand's* doubt herein was, that the Venetians would joyne with the French king, if they were too much prest: wherefore his embassadour fauoured them what he could. The coming of *Maximilian Sforce* to Verona, caused the bishop of Gurcensis to part from Rome, to establish him in the Emperours name in the duchie of Milan, whither he conducted him, hauing found him at Cremona, with the Viceroy *D. Raymond* of Cardona. The duke much desired by the Milanois, was received there with great joy. The cardinal of Sion presented him the keyes in the Suisses name, who would haue the honour of his restoring.

Notwithstanding the league newly made against the Venetians, the Pope had a great desire to ruine the duke of Ferrara: to prevent the which the embassadour of Spaine, by commandement from his king, did all good offices, and vsed all the meanes he could: And this was one of the chiefe causes why king *Ferdinand* would not please the Pope, and enter into the league. Notwithstanding the duke shewing himselfe vngratefull (no man knowes vpon what reason) procured a scandalous and horrible attempt against him, as the Spaniards write, persuading *D. Ferdinand* of Arragon, duke of Calabria, sonne to king *Frederic*, and conspiring with him, to depriue him of his life. There was a certaine monk who was messenger from the duke of Ferrara to him of Calabria, who had also for negotiator on his part, *Philip Copula*, sonne to the earle of Samo, whose head king *Ferdinand* of Naples had caused to be stricken off. This *Copula* had made some voyages into France, and treated with king *Lewis*, to giue a retreat and meanes in his realme to the duke of Calabria, being then in the Catholike kings Court at Logrogne, and should haue saued himselfe in the French armie, which was about Pampelone, hauing resolved first to set fire on certaine powder that was hidden in the kings lodging: But God would not suffer so wicked a practise to take effect. The matter being discovered, *Copula* was quartered, and *D. Ferdinand* duke of Calabria was sent prisoner to the castle of Xatiua, nere vnto Valencia, where hee remained aboue ten yeares, vntill that the Emperour *Charles* pardoned him, and set him at libertie. Hereupon king *Ferdinand* conceived so great a hatred against the duke of Ferrara, as hee commanded the Viceroy of Naples to ayd the Pope with his armie, or any other thing hee had, without any respect to the pretended pay. The Venetians seeing the Pope and Emperour leagued together to annoy them, and that the Emperour would not giue care to the Catholike kings embassadour, who did still persuaide him to make a peace with their commonwealth, and to take a summe of money in the place of Vincence, they joyned with the French king (who had not wholly forgotten the affaires of Italie, and did still hold the castles of Milan and Cremona) at the same time when as a truce was accorded betwixt king *Lewis* and king *Ferdinand*, for a yere, to the great discontent of the king of England, M who was readie to enter into France, and attended to be assisted by the Spanish armie: by reason whereof the French king did deferre the recouerie of the realme of Navarre for a time, to the which he was greatly solicited by the dispossessed kings, *John* and *Katherine*. Which truce the French king had much desired, to assure his realme on that side, being aduertised that the king of England made great preparation to assaile him, be-

League made  
against the Ve-  
netians.

3  
Ingratitude of  
the duke of  
Ferrara pre-  
tended by the  
Spaniards.

Conspiracie a-  
gainst king  
*Ferdinand*.

Truce betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.

A being still prest thereunto by Pope *Julius*, who conceiuing great and pemitious enterprises in his mind, died at Rome in Februarie, in the yeare 1513. By his death the duke of Ferrara was freed from great care and feare; who embracing the occasion, recouered some places in Romania, and had taken more if the Viceroyes armie had not stopt him, being lodged betwixt Regio and Plaifance, through the fauour whereof Parma and Plaifance came into the hands of *Maximilian Sforce*, the new duke of Milan: The cardinals being assembled, they did chuse *John de Medici*, cardinal of Sancta Maria in Domini, for Pope, and called him *Leo* the tenth.

The Viceroy being aduertised of the truce betwixt Fraunce and Spaine, he began to B resolute vpon his retreat to Naples, sending for the garrisons which were in Tortona and Alexandria; and causing the armie to march towards the riuer of Trebia, hauing with him twelue hundred men at armes, and eight thousand foot, all choyce souldiers: the which did much terrifie the Milanois and their duke, knowing that the French king made great leuies of men to recouer that estate; and fearing that the Suisses, who were all their hope, would not be able to defend them, if the French armie did presse them on the one side, and the Venetians on the other: wherefore at their intreatie, and the Popes intercession, the Viceroy and the Spanish armie stayed, and held the warre in suspence.

The truce which the two great kings had made, assured king *Ferdinand's* conquest of C Nauarre, the noblemen and Estates of which realme, after the retreat of the French from before Pampelone, deputed the constable *D. Lewis* of Beaumont, earle of Letin, to take the oath of fealtie and homage, as to their king. And the duke of Alua being returned into Castille, there remained Viceroy of Nauarre in his place *D. Diego Fernandes* of Cordoua, marquisse of Comares.

4 The great prosperities of *D. Ferdinand* king of Arragon, Regent of Castille, were accompanied with some griefe, for that he had no lawfull issue male: but queene *Germain* his second wife, by whom he had no children, was more perplexed, for her owne interest, who by a womanish affection sought curiously for all deuices to conceiue, thinking by art and humane helpees to obtaine that which comes from the meere D bountie and blessing of God: Wherefore it happened this yeare (it is not knowne by whose aduice) that, with the kings consent, the queene her selfe, *D. Maria* of Velasco, wife to *D. John* of Velasco, superintendent of the treasure, and *D. Isabella Faure*, made a drinke, or broth, for the king, to giue him force and vigour: But he had no sooner taken it, but he found nature toucht with an incurable infirmite, wherof he languished continually, and in the end dyed. This was done at Carroncillo, whither the king was come to desport himselfe with the ladies: And it is not credible that they did present him this potion to any other end, but to quicken him in *these* sports; for all the queenes happiness and greatnesse depended vpon the kings life. Hee was like to haue dyed of this drinke in the monastrie of Meiorado; but beeing somewhat recouered by physike, hee came to Vailledoit, to an assemblie of the Estates, where hee dispatched many affaires.

5 The French king in the meane time had in a manner dispossessed *Maximilian Sforce* of all his duchie of Milan, he had onely remaining Como and Nouara: Into the last he had put himselfe with many ensignes of Suisses, and was besieged by the French, where followed that memorable fallie of colonell *Morim* and his Suisses, and the defeat of the French, with great slaughter, and the losse of their arillerie, as you may read at large in that historie: whereupon the French repast the Alpes, and on the other side *D. Raymond* of Cardone, Viceroy of Naples, being with his armie vpon the passage of the riuer of Pau, opposite to the Venetian armie, led by *Bartholomew* of Adiano, who hauing newes of this rout of the French, retired for feare to Ponte Vico, and from thence to Tomba, nere to the riuer of Tesin. The Viceroy suffering them to passe, busied himselfe about the reduction of Genoua, which the French had deliuered into the hands of *Adornes* and their factions: sending, at the instance of *Vobin* and *Ottavia Fregose*, three thousand Spaniards thither, led by the marquisse of Pescara, himselfe following with the rest of the armie. Wherewith the French and the *Adornes* their partisans, being amazed, they left

1513  
Death of Pope  
Julius.

Pope Leo chosen

Nauarre.

*Diego Fernandes*  
des of Cordoua,  
Viceroy of Na-  
uarre.  
Castille.

Drinke giuen  
to king *Ferdinand*  
by the St.  
his wife.

Defeat of the  
French at Na-  
uara by the  
Suisses.



left the citie, and *Otiliano Fregose* was made duke. In the meane time *Aluiano* tooke *G* Lignago, by the means of *Iohn Paul Bailon*, who slue most of the Spaniards and Germans that were there in garrifon. He also attempted Verona in vaine. All which did much incense the Viceroy of Naples, who passing the Pau with his armie, did soone take Bergamo, Pelcare, and Bresse, *Aluiano* flying before him, who having diuided his armie into garrifons, push himselfe into Padoua.

Pope Leo at his first aduancement trying by the best meanes he could to dissolue the Councell of Pisa, he then receiued into grace *D. Bernardin* of Caruajal, cardinall of Saint Croix, and *Frederic* of Saint Seuerin, deposed from their dignities of cardinals, and deprived of their reuenues and benefices by Pope *Iulio* and the Councell of Latran. These two hauing stayed a while at Florence, by the Popes commaundement, like priuat men, they came by his permission to Rome, where they entred by night, and the next day they presented themselves vnto the Consistorie, in all humilitie, where, vpon their knees, they acknowledged their fautes, and demanded pardon, the which they obtained, approving the decrees of the Councell of Latran, and the election of the present Pope, and confesing their deposition to haue beene just, and that the Councell of Pisa was false and abhominable: whereupon they were absolved; and went and embraced all the cardinals in their ranks, who moued not from their places; after which they put on their cardinals weeds, and sat in their vsuall places: and although they did not recouer their benefices and reuenues, yet afterwards they had other things in recompence.

At the same time the South sea at the Indies was discovered: For *Vasco Nungnes* of Balboa, jealous that any other should obtain commision from the king to that effect, and deprive him of the honour of this discouerie, which he had now attempted, without attending any answer from Spaine, nor the 1000 Spaniards which he had demanded from the king, parting from the Antique of Darien, in September this yeare 1513, with 190 Spaniards, in a galleon and ten barks, he came to Careta, where he landed his troupe, and marcht into the countrey of the Cachico *Pansa*, whom he forced to giue him gold, and guides to conduct him to the mountaines, whereof notice had beene giuen him by the Cachico *D. Charles Panquiao*. With these guides they came into a countrey called Quareca, and the Cachico *Torecha*, where they were forced to fight: They slue the lord and disperfed his people, not accustomed to see such great wounds as swords of yron make, nor to heare the noyse of harquebuses, nor the biting of furious dogs, which the Spaniards led to the warre with them, whom they caused to teare in peeces certaine Indian Sodomites, whom they found in that countrey. Palsing on, *Vasco Nungnes* went vp certaine high mountains, with 67 of his souldiers, leauing the rest to gard them that were hurt and sicke, in a burrough at the foot of the mountaine. Being neere vnto the top, he caused his troupe to stay, and would himselfe goe ypp alone, where he discovered the waters of the South Ocean, for the which he was exceeding glad, and gaue God thanks, and then he called all the souldiers to haue them see it. There they made mounds of stones, in signe of possession taken. Being come from the mountaine, they went to assaile Cachico, called *Chiape*, who being obstinat, they put to flight: yet being friendly invited he returned, and made himselfe vassall to the king of Castille, accompanying him vnto the South sea shore, whereof they tooke possession, and drew a writing on the 29 of September, being *S. Michaels* day 1515. By this seruice which *Vasco Nungnes* of Balboa did then vnto the king, he well deserved his pardon, if he had offended in any thing. The company which he had left at Quareca being joyned with him, he past a great riuer with 80 Spaniards leauing the rest vpon the banke, and went and forced another Cachico, called *Coque-za*, who put himselfe in defence, as *Chiape* had done, and brought him vnder his obedience. Then thrust on with a great courage, he would enter into that sea, notwithstanding that *Chiape* did dissuade him, saying, That the current was strong & troublesome: so as he was in daunger of drowning; seeking to recover a neere island, where he arrived with much paine and peril. There reigned there a Cachico called *Tumaco*, who made offer to fight, but being aduertised by the Indians, guides to *Chiape*, that the Spaniards were good men, this *Tumaco* sent them a sonne of his, to know what they demanded: *Vasco Nungnes* spake courteously vnto him, appaelled him, and gaue him looking glases,

Cardinals receiued into grace.

Indies.

South sea discovered by Vasco Nungnes of Balboa.

A ses, with such other toies, the which he carrying to his company, it moued them so, as *Tumaco* came himselfe in person to the Spanish troupe with shewes of loue and friendship, of whom the Spaniards demanded perles, for they saw the Indians of his company weare some, whereof they did furnish them with a good quantiry, and aduertised them that there was a plash neere hand, where they did fish some as big as a mans eye, the which did please the couetous Spaniards and their Captaines: but for that they were few, and there were great difficulties and dangers, they deferred this prey vnto another voyage, wherefore they returned to their companions, & past into the countrey of the Cachico *Chiape*, where they refreshed themselves, and rested some daies. *Chiape* the Cachico did also fish vpon his shoare, and gaue them about foure charges of perles. *Vasco Nungnes* of Balboa tooke his leaue of him, leauing some Spaniards with him, for he wept being much grieved at their departure, for the opinion he had of their wisdom: then they past a riuer to come into the countrey of a Cachico called *Teoca*, where the Spaniards were receiued with great ioy, and *Teoca* gaue them presents of gold and perles. From thence they went through desert and barren places, full of Tygres, and Lyons with hunger, thirst, and extreame danger, into the lands of *Pacta*, a cruell tyrant, and a Sodomite, who pursued by the conscience of his owne wickednes, thought to escape by flight, but he was brought backe, and after information made of his tyrannies, & dishonesty, *Vasco Nungnes* caused him to be torne in peeces by his Mastiues, with foure other lords, his confederates and ministers of such filchines, and then the peeces to bee burnt: Hee called the countrey of *Pacta*, All Saints. *Vasco Nungnes* going from thence, he came to Buquebuca, the lord of which region, thinking that the Spaniards were diuine people, he was ashamed to appeare before them, holding himselfe vnworthy, but he sent them some vessels of gold well wrought, & craued pardon of them. Going on with more desire to find victuals than gold, they saw certaine Indians which crost their way, who being brought back vnto them and demanded of what region they were, and where there was any victuals, they said, that they were subiect vnto a king called *Corixo*, who desired to know them, and to bee their friend, of whom afterwards they receiued thirty plates of golde, offering them all that was in his power, and intreating them to aide him against another Cachico his enemy, in whose countrey hee assured them they should find great wealth: *Balboa* promised him friendship, aide and fauour, presenting him with their hatchets and other iron works, and then he past into the land of *Pecorosa*, where he found victuals, & receiued gold & slaues, & hauing left his sick men there, he went on with sixtie souldiers onely, vntill he came vnto the Cachico *Tumanama*, of whom *D. Charles Panquiao* had spoken vnto him; whom he surprised in his lodging at night: And for that he was giuen to the brutish sin against nature, *Balboa* was ready to haue him burnt, but thinking to draw from him some secret of his hidden treasure, & of the qualitie of the countrey, he was content to reprehend him sharply, and to keep him prisoner, giuing some satisfaction to his accusers: and there *Balboa* remained the rest of that yeare 1513.

E 7 The Spaniards affaires prospering after this manner at the Indies, the Armie which was in Italie against the Venetians, was no lesse successfull. After the retreat of *Aluiano* the Venetian generall, the emperours lieutenant besieged Padoua in vaine. The viceroy of Naples being resolu'd to put part of his armie into Bresse, and part into Bergamo, & there to winter, he was importuned by his souldiers, to keep the field with the Germanes, hauing the Cautalarie of Naples, and the Popes, with 4500 Spaniards; hauing sent one thousand Spaniards to assist the duke of Milan: The viceroy hauing with these forces sackt Bouoelta, past the Brent, and marcht vnto the sea, burning townes and villages, and all the houses of the gentlemen of Venice, which were in that countrey: and the more to afflict & braue them, he caused ten peeces of his greatest ordnance to be mounted at a place called Marguera, and shot against the city of Venice, whereof the bullets fel at *S. Seconds* church, with trouble and amazement to all the inhabitants, and the more, for that night comming, it did represent vnto them more plainly, the great fiers and ruines of their houses of pleasure in the countrey; the which they held to be the greatest indignitie that euer the common wealth of Venice receiued: which thinking to reuenge they encreased their disgrace: for *Aluiano* hauing assured the Senat, that the enemies

Perles.

Hope of gaine make vicere-maine unpunished.

Italy.

Cruell warre of the Spaniards against the Venetians.

armie

1513

armie laden with spoiles in those moorish places, and trenches of riuers, would find G such difficulties in their retreat, as it would bee easie to put them to rout, and therefore had gotten leaue to draw their forces to field after that hee had coasted the enemies, seeking to stoppe their passage at the riuer of Brenta, being himselfe deceived and surprisid, as hee thought to stop their passage going to Verona, whether they marcht onely with an intent to retyre, hee was fought with all, and vanquished about Vincence, hauing lost about fife thousand Venetians, and many Capitaines slaine: vpon the place, with their Poudidor *Andrew Lauredan*, who was slaine by the contention of two souldiers, whose prisoner hee should be, besides many capitaines and gentlemen of Venice, that were prisoners: which rout did much trouble the affaires of that state. What succeeded afterwards in that warre, I leaue to other Histories whome it concernes more particularly.

Venetians defeated by the Spaniards

Forts built in Africk.

1514.  
Behaviour of Vasco Nunez of Balboa at the Indies.

Boots taken at the Indies.

Travels endured with great patience and happiness by the Spaniards.

Mastines received pay and a part of the spoile among the Spaniards.

Designes of Pope Leo to put strangers out of Italy.

Pope seeks to get the realme of Naples.

King *Ferdinand* being much impayred by his languishing infirmities, grown by reason of the potion which had bene giuen him, attended as well as hee could the government of his realmes: but hee had a good Councell, and faithfull ministers, so as his affaires both of state and iustice, were nothing impayred, neither were they in any sort peruerced. This yeare there was a fort built at Oran, and another at a place called Pegnon, or the rocke of Alger in Africk, whereas the crowne of Castille held Melille, Cafsa, Oran, Mafalquier, Tripoli, and Bugie, and the two rockes or Pegnons of Alger, and of Velez, besides the Princes and townes, that were Tributarie vnto it. And so ended that yeare 1513.

8 In the yeare one thousand fife hundred and foureteené *Vasco Nunez* of Balboa, hauing staid a good space in the countrie of the Cachico *Tumacama* discouering the mines and treasures of that region, he parted from thence, leading one of that princes sons with him, to be instructed in the Romish religion, and came into the countrie of *D. Charles Panquico*, who receiued *Balboa* being sicke verie courteously, with all his companions, giuing the al ease & commodities he could, and when they would depart, he presented them with 20 pounds of gold. Being thus satisfied of him, they retyred to their fort of the Antique of Darien, the which they found much better peopled than they had left it: for vpon the brute of the great riches that were on the firme land, many were come from Hispaniola, & the citie of *S. Domingo* to inhabit there. It is thought that *Balboa* brought beside the contentment he had to haue discouered the South sea, the value of about 100000 Castillans in gold, besides perles and other precious jewels in great abundance, hauing made a long and dangerous voyage, gone through many barbarous nations & enemies, by desert and vnknown places, hauing not only to encounter men, but Tygres and Lyons, hunger and thirst, thick woods & craggy mountaines, and yet neuer was put to rout, neuer lost a man, nor himselfe wounded in any fort. Of al their spoiles they laied to the value of 20000 ducats for the kings right; and then they diuided the rest among them, euerie one receiuing according to his place, yea their mastines had pay as wel as the men, for it is reported that a dog belonging vnto *Vasco Nunez*, called *Leoncillo*, had for his part 500 Castillans, receiuing a greater pay than a harquebusier. After that *Vasco Nunez* had ordered some things in the fort of Darien, he sent a friend of his called *Arbolancha*, born at Bilbao, into Spain, to carry news vnto king *Ferdinand* of his voyages and discoueries, and the fift penny of what they had gotten.

At that time the French king did sollicite both *k. Ferdinand* and the emperor *Maximilian* to conclude the marriage betwixt *D. Ferdinand* brother to prince *Charles* of Austria, and the lady *Renee*, the French kings second daughter, for whose dowrie hee would quit his pretensions to the duchie of Milan: but hauing made a peace with the king of England, by a marriage contracted betwixt him & *Marie* that kings sister, he changed his opinion, and gaue ouer that treatie for *Renee* and *Ferdinand*. The Pope hauing diuers designes to free Italie of strangers, hauing no desire to see the French king lord of Milan, yet he entertained him with this hope, to make vse of him and his meanes, to get the realme of Naples from *k. Ferdinand*, to settle his brother *Italian* of Medicis king there, & thereof he had already had some practise with the Venetians. To fauor the Popes designes, being profitable for the common-weale of Venice, *Andrew Grissi* was appointed by the Senat to be generall

1514

A generall of an army to inuade the banks of Apulia, thinking by that meanes to diuert the Spanish army out of Lombardie, & that they should haue none but the Germanes to encounter. Hereupon *Bartholomew* of Aluiano hauing surprisid certain Spaniards, he caused them to be hanged at Padoua; saying that they had been suborned by their commanders to kill him in treason: the which put the viceroy of Naples into such a rage, as he made a notable spoile of the countrie about Padoua, & hauing chased *Bernardin Antinola*, nephew to *Aluiano*, he shut him into Citadelle, which place being battered, was taken partly by a breach, and partly by escalado. *Bernardin* of Antinola & his men were carried away prisoners, and the place sackt. To recompence this losse, *Aluiano* defeated some troups of light horse nere to Este: the army which besieged Creme, being hardly retained for want of pay was forced to retire. The armie of Spain after the taking of Citadelle, diuided it selfe into diuers lodgings, the viceroy to Verona, the Marques of Pescara to Lendenara, with 3000 Spaniards: there came about 200 men at armes to Rouigo, of which *D. Garcia Manrique* was captain, who suffered himselfe to be surprized by *Aluiano*, who led both him and all his company away prisoners: some write they were 300 horse, & 1000 Spanish foot. On the other side *Renzo de Cars*, being freed from the siege of Creme which hee had defended valiantly, being fortified with men, hee surprisid Bergamo by intelligence of the inhabitants, but soon after the viceroy recovered it againe, hauing ioined his Spaniards with the forces of Milan, led by *Siluis Sauello*, *Renzo*, who was within it, yeelding it vpon honorable conditions. The Bergamasques were punished for their rebellion by the purse, redeeming the sack of the town, & other punishments prepared for them, for great sums of money: the which did much displease the Spaniards, who were in hope that the spoile of this town should haue been giuen to them. Winter approaching, the armies were lodged, and for that it was bruted that the French king prepared a great power to passe into Italy in the spring, *D. Raymond* of Cardone the viceroy, who had his Spanish army much diminished, went to the emperor to Inspruck, to take counsell touching the affairs of the future warre. At Rome the ambassadors for the emperor, king *Ferdinand*, and French king vsed their art and skil to win the Popes fauor for their masters: but he being cunning, politique, and enemy to them all, discouered not his conceits, but entertained them with vaine hopes.

D 10 About the end of this yere, before that *k. Ferdinand* had any intelligence of the successe of *Vasco Nunez* of Balboa, it was resolved in counsell, to send to the Antique of Darien, & into the region of Castille del or, a knight for gouernor, whose name was *Pedro Arias* of Auila, born at Segobia: which charge was demanded by many, *Arbolancha* whome *Vasco Nunez* had sent into Spain, being not yet arriued, for otherwise without doubt that charge had bin giuen him in recompence of his labors & great seruice which he had done vnto the king, in the discouery of so rich countries: yet he was made gouernor of the coast towards the South sea: but *D. John Rodrigo* of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, who had the superintendcy of the affaires of the Indies, & did much fauor *Pedro Arias*, protracted the time to make the dispatch of his prouision, yet the sentence giuen against him at the suit of the bachelor *Enciso* was cancelled and made void. *Pedro Arias* then hauing embarked at Saint Lucar of Barrameda, with one thousand fife hundred men in 17 vessels, the 14 of May, hauing in his company, srier *John Cabedo* first bishop of the Antique of Darien, & first Prelat of the firme land at the Indies, and for pilot *John Vesputio*, Florentine, he sailed in 38 daies to the Antique, where he was receiued with great ioy, & *Vasco Nunez* of Balboa lodged him in his own lodging, with al the honor he could deuise, & was informed by him of the whole estate of that countrie, & of the discouery which he had made of Castille del or, for so he had named it, by reason of the great riches thereof; and of the South Sea, and of pearles: wherewith *Pedro Arias de Auila* was verie much pleased, finding that there was worke done, and that there remained nothing but to people and husband it. He made the Licenciad *Gaspar* of Espinose, borne at Medina del Campo, Alcayde maior, or president of his Iustice, and according to his charge, he beganne to diuide the prouinces to his people, sending *Francis Benerra* with 550 Spaniards towards the Riuier of Dabayba, who indured great miseries there, and returned with notable losse. *John* of Ayora with foure hundred men was directed into the countrie of the Cachico *D. Charles Panquico*, a most faithfull friend to the Spaniards, who

Spaniards surprisid in their lodgings

*Pedro Arias* of Auila made viceroy of the firme land at the Indies

*John Cabedo* first Bishop of the Antique of Darien

1514

who notwithstanding was so ingratefully intreated by them, and the Indians his subjects so cruelly and couetously vexed, as they were forced to take armes, and to chase away *Ayobana*, who returned flying from whence he parted. Captain *Vasco* being sent towards *Caribana*, and *Barthelmew Hurtado* to *Acla*, they had no better success: nor others in other places: so as *Vasco Nunez*, was not so fortunate, but *Pedro Arias* and his company were as unfortunate in all their enterprises. King *Ferdinand* toward the end of this year 1514 did so decay in his health, as there were apparent signes of a drop sicke in him: One of the captaines which *Pedro Arias de Auila*, called *Gonsalo* of *Badajos*, had sent to people in the maine land, tooke his course towards *Nombre de Dios*, in the beginning of the year

1515

1515, where hee found Indians that were strange and vntractable, so as hauing increased his troupe, being about 80 Spaniards, by the arrivall of *Lewis* of *Mercado*, who brought 50 more, they went in company towards the south Sea, and being come to a place called *Coyba*, they lackt it, for that the lord of the country called *Tuana* flying the acquaintance of these bearded men, had retired himselfe into the woods: then they made prey of many things, and especially of slaues. Passing on by a rivers side, on the 5 day they met with two Indians laden with bread, which a blind *Cachico* sent vnto them, who brought them to the place where this *Cachico* dwelt, with whom they made good cheare, & receiued presents of gold, with information of those countries, which they sought, and guides to conduct them. Continuing on their course they came wher there reigned a lord called *Taracura*, who also gaue the a good quantity of gold: but yet they did not forbear to fier a brother belonging to a brother of his, for that he was not to be found at their arrivall: then passing by the countries of the *Cachicos Chera* and *Nathan* they receiued so much gold & other things, as the treasure which they got in that voyage, amounted to about 80000 ducats, & at the least 400 slaues. But, as prosperity makes people careless & overweening, being come into the countrie of a mighty lord called *Pariza*, holding no order nor discipline, thinking they should find friendlie reception in all places, they were suddenly charged by a great number of Indians, who slue 80 of his Spaniards, put the rest to flight, and got their gold and slaues, with all the booty which they had made in this voyage. The same year *Gasper* of *Morales* being sent by the same gouernour with 150 Spaniards towards S.

Spaniards defeated and slain by the Indians.

Perles in abundance.

Mutinies at the Indies through enuie.

*Michaels* gulph, he past, with the help of the *Cachicos Chiapo* & *Tumaco*, into the island of *Tarareque*, leading 70 men only with him, being drawne on by the fame of perles and other riches which were there, and vpon that shoare: there he had three encounters, whereas the Indians shewed themselves braue, seeking to repulse the Spaniards, but at the fourth charge they were vanquished, and the *Cachico* brought to obedience, by the meanes of some Indians that were friends, and did accompany the Spaniards, who did highly praise them, and extol their inuincible power: Being friends, the Spaniards were well intreated by this lord, & receiued of him about 110 markes of perle, in recompence whereof they gaue him hatchets and other small mercery wares, of the which he and his Indians made great esteeme: and this *Cachico* grew so familiar, as he discovered vnto *Gasper* of *Morales* all the riches of those islands, & moreover made himselfe vassall & tributarie to the king of *Castille*, promising to giue him yerely 100 markes of perle: he suffered himselfe to be baptized, and was called *Pedro Arias*, by the gouernours name, and with this good success *Gasper* of *Morales* returned hauing sped better than the rest. The gouernour *Pedro Arias* in the mean time being entred into a great quarrel against *Vasco Nunez* of *Balboa* (whether it were through enuie, for that the one had been more happy in discovering, then hee in gouerning of those new found countries, or through the insolencie of *Balboa*, who cost at his enterprises, & the aduersities of his captaine:) it did much trouble his government: to pacifie the which, & to reconcile them, frier *John Caudedo*, the new bishop, tried all the meanes he could, causing *Vasco Nunez* to marrie *Pedro Arias* daughter: but notwithstanding this alliance, they fel againe to great discord, which proceeded so far, as *Vasco Nunez* being in his gouernment towards the south sea, where he had caused foure Carauels to be built to continue his conquests, the gouernour *Arias* caused him to be adiourned, and forced him to appeare in iustice at the *Antique* of *Darien*, where being arriued, he was laied hold on, and the procurator fiscal pleading against him, he accused him of mutinies and other infolences committed, for the which he had beene abfolued: yet they condemned him to lose

A lose his head, with siue of his companions: the which did wonderfully incense all the Spaniards that were in that countrie, who lamented with teares the pittifull end of *Vasco*, because a Captaine, vnder whose conduct and good fortune they did hope in short time to be the richest men in Europe.

11 Whilest these things past at the Indies, the counsell of Spaine was in great difficulties for the affaires of *Italie*, by the death of *Lewis* 12. the French king, who dyed the first of Ianuarie, this year 1515, to whom *Francis* duke of *Angoulême* had succeeded, a young, braue, and valiant Prince, who at the first intituled himselfe duke of *Milan*, with an intent to pursue the right of his predecessor and father in law, wherefore hauing confirmed the peace made with the English, and vpon a hope of marriage betwixt the ladie *Remy*, younger daughter to the deceased king, being then but nine yeres old, and prince *Charles*, who began to gouern his estates of the *Netherlands*, being assured of his friendship, he prepared himselfe for the warre of *Italie*. It was contracted with the earle of *Nassau* Prince *Charles* his ambassador, that to the Princesse his future spouse should be giuen 600 thousand crownes, and the duchie of *Berry* in dowrie, in regard whereof hee should renounce al rights & pretensions which she might haue to her mothers or fathers goods, that is, to the duchies of *Britaine* and *Milan*, and moreover, that prince *Charles* should be a mediator to the king *D. Ferdinand* his grandfather, for the restoring of *Iohn* of *Albret* and *Gatherine* his wife, to their realm of *Nauarre*: & on the other side, that king *Francis* should aid prince *Charles* with men & shipping, when as (after the death of king *Ferdinand*, which approached) it should be fit for him to passe into Spaine, where hee feared some opposition, by his brother *D. Ferdinand*, who was bred vp and much beloved in Spain. King *Francis* sought to prolong the truce made by king *Lewis* his predecessor with king *Ferdinand*, to win the Popes fauour, and to pacifie the *Suisses*: but hee found opposition in all these there: for these Potentates were directly contrarie to the design which he made vpon the duchie of *Milan*, and it was bruted that the *Suisses* prepared to inuade *Burgongne*, or *Dauphine*. Besides, there was a streit league made betwixt the emperour, king *Ferdinand*, and the duke of *Milan*, to force the French king to quit the title of duke *Milan*, and to renounce his pretended right to the duchie. And there was another league made betwixt the French king and the Venetians in that respect.

Contract of marriage betwixt Prince Charles of Austria and Queene of France

League against king Francis.

At that time *Pedro Nauarro*, earle of *Albeto*, remained prisoner among the French, since the battell of *Raunna*: for whose redemption king *Ferdinand* did not care, for that some noblemen *Castillans*, of lesse merit than himselfe, through emulation of his vertue, had impured the losse of that battell vnto him: which this wise and iudicious captaine apprehended, and thinking his seruices were ill rewarded, hee agreed to serue the French king, quitting the countie of *Albeto*, and all that hee held in the king of *Castilles* dominions, making all acts and protestations in that case required: After which he began to leuie troupes of foot in *Galcoine*, seeming that they with other forces should serue for the recouerie of the realme of *Nauarre*: but the princes whome it concerned, knewe well that this great preparation was for the duchie of *Milan*, so as euerie one stood vpon his gard.

Pedro Nauarro serues the French king.

King *Ferdinand* being bound by the league to inuade France by *Cattelonia*, and *Guipuscoa*, he approached neere to *Burgos*, where hauing beene verie sicke some daies in the monastirie of *Mejorada*, hee past at *Aranda* of *Duero*, from whence he sent Queene *Germaine* his wife into *Arragon*, to assist at the Estates at *Monson*, and to provide for that which should be necessarie, if the warre grew hot in France, to the end hee should receiue no harm on that side, himselfe taking the charge of *Castille*, and of the frontier of *Guipuscoa*. Being come to *Burgos*, he called the estates, with whose aduice and aid he provided for the sea coast & the realme of *Nauarre*, the which at that time, as a conquest made with the forces of *Castille*, he did solemnly incorporate for euer to that crown: And for that his charges would be verie great for the execution of those enterprises which hee had in hand, namely for the conquest and defence of those places which hee held in *Afrike* and at the *Indies*, and to free the seas from pyrats, the Pope gaue him leaue to raise certaine summes of money vpon the Clergie for two yeres. His infirmity increasing, hee had such continuall faintings, as on the seuen and twentieth of Iune, they thought hee would haue died:

Enterprises of king Ferdinand against the French king.

Nauarre incorporated to the crowne of Castille.

1515  
Testament of  
king Ferdinand

Chancellor of  
Arragon accus-  
ed to have  
sought to dispo-  
se of queen Ger-  
maine.

Interview be-  
twixt Pope Leo  
and king Fran-  
cis.

Pragmatike  
sanction aboli-  
shed.

Death of D.  
Gonsalo Fer-  
nandes of Cor-  
doua, called the  
great Capitaine.

died: wherefore finding himselfe neere his end, he desired to make his will, and caused it to be written, leauing his daughter Queene *Joane* for his generall heire, and the infant *D. Ferdinand* his grand-child, gouernour of Castille; to whom he gaue for gouernour *D. Gonsalo* of Guzman treasurer of Calatrava, and for his Schoolemaster *D. Aluaro Oforio* bishop of Astorga, hauing a great desire to cause the three masterships of Castille to fall into his hands after his death, whereupon he made orders which hee thought might take place, but afterwards he reuoked them. He had some amendment, and came to Aranda of Duero, whether *Anthony Augustine*, his Chancellor of Arragon came, whom he caused to be apprehended, and committed, being informed that he had presumed to attempt against the honor of the queene, his wife: for seeing her too desirous to haue children, and the king her husband by reason of his age and infirmities, too weake, he had offered her his seruice too familiarly. This Chancellor remained in prison, till after the kings death, and then was set at liberty by the Cardinal *Ximenes*, who was gouernor of Spaine. The same yeare there hauing been an enteruiew at Vienne in Austria, betwixt the emperor *Maximilian* and *Ladilaus* king of Hongarie, and Bohemia, the marriages were accorded of the infant *Ferdinand*, with *Anne* daughter to the said king of Hongarie, and of *Marie* sister to prince *Charles* of Austria, Infanta of Castille, with *Lewis* sonne and heir to the said king *Ladilaus*.

13 King *Francis* past into Lombardy, with a great army: what succeeded in those wars you may read at large in the French Historie. The Pope seeing all things prosper for the French, made an accord with the king: they had an enteruiew at Bologna, with great shewes of friendship; there they confirmed their league, and conferred long of the conquest of Naples, for the French king: but they resolved to deferre it till after the death of king *Ferdinand*, which they knew to be neere: the Pope hauing no desire of it for the quiet of Italie, alleging for excuse, that the time of the league which hee had with the Catholike king, did not yet expire of sixteene months, yet in shew he seemed verie willing to countenance that conquest, so as the French king (who was well content to haue it deferred vntil another time, for that his treasure was exhausted) was verie well satisfied. There the Pragmatike sanction was abolished, the Pope granting liberty to the king, to the preiudice of the clergy of France, to name & present men at his pleasure, to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices being void within his realme; a priuiledge which belonged to Chapters and Colledge: they made many other agreements to the contentment one of another.

In this estate stood the affaires of Italie, towards the end of king *Ferdinands* daies, whose disease did vndermine him by little & little yet he would needs part from Segobia, to goe into Arragon to the estates, whether he had sent Queene *Germaine* his wife, transporting himselfe to Calatrava: but he was forced to returne into Castille, as well for the affaires of the realme, as to giue order to prouide men for Italie in fauour of the emperor *Maximilian*, who made preparation to enter it in the Spring, and also to care for the defence of that which he held in Africke. At that time was the marriage betwixt *D. Alfonso* *Peres* of Guzman, or *Aluaro* duke of Medina Sydonia, and *D. Anna* of Arragon, daughter to *D. Alfonso* of Arragon, the kings Neece: to whom one of his Councel comming from visiting a certaine woman, whom they held for a Saint in Spaine, called the holie woman of Barca, reported from her, that hee should bee of a good courage, for hee should not die before he had conquered Ierusalem: but this good woman was deceived.

This yeare dyed of a double quarter Ague, the great Capitaine *Gonsalo Fernandes* of Cordoua duke of Sessa, Terranova, of Saint Ange, marquisse of Bitonto, Prince of Squilaci, and Constable of the realme of Naples. Among the other vertues of this famous man, hee is much commended for his great chastity, a rare thing in a Spaniard: his end was in the seventy third yeare of his age, leauing by his wife *D. Maria Henrique*, one only daughter and heire, named *D. Eluira* of Cordoua: his bodie lies in the monastery of Saint *Ierosme*, in that citie. The king hearing of the death of this worthy man, sent to comfort his widow and daughter.

14 In the yeare one thousand five hundred and sixteene, which was the last of king *Ferdinands* life, there arriued in Castille, at a place called the Serene, doctor

A *Adrian Florent* deane of Louvain, embassador for Prince *Charles* of Austria, and his Schoolemaster, who in time was made bishop of Tortosa, then Cardinall, and successively Pope. His charge in shew, was for matters of gouernement; against the Lord of Cheures, who was the princes gouernour: but in effect he came into Spaine, to pricke and looke into the state of things, and to aduertise the prince: And the King dying, which was held to bee verie neere, hee had authoritie and commandement to take possession in his name of the gouernement of the realmes of Castille, Arragon, and the rest. The king parted from Plaisance, with an intent to goe to Guadalupe, there to performe a vow: passing from one place to another, his infirmities still increasing, hee stayed at Madrigalejo, a borough neere vnto Trugillo, where he had a kind of fluxe: by reason whereof doctor *Adrian* (who was verie vnpleasing vnto him) transported himselfe thither; yet shewing him a good countenance, hee willed him to goe and attend him at Guadalupe: his sicknesse encreasing, they that were about him were constrained to aduertise him that his end drew neere, the which did much discontent him: for hee thought hee had a longer time to liue; neyther did hee giue credit to all that his Confessor Frier *Thomas* of Matienso said vnto him: but when they had often reiterated this aduertisement, that hee might dispose himselfe to die like a Christian, he caused the Licenciat *Zapata* and doctor *Caruial*, who were of his chamber, and of his Councell, to bee called vnto him, and with them the Licenciat *Vergas* his Treasurer, who was also of his Councell, a man in whom hee had great confidence: whom he enjoined and conured to giue him good and faithfull counsell, in that which hee should demand of them: hee told them that for the opinion hee had that prince *Charles* would not come in person to gouerne the realmes of Spaine, hee had appoynted the Infant *D. Ferdinand* gouernour of them for the Queene *D. Joane* her daughter: whereupon hee desired to know their opinions, if hee had not done well. These three men zealous of the good of those realmes told him freely, that in so doing he had not prouided for the peace and quiet of the realmes, wherefore he should call backe that article, and name prince *Charles* gouernour of them, as Lawe and Iustice required, shewing him the great inconueniences which might happen, if haply the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, finding himselfe seiled of so great Estates, should seeke to hold them; such thoughts being easie to breede in the hearts of princes. The king yeilded to this Councell, and reformed his Will in that point, in regard of Castille, and that which is incorporated vnto it: As for Arragon and Sicile hee left the gouernement to his base sonne *D. Alfonso* archbishop of Saragosse, and vntil that prince *Charles* came, he appoynted gouernor in his absence, by the aduice of this Councell, Cardinall *Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros, saying, that hee knew him to be an honest man, and wel affected, fashioned and aduanced by him and by the Queene *D. Isabella*; one who had no great aliances, & had alwayes shewed himselfe a faithfull seruant. As for the realm of Naples, he confirmed the gouernment with the same condition to the viceroy *D. Raymond* of Cardone, & in Nauar there had bin viceroy *D. Frederic d'Acugna*, commader of Montemolin, of the order of S. James, brother to the erle of Buendia.

E Some few dayes before he had obtaigned from Pope *Leo*, a new prouision in his owne person, of the three masterships of Castille, Saint James, Calatrava and Alcantara, the which he desired to resigne to the Infant *D. Ferdinand* whom hee loued dearely; but hee was in like manner perswaded not to doe it, for hee should remember of what importance in former times one of those masterships had bin, in the person of a priuar man; to trouble the realme: and therefore hee must thinke that if all these were ioyned in one, and he of the blood royall, hee equalling (without doubt) the kings power might cause greater alterations: whereupon the king demanding, What then shall the Infant do remaying so poore? It is, answered his Councillours, the best and goodliest inheritance that you can leaue him: for finding himselfe poore, it wil giue him occasion to seek the loue of prince *Charles* his brother, who will aduance him. These things pleased the king, who gaue vnto the Infant *D. Ferdinand* 50000 ducats of yerely rent vpon Brindes, Tarentum, and other places in Apulia in the realme of Naples, by the aduice of the same counsellours. Out of the reuenues of the realm of Sicile, he left vnto his wife Queene *Germaine*,

Reformation  
of king Ferdi-  
nands testame-  
nt by the aduice  
of some of his  
councill.

Infant D. Fer-  
dinand ill ap-  
pointed.

SSS

thirtie

thirtie thousand florins of gold of yearely rent, the which was afterwards assigned in G Castille, vpon the townes of Arcualo, Madrigal and Olmedo: hee left moreover vnto her tenne thousand ducats in the realme of Naples. These Ordinaunces in forme of a testament were written by the hand of one of the above named Councillours, reuoking that which hee had made at Burgos; all beeing done in great secret, to the end that nothing might come to the knowledge of the Infant D. Ferdinand, who was then at Guadalupe, not of his Gouernours and Ministers, who did hope to mannage the realme after the Kings decease. The will beeing written out faire, it was receiued by the Prothonotarie Clement of Velasco. The Queene D. Germaine having notice of the extremitie of the Kings infirmities at Calataub, whereas the estates of Arragon were held; shee came with all speed to Madrigalejo; and was at his death, which was on the three and twentieth of Ianuary one thousand six hundred and sixteene, being three score and three yeares old, and having reigned one and forty yeeres, one moneth, and nine dayes, comprehending the time that king D. Philip of Austria reigned. The Kings Councell and the Noblemen beeing assembled; they resolved to send to the embassadour Adrian, who attended the king at Guadalupe: wherefore Doctor Caruajal and the Licenciat Vargas were sent vnto him, who brought him to Madrigalejo, where in his presence the kings will was opened and read, whereof they gaue a copie to the ambassador, at his request. Afterwards by the aduice of them all, D. Bernard of Rojas, marquisse of Denia, and the licenciante Riniquillo Alcaidior prouost of the Court, did accompanie the Kings bodie to Granado, and the other Noblemen went to Infant D. Ferdinand at Guadalupe; where the funeral was made with royall pompe and ceremonies. The body passing by the cite of Cordoua, there ioyned with it D. Martin of Anglobishoppe of that cite, the marquisse of Priego, the earle of Cabra, with other Lords and Knights which did accompany it vnto Granado, where with the state woorthy of such a prince, hee was interred in the chappell of Kings, by Queene Isabell his wife, whose bodie had bene left in the Alhambra of that cite.

A little before the kings death, John Dias de Solis of Lebriza, chiefe Pilot to the king; parted from the port of Lepe, with three shippes armed, to goe and discover countries in the new world, vnder the equinoctial, where hee had already bene, and found out the great riuer of Panataguala, which hee had named the riuer of Plata, or of Siluer, where beeing arrived and entered, hee landed with fiftie Spaniards, thinking to finde all things quiet; as hee had at the other time: but hee found himselfe surprized; and charged by a multitude of Indians, who slew him and all them that had landed with him; and ate them: the rest which kept the shippes being terrified, weighed anchor, and returned into Spaine, laden with breffill, and white aniline, which they vse for dying.

15. D. Manuel king of Portugall had alwayes continued his navigations, and discoveries at the East with good successe and profit, and imitating the example of the king of Castille, hee prest the African Moores his neighbors vpon the westeme shoare, from whom hee tooke the towne of Zafin, by the meanes of Nugno Fernandes of Azaide, who was the first Gouernour, and afterwards hauing sent James Duke of Bragance his nephew, with two thousand horse, and fiftene thousand foote, who landing at Marzagán, did assaile and take the towne of Azamón; beeing abandoned by the Moores: and soone after Almedina yielded; with other places of that territorie: in which expeditions the Duke of Bragance purchased so great fame, as at this day the name of Bragance is a terror to the Moores. To supply the charges of this warre conquests, the King D. Manuel hauing emptied his cofers, he obtained from Pope Leo, by his embassadours Trifan of Acugna, and doctor Diego Pacheco, aid and subvention, out of the reuenues of the Clergie of his country: whereunto the Pope did the more willingly yeeld; hauing heard the great exploits which hee had done, and the discoveries which hee had made; to whom the embassadours presented in the name of the King their master a great elephant, a lionesse, and a bishops mitre or tyare garnished with perles and precious stones, the richest that euer had bene seene at Rome. The Pope therefore to incorage and giue

meanes

Death of king  
Ferdinand king  
of Arragon.

Indies.

Spaniards slain  
in the riuer of  
Plata by the In-  
dians.

Portugall.

Exploits of king  
Manuel in A-  
frica.

Bragance a ter-  
ror to the  
Moores.

A meanes vnto King Manuel to proceede in so commendable an action; hee graunted him the third part of the reuenues and fringes of Spiritual Linings, and moreover to haue a Croisade preached, wherein the Kings deputies behaued themselves inso-  
lently and couetously, as all men had occasion to complain: whereupon the con-  
uersts and new Christians tooke occasion to fall into many errors and peruerse opinions,  
touching our Religion. These things past about the yeeres one thousand six hundred  
and twelue, one thousand six hundred and thirteene, and one thousand six hundred  
and fouretee. The yeere one thousand six hundred and fiftene being come, the king  
vndertooke to build the fort of Mandorá in Africa; but his provisions and men were all  
disperst and lost there, by the incursions of the Moores, so as few, and those verie poore,  
returned into Portugall. This vnforgotten successe was imputed to the exactions which  
the kings Officers vied vpon the clergie; being an opinion alreadie settled in the hearts  
of men: that those princes which touch the treasures of the Church, prosper not.

This yeere Queene Mary was deliuered in the City of Lisbon; of the Infant D. Edward  
future husband to D. Isabella daughter to D. John duke of Bragance, from whom issued  
D. Edward, and D. Catharina duchesse of Bragance, wife in our dayes to the duke D. John  
second sonne to duke D. Theodosius, and grandchild to the said D. John. Of D. Edward  
Portugall, and D. Isabella, was also borne D. Maria; who was married to the prince of  
Parrut; sonne to Ollanio Farnese, and to Mary Anne of Austria, base daughter to the  
emperor Charles. Soone after the death of D. Ferdinand king of Arragon, the king D.

C Manuel was full of care, for the insolent behaviour of two of his vassals, who sought to  
disquiet him in his navigations and voyages to the Indies. These were Ferdinand of Ma-  
gellanes and Ray Fallerio, who for some discontentment retired themselves into Castille,  
whereas the cardinal D. Francis Ximenes archbishoppe of Toledo gouerned, offering to  
discover a short course or way, to go to the rich Islands of the Moliques, whence the spi-  
ces came, more profitable and commodious then that of Calicut and China. Magellanes  
gaue D. John Rodrigues of Fonseca president of the royall council of the Indies, aid and  
counsel to vnderstand, that they might finde better and more short cut to goe to the  
Moliques by the coast of Breffill and the riuer of Plata, then by the Cape of Bonne Espe-  
rance; and hee offered they told them that the great Island of Zafintra, and Malaca, were

D comprehended in the streit and line of the navigation of Castille: they did maintain that  
the Islands of the Moliques were not farre from Panama, and the gulph of saint Michael,  
and that in all those countries and regions they found abundance of gold, pearles, pre-  
cious stones, spices and drugges: and to make these counsellors more desirous, they told  
them many other wonders of vntowen lands, which they offered to discover. Magella-  
nes saying, that hee had a relation of Lewis of Vertheiman of Bolonia, who had beene at Ba-  
dan, Barmay, Bathian, Tidore, and other countries of spices, which are vnder the Equi-  
noctiall; shewing many letters written from his friends to the Indians: And moreover,  
hee had a slave of the Island of Zamana; who vnderstood many languages of that Coun-  
trei; and an other slave recovered in Malaca. By these reasons and persuasions, hee indu-  
ced them of the council, and the Regent D. Francis Ximenes gave good hope to Magel-  
lanes, to obtaine shippes and men to make this voyage, at the commanding of the prince D.

E Charles, who would not stay long before hee parted from Plandres, to come and take pos-  
session of his realmes of Castille and Arragon. The king D. Manuel made many com-  
plaints against these lightie subjects; by his Ambassadors to the council of Castille,  
and they against him; and the voyage was performed as we will shew. About the spring  
one thousand six hundred and fiftene, hee married his second wife to the king D.  
Manuel, who was then in child bed of the Infant D. Anthony, who lived not long  
after his mothers death. And hee had great heauinesse in the king: shee lies in the monastrie  
of the mother of God: shee was then fine and thirte yeares old, and the king nude and  
forse, who beeing with the prelates and clergie men of his realme had often pre-  
died vnto him: that his crosses and aduersities came for that hee took the reuenues of  
the church, and imployed them for the affairs of his realme, hee caused the collections &  
contributions to cease, promising to pay into the clergie 140000 ducats in yeeres, at 2  
payers. The king tooke to his third wife D. Isabella sister to prince Charles of Austria

Third part of  
spiritual linings  
granted to the  
king of Portu-  
gall in his coun-  
trei.

Opinion fauour-  
able for the  
clergie.

Genealogie of  
Portugall.

Magellanes  
and Fallerio  
Portugallians  
in Castille.

Death of Maria  
Queene of  
Portugall.

King conscien-  
cious.



1516

Infanta of Castille, niece to the two former quenes, being then 19. yeeres old, and the king 50. She was conducted into Portugall by *Castillide*, in the yere 1518. a little before the arrivall of King *Charles* in Spaine: the marriage was celebrated in Crato, with great pompe and state: of which marriage were borne the infants *D. Charles*, and *D. Marie*.

D. Ioane Queene of Castille, Arragon, Nauarre,

*Naples, Sicile, Saragosa &c. for whose incapacity, the reigne of D. Charles her sonne began, being the first of that name, and the two and twentieth king of Castille.*

Castille.

Cardinall Ximenes gouernor of Castille.

Accord for the gouernment of Spaine.

Contention for the mastership of S. Iseme.

Providence of Cardinall Ximenes for the peace of Spaine.

16 After the decease of King *Ferdinand*, *Queene Ioane* his daughter succeeded in all his realmes, lands, and seignories. *Charles* archduke of Austria, and erle of Flaunders her eldest sonne, who should inherite all those great estates after her, was then in Flaunders: for whose absence, and for the *Queenes* incapacity, Cardinall *Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros, according to the testament of the deceased King, tooke upon him the gouernment of Castille, with the consent of all the Councell and Nobilitie of the realme: notwithstanding that the gouernours and ministers of the infant *D. Ferdinand*, would, by vertue of the first testament made at Burgos, haue him intrude himselfe into the gouernment of affaires, as regent. He having written to them of the councell, said vnto him to Guadalupe, and vnto his high titles in his letters, one of the councell, said freely vnto him that presented the Infantes letters, Tell him that wee will be shortly at Guadalupe, where knowing well our duties, we will doe him the honour and reuerence that belongs vnto him, & that we haue no other king but *Cesar*. The prince *Charles* was not yet chosen emperor: but that word was taken as a pledge of his future election. The first care of cardinall *Ximenes*, was to make an agreement with doctor *Adrian*, who had brought letters and authoritie from prince *Charles*, by the which he declared him his lieutenant, in case that the king *D. Ferdinand* should die, during his legation in Spaine. The accord was thus made, that vntill they had other newes from prince *Charles*, they should ioyntly signall dispatches. After which they were to pacify a trouble that was of no small consequence; for *D. Pedro Portocarrero*, called the Deafe brother to the duke of Escalona, the steeple of the Marquess of Villeneuve at this day, had obtained after the decease of the great capitaine, who aspired to the mastership of S. Iseme, bulls and prouision from the pope, of that mastership, & did sollicite the commanders of the Order, to assemble together to receiue him: but prince *Charles* during his grandfatheres life, had also obtained a later prouision, by the means of *D. Bernart de Caracul*, of all the said masterships, in his person, and it is most certaine that king *Ferdinand* was not pious in seeing that he would haue giuen them to the infant *D. Ferdinand*. The cardinall being indignant of these things, he sent (with the aduise of doctor *Adrian*, and the Councell) *Masfume*, one of the Alcaldes of the court with letters & force, to suppress *Portocarrero*, and to stay this assembly of the commanders, whereunto they obeyed. *Portocarrero* himselfe, who delisted from his enterprise. This Cardinall had a marvellous eye vpon the actions of the infant *D. Ferdinand*, and of those which did gouerne him, being alwayes auerare to his person, for he feared lest the noblemen of Castille, who desired some alteration in the State, would corrupt him, and take of his name. He provided in such sort for quene *Ioane*, in this beginning, (to whom all things were disclosed) that she might not want money for the contriuaunce of her house and royal dignitie. The place of residence for the councell was chosen at Madrid, for that it was commodious for the cardinall being not farr from his archbishopricke of Toledo from whence they saw *Pope of Compostela*, & *King of Aul*, to come news vnto prince *Charles* of the death of the king his grandfather, and of all that past there. The prince was then at Seville, where he had been borne & bred vp, and his brother *D. Ferdinand* in Spaine: the one in the court, the other in the Flemings, the other in the court of Spaine, which made the Spaniards to chide the younger more, and did much trouble the Cardinall *Ximenes*. The children which at that time did gouern the person of prince *Charles*, & his affairs were *D. Juan*, *D. Pedro*, & *D. Luis*.

1516

A of Bourgondie, and afterwards Chauncellour, the Lord of Cheures, and *Laxan*, Chamberlaines, *Lawrence Gorrebot* great master, and *Charles* of Lannoy Master of the Horse. Hee had a Philition of Milan, called *Peter Marlian*, a learned man and of great experience, who was the inuentor of that Mott *Plus vltra*, the which prince *Charles* vied betwixt *Hercules* pillars, hee was afterwards bishop of Tui, but against the will of cardinall *Ximenes*. The lord of Cheures was of greatest authority about the prince, hauing bred him vp: hee was so hated of King *Ferdinand* as a little before his death, in a certaine treaty made with doctor *Adrian*, hee would haue it expressly referred that *Cheures* should be chased away, the which did much discontent him, who for that cause conceiued a great hatred against doctor *Adrian*, but hee was forced to yeeld that to the King, that hee might winne his loue to prince *Charles*, for hee sawe his intent was to debashe him, to aduance the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, if hee could. Of Spaniards *D. Iohn Manuel* was in some credite in the court of Flaunders, a flatterer and breeder of debate betwixt King *Ferdinand* and *Philip* of Austria his sonne in lawe, for the which hee was put in prison by the lady *Marguerite* gouernesse of Flaunders: but after the kings death hee was presently set at libertie by prince *Charles*. *D. Antonio* of Estuniga brother to the duke of Bejar was also honoured in that Court, *D. Pedro Portocarrero* Ionne to him that was deafe, of whom wee haue spoken, *D. Lewis* of Cordoba, *D. Alphonso Alantiques*, the bishop of Badajos, and *Pedro Mota* archbishoppe of Seuille, a famous preacher, and Secretary to the prince. Such was the estate of his Court, when hee receiued newes of the death of the king his grandfather, for the which hee shewed a grieue besitting nature, and the neerenesse of bloud that was betwixt them: hee commended him for the election which hee had made of the cardinall *Francis Ximenes*, and did write vnto the Infant his brother, to the widow Queene, and to the councell, giuing them hope that hee would bee soone in Spaine. In his first letters to the Gouernours and the Councell hee did intitle himselfe Prince: but some of the Councell of Flaunders, seeing *Queene Ioane* weake of her senses, and to bee but a vaine maske of royall dignitie, they were of opinion that hee should take the title of King, the which hee did, for that said hee, it was conformable to the custome of the princes of Flaunders and Germanie, and that it was the aduice of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and of *Pope Leo*, the which was not well liked of in Spaine: notwithstanding seeing hee had once taken it, it would haue beene dishonourable to haue left it, and therefore hee continued this title, the cardinall *Ximenes* causing the rest to allow of it: and thereupon they did aduance the Standard and Armes of the new King *Charles*, in the towne of Madrid. The Arragonois (strict defenders of their Lawes) would neuer allow of this title of King, during the life of Queene *Ioane*: of whom *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, archbishoppe of Saragosse was gouernor.

*Cheures* gouernor to prince *Charles*.

Title of King allowed in Castille to prince *Charles* during his mothers life, but not in Arragon.

Quarrell betwixt *Pedro Giron*, and the duke of Medina Sidonia.

18 Whilest these things were done at Madrid by cardinall *Ximenes*, there grew new tumults, the which did first disquiet Andalusia, and afterwards all the Prouinces of Spaine. The chiefe of this tumult was *D. Pedro Giron*, eldest sonne to the earle of Vre-gna, who entred the countrey of the duke of Medina Sidonia with forces, and besieged Luzero a sea towne, with an intent to seaze vpon the whole Duchie, if hee could. And this was the cause of his enterprise: *D. Iohn* of Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia married two sisters successiually, one after an other, daughters to the Duke of Bejar; by the first hee had two children, *D. Henrie*, and *D. Mentia*: and by the second one sonne called *D. Aluaro*: *D. Mentia* was married to *D. Pedro Giron*: *D. Henrie* was vnapt for generation, and dyed without children: *D. Aluaro* borne of the second venturer, married, as we haue said, with *D. Anne* of Arragon, daughter to *D. Alphonso* of Arragon: which marriage was made by the King *D. Ferdinand*, in hope that *D. Aluaro* should succede in all the seignories of Duke *Iohn* his father: who being dead, hee was put in possession of the Duchie of Medina Sidonia, notwithstanding the opposition of *D. Pedro Giron*, who said, that *D. Aluaro* was a bastard, borne in incest, nor beeing tollerable neyther by Diuine nor Humane Lawes to marrie two sisters: and if *Pope* had at anye time suffered it, it was for some great good and benefite to the Common weale, which had no such consideration in the fact of



Legionary foul-  
diets instituted  
by cardinal  
Ximenes.

Men that have  
families fitter  
to make soldiers  
to defend a  
realme then  
vagabonds.

Murmuring of  
the Spaniards  
against the car-  
dinal for the  
militarie order.

King D. Ferdinand confirmed, by private letters and messages from the king, if hee had G  
not letters drawne in forme of a publique Decree, and the resolution of the princes  
Councell: Notwithstanding, without attending them, hee put one thing in execution  
which had bene formerly projected, and attempted by the deceased King D. Ferdinand,  
the execution whereof had bene hindered by the kings infirmities and death: That is, he  
ordained for the defence of the realme in general, as well against foreine enemies, as  
home-bred mutines, legions and bands of ordinarie souldiers, taken out of the citizens  
and burgeses of the good townes of Spaine, men of good fame, dwellers, and hauing  
as they say, fire and family, remembering that hee had heard the deceased King discourse,  
That an army of such men was more profitable, and of greater effect in any kinde, than  
that which was leuiued of vagabond people, and ill liuers, whereof most companies are  
extraordinarily raised doe consist, who haue no courage but to spoile, and are more  
hurtfull to friends then enemies; whereas the other louing their honour, their goods,  
wives and children, are animated to fight more courageously against an enemy, for their  
defence, and fearing the Lawes, for that they haue something to loose, they abstaine  
from doing wrong vnto their friends: besides, it is a ready force, and is sodainely assem-  
bled, which keeps them in awe that would seeke to inuade and spoyle the realme, or  
moue seditions and tumults. This ordinance hauing bene concluded in the Councell  
at Madrid, contrayned, That such as should bee fitt to beare armes, should giue in their  
names, and be inrolled by certaine Commissioners deputed, and that they should enioy  
many exemptions of taxes, subsidies, lodgings and other charges accustomed to bee  
imposed, and leuiued vpon the people, to whom should be giuen captaines, officers, drum-  
pets, drummes and fises, payed with the kings money: They should arme and be readie  
when they should be commaunded, and should come every Sunday to be mustered be-  
fore the people. This Edict being proclaimed throughout the townes of Castille, was  
receiued and found good, with great ioy and contentment: so as in an instant there  
were aboue thirte thousand men inrolled, every one thinking it was an easie way to at-  
taine vnto a degree of gentrie: and in truth they could not haue desired a thing more  
profitable and more delightfull: for the youth which is corrupted through idleness, and  
giuen to vice and damnable pleasures, by this means they gaue themselves to manage  
armes, to ride horses, to leape, runne, swimme and other such exercises, as were im-  
ioyned them, and giuen them in discipline by old experimented captaines, and it was a  
pleasing sight to behold their troupes well armed to march in good order. For the which  
cardinal Ximenes did purchase the reputation of a wise and prudent Gouernor, yea with  
foreine kings and princes, thinking, as it is true, that there is no force like vnto it, when  
it is moderated with good iustice, especially in the beginning, by means whereof, we  
reade that great and populous nations haue been easily vanquished by small potentates.  
The seditious and men desirous of innovations in Spaine, were so scandalized at this E-  
dict, as there was nothing to be generally heard but murmuring, and ill words of the  
cardinal Ximenes: Whereunto tend these militarie troupes? What new shew of armes  
doth this Cardinal bring vs? Did hee thinke that Spaine was too quiet? Did hee  
enuey our peace? There needed nothing else in the kings absence, but to arme the mul-  
titude, to make him more insolent, and to authorize him to ruine the nobilitie: Let this  
turbid man (who likes of no counsell but his owne) be well aduised what hee doeth, and  
in so of what consequence it is to put armes and force in the hands of a rascall multitude, in so  
proud a nation, whereof hee will see many troubles and miseries to grow, as it will  
be impossible for him to prevent them. Moreover they said, that it was the kings means  
to make good townes desert and vnpeopled, and to draw away their Artizans and men  
of trade, who leauing their shoppes, would haue no care but to be gallants, and to walke  
like gentlemen, abandoning themselves to all insolencies and excesses, whereby it would  
happen that townes vnfurnished of things necessarie for the life of man, should by little  
and little be reduced to want and pouerty, which they could not in long time recouer,  
notwithstanding any diligence whatsoever. By these and such like speeches, the inhabi-  
tants of Leon, Burgos, Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Arenalo, Madrigal, Olmedo,  
and in a manner all the townes that were beyond the mountaines, beganne to oppose a-  
gainst

Sedition at  
Vailledolit a-  
gainst Ximenes.

Division among  
Councillors in  
a State in com-  
mon.

Letts of the Car-  
dinals military  
Edict.

A gainst the Edict, so as it could not be put in execution in their iurisdiction: but that  
which most contradicted the Cardinals commaundement was the townes of Vailledolit,  
whereas the Commissioners that were sent to make the enrollments, were outraged and  
put in prison: and as one fault drawes on another, they took armes, and put themselves  
in defence against Cardinal Ximenes, as against an enemy, shaking off the yoke of  
his commaundement; and resisting him as an oppressor of their liberties, and an inueir-  
tour and bringer in by force and violence, new and vnaccustomed things; whereof the  
cardinal was presently aduertised, by such as were of his partie in that towne, and for that  
cause suffered many indignities. The cause of these disorders and rebellions was the bad  
intelligence which was betwixt the cardinal and D. Antonio de Rojas bishop of Granada,  
the chiefe of the roiall counsell, and some other councillors, who did hate and enuey him,  
and did secretly giue in out, that those ordinances were not allowed by the Couricell, but  
mere inventions proceeding onely from the Cardinales braine: whose testimony, as  
the people which held a rank in the affaires of the realme, was of great weight among the peo-  
ple, and was a great argument of the miseries which diuision of Councillors brings vpon  
a State: whereunto we must adde the practices of the great men of that countrey, ac-  
customed to play the Kings, the means whereof were taken away by this ordinance, to  
their great griefe. They that did most animate the inhabitants of Vailledolit to rebellion,  
were the admiral of Castille, and the bishoppe of Asturia: for the admiral hauing great  
authoritie, and hereditary rightes in the gouernment of the towne, descending from the  
Henriques his predecessors, although hee were a very deere friend to the Cardinal, yet  
when hee heard at Madrid, that they would put this Edict in practise at Vailledolit, hee  
said openly, that hee would neuer suffer it: and making more esteeme of his owne private  
interest, then of the Cardinals friendship, he went to Vailledolit, where calling his bre-  
thren, his folks and friends together, hee procured every one by his credit to oppose him-  
selfe: The bishop who had bene Scholemaster and Gouernor to the infant D. Ferdinand,  
seeing that by the Cardinales diligence and care hee could not get any thing, hee grew  
discontented, and poured oyle into this fire, which ran through the cities of Burgos, Leon  
and others: whereof Cardinal Ximenes was much troubled: for although that hee  
had all the country on this side the mountaines, namely Antakia, Toledo, Murcia, and  
also beyond them the cities of Zamora, Tordesillas and others that were obedient, yet  
hee thought it a hard matter to use force, doubting that the contumacie of them of Vail-  
ledolit and Burgos would keepe the rest from performing: wherefore hee proceeded a-  
gainst these forward people with all the mildnesse hee could, admonishing them, that if  
they had any ancient priuiledges which did exempt them from such charges, they should  
produce them, and they should haue iustice done them: but they being supported by  
the fauour of great men their neighbours, did not respect the Cardinals friendly admo-  
nition; but made answer, that whilst they had breath and life, they would defend their  
liberties against his misused tyrannie, until that their king D. Charles should come into  
Spaine. These differences continued the following yere: for the Cardinal would not  
proceed rigorously in this business until that hee had newes from the King, whom hee did  
aduertise particularly of their which hee had done; and of the causes which had moued  
him to make these legions: soliciting D. Diego Lopez of Aragon his Agent in Court,  
that he should perswade the letters patents; and the authority which hee desired to be con-  
firmed vnto him: esse it was necessary for his honour to giue order that charge, by rea-  
son of the great difficulties and oppositions which hee found. And for that hee knew  
that the rebels had sent vnto the king, and to the Infante de Castille, the letters, which did  
fill their eares with many flatteries, and shewing that there was no charge more im-  
portant then the necessity whereof, the function instructions had obserued to be obeyed,  
and that it was the ordinarie manner of the court, who had a haire a greece of honour  
ouer the Gueches, who had the king, who had the court, who had the court, who had the court,  
negligence and neglect, hee found himselfe afterwards engaged in a badle troubles and  
miseries that his history speake of. Whereof seeing that time and occasion required the  
like

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*Altho of Cardinall Ximenes approved by the King.*

*Rebellions pacified in Castille.*

*Defeat of Turke at sea by the Spanishe gallies.*

*Orders for the Indies.*

*Cardinall Ximenes caused information to be taken at the Indies of the Spaniards.*

like remedy, to force many great men to the obseruation of the Lawes, hee had reuiued this most necessary remedie, with the which hee meant to preferue him the realme of his predecessors, without any charge vnto his coffers. For this cause hee besought the king not to giue care vnto the slanderous reports of his ill willers, who desired nothing but troubles, seeing hee had had so great proofes of his loyalty and affection: and that it would please him to write sharpe letters to the townes that would not obey him, that they might bee drawne to their dueties, a contempt or rebellion being of great importance, the which can not be light, no not in light matters: And for that since the warre of Granada Spaine was much vnfurnished of armes, that it was necessarie to send out of Flaunders, and the neighbour countries, great store of corslets, harquebuzes, pikes, and other armes: the which was faithfully solicited by *Diego Lopes*, and fauourably granted by the King; so as at the comming of those Letters into Spaine, the inhabitants of Vaileddoliz and others, seeing that the Cardinall's counsell was allowed by the prince, submitted themselves, and gaue over their factions. There were foure Sinites of the people appointed at Vaileddoliz, who should assist at the Councell, and might oppose against all decrees and resolutions which should bee made to the prejudice of the King, or commonweale, and if they would proceede, then to aduertise the King. This was thought verie fit and necessarie by the Vaileddolitanes, the chiefe whereof were too much obliged to the Admirall and Earle of Benauent. Thus ended the rebellion of those townes against the Cardinall; who by meanes of these prouisions maintained himselfe in his charge and authoritie. These militarie Orders haue been in our time praesented by King *Philip* the second, having appoynted bands and captaines, and graunted immunities to the souldiers throughout all his townes. And for that the Cardinall had provided in vaine for all inconueniences which might happen at land, if he should not in like maner assure the realme towards the Sea, he added to the old gallies which hee found in Spaine, twentie new, which were built and rigged at the charge of the people, dwelling vpon the Sea coast, ynder colour to defend them from the incursions and surprizes of the Moores, Turkes, and pyrates; the which proueed honourable for him; for thone after that they were ready, the Spanish armie tooke six Turkish gallies with the slaughter of aboue six hundred Turke, and brought them to Alicant. This Cardinall forgetting nothing that might serue for the publique good, hee repaired the forts and publique monuments which went to ruine; amongst which was the Acazania, or Afcenal of Seuille. His care and diligence extended to the Islands and West Indies, where, by his pietie and wisdom, the Spaniards beganne to taste some libertie. At that time there was resident in Madrid, *Don Diego Colombus* Admirall of the Indies, who had bene called home into Spaine by the deceased King *D. Ferdinand*; by reason of some quarrelles betwixt him and some that had charge at the Indies, and for many complaints and accusations framed against him by his enemies. After the kings deasse hee did sollicite Cardinall *Ximenes* the Regente to take knowledge of his affaires; and to suffer him to execute his charge; whereupon hee thought it fittest to send some good and learned man to be informed of these quarrells at the Indies, and to that end hee made choise of two sinites, of the Order of *Saint Ierome*, the one was *Lewis* of Figueroa prior of the monastier of *Mejorada* of *Olmiedo*; and the other *Alphons* of *Saint Iohn* prior of *Ortega* of *Burgos*, so whom hee ioynd *Aluarez* *de* *Aluarez* *de* *Aluarez*, and gaue them charge to passe into the Island of *Saint Dominicke* or *Hispaniola*, and there to take an exact information of the insolencies and abuses of euery man, and especially of the quarrells betwixt the Admirall and the Spaniards, and to requite of all things that were profitable or necessary for the publique gouernement, and especially for the quiet and good vsage of the naturall Indians, who at that time were oppressed with cruell seruitude: recommending especially vnto them the instruction of those people in religion. Afterwards hee appoynted that *Aluarez* should follow them for President of the Iustice, a man learned in the Lawes, and very about. The sinites being come into the Island, beganne to execute their charge very diligently, and with discretion, and did order many things, whereof this is memorable. King *Ferdinand* deceased, had distributed the Islands and Indians to certaine captaines, and other Spaniards,

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ards, who had employed themselves in these discoueries and conquests, to haue the care and defence of them, as Lordes of their vassalls and subiects; and for this reason were called Commandataires, for that these poore Indians were committed vnto them: many of these hauing left the Indies, were returned into Spaine; and there remayned: from whence the Fathers (disannulling the king *D. Ferdinand* Edict) tooke their vassalles and subiects, saying, that it was not reasonable the absent liuing in idleness and delights, should enioy the fruites due to their verue, who sayling ouer the spacious Ocean with so great daunger, did sweate continually vnder their armes to extend the Empire of the Crowne of Spaine, and religion: wherefore the Islanders were diuided by them to the olde inhabitants residing at the Indies; according to euery mans merite and dignitie. Then they thought that these miserable Indians were slaues by the Lawes of armes; by reason whereof their masters did intreate them cruelly, causing them to draw and to carrie burthens like horses or asses, the which seemed verie inhumane to these fathers, and strange from all Christian pietie: wherefore somewhat to moderate that which they could not altogether helpe: they ordainned that this people liuing then in the fieldes and desert places, of whom they made no more accompt then of beasts, should bee drawne into townes and villages, and liue vnder some forme of policie and municipall Lawe, taking from their masters this great authoritie and power which they pretended of life and death, letting them know, that they should vse them as vassalls, and not abuse them as slaues.

Thus the Fathers thought to prouide for the libertie of this people, against the tyrannie of the souldiers: where they found great difficulties and debates, the which is vsually seene when they seeke to abolish any peruerse customes, so as their holy diligence did afterwards cause a very bad effect, through the wickednesse of the Spaniards, who seeing the same order obserued by the fathers in other llands, and places of those regions, whereas the like diuisions and distributions had bene assigned, as well by the Admirall *Colombus* and others, thinking that hereafter there would come others, so as in the end the Indians should be set at full libertie, whereat the Spaniards were so mad, as furcharging their subiects and vassalls with insupportable trauel they made them shrinke vnder their burthens, and die. They saie, that by the industrie of these friers, the art of drawing and refining of sugar was much bettered and augmented, and therefore they were much honoured in Spaine, as the authors and inuentors of many profitable things.

It happened at that time, that some without the priuite of Cardinall *Ximenes*, had gotten leaue of King *Charles* in Flaunders, to carrie foure hundred Ethiopian Moores to the Islands, such as the Portugalles were accustomed to bring into Spaine, vnder colour that the art of drawing and trimming their sugars required great and strong labour, which the weake bodied Indians could not vndergoe: which the Cardinall vnderstanding hee presently aduertised the King of the daunger hee foresawe therein; for these Moores are more strong and giuen to armes: wherefore hee besought him to consider what a subiect of sedition those men which had obtrayned this leaue of him, carried to the Indians, a simple and rude people, who without doubt would leaue of them to bee hardie and warlike, and to rebell afterwards against the Spaniards. This counsell was contemned by the king, or rather by *Monsieur de Charles* who gouerned him, thinking that the Cardinall did not so much blame their trafficke of slaues for the good of the Common weale, as for that hee being Gouernour of Spaine, thought it should not be allowed without his priuite; but he found afterwards by the euents, how wise the Cardinall's aduice was. For in the yeare one thousand five hundred and twentie, by the conspiracie of fortie of these Moores, they did cause a seuerle warre in the Island of *Hispaniola*, the which was hardly quenched by the verue and diligence of *Melchior de Castro*, and *Francis d'Anila* inhabitants there.

20 The gouernement of Castille was not yet assured from troubles, when as they had newes, that *Iohn* of Albret king of Nauarre came with a great armie of French, for the recouerie of his realme, wherewith the Cardinall was troubled; hauing not suffici-

*Cruelty of the Spaniards to the Indians.*

*Moores strong and fit for the warre.*

*Nauarre.*

D. Antonio  
Munrique de  
Lara viceroy  
of Nauarre.

Councell bar-  
barous to make  
the countrie of  
Nauarre desart

ent forces to assure so many affaires: knowing well that D. Frederic of Acugna, vice-roy of Nauarre was not provided as hee ought: wherefore by the aduice, and at the request of the chiefe noblemen, hee gaue the defence of the realme to D. Antonio Munrique de Lara, sonne to D. Pedro Duke of Nagera, who willingly offered himselfe to take that charge in so dangerous a time, hauing his lands neere vnto Nauarre, from whence he might drawe speedie succours at all euents: and it is a bitte continued from time to time that it was propounded in the counsell of Castille, not onely to demantle all the Townes and places of strength within the realme, by reason of the mutinies which did rise at that time in Nauarre, but also to leaue the laide wast to serue to feede their troups: the demantling did afterwards take place, but as for the desolation of the fields it was held too barbarous. D. Inigo Fernandes of Velasco, Constable of Castille, an inveterate enemy to the Duke of Nagera, sought to disappoint his sonne of his gouernement, pretending that hee had alliances, with the faction of Gramont, and did still feare the ruine of it: wherefore hee made protestations against this decree made in Councell: whereby the necessarie provisions were so delayed in this apparent danger, as if the French had aduanced with more speede, they might easily haue bene masters of Pampelone, and of the whole realme.

Their armie entring slowly by the Pyrenees on the side of Moya and Ifana, it was stayed in the valley of Roncal, and defeated by the diligence of colonell D. Ferdinand Villalua of Plaisance: The Marshall D. Pedro, who was the Leader, and his brother Diego Velez, with other Noblemen Nauarrois, were taken and sent into Castille, to diuers prisons, whilest that king John was at the siege of the Castle of Saint John, at the foot of the Pyrennee mountaines, who hearing of the defeat of his men, returned into Fraunce, out of all hope euer to recouer his realme. It was bruted, that there were found in a coffer amongst the Marshalles baggage that was taken, certayne Letters of D. Lewis of Beaumont Constable of Nauarre, and of other Noblemen Nauarrois, who were grieued to see that auncient and noble Crowne reduced to a province. Others say, that the countesse D. Briande Munrique, his wife, sister to the Duke of Nagera, chofen Viceroy of Nauarre, hauing discovered these practises, by certayne papers which fell into their hands, shee aduertised Cardinall Ximenes, who gaue commandement vnto Frederic d'Acugna the Viceroy, to seaze vpon the Constables person, but as capitaine Picarro would haue laied hands on him, hee escaped and stode vpon his gard, vntill the coming of the Duke of Nagera his brother in lawe, to be Viceroy of the realme: for this cause the countesse his wife durst neuer afterwards come in his company.

Fortis demou-  
led in Na-  
uarre.

The affaires of Nauarre beeing assured for Castille by the defeate of the French armie, the Cardinall caused them to beginne to demantle the forts throughout the realme, by the perswasion of colonell Villalua, or for that hee had formerly conceiued it in his fantasie, the which they that haue come after haue found profitable: for it is certayne that the Nauarrois could not forget their proprietarie and lawfull kings; and there is no doubt but if the forts had stode still, they would haue sought means to rebell: but seeing themselves without any retreats, they haue contrayned themselves: besides, in doing it, the Cardinall would spare a great expence, which hee must haue employed in the entertainment of so many garrisons, as was necessarie in a Realme newly conquered: To conclude, all were demanteled and ruined, except the citie of Pampelona, the Castle of Estella, and the townes of Lombier, and Pont de la Roine, which the Constable D. Lewis of Beaumont obtayned for a time of his brother in law: the Castle of Matzilia a place strong by scituation and art, vpon the river of Arragon, escaped this furie by the vertue of D. Anna of Velasco, Marquesse of Falses, who drew vpon the bridge against the Commissaries deputed for these demolitions, saying, that shee would keepe the place well vntill the coming of King Charles, and so hindered them.

Among other buildings which fell in this calamitie, the Conuent of Saint Francis of Oliza an auncient place, and reuerenced, was much lamented. The death of colonell

Death of Col-  
lonell Villalua

Death of John  
of Albre king  
of Nauarre.

Qualities of  
Colonell Villalua

Death of queen  
Catherine of  
Nauarre.

Castille.

Admiralty in  
Castille and the  
Iurisdiction.

A Ionell Villalua followed soone after, suspected to haue bene aduanced by the Constable Lewis of Beaumont, who meeting him neere vnto his house of Lerin vpon the way to Estella, inquired him to sup with him, where it was thought hee had poison giuen him, whereof hee dyed as soone as hee came to Estella: This was for the hatred which hee had purchased among all the Nauarrois, for that hee had bene the instrument of the demantling of the forts of Nauarre.

King John of Albre dyed also this yeare one thousand five hundred and seuentee, of grieft, seeing his affaires desperate; and his bodie was laied in the Cathedrall church of Lescar in Bearn, for his will was to be interred in the great church of Saint

B Marie of Pampelona: His death happened five yeares nine moneths and twenty daies after that hee was dispossest of his realme. The offices of colonell Villalua were confirmed to his sonne, by the intercession of Cardinall Ximenes, who gaue this profitable counsell vnto the king, to giue the suruiuancy of estates to their children that died in his seruice, as an encouragement to carrie themselves well and faithfully in their charges: yet hee was not of opinion to giue him the place of Colonell which his father had, holding that this great power and commandement ouer many men, should not bee sufficed in armes, being the cause of confusion and disorder, being a naturall thing and most necessarie, said hee, that all should looke vnto one head: Colonell Villalua was a valiant man, foudaine and active, sharpe witted, of a great courage, and a good souldier in all occasions: and as for his vertues they compared him to Hanniball.

C Queen Catherine suruiued her husband about eight moneths, and ordained by her will that her body should bee buried in the Cathedrall church of Saint Marie of Pampelone, to preserve the right to the realme of Nauarre, leauing Henry of Albre her sonne, heire thereof: She died at Mont de Marsan, being seuen and forty yeares old: her body was then fourtee yeares old, and did intitle himselfe king of Nauarre: the Viceroy of which realme at his entrie into his gouernment, assembled the estates at Pampelona, causing them to swear to king Charles of Austria, and to the queen D. Ioane his mother, and hee also swearing on their behalves to obserue the priuiledges of the countrie. And for that by reason of the faction, wherewith that realme had been in former times diuided, they had been accustomed to chuse a counsell or court of iustice of like number, of either part of Gramont and Beaumont, the president of which counsell being chosen by lot out of one of the factions, did commonly oppress the contrarie party, the Cardinall caused the order established first by king John of Albre and continued by king Ferdinand to bee followed: which was to giue them a President that was a stranger, notwithstanding the Nauarrois did solicit in the kings court in Flanders, to haue the auncient custome practised again. He also tooke the gouernment of Pampelone from an Arragonois, called Ferrera, and gaue it to a Castilian, letting the king vnderstand that the Arragonois & Nauarrois did alwaies disagree. He did also resist the Cardinall of Albre, who through the popes fauour would enioy his bishopricke of Pampelone, from whence hee had bene expelled.

E 21 Nauarre being pacified, there grew troubles in the realme of Granada, by reason of the rights and iustice of the Admiraltie. It is an auncient order in Spaine, as in many other realmes, that the admirall hath charge of the Sea-coasts, and of armes and warre at sea, and officiull and criminall iustice ouer all sea-faring men, as well Mariners, & passengers as Souldiers. And therefore in euery Province which lies vpon the sea, where there are ports, ships, & any comerce he hath his Iudges, as at Seuille, Malaga, and such like, & sets vp gibbets and other such markes of supreme iustice. They of Malaga had often tryed in the time of king Ferdinand to free themselves from this iurisdiction, and to abolish it in their towne, saying, that it did but hinder iustice, and giue way to ill liuers, to auoid deserued punishment: for in Sea-townes whither men come from diuers places, and many times vnciuill, if any one bee called in question for any crime, he requires to be sent vnto the admiraltie, and most commonly by these declinatories escapes the punishment that should be inflicted vpon him by the royal Iudges. In like maner the garrisons





for certaine that the negligence of *Lewis Ferrer* did feed the malice of her infirmity, hee G  
dismissed him by reason of his great age, putting in his place *Ferdinand Duca* called *Strate*,  
of Talavera, a man of a Noble family, wife and well aduised, who carried himselfe  
so discreetly in his charge, as in a short time hee did moderate this violent humour  
in the Queene, and got her to bee content to haue her chamber made cleane, and ma-  
ny earthen dishes wherein they did commonly serue her to bee carried away: for hee  
had an humor to make them leaue the dishes full of meat in her chamber, not suffe-  
ring them to carrie any one away, so as the meat corrupting, made a stinking sauour:  
then by little and little he procured her to lie in a bed; hee perswaded her to goe abroad H  
to church, and made her to haue some feeling and apprehension that shee was a  
Queene, and so acknowledged: and so by little and little made her familiar, & brought  
her to a more milde and humane kinde of life: the which did much please king *Charles*  
her sonne, who thanked *Cardinall Ximenes* by his letters.

The displeasure which *Lewis Ferrer* had conceived for his displacing, was augmen-  
ted by the dismissal of his sonne, from the gouernement of Toledo, for his misde-  
meanors and negligence, which caused infinite confusions; in whose place the earle  
of Palma, of the family of *Portocarrero* was made gouernour, a man worthy of great  
honour, who was receiued notwithstanding the oppositions of the faction of *Ayala*:  
for the citie of Toledo, hath beene long diuided into two factions of *Sylva* and of *Ay-  
ala*. This was pacified by the diligence of the earle of *Fuensalida*, who was one of the  
heads of it, a deare friend to *Cardinall Ximenes*. Doctor *Gallego* being sent to Toledo I  
to informe of the life and behauiour of the gouernour of *Ferrer*, displaced by the Car-  
dinall and the kings counsell, by a memorable example, and shewing his auncient fe-  
ueritie, hee caused some officers and ministers of iustice to be publickly whipt, be-  
ing convicted of corruption and other crimes, and would haue punished *Arrois*  
treasurer of the Calatrava more grieuously, if hee had not fled away, being accused of  
infinite villanies, rapes, & violences committed about his commandery of *Zoria*, whereof  
being deprived by sentence, the Cardinal gaue it vnto *Sancho Cabrera*. By these offices of  
piety and justice, the Cardinal made himselfe to be obeyed, feared, beloued and reueren-  
ced in Castille, keeping the realme in peace, and prouiding in the meane time for those  
things which might serue for future and v unexpected accidents. Hee appointed arce-  
nals or storehouses for artillerie, engines, and all munition of warre, in three places of  
Spain: At Medina del Campo, beyond the mountaines, in Castille the old: in the realm K  
of Toledo, at Alcala de Henares; and at Malaga in Granado, that when any tumult or  
sedition should arise, they might haue speedy meanes to suppress it: As for that of  
Medina del Campo, it is most certaine that it was then made. He had an humour to haue  
coyned a peece of money, on the which should be grauen the Image of Saint *Francis*, but  
the kings counsell holding it to be somewhat ambitious in the Cardinal, who was a fri-  
er, opposed themselves. He began a commendable and most profitable thing in all great  
estates, that is, hee obtained a decree from king *Charles*, by the which there was com-  
mendement giuen to bring in all sort of registers, accomps, memorials, instructions, & such L  
like writings, concerning the publike affaires, of the realm, or the state of the kings house,  
which might be in the hands of the counsellors and soveraign Iudges, or of those which had  
been employed in embassages to foreine Princes and common-weales, and other per-  
sons whatsoeuer, to be kept in certaine places, to be vsed when time and necessity should  
require: the which if it had been executed, posteritie had beene better satisfied of that  
which had past in precedent times, and better informed of that which was to be done. By  
some little which was done according to this decree, the Cardinal came to the knowledge  
of many things, especially of that which concerned the militarie orders of Spaine, as the  
reuenues & ancient rights of the masters, & of their tables, of the common money of com-  
manderies, & the duties of commanders & their justice and Chapters; which things were  
vknowne to the kings officers, the masterships hauing beene retained and held by  
kings, and then annexed to the crowne: so as there were infinite fraudes and abuses  
committed, which gaue occasion to the great comandars of those orders, to make  
oppositions, and to seeke to exempt themselves out of the Cardinalls power, yea

Ministers of  
iustice punished  
exemplary.

Storehouses for  
munition in  
Spaine.

Search of an-  
cient writings  
by Cardinall  
Ximenes.

A yea of the king himselfe: the prouision of *Comanderies* was one of the quarrels  
which they debated; saying, that it should bee Canonically done; according vnto  
the orders which they held, and not giuen to any, but to them of their orders, re-  
spectively: but it is hard to kicke against the power of kings: wherefore all that the  
commanders could allege was easily refuted by the Cardinall, who could giue  
good interpretations to their *Papall Bulles*, and other instructions which they pro-  
duced. Through the Cardinalls diligence, by the revision of the auncient accompts,  
hee found that there had been imbezeled from the king about forty Millions of Ma-  
rauidis euerie yea, the fraud consisting chiefly in that the commanders were in old  
time to assist their masters in the warres against the moores, with a certaine number of  
Souldiers entertained at their charges, the which they concealed, and freed themselves,  
leaving the care and charge to the king. Finding that some townes belonging to these  
masterships had beene vsurped, hee restored them to the kings reuenues, wherein he did  
chiefly make vse of the labour and diligence of *Touilla* and *Cabrera*, commanders of  
the orders of Calatrava. He made inquirie of the manners and carriage of the Iudges of  
those orders, and censured them, displacing some, and instituting others: Hee had resol-  
ued to doe the like to them of the Chanceries and great counsell, as well following the  
court, as of *Valledoliz*, *Granado*, *Gallcia*, and others, with speciall commandement from  
the king, which hee had procured to that end: hee did with great diligence and se-  
ueritie cut off many gifts, fees and entertainments, which were not greatly necessarie;  
the which did much ease the kings coffers, not fearing to offend his greatest and dearest  
friends, for the profit of his Prince, whereby he purchased many enemies: finally, imitating  
the emperor *Seuerus*, a most worthy Prince, he wold not haue any one receiue wages from  
the king, nor to haue an office in the state, that were not profitable and necessarie for the  
common-weale; and hee disappointed all those rars, which did but deuour, retaining onely  
in court, the Iudges or Counsellors of the great Chancery, the officers and ordinarie  
ministers of the roiall Pallace, the garrisons of the frontiers, the foure prouosts of justice,  
whome they call *Alcaydes*, and their archers, the marshall of the lodgings; and harbin-  
gers, guards of the body, and such like. But it is doubtfull touching the taking away of of-  
ficers fees, whether hee did it of his owne motion, or by the kings commandement: for hee  
complained by some letters to the king, for that they gaue him wales an odious charge  
to take away, and neuer to giue any thing. But howsoeuer, he was of opinion that sparing  
was most necessarie and commendable in a prince; who must consider that all that hee  
spends comes out of the bowels of his people, complaining greatly that in lesse than  
four months that he had begunne to gouerne the realm, king *Charles* had giuen away a-  
boue eightene millions of Marauidis. Aboue all things, he held that a multitude of Col-  
lectors and receiuers, and a great number of treasurers were verie pernicious and hurtfull  
to a state: wherefore he desired that some man of a noble house, diligent and expert, were  
made superintendent of all the kings money, whose charge should be to distribute the or-  
dinarie expenses, as need should require, and to reserve the remainder, to bee employed in  
v unexpected affaires, and in liberalities well employed by king; and vnder him such a  
number of deputies as should be necessarie: He held, that it was a great confusion in the  
managing of the treasure, to inuert and employ one kind of money to another vse than it  
had beene assigned: of which rules hee did continually aduertise the king his master by his  
letters, and gaue an accompt of his gouernment; shewing with how little charge ym a  
small time that he had been his lieutenant in Castille, hee had effected great matters; Hee  
had pacified the tumults in Andalusia, repulst the French in Nauarre, suppressed the con-  
tempt and rebellion of the Malaguins, held the frontiers wel manned, cleared the sea from  
pyrats, and assured the coast, made an enterprize against *Alger*, freed Bugia, *Pegnon* and  
Melille from feare and the assaults of *Horusco Barberousse*, succoured Argille for the  
king of Portugal, and with all discharged great debts, which *D. Ferdinand* his grandfather  
did owe. That if hee with a limited authority, and for another, amidst the enuy and cro-  
sses of his ill willers, could effect such great matters, by the means of sparing & good hus-  
bandrie, much more might hee doe it, who was a king, and whose greatness was without the  
touch of enuie.

Husbandrie of  
Cardinall Xi-  
menes.

Multitude of  
officers in the  
treasurie hurt-  
full to the realm.

1517  
Alger held by  
Hornsea Barbe-  
rousse.

26. As for the expedition of Alger, whereof hee makes mention in his letters, it had not been yarie happy: it was after this manner. Alger a sea towne which some hold to bee Cirta, the chiefe of the realme of Iuba and Siphax, but they are deceived: Others say it was the Colonie of Salde in Mauritania Cefariensis: it was then in a maner tributarie to the Spaniards, but it was much afflicted by the diffension of two brethren Moores, who contended for the Seignourie. The inhabitants desirous to shake off this yoke, had called *Hornsea Barberousse* to defend their liberties, who running along the coast of Afrique, with his younger brother *Hareden*, had bene lately repulst from Bugia, a Spanish towne, with the losse of an army, about the death of king *Ferdinand*. This famous Pyrat hauing thus seased vpon that citie, comodious for theft & Pyracies, he made himself king of Alger, hauing slaine *Celim* the lawfull prince; and then hee began to spoile vpon the coast of Spaine, and did not onely molest the Christians, but he did tyrannize ouer the pety kings of Afrique of his owne sect: so as hee vnderooke to dispossesse *Albuquerque* king of Tunis, whome hauing slaine, hee pursued *Iahid* his sonne so neere, as hee forced him to leaue the countie, and to flie into Spaine, where addressing himself vnto Cardinall *Ximenes*, and relating his miserie vnto him, he besought him that hee might recouer his ancestors realme. The Cardinall hauing giuen him good hope, caused men to bee leuiued in Spaine, and galleys and ships to bee made ready to passe into Afrique, against this Pyrat *Barberousse*: the charge of which army hee gaue to *Diego Vera*, master of the ordnance, a rash and indiscreet man, but it was first refused by *Ferdinand Andrado*, who excused himselfe, holding it perilous to lead new men and vnexperienced (such as the Cardinall ment to send to the warre.) The army of *Diego Vera*, being about eight thousand men, hauing weighed anchor they came neere vnto Alger in October: The Moores being long before aduertised of this preparation which was made against them, were ready to stop their landing, and at all euents had manned the towne of Alger with good souldiers, both of horse and foot, among the which there were sixe hundred Turkish archers, verie good souldiers, whome *Hornsea* had brought out of Asia for his ordinarie gard. *Diego Vera* approaching neere the towne, he diuided his armie into foure parts, against the aduice of other Captaines, the which was verie hurtfull vnto him, for the Barbarians were in all places stronger than the Assayants, either in assault, sallie or skirmish: so as the Christian army was chased and dispersit with a horrible slaughter, *Diego Vera* hauing abandoned all, and hiding himselfe with his sonne a good part of the day among the rocks, hee saued himselfe in the first vessell that he found at anchor: and being returned into Spaine he was receiued of all men with taunts and scoffes, the children singing songs in the streets, to his dishonour and disgrace, saying, that *Diego Vera* was to weak to wrestle against *Hornsea*, who had but one arme, with such like. After which the Spaniards were neuer succesfull in any enterprise against Alger.

The newes of this rout was brought to Cardinall *Ximenes*, when as hee was disputing in an assembly of Diuines: and they say, that hauing read the letters, hee shewed no signe of heauines, but said onely, that the Spanish army had bene defeated in Afrique, but God be thanked, the losse was not great: for Spaine by this meanes should bee purged of a great number of lewd insolent companions, whom hee had sent in this expedition, remembering what king *Ferdinand* was wont to say, that it was necessary after a time to send men out of the countie to some foreine warre: for it was like a potion of Rubarbe to a mans body, which carried away all sharpe and cholericke humors hindering the sweet harmony of the whole constitution: so did *Pericles* that famous captain of the Athenians vse to doe, and other men of worth: hee made the losse lesse in certaine letters written vnto the king, saying, that there were but a thousand of the whole army slaine and taken prisoners, laying the whole blame vpon *Diego Vera*.

27. About that time and not farre from the warre of Alger, there was a cruell edict made against the Genouois trafiquing in the towne and ports of Spain, by the which they were commanded to void the country within a short space, vpon pain of confiscation of their goods & losse of their liues: the cause was the error & indiscretion of some aswell Spaniards, as Genouois, but the fault was chiefly in *D. Berenguelo*, lord of Muscot a

Edict against  
the Genouois  
trafiquing into  
Spaine.

A Cartellan commander of the Spanish gallies: And thus it was, there was a captaine of a brigantine or foist, named *John Riue*, borne at Toledo, who being not employed in the kings seruice, did steale at sea both from friend and enemie; so as meeting on a time certaine marchants ships of Genoua, hauing an aduantage ouer them in a caline, he had put them to ransom: for the which the Genouois hauing made their complaints, being friends to Spaine, they attended but an occasion to make *John Riue* repaite this iniurie, and to punish him as he deserved. It happened that three great ships of Genoua, being in the port of Carthagea, to carrie away wools, at the same time the commonweale of Genoua had sent forth three gallies well furnished with men and ordnance, as well for the safetie of those marchants ships, as to seeke out the pyrat *John Riue*, who had spoyled their companions: and as by chance all these vessels of Genoua were at Carthagea, behold the Spanish armie arrives, being commanded by *D. Berenguelo*, with whom *John Riue* was, who was presently knowne by the Genouois, and therefore they address themselves to *D. Berenguelo*, intreating him to deliuer him vnto them, who had ranomed and spoyled them, to the end they might represent him to the Iustice, or punish him themselfes, according to the league betwixt the deceased kings of Arragon and the commonweale of Genoua. Whereof *D. Berenguelo*, through his arrogancie, and also for that he was a Cartellan, and by consequence an enemie to the Genouois, made no reckoning. Wherewith the Genouois being incensed, following after the foist of *John Riue*, they did soplie her with their canon, as they had almost sunke her. *D. Berenguelo* growing in rage for this fact, leauing the Genouois gallies which were armed, and had committed the fault, he went against the Genouois ships which lay in the port, to assaile them, who presently put their boars downe into the water with certaine peeces of ordnance, and put themselfes in defence. *D. Berenguelo*, when he saw them in fight, left them, and went to land. There was a furious encounter betwixt the Genouois and the gallies of Spaine, wanting their head; two of them were so ill handled with their great shot, as the one sunke, and the other, being all broken, ran on ground, and was also lost. The towne (being moued at this noyse, and sollicit by the cries of *D. Berenguelo*, saying, That they must not in any sort suffer so great an outrage, which was against the Maiestie of the king, that strangers should presume to assaile his gallies in the port of Carthagea) was prestantly all in armes: the fight grew so hot, as the towne against the Genouois gallies and ships, and they against the towne, shot continually one at another, making a pitifull ruine of buildings, and killing of men, vntill that night parted them. The cardinall tooke this fact of the Genouois verie ill, as contemners of him and of the king his master; be- this fact of the Genouois verie ill, as contemners of him and of the king his master; he also sought by all meanes vnto the king, to haue *D. Berenguelo* deprived of the charge of the gallies, shewing his vnworthinesse of such a commander, and the great fault which he had committed: and also that the truce of an hundred yeares, concluded betwixt the kings of Arragon, and the commonweale of Genoua being expired, it seemed they would reuile with great hatred, the old quarell for the island of Sardinia. *D. Berenguelo*, besides that hee had friends and fauourers in the Court of Flanders, hee made the cardinals pursuit in vaine, by a victorie which he got soone after against foure Turkish gallies, the fight continuing almost a whole day, which was the onely remarkable thing hee did in six yeares space, that he had bene generall of the gallies. The commonweale of Genoua sent embassadors into Flanders, to king *Charles*, excusing themselves of this fact, and saying, That it was the fault of priuat men, and not of the citie, against whom they had proceeded by way of justice, condemning the commanders and captaines to loose their liues, and the souldiers and mariners to other punishments, according to their merits, as soone as they should be returned home: But God preuented the execution of these decrees, for these vessels being retired to the port of Villefranche neere Nice, they had by a sudden whirlwind bene swallowed vp in the sea, with the losse of about three hundred men. Wherefore they besought the king, seeing that these wicked breakers of the publike league, were diuinely punished, that he would be pleased to grant a restitution of their goods which had bene seized on in Spaine, and disannull that rigorous Edict: King *Charles* pacified by this embassage, pardoned the offence, and reuoked the Edict, against the

refusal of in-  
dice cause of a  
great tumult  
in Spaine.

Victorie of *D.  
Berenguelo* a-  
gainst the Turke

1517  
Cardinal Ximenes an enemy  
to the Genovese.

Edict against  
the Genovese  
revoked.

Proceeding un-  
just against the  
accused by the  
Inquisition.

Contention for  
the bishoprick  
of Sigüenza.

Nobilitie in-  
flamed to com-  
mand.

Cardinal Ximenes impatient  
of injuries, by  
reason of his  
ambition.

the cardinals will, who was verie obstinate in that which he had once conceived, and did still sollicite the king to breed jealousies in his head against that commonweale, and to bring them into disgrace with him; saying, that they had intelligence with the French: giving infinite crosses to these poore Genovese. Yet in the end, by their diligence and perseverance, they justified themselves, and obtained restitution, and an abolition of the Edict, the cardinal their adversarie (being somewhat pacified) consenting thereunto. He opposed himselfe with great vehemencie, against the pursuits of the new Christians (as they call them) in Court, that the judgements of the Inquisition might bee executed against them, touching that which concerns witnesses, according to the forme of other criminall causes; for the accused were not allowed to except against the witnesses, which were not confronted against them, nor yet named: which gave occasion and boldnesse unto judges, which were greedy of the blood and wealth of these poore men, to commit many cruelties and abuses in their charges. Finally, this cardinal did so labour with the king and Pope, whereas they of Arragon were also sutors, as the lawes of the tribunall of the Inquisition, practised in the time of king *Ferdinand*, remained firme.

29 About that time there fell out a great debate in the citie of Sigüenza, for the restitution of the cardinal *D. Bernardin* of Carvajal, sometimes bishop of that see, whereof he had beene deprived by Pope *Inno*, by reason of the Councell of Pisa. Cardinal *Ximenes* favouring his reintegration to his dignitie, goods, and honours, made by Pope *Leo*, he had for opposite *D. Frederic* of Portugall, subrogated into that bishopricke, after the deposition of *D. Bernardin*, who would not leave it. So as some holding with cardinal *Carvajal*, and others with *D. Frederic*, the diocesse was divided, & their contentions came to armes. The place where the greatest excessse was committed, was Almazan, a towne of the earle of Montagu jurisdiction, whither they were resolved to send an Alcayde of the Court, to suppress this tumult. This Alcayde called *Ferdinand Calderon*, shewed himselfe so cruell in his proceedings against this poore people, as the earle their lord telling him, that his too great severitie should rather be called outrage then justice: and having by sundrie messages advertised the kings Councell, and besought them, to commaund *Calderon* to retire: his being that they made no account of it, he came himselfe well accompanied to Almazan, and forced him to leave the towne. Wherewith the Councell, especially doctor *Adrian*, who was now a cardinal, and companion to cardinal *Ximenes* in the government of Castille, being incensed, sent a personall adjournment for the earle of Montagu, and meant to make his processe, as having offended the kings Majestie. But cardinal *Ximenes* opposed himselfe, shewing that he might lawfully doe that which he had done, seeing that vpon his many complaints made unto the Councell, against the excessse of *Ferdinand Calderon* there was no order taken: and so he caused this pursuit to cease. The difference for the bishopricke of Sigüenza, ended in like maner, by the death of *D. Gutierrez* of Toledo, bishop of Plaisance: which place was given to the cardinal of Carvajal, and *D. Frederic* left in the possession of Sigüenza. And for that the governments of cities and provinces of Spaine, had beene for a long time distributed confusedly, & without distinction of persons, whether noble or vnnoble, it was concluded to restore the ancient custome, and conformable to nature, that nobilitie instituted to commaund, and to exercise honourable charges, should be employed: wherefore there were many changes of old governours throughout all Spaine. True it is, that the Biscanes and they of Palence had no gentlemen at that time, but two famous Lawyers for their governours, that is, *León* and *Gallego*. In some places cardinal *Ximenes* was prevented by such as obtained them by the kings favour, and of the Flemish courtiers; wherewith he was much discontented, especially for the government of Burgos, the which was given without his priuite to *D. Pedro* of Castille, who deliuered the fort of Lara into the hands of the Sherifes and Communitie of the towne, and they gave the gard thereof to *Iffrey* of Conde, a Fleming, who had beene marshall of the lodging to the deceased king *Philip*, an inconstant man, and a prater, and therefore much hated by cardinal *Ximenes*. Of this and of many other things done by *D. Pedro*, he made sundrie complaints unto the king. So impatient he was of any injurie, as he thought that whatsoever king *Charles* ordained, touching the affaires of Spaine, if it came not from him, and his advertisements and counsels, it was done

A done in contempt of him, condemning it as pemitious, and as subiects of seditions; accusing the noblemen and counsellors of Flanders of rashnesse, who being ignorant of the lawes and maners of the Spaniards, medled with the disposition of the governments of Spaine, the which did wholly depend of the Viceroyes authoritie and reputation, and of the kings councell which was in the countrey. He did honour and cherish doctor *Adrian Florent* verie much, for that he yeilded unto him: He procured him the bishopricke of Tortosa, the which made his way to a cardinals hat, and afterwards to the Papacie. He sought also by all meanes to procure him the dignitie of Inquisitor generall of Arragon, as he himselfe had that of Castille; but he could not. The secretarie *Mote* of Burgos, a diuine, was verie decre unto him, whom he made bishop of Badajos, and would have made him cardinal, and Archbishop of Toledo, had not the cardinal died so soone, which hindered him from enjoying of those dignities whereof he held himselfe sure, but he was deceived. *Mote* had beene preacher to king *Philip*, after whose decease he would have retired into Flanders, for that in hatred of the king *D. Ferdinand*, he and all the servants of the deceased, sought to draw the Emperour *Maximilian* into Spaine, to contend for the government of those realmes, for prince *Charles* his grand child. To have the better accessse unto the young princes court, he begged letters of fauour almost from all the chiefe noblemen of Spaine. King *Ferdinand* knowing that this preacher was full of spleene against him, yet would he not hinder his voyage for Flanders, shewing therein C a generous mind: but he gave order, that when he should be readie to depart, all his letters of recommendation should be stolne from him, the which was cunningly performed by the care of *D. Bernardin* of Velasco, the kings sonne in law, who had great meanes in that citie to doe it. *Mote* not discovering what was done, goes on his way, and being arrived in Flanders, where they were already advertised that he should come, accompanied with many letters of fauour, when he opened his male he found not any, wherewith he was much abashed, and therefore for a time was held of all those courtiers for a man of a shallow braine. Notwithstanding his vertue and eloquence made him a way to king *Charles* his fauour, and advanced him to honour, by the meanes of cardinal *Ximenes*: who also procured honours and titles to many others, whose qualities and behaviour were D pleasing unto him, as to *D. John Pacheco*, sonne to the earle of Escalona, the title of earle of Saint Stephen; to *D. William Peres* of Ajala, that of earle of Gomera, which is one of the islands of the Canaries, which he obtained of the king for him. Such was the government and carriage of cardinal *Ximenes*, who was feared and respected both of great and small in Castille.

THE



# THE 27 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

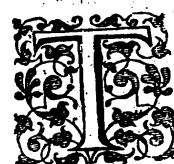
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For the continuance of the royall lines of Spaine  
in this seuen and twentieth Booke, mention is made for

CASTILLE, of LEON, ARRAGON, NAVARRE.  
23 D. Charles 1. — 44 the same 1. — 21 the same 1. — 37 the same 1.



He feueritie and integritie of cardinall Ximenes, in the gouernement of affaires, could not be long supportable to the Spaniards, who are haucie and proud, and accustomed to serue their kings being present; and much lesse to the Flemings, who were neere vnto king Charles, who desirous to make vse of their credit and authoritie, did still busie themselves with the great affaires of Spaine, and made their profit, to the cardinals great griefe, he opposing himself against them in all he could: so as all things tended to confusion, as well among the Spaniards, who desired the comming of their prince into the countrey, the which might quench many quarels, and content those that did enuie the cardinals greatnesse, as with the noblemen Flemings, who entertained the king in Flanders, vpon diuers colours, thinking it a fit meanes to compass their designs, if he did not vndertake this voyage, and in truth these had the aduantage, the king being in their power. And to take some course for the mischiefes which he feared might happen in Spaine, by reason of the kings absence, it was concluded to send the lord of Chaux thither, who had beene much fauoured by king Philip; and was chamberlaine to Charles his sonne; a man fitter to entertaine a prince with pleasant discourse, and to keep him companie, than to manage the great affaires of a kingdome. To him was giuen the third place in the gouernement of Castille, with cardinall Ximenes, and doctor Adrian, who had procured the comming of this third, writing into Flanders, That he was not sufficience to resist cardinall Ximenes, a haucie man, who (not able to endure a companion) did manage all things at his pleasure. The coming of Chaux was verie pleasing to the noblemen, and to the people of Spaine, who were discontented with the cardinall, and he was receiued with all royall honours, against the which the cardinall did not in any sort oppose himselfe, shewing therein, as in all other things, a great magnanimitie and constancie, although he knew that he was sent to check his authoritie and greatnesse. All the great noblemen of Spaine, without attending any commaundement from cardinall Ximenes the Viceroy, went to meet him, being accompanied with great numbers of their friends and vassals: and comming neere to Madrid, there went forth to incounter him, doctor Adrian, accompanied with two of the Popes Nonces, the bishop of Burgos, D. Anthoine Fonseca, his brother, and by the commanders of the militarie orders, hauing with them a great traine of commanders of euerie order, the the Rectour or gouernour of the towne, the Sherifes and most apparent burgeses, the embassadours or deputies of Arragon, the royall Councell, the Inquisition, the chamber of accounts, and other officers of the kings house, euerie one going in his ranke and order, with whom there joyned the bishop of Auilla, with the cardinals traine: And of noblemen,



blemen, the marquesse of Villena, the earle of Vregna, the marquesse of Comares and Aguilar, D. *Bertrand de la Cueva*, eldest sonne to the duke of Albuquerque, the earle of Orepesa, and others. Such as were not there were kept backe by a disease which did run generally ouer all Spaine. Cardinall *Ximenes*, in regard of his place of Viceroy, stayed in the palace, and receiued monsieur *de Chanc*, at the entrie of the great chamber of the lodging, which was prepared for him, and that night he feasted him with great state, and entertained him with much pleasant discourse, lodging him for that time in the chamber where the bishop of Auila was accustomed to lodge, for that the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, the widow queene *Germaine*, and the cardinall, were commonly lodged in the castle, and held a great part of it. Thus was this nobleman receiued and honoured, being the first that was sent into Spaine with authoritie, since that *Charles* of Austria tooke vpon him the title of king. The great lords of Spaine came to visit monsieur *de Chanc*, and courted him: but the cardinall had no great care to impart the affaires vnto him, nor to call him, vnlesse he came of himselfe, yet holding still the first place in all expeditions, the which he made knowne to him and doctor *Adrian*, who hauing on a time signed some dispatches, leauing a place for the cardinall to signe vnder them, being presented vnto him thus signed, he rare them in peeces, and caused others to be made, and signed them aboute, the which were of as great effect. And thus he continued vntill the kings coming, although before he would haue doctor *Adrian* signe all things with him.

The Flemish nobilitie being aduertised of this harsh proceeding, it made them thinke, that this cardinall would one day trouble both them and the king: wherefore to abate (as they thought) his greatness, they procured to haue a fourth sent into Spaine, vnder colour of some priuie businesse, with equall authoritie to the rest. This was *Armas*, a man that was some what graue: yet they might say, that of all that companie the cardinall was most iudicious, and continued his accustomed course, notwithstanding any thing that they could doe. But they stayed not here, for they often resolved in Flanders, to send some great prince to gouerne Spaine, to whom the cardinall should be forced to yeeld; or some other of judgement and vnderstanding, to oppose him against this great spirit. Some were of opinion to intreat the Emperour *Maximilian* to take vpon him this charge; others, *Lewis*, count Palatin, allied to the kings; and some, to giue the authoritie to the Infant D. *Ferdinand*: many gaue their voyces to the Chancellor *Sauage*. As for *Maximilian*, he was engaged in the warres of Italie: to aduance *Ferdinand*, that was not safe nor conuenient, and it had bene alwayes their care, which loued the peace and vniou of these two brethren, that the Infant should be neerely lookt vnto, least that mutines should make him their shield. The count Palatin was held fit, yea to take charge of the Infant, the which did not altogether displease the cardinall; for he had desired euer since the death of the Catholike king, to remoue such from about him, as, in his opinion, had bred him vp ill, yet he desired rather not to obey any one; to which end he writ to the king, beseeching him, not to send any into Spaine, with whom he must alwayes quarrell, but rather to giue him leaue to retire to his diocesse, where hee would looke to his owne priuie affaires, and liue religiously in rest: for he did foresee, that the enuie of some, and the couetousnesse of many, would alwayes seeke to crosse his good designs and resolutions to serue the commonweale, they tending to no other end, but to cause some great tumult in Spaine, wherein he desired not to be engaged, but rather to looke on a farre off: aduertising him, that the onely remedie of these inconueniences was, to commit the affaires to his tried faith, and to relie onely vpon him, not suffering any Fleming, nor any of his Councell a farre off (no nor himselfe vntill he were at age) to meddle in Spaine with the prouision of Estates, and order of justice, with governments of prouinces, leauing of the kings money, nor with garrisons of frontiers, and their commaunders: but onely retaine vnto himselfe the disposition of bishopricks being void, commaunders, and benefices of knights of militarie orders, and to vse his royall bountie with good measure: his cardinall diuiding betwixt the king and him the royall soueraigntie, the which euery man of judgement thought expedient, considering his constant resolution to maintaine justice and right in all things; adding still this concluding reason. For that, said he, the Flemings vnderstand nothing in our affaires in Spaine, and that the king by reason

Cardinall Ximenes main-  
tains his au-  
thoritie resolu-  
tely.

Cardinall Ximenes cannot  
endure a com-  
panion in the  
government of  
Castille.

Cardinall Ximenes will dis-  
turb the royall  
authoritie be-  
tweene the king  
and himselfe.

A reason of his tender age, cannot vndergoe so great a burthen, full of care and trouble: By reason whereof he caused himselfe to be so hated, as many Councels were held against him, and without doubt his dayes were shortened. The courtiers dissembled, expecting but an opportunitie to tumble him from this high degree, in the which hee maintained himselfe invincible, against their wills, who writ vnto him, That hee should continue to doe well, assuring him that they would assist him with all their meanes, and sollicit the kings passage into Spaine; aduising him, for the effecting thereof, to send a good armie of ships well furnished into Flanders.

This voyage was much prest by the Emperour *Maximilian*, as most necessarie, and therefore he came to Brussels to see the king, and to conferre with him, fearing least his long stay there would cause some alteration in the State; comparing those people, being moued, to a colt, which being stung with a hornet, kickes at euery one, sparing not his owne damme. This conference put the cardinall into a jealousy, writing to monsieur *de Chancres*, That the enteriue of great men, did neuer bring profit neither to themselves, nor to their affaires, prouing it by many examples and great reasons. The Spaniards seeing that the time past away in vaine hopes of their princes comming, they began to make conuenticles, and to runne into the course (but by another way) of former seditions: For, sayed they, the Flemings not able to forbear to meddle with the affaires of Spaine, whereof they had made shew not to care, they leaue vs not any estate, charge, nor benefice; but it is sold to them that will giue most, and prophesied by vnworthie men: The great treasures of the realme gathered together, and religiously preserved by cardinall *Ximenes*; for the kings comming, are spoiled by strangers, and transported out of Spaine, the which is not tollerable to a free nation, well affected to the honour and greatness of their prince, and to the publicke good. They of Burgos, Leon, Vaileadolid, and all that countrey of Spaine, being incensed with these complaints and quarels, they appointed a day to resolve on some remedies for these great disorders, or how they might withstand the greedinesse of the Flemish courtiers. Many thought it fit to persuaade the king to chafe all Flemings from about him, and to take Spaniards in their places, such as were vnderstanding men, to counsell him. Others D sayed, That besides the difficultie to obtaine it, it was to be feared that Spaine would in short time be as corrupt as the rest, and more cunning in their villanies; holding, that the best course to restrain the couetousnesse of courtiers, by a publicke decree, by the which power should be taken from the king, to giue the estates, offices, or benefices of Spaine to strangers. That there should be no readie money carried out of the countrey without great cause, and that no necessarie money for the kings house, should be sent by cardinall *Ximenes*, without consent of the townes. Many other things of this kind were then propounded, profitable, in truth, for the publicke, but derogating somewhat from the authoritie and Maiestie royall: for thereby they did open a gate vnto the people to commit great insolencies, the which they found by experience, after the death of cardinal *Ximenes*, who moderating what he could the peoples heat, could not prevent the decrees of these assemblies for the publicke good, some gouernors consenting thereunto, and signing them, as D. *Pedro* of Castille, at Burgos, and others: yet the Leonnois could neuer induce D. *Frederic* of Zamora, their gouernour, to consent vnto such decrees, whereof the towne and Communalities did afterwards aduertise the cardinall and the kings Councell, sending deputies to treat with them of the affaires of the commonweale affected; and to intreat them to appoint a place and time for a generall assemblee to that end. The cardinall and the Councell knew well, that the desire of the townes was just, yet they sought to moderate them, fearing some popular tumults, persuaading them to forbear an assemblee, vntill they had more certaine newes of the kings comming, who they vnderstood made preparation to imbarke speedily. In the meane time they did aduertise the king of all that had past, excusing the Spaniards, for that they did not in any fort doubt of the kings good will, and judgement to know, that all the admonitions & counsels which they gaue him, were holy and just, but they complained of the Flemings that were about his person, who could make their diligences vaine, and get vnto themselves both before the kings comming and after, the riches of Spaine without measure: so as it

2  
Greedinesse of  
the Flemings  
gouerning king  
Charles.

Demands of  
the townes of  
Spaine.

Cardinall and  
Councell fauour  
the Spaniards  
demands a-  
gainst the Fle-  
mings.

1517  
Rapacity of the  
Flemings.

Spaniards de-  
mand the  
Estates.

Libels cast a-  
board.

Exactions of  
Pope Leo hin-  
dered by cardi-  
nall Ximenes.

Clergie of Spaine  
free from the  
exaction of the  
tenth penie of  
their benefices.

was thought the Chancellor *Sannage* had gotten for his part in lesse than foure moneths, G about fife hundred thousand crownes: and if we will conjecture how monfieur de *Chen- res* and the rest profited, we cannot imagine what great summes thefe thefts amounted vnto. The Spaniards seeing the kings comming to be daily delayed, the cardinal and the Councell were againe importuned for a generall assemblee of the Estates, where they promised not to treat of anything, but to sollicite the king to come into Spaine, to maintaine the lawes and rights of the countrey; to suppress the coueroufnesse of courtiers, and the ambition of suters for estates and offices: else, the people did protest, that they would send embassadours vnto the king, and prouide that the common- weale should take no harme, by such meanes as God should put into their hands. The H cardinal not able with reason to denie their iust demaund, he appointed an assemblee in the next moneth of September 1517, proracting it of purpose to Autumne, beleuing that about that time the king might arrive in Spaine; and in the meane time he prepared a fleet of ships for his voyage, the which he sent him, posts running continually from Spaine to Flanders, and back againe, to aduance this comming, without the which they saw no meanes to maintaine the realme in peace: the cardinal holding (and rightly) it to be a pernicious thing; when as the people, hauing cause of griuance, presume to complaine publicly: for when as they haue once lost the reuerence which they owe vnto the superiour, there is no more any restraint; and popular complaints and quarels are easily receiued and beleued, by such as haue a desire to trouble the State, whereof the number is alwayes great in great realmes. The place assigned for the assemblee, was at Madrid, the Viceroyes and the Councells place of residence. Many slanderous libels were at that time cast abroad, euerie man censuring the cardinals actions according to his owne conceits: and seeing it was now a time of back-biting, and that some one had begun, doctor *Adrian*, monfieur de *Chenres*, *Francis Ruiz*, monfieur de *Chaux*, and others, were not spared. But cardinal *Ximenes* contemned these things, with a manly courage; saying, That they must leaue this solace to the multitude, to moderate their afflictions, which they could not otherwise reuenge; whereas the Flemings, who were not accustomed to this stinging, seemed to be much discontented: so as it is no wonder if *Adrian* comming to see Pope, caused the statues of *Marforio* and *Pasquill* to be cast into the riuer of Tiber, whom they made to carrie the libels that were set vp in Rome: whereupon, they say, that the Spanish embassadour which was then in Rome, said vnto him, That it was to be feared, by this drowning the frogs would presently learne to sing bad songs.

3 The cardinal being come to Toledo, to visit (attending the kings comming) his diocese, and the monasteries of Nunnes which he caused to be built, as well in that citie as at *Illesca*, being accompanied by doctor *Adrian*, he heard the complaints of the Clergie, for that Pope *Leo*, by vertue of the last decree of the Councell of *Latan*, demanded the tenth of the revenues of all their benefices, vpon colour to defend the Christian religion against Infidels; for that *Selim* Emperour of the Turkes, hauing vanquished the Sultan of *Egypt*, did threaten Christendome, and namely *Ita- lie*: Wherefore he not onely sent this year into Spaine, but into all others regions of Europe, whereas the Popes name and authoritie was reuerenced, to exact this money for three yeares; with many Indulgences and pardons to them that should contribute money willingly; and extraordinarily, whereof there followed great troubles in Christendome, yet with a lightning of the Gospell.

Cardinal *Ximenes*, whose authoritie was great with the Pope, was solicited not onely by the Clergie of Castille, but also by that of Arragon (where they doe all by an ancient right enjoy great priuiledges and liberties) to take this cause in hand, and to be a mediator vnto the Pope; that the Clergie of Spaine might not be made tributarie. The cardinal did willingly offer to take vpon him the protection of this order; but hee did admonish them, not to make any assemblies to that end, but when hee should commaund them. In the meane time hee did manage this businesse so politickly at Rome, by the ministerie of *Artega*, his Agent, as hee kept Spaine free from this exaction; but in case of great necessitie: and hauing after

A after the manner of auncient kings, called the deputies of the Clergie to the Court at Madrid, he gaue them this good newes, and attended willingly their resolution, which was, not to contribute any thing. They say, that this tenth penie for three yeares, was duly leuied in *Ita- lie*, in the territories of the Church, and no where else, but his Bulls of Indulgences, and the preaching of the Croisado, was generall.

4 There were many great suits in Spaine, which through the fraud and tergiversation of parties, and their counsels, were delayed and drawne into length, the which the cardinal desired to haue determined before the kings comming, but he was suspected: Wherefore three of the greatest noblemen of Spaine, in a manner at one instant, as it were conspiring together, did greatly crosse him, that is, the duke of the Infantazgo, chiefe of the house of *Mendoza*, *D. Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alua, and the earle of Vregna, *Giron*. The duke of the Infantazgo remembred how that the cardinal had hindered the marriage betwixt *D. Pedro Gonzales* of Mendoza, his nephew, and *D. Joane* of Cisneros, the cardinals neece: wherefore being incensed against him, he thought there was some indirect dealing with his aduerser partie, the earle of Castro, against whom hee had his suit, for the place of Belenna, neere vnto Guadalajara; by reason whereof he desired to prolong the cause vntill the kings comming, of whom hauing obtained letters for his part, and the cardinal also for his part others of a contrarie tenour, to haue the cause judged by the kings counsell; in the end the cardinal obtained that which he pretended,

C and a sentence was giuen in fauour of the earle: about which time there comming a promoter from Alcala of Henares, for the cardinal, touching some proceedings at Guadalajara, the duke of the Infantazgo caused him to be chased away with cudgels, threatening to hang this poore petie-fogger, if he returned any more; saying, That hee did incroach vpon the iurisdiction of his brother *D. Bernardin*, archdeacon of Guadalajara. For which excesse the cardinal gaue it out, that he would be reuenged of the duke, and that he would call him in question, for that religion was violated, in that they had wronged an officer which did belong vnto the Church, and also for that the fact was against the publike peace, and that he would abate his greatnesse. The duke being incensed, and desirous to braue the cardinal, he sent a chaplaine of his vnto him, to deliuer him a message full of disgrace and threatning. This poore priest being forced to goe to Alcala of Henares, whereas the cardinal was, hee fell on his knees before him, and craued leaue to doe his message. They were nothing but reproaches of his base condition, growne proud to see himselfe so highly aduanced, adding some vaine threats, the which did little moue the cardinal, who hauing heard all that hee would say with a constant countenance, he answered him quietly: Goe backe vnto thy master, whom thou shalt find repenting the foolish words which thou hast deliuered me: and in truth before the priest returned, the dukes choler being past, he would haue giuen much that he had not sent him, blaming all his familiar friends and household seruants, that they had not pacified his rage, yea hee was displeased with the chaplaine, for that hee was so readie to obey him. This question, and all the spleene which the cardinal had against the duke, was afterwards pacified by the constable *D. Inigo Fernandes* of Velasco, who made them dine together at Fontcarillo, whereas the duke made so many excuses vnto the cardinal, as he remained satisfied. They say, that after the ceremonie of their reconciliation was ended, the lodging wherein they were was presently enuironed by *John de Spinosa*, capitaine of the Viceroyes gard, with his archers and light horse, the which did amaze the noblemen that were there assembled, thinking that it was a plot layed by the cardinal, but hee assured them that it was the importune diligence of *Spinosa*, who was come thither without any commission, for the which, he said, hee was much offended with him.

F The earle of Vregnaes quarell was more dangerous, and harder to be reconciled, the which did produce many violent effects. This earle soone after the decesse of *Ferdinand*, had also shewed himselfe opposit to cardinal *Ximenes*, and had assisted *D. Pedro* his sonne, in the tumult of *Medina Sidonia*, whom he should rather haue admonished to proceed by way of iustice. Certaine officers comming to execute a sentence of the Chancery of Granada, &c. to recouer certaine of the kings customes of Ofona, he had sent them away

Excesse committed by the duke of Infantazgo.

Magnanimitie of cardinal Ximenes

Reconciliation of cardinal Ximenes and the duke of Infantazgo.

Politic of cardinal Ximenes to keepe the noblemen in feare.

1517  
Outrage com-  
mitted by the  
earle of Vregna

Court of parlia-  
ments violated.

Pursuits of the  
cardinall a-  
gainst them that  
had violated  
Iustice.

away beaten and wounded, notwithstanding that they shewed him letters from cardinall *Ximenes*, who being busied in other affairs, dissembled these things, vntil some fitter opportunitie, the which was offered, when as the cardinall, according to his resolution to end all old suits, would haue the cause judged, which depended betwixt the earle of Vregna and *D. Guttiere* of *Quixada*, in the court of Chancerie at *Vailledolit*, for the towne of *Villefratre* neere vnto *Vailledolit*, whereof the earle kept forcible possession, *Quixada* pursuing the restitution, the which he obtained, whereat the earle being incensed, he complaining the sentence was vnjust. By vertue whereof an vsner and other ministers of iustice comming to *Villefratre*, to put *Quixada* in possession, they were outrageously intreated, and beaten by *D. Rodrigo Giron*, the earles sonne, *D. Bernardin* of *Velasco*, the constables sonne, *D. Bertrand de la Cueva*, son to the duke of *Albuquerque*, *D. Ferdinand Henriquez*, sonne to the Admirall, and other young and ill aduised noblemen, who were there present: Whereof complaint being made vnto the Court, the President *D. Diego Ramirez* of *Villafusan*, bishop of *Malaga*, notwithstanding that he was a verie mild man, yet moued with the foulness of the fact, he commaunded some legionarie souldiers in *Vailledolit*, and the neighbour places, to arme, to assist iustice, to execute the sentence of the court, and to punish those rebels, going himselfe in person towards *Villefratre*. The constable, who was wise, knowing the danger into the which these young men did runne, pisted thither, before that the President went to field, and made them abandon the place, and giue way to the execution of the sentence of the court: whereupon the bishop of *Malaga* dismissed his souldiers, and thanked the constable for this good office, and so remained satisfied without any further proceeding. But the cardinall, who was not of so tractable a nature, was much offended at this fact, adding this to other quarels he had against the earle of Vregna and his house; wherefore he sent out warrant to apprehend them that had resisted the iustice, and *Sarmiento* the Prouost of the court, to ruine *Villefratre*, and to make the processe of such as had committed this contempt. The young noblemen, who had left the place by the constables perswasion, seeing that they proceeded criminall against them, they returned vnto their old frenzie, and put themselves againe into *Villefratre*, with some troupes of souldiers raised at *Villapando*, a place belonging to the constable, being resolved to keepe it in despite of cardinall *Ximenes*. This businesse tended to sedition and great trouble, and many there were which did much blame the cardinals seueritie and obstinacie, to haue pursued these noblemen, after so good an office done by the constable, and their obedience, yea he might assure himselfe that the dukes of the *Infantazgo* and *Alba*, would bandie themselves against him, whereby the whole realme, by reason of their great alliances and power, would bee drawne into confusion: But the cardinall was well pleased to oppose himselfe against great men, searching such occasions ambitiously, to shew his magnanimitie, dexterity, and constancie to maintaine iustice. Finally, they proceeded by the course of iustice against the aboue named, whose names were proclaimed, and they summoned to appeare at *Madrid* and at *Vailledolit*, and giue an account for violating the lawes and offending the Majestie: and there were declarations set vp, according to the solemnities of iustice, obserued in Spaine in such affaires, vpon paine to bee held conuicted of those crimes, condemned and punished according vnto law: The which did much grieue the fathers of these young noblemen, who assembled at *Tudela*, to consult what was to be done, or, as some write, at *Portillo*, the earle of *Benauent*, the constable, the dukes of *Alba* and *Albuquerque*, and a deputie for the duke of the *Infantazgo*, who knowing the cardinals power, and austere disposition, resolved to proceed in this businesse with all quiet and peaceable meanes: wherefore they sent vnto him, to desire him to haue regard vnto the youth of their children; but on the other side they did write vnto the king, complaining of the cardinals fowre disposition, whereby Spaine was oppressed, and filled full of troubles. The cardinall in like maner did not faile to aduertise the king of what had past at *Villefratre*, and of the rashnesse, disobedience, and contempt of these noblemen, omitting nothing of the rigor of iustice in this action: wherefore there was appearance of some great tumult, for these noblemen made many assemblies, and the bishop of *Zamora* was already come to *Vailledolit* (who was afterwards strangled in

A in the castle of *Aquila* and the earle of *Alba de Lista*, with troupes of men, in fauour of the earle of Vregna, who notwithstanding were forced to depart the towne, by the aduice of them of the Chancerie, for that they did sollicite the people to sedition. They did also surprise a packet of the constables, directed to the earle of Vregna, to whom he promised to rayse all the countrey of *Burgos*, and that of the mountains: whereby it appeared, that the demonstrations he made to pacifie things, and to bee a neuter in this businesse, were but feined. On the other side, the duke of *Alba*, a secret enemy to the cardinall, by reason of the commission which he, in his opinion, had purchased, to depriue his sonne of the priorie of *Saint John*, he offered all his power and meanes to the duke of *Albuquerque*, against the cardinall. In the meane time the Alcayde proceeded against them that were within *Villefratre*, who to omit nothing that might make their cause odious, had made an image attired like a cardinall, the which they caused to be dragd vp and throwne the towne; in derision of cardinall *Ximenes*: but in the end these vaine young lords finding that their forces might not equall the Viceroyes power, they dislodged by night, and left the place. Then *Sarmiento* proceeding in the processe, pronounced sentence, by the which the towne of *Villefratre* was condemned to be burnt to ashes, and the ground of it to be sowne with salt, and neuer more to be built, for that the ministers of royall iustice had bene outraged there, and the decrees of the court of *Vailledolit* contemned: the earle of Vregna, *Rodrigo* his sonne, and their other confederats and adherents, conuicted of high treason, and condemned to *Gutierre* of *Quixada*, in his charges, damage, and interest. This sentence was presently put in execution, the towne was reduced to powder, first with the canon, and then with fire: seven of the inhabitants which had outraged the vsner, when they did bear him, and cried out, That they knew no other lord but the earle of Vregna, were publicly whipt: a seruant of the Admirall being accused to haue leued men secretly in fauour of the rebels, was also condemned by *Sarmiento* to be whipt. This sentence was executed vpon a festiuall day, against custome and example. Which rigorous acts did much afflict all the great noblemen of Spaine, among the which the duke of *Escalona*, who was then at *Madrid*, kept his chamber six dayes for griefe, and would not speake to any man, and then being visited by *D. Francis Ruiz*, bishop of *Auila*, he complained much of the cardinals rough and inextorable seueritie, a man without friendship or humanitie, to haue so vilely intreated the earle of Vregna, his kinsman; whereby he would tread vnder his feet the dignitie of great and famous houses of Spaine, and shew himselfe an enemy to nobilitie. The constable, with the duke of the *Infantazgo*, and other noblemen, gaue the cardinall to vnderstand, That seeing he had proceeded so furiously against *Villefratre*, to the great contempt and prejudice of the earle of Vregna, he should doe well to satisfie himselfe, and not pursue the house of *Giron* any farther. But the Admirall *Henriques*, who had neuer shewed himselfe an open enemy to the cardinall, being come to *Madrid*, spake vnto him with great mildnesse and modestie, shewing him the wrong he did vnto himselfe, as well as to the whole realme (holding the ranke of Archbishop of *Toledo*, and primat) so to blemish the honor of the great houses of Spaine, so well deserving of their kings, not onely in these publicke executions, but by accusations and reports written vnto the king, whereof they were well aduertised, and other bad offices. Wherefore he admonished him, That if he loued the quiet of the realme, and desired to doe the king seruice, he should moderate his austere behauiour, and intreat men and their affaires with more equitie, and lesse choler. Whereunto the cardinall, with a feld spirit, answered, That he intreated him to thinke, that he was neuer any of those, which sought to win the fauour of kings, or to maintaine their reputation in the world by crueltye, or doing iniurie to any other: but he had endeouored to acquit himselfe duly of that great charge which had bin committed vnto him, to gouerne the realme. And if they would inquire of that which he had written, and of the offices which he had done with the king, they should finde he had not bin so inuile as they thought, & as euery one did publish, according to his passions. As for the processe of *Giron*, matters were proceeded so far, as the king himselfe did set down an order. Thus matters remained in suspence, vntil the king had signified his pleasure, who did approue all the cardinall & iustice had done, referring the rest to his judgement: the which the duke of *Escalona*,

Sentence a-  
gainst the town  
of Villefratre,  
and the execu-  
tion thereof.

Complaints a-  
gainst cardinall  
Ximenes.

Admonition of  
the Admirall of  
Castille to car-  
dinall Ximenes.

Answer of car-  
dinall Ximenes  
to the Admirall  
of Castille.

Proceedings of  
the cardinall a-  
pproued by the  
king.

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lona, with the other friends, kinsmen, and allies of the earle of Vregna, seeing they knew not what to resolve, but to pacifie the cardinall, seeking by all meanes to haue his fauour by which meanes they obtained, that the earle representing himselfe in justice, & submitting himselfe thereunto, all offences were pardoned. *D. Francis* Bishop of Aulia, presiding in counsell, and pronouncing the sentence.

Causes of the  
duke of Albas  
discontentment.

The discontentment which *D. Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alba, had against the cardinall, grew for the priorie of *S. Iohn* of Ierusalem, of the knights of Rhodes, the which *D. Diego* his third son held then, & had enioyed it six years. This dignitie is esteemed among the greatest of Spaine, whereof the prior *Valenzuela* had bene deputed in the life of king *Ferdinand*, for his ill desertings, and *D. Aluaro* of Estuniga canonically aduanced, who had resigned it vnto his nephew *D. Antonie* of Estuniga, with the consent of king *Philip*, and confirmation of Pope *Leo*: but king *Ferdinand*, after the death of *Philip*, returning to the gouernment of Castille, & desirous to gratifie the duke of Alba, from whom he had drawne many good seruices, he tooke this priorie from *D. Antonie*, and did inuest the aduenamed *D. Diego* of Toledo, against the aunient order, and against the lawes and customes of Spaine, begging therein the authoritie of the great master of Rhodes, who was discontented that the Pope should take vpon him to conferre that priorie to *D. Antonie* of Estuniga, causing the grant of the order to be brought expressly from Rhodes to that end, *D. Antonie* complaining in vaine to the Pope, both of the king and great that end, who for his last refuge retired into Flanders, taking *Charles*, beseeching him to master, for his last refuge retired into Flanders, taking *Charles*, beseeching him to confirm and maintaine that which his father *Philip* had done: the which hee obtained, when as he was aduertised of the death of king *Ferdinand*, for king *Charles* did write in his fauour vnto the Pope. And so *D. Diego* of Toledo, and *D. Antonie* of Estuniga, began to fall to suit for this priorie, at Rome, where *D. Antonie* did win his cause, and got letters of execution from the Pope, with the which, and the Popes fauourable letters, he came vnto king *Charles*, who sent him into Spaine to cardinall *Ximenes*, whom he commaunded to take into his hands all the places of the priorie, admonishing the duke of Alba and his son, to retire their men, and to referre the controuersie to him to compromise: and if the duke of Alba should refuse, he should then cause the kings letters and sentence to be executed, forcing them to obey that should oppose themselves notwithstanding any oppositions. The duke of Bejar, with his brother *D. Antonie* of Estuniga, presented these letters and commaundement from the king to the cardinall: the which the duke of Alba vnderstanding, being out of hope to procure any delay from the cardinall (for hee was well acquainted with the nature of the man, and knew well that he desired to see this processe, in the which there had past many threats and injurious words, ended) hee resolved to oppose himselfe, and to crosse his proceedings by force. He had of his part the duke of Escalona, and many other noblemen, the which did trouble his aduerse partie. At that time the cardinall was troubled with a tertian ague, the which did animate the duke of Alba and his partie, and gaue them hope to prolong the processe, and to keepe the possession vntill that the king (said they) were better informed. But being somewhat recouered of his sicknesse, he called both parties, and enioyned them to lay aside armes, vntill he were better informed of the right. The cardinall would haue the places sequestred, according to the kings letters, wherein seeing great difficultie by the practises and force vsed on the duke of Albaes part, in the end he propounded to execute the kings letters, brought by *D. Antonie* of Estuniga: wherein there was adiunction among the counsellors, some holding that the duke of Albaes cause was more iust; and for that, said they, there was some obscuritie in the letters, not being certaine, whether the duke of Alba referring the matter to the kings arbitrement, might still hold the possession, as depositarie, vntill the cause were ended, or else vntill the king should name another depositarie, into whose hands the places & the priorie should be deliuered, they thought it therefore necessarie to haue another warrant, of which aduice were doctor *Adrian* & the seignior of Chaux. The cardinall banding himself against all these difficulties, he brought all the council to that point, as they concluded the kings letters should be executed. The duke of Alba forgetting no-thing that might helpe his cause, imploied in his fauor queene *Germaine*, the French king, and the king of England, by whose meanes king *Charles* was not so resolute to restore

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Lib. 27.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

*A. D. Antonie* of Estuniga to his Priorie: whereof the Cardinall being aduertised, hee wrote letters of complaint vnto the king, to the Lord of Chaux, and to the whole counsell of Flanders, shewing them how necessarie constancie and perseuerance were in such like ordinances and decrees: then hee thought it good to call the duke of Alba vnto him, to whom hee in the presence of the counsell, and the earle of Osorno, hee said friendly, that he should temper the heat which hee saw in him in the pursuit of his rights, and that there would be meanes, if he himselfe did not hinder it, to reconcile all things without tumult or armes: wherefore hee did aduise him to put the priorie into the kings hands, to dispose according vnto right and justice, assuring him that if hee did it willingly, hee would mitigate much of the rigour of the commaundement which hee had received from the king, and that hee would deliuer the Priorie into the hands of *D. Pedro Bazan*, who hee knew was much affected to his house, and hee should keepe it vntill the kings coming: promising moreover that he would then cause the deliuerie of it to *D. Antonie* to bee staied for three moneths, that in the meane time hee might worke his best meanes. These conditions were contemned by the Duke of Alba, who departed, saying, that the Cardinall might doe better, if hee list, and not derogate any thing from the kings authority: and going from Madrid with this discontent, hee went to his kinsmen and friends, to conferre with them of the enterprise which hee had in his braine, all dissuading him, from opposing himselfe against the Cardinall, witness the calamity of them of Villefratre and of the earle of Vregna, for the which they gaue him such reasons, as at that time hee yielded to their counsels. But falling afterwards into furie, the Cardinall was forced to come to the last remedy, calling together his Legionary companies, both horse and foot, as well to gard and fortifie the counsell and justice, as to suppress the mutines, and keepe them from ioyning together: which forces did encounter and put to rout about a thousand foote and some horse of the duke of Alba, and stript them in the diocesse of Toledo. After which rout the duke coming to himselfe, hee imploied the fauour of Queene *Germaine* and doctor *Adrian*, and came to Madrid, where hee was so tractable, as hee yielded the Priorie to the Cardinals discretion, for hee shewed him with what vprightnesse he proceeded in this businesse, and let him read the originall letters: hee had receiued of the kings commaundement; to the end hee might know it was no cause that hee did affect and seeke, adding that hee should consider with himselfe wherein hee might assist him preserving his honour, and the king his masters seruice, assuring him that hee would not faile him: to whome the duke made answere, that hee would not inreat any other thing of him, but after that his sonne should be deputed of the priorie, the king would remember that their house had alwaies been affectionat to the crowne, and haue regard vnto it: and for that hee had vnderstood that he would leaue the priorie in depositio in the hands of *D. Ferdinand Andrada* who had married *D. Francis* of Estuniga, kinswoman to his aduerse party, he desired it might be giuen to some other, to the end that his enemies might haue no subiect to scorne at his calamity. The Cardinall who was alwaies vanquished by them that yielded vnto him, said, that it was reasonable, ordaining that the Priorie should be deliuered into the hands of *D. Ferdinand Andrada*, & he should instantly redeliuer it to *D. Antonie* of Cordoua, brother to the earle of Cabra. These things concluded at Madrid, the duke sent letters to *D. Diego* his son, to leaue the priorie, & by the Cardinall to *D. Ferdinand* of Andrada, to cease from all acts of hostilitie. Thus the quarrel for the priorie of *S. Iohn* was ended, the which notwithstanding after the death of Cardinall *Ximenes*, *D. Diego* recouered, and enioyed partly with the consent, and partly against the wil of *Charles* himselfe, who decreed that *D. Diego* of Toledo, and *D. Antonie* of Estuniga, should enioy it in common: but *D. Antonie* dying at Perpignan, he left the whole possession to his competitor.

There remained another cause to determine, which the Cardinall did affect: it was the processe of the earle of Ribadeo in Gallicia, of a small circuit, but good, fertile, and pleasant; The earle of which place hath this priuiledge, that on twelue day hee dines at the king of Castilles table, & hath the robe that he weares that day. This earle dome had been held by *D. Rodrigo* of Villandradra, who hauing married two lawfull wiues, and those put a way

Speech of Car-  
dinall Ximenes  
to the duke of  
Alba.

Defeat of the  
duke of Alba  
men by the Car-  
dinall's compa-  
nies.

Duke of Alba  
submits himself  
to Cardinall  
Ximenes.

Controuersie for  
the earledome  
of Ribadeo.

Authority of  
Cardinal Xi-  
menes vanqui-  
shed by a womā

Profanation of  
the Cardinals  
order by Pope  
Leo.

Manie sent into  
Flanders for  
Charles.

Cardinal Xi-  
menes poisoned.

away for barrenesse, had in the end taken to wife a state of his owne free, called *Leonor*, by whom he had *D. Rodrigo* his sonne and only presumptive heire; to whom the admiral had giuen a base daughter of his to wife. Against this *D. Rodrigo*, there contented for the succession, *D. Maria* of Villosa, married to the earle of Salines, who was neece to the old earle of Villindrada, daughter to his sister, saying that *D. Rodrigo* was not lawfull; which sute had bene commenced long before the death of king *Ferdinand*. Cardinal *Ximenes* fauoured *D. Rodrigos* cause: but as many of the Countesse inclined more to the reasons of *D. Maria*, the cause was sent to the Chancery of Vailladolid; yea, *D. Maria* had such fauour in court, as the title and right was granted vnto her sonne by the kings letters, the which did much trouble the Cardinal, seeing himselfe vanquished by a woman; he that had gouerned the greatest Lords of Spaine at his pleasure.

This yeare one thousand five hundred and seenteene, Pope *Leo* created one and thirty Cardinals, among which Doctor *Adrian Floris* was one; for the which he was much blamed, against the which Cardinal *de Montre*, vncle to Pope *Iulio* the third, and others, opposed themselves, saying, that to make so many at one time, was to profane that sacred order. He had almost made *Raphael* of Urbino, an excellent painter, Cardinal, to free himselfe by a hat of a great sum of money which he ought him for pictures, with which hope being fed, he deferred to marrie with the Neece of the Cardinal of Bibiena, which was offered him, but his sodaine death deprived the painter both of the one and other.

Cardinal *Ximenes* being solicited by the king and the Flemish Lords, to send a fleet into Flanders, to condukt him, he rigged out a good number of ships, where *Gomes* of Buytron was admiral, causing the ports of Biscay, Asturia, and Galicia, to be visited, for that it was bruted the plague was in many places, appointing victuals and other necessities to be carried to refresh and ease the court, wherefoeuer the fleet should arrive: himselfe in the meane time leaving Madrid, went towards Aranda of Duero, where hee resolved to attend the kings coming, that abode seeming vnto him verie healthfull and pleasant, and by reason of the conuent of Franciscane friers, situated in the next village of Aguilera: in passing hee made his last visit of Tordelaguna, the place of his birth.

There were in his company, the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, doctor *Adrian* now made Cardinal, and *Arnalfo*: from Tordelaguna he came to Bozeguillas, a borough in the mountaine, where dying they did verily beleue that hee was poisoned, which made him fall into a lingring consumption, till hee dyed of it: for hauing dyed hee found himselfe verie ill, after which there came bloud out at his eares, and at the ioyning of his nayles, the suspicion of poison was augmented by a certaine horseman vnknown, who that morning hauing met neere vnto Bozeguillas the Prouinciall *Marquise*, with other monkes that went vnto the Cardinal, hee willed them to make hast to be there before hee sat downe to dinner: and to aduise him not to eate of a great trout which should be set before him, for without doubt it was poisoned: If you arrive said hee, too late, care then for the health of his soule, for his body will bee past helpe. This speech was deliuered by *Marquise*, but late vnto the Cardinal, who gaue little credit, saying, that if his infirmie came of poison, hee thought it came from Flanders, and that hee had bene infected at Madrid; by the eyes, in reading of a letter which was brought out of that countrey, since which time hee had not bene well; whatsoeuer it were, hee was ready to goe when God should call him, who sends infirmities, and takes them away at his pleasure.

They obserue that hee said often to the Physicians, that hee should die by the treachery and wickednes of traitors; and it was commonly reported that *Francis Carillo*, who was sewer to the Cardinal, hauing eaten of this trout, was verie sick; and they did vndoubtedly beleue that the Flemings sought his death: for they had discovered by his letters, that his intent was to procure the king to dismiss them all, and send them home to their houses, and to be serued by Spaniards in their places. The blame of this vild act was laid vpon *Baracaldo*, one of his secretaries, who had done other treacheries to the Cardinal his master; yet the Cardinal did still vse his seruice vnto his dying day: which breeds some doubt whether it were he or some other that committed this crime, whereof there were many

A many contrarie arguments. Cardinal *Ximenes* caused himselfe to bee carried to Aranda; whereas whilst hee strues against his infirmie, the towne of Vailladolid fell into new tumults, vpon a conceit the people had, that the brute of the kings coming was but counterfeite, and that this great preparation was to send the infant *D. Ferdinand* into Flanders: So as Spaine remaining destitute of her princes, being in the hands of an old Monke, halfe rotten, and neere his end, must of necessity bee ruined by intestine seditions, or be a prey to foreign nations. To pacifie this mutiny, and to certifie them of the truth of the kings coming, the Cardinal sent vnto them, and satisfied them.

B yet full of enuie, which was to reforme the Infant *D. Ferdinand* his house, and to take from him those that had bred him vp and serued him, especially *D. Pedro Nugnes*, of Guzman treasurer of the Calatrava, his gouernour, and *D. Aluaro Oforio*, a Iacobin, bishop of Astorga his schoolemaster: *D. Pedro* had neuer bene allowed by the Cardinal, in that charge, and hee had often sought to crosse him, whereupon there grew great hatred betwixt them, the which *Oforio* had entertained and increased, as well for some ambition, wherein hee saw himselfe hindered by the Cardinal, as through emulation; which hath bene long betwixt those two orders, the bishop being a Iacobin, and the Cardinal of Franciscane. It was commonly bruted; and every man did beleue it, that *Oforio* had bene the cause and breeder of seditions at Vailladolid; and Cardinal *Ximenes* knewe that

C hee did continually maligne him to the Flemish Lords: that hee sought to stirre him selfe into the fauour of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and that hee had treated of a marriage betwixt the Emperour and *Queene Germaine*: And many held opinion that *D. Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, had had a conceit to carrie the Infant *D. Ferdinand* into Arragon, with an intent and hope to make him king of that country, whereunto the people would easily haue consented for the memorie and name of their deceased king *D. Ferdinand*, who had loued the Infant dearly; and other things of some true, some false, which were spoken in Spaine: whatsoeuer was the cause *D. Pedro Nugnes* and the bishop of Astorga were in no grace with the Cardinal; wherefore hee did write often to the king, and caused the lords of the Councell to be delt with

D all, to haue them discharged: so as a little before king *Charles* his coming into Spaine, there was a dispatch sent by the king, by the which the Cardinal was commanded to discharge *D. Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman gouernour; *D. Aluaro Oforio* Schoole-master; *D. Gonfalo* of Guzman, Chamberlaine, and *Sancho de Paredes*, steward to the Infant, and send them home to their houses, letting them know that the king was verie well satisfied with their good seruices; but their ages did now require rest; and that hee would haue regard vnto their merits, and remember them: as for the rest of the Infants house, hee left it to the Cardinal, to dispose as he should think fit. This packet by the Post-masters fault came not to the Cardinals hands before all the contents were diuulged, which caused the more difficultie in the execution of the

E kings will, for the Post-master thinking it to be newes how that the king was imarkt to come into Spaine, he kept the packet five daies, before hee deliuered it to the Cardinal, to whome it was directed, and in the meane time sent this good newes to the noblemen, to draw presents from them: then Cardinal *Ximenes* being ill disposed of his person in the conuent of Aguilera, this Post-master thought it indifferent to giue the packet to Cardinal *Adrian* or to him, the which hee did: *Adrian* whether through curiositie or otherwise, opened it, & finding letters directed to the Infant, hee gaue him them, without any further apprehension, who by this meanes vnderstood what was ordained of him, and of his seruants, & of the change of his house, whereof hee did presently aduertise them, before the Cardinal had seen the kings letters: wherewith they being wonderfully discontented, and seeing no other remedy they implored the Infants aide, which was of no great moment, beseeching him to remember their fidelity and good seruices, letting him vnderstand that all this was done to debase him, and keep him vnder, at the Cardinals pleasure, who had procured and practised this alteration.

F The Infant being perswaded by his Masters, came the next day in great choler to the Conuent of Aguilera, hauing in his companye the Bishoppe *Oforio*,

1517  
Tumult of Vailladolid.

Reformation of  
the Infant D.  
Ferdinands  
house by the  
Cardinal.

Franciscane  
and Iacobins  
inuestigate en-  
mities.

Secrets of Car-  
dinal Ximenes  
discovered.



1517 *Oforio* (for *D. Pera Nugnes* was sick:) & doctor *Adrian* by reason of the error which he had committed in opening the packet, and giuing the letters to the Infant, before he had imparted them to Cardinall *Ximenes*, durst not shew himselfe.

Intreaty of the  
Infant D. Fer-  
dinand to the  
Cardinall.

Cardinall Xi-  
menes inexora-  
ble.

Being come vnto the Cardinall, he complained greatly (and with teares in his eyes) of the wrong he did him, in seeking to depriue him without any lawfull cause, of so good & faithfull seruants, the which he would neuer haue beleueed of him, whome hee held to be his deare friend: and thereupon he intreated him, and coniuired him by the memorie of Queene *Isabell*, and the great advancement hee had receiued from her, not to suffer this indignity to be done vnto him, to take from him so worthy a person as his gouernour, so fit a Schoole-master as the bishop *Oforio*, so many seruants which had attended him faithfully, and with whome hee had beene nourished and bred vp with great content; and that hee would not suffer him to receive that displeasure, to see them ignominiously and wrongfully disgraced. The Cardinall sought by mild words to pacifie the incensed courage of this Prince, laying before him the king his brothers pleasure, assuring him that all those things tended to his advancement, so as hee would shew himselfe obedient and tractable. As for the iniurie whereof hee complained, hee intreated him to thinke it was otherwise, and to beleuee that hee was a man of yeares and experience, and that hee loued him dearly: hee confessed that hee ought to haue a care of the honour and good of his seruants, but hee must wishall thinke that the king his brother was dearer vnto him: And therefore hee exhorted him that leauing these passions which his seruants had bred in him, he should wholly adhere to him; who was the greatest king in Christendome against whose will it were neither safe nor conuenient for him to oppose himselfe; and if hee did persist to complaine, and to shew a discontentment for that which the king commanded to be done, hee should be assured that hee would bring himselfe, his affaires, and his seruants into great danger. For all this the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, (being young and incensed) was not satisfied, but answering the Cardinall, I haue, said hee, tasted of your friendship in many occasions, but now it failes mee at my greatest need, neither doe I know which way it is fled: but seeing that I find that you are resolu'd to ruine mee and mine, whome you may ease and comfort much with a small delay, I must of necessitie find means to defend and preserue our selues.

Speech of Cardi-  
nall Ximenes to  
the Infant D.  
Ferdinand.

Diligence of  
Cardinall Xi-  
menes to exe-  
cute his desire.

At these words the Cardinall finding himselfe toucht, Do (said he) what you please, but I swear vnto you by the life of king *Charles* your brother, that to morrow shall not passe before his commandements be executed, the which it behooues you to obey before all others, yea though all Spaine had conspired to hinder it. This made the Infant take vnto him a manly courage, and to lay aside or dissemble his childish affections: wherefore hee departed from the Cardinall with a settled countenance, & without any shew of perturbation, and so returned to Aranda, where before his arriual, hee found himselfe garded, with the towne and all the approaches, by the souldiers of *Cabanille*, and *Espinola*, captaines of the guard, who were sent and instructed by the Cardinall, who knew how to execute their charge, and keepe the Infant or any of his house from attempting anything. All that night was spent in complaints in the Infants lodging, who slept not; hee would say often that hee would be reuenged of the Cardinall, and when they asked him what hee would doe against a man so well garded, and who had all the forces of Spaine at his command: well, I will make shew to goe and visit my mother, and then will I goe where I please, and the first that shall offer to hinder mee, let him assure himselfe I will kill him, with other such speeches of a yong man.

Day being come, the Infant by the aduice of his seruants, sent to intreat the kings counsell, and the Popes two Noncios to come vnto him, to whome hee said: That the king his brother had sent commandement to take his seruants from him, the which was grievous vnto him, but hee would obey, yet hee intreated them to doe one good Office for an Infant of the house of Castille, to complaine vnto the king by their letters, of the great wrong was done him, seeing they knew well that they had bred him vp, serued and accompanied him faithfully and honestly: the which they

A they promised to doe. Cardinall *Ximenes* by the meanes of Cardinall *Adrian*, drew *D. Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, *D. Aluaro Oforio*, and *Gonsall de Guzman*, to come vnto him vnto the Conuent of Aguilera, to heare the reasons why they were discharged; and to answer the complaints they made of him, who hauing heard what hee would say vnto them, answered and replied, in the end they saide that they were ready to doe that which hee should command them; but they intreated him to persuaide the king, (with whome they knew hee had grace and credit) to haue regard vnto their honors and interests, and they did wisely to answer so, and shew themselves obedient: for if they had done otherwise, hee would nor haue suffered them to returne to Aranda, but would haue stayed them prisoners vntill the kings coming; attending the which the charge of the Infant *D. Ferdinand* was giuen to the Marquesse of Aguilar, in the absence of *D. Alfonso Telles*, whome the king had appointed to that place. There were eight and twentie of the Infants seruants discharged, in whose places there were subrogated men of base condition, and obscure families, to cut off all occasions to vndertake great enterprises, and this Cardinall was so seuer as hee would not suffer the Infant to haue the young Vicont of Altamire, whome he loued dearly for his dexterity and good fashion, for that hee was nephew to *D. Aluaro Oforio*: There remained onely of all the old seruants of that house *Alfonso Castilege*, for that being giuen to musicke and poetrie, hee seemed to be free from ambition; or any desire of alteration. These things thus done, being vnderstood at Court, the lords of the Councell sent letters from the king to the Cardinall for the Marquesse of Astorga, and the earle of Lemos, kinsman to *D. Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, and to *D. Aluaro Oforio*, admonishing them not to oppose themselves to any act done by him, but hee did not vouchsafe to giue them these letters, so confident hee was in the authority which hee held, representing the kings person, and so hee had often done, not caring much for that which the Spaniards suspected or feared.

Seuerity of Car-  
dinall Ximenes.

Marquess of Ag-  
uilar gouernour  
to the Infant D.  
Ferdinand.

D. Pedro Giron  
causeth new  
troubles.

The Marquesse of Aguilar gouerned himselfe so well with his master, as hee himselfe did write vnto the king his brother, and besought him not to giue that charge vnto any other: the which had beene appointed for *D. Alfonso Telles*.

There was a brute throughout Spaine, that the Cardinals infirmity had so weakened him, as leauing all affaires, hee liued retired in his Conuent of friers, not seeing any man, and in effect the bloud came more abundantly out at his eares than before, and hee was much tormented in his body, and as in old men all remedies are difficult and of small effect, they knew not what to hope of him: wherefore *D. Pedro Giron* watching for all occasions to mutine, went to Armes, to invade the countrie of Medina Sidonia, and the Moores also hearing these newes, did molest the coast of Granado, making spoile of all they incountred, for the which the Cardinall provided notwithstanding his infirmity, for against *D. Pedro* hee opposed the earle of Luna, who kept him in awe, being assisted by *D. Anna* of Arragon, wife to the duke of Medina, who gaue him her iewels for the charges of the warre. The earle of Vregra his father, remembering the error committed at Villefratre, which was not yet forgotten; hee besought the Cardinall, not to impute these new broiles to him, promising that hee would cause his sonne *D. Pedro* to lay aside armes, and so hee did: yet the Cardinall did write letters vnto the king full of accusations against these Girones, persuauding him so to punish them once for all, as they should haue no more desire to fall into such errors, and others might take example by them.

About that time the Turkes who had newly seized vpon Alger, vnder *Hornico Barberousse*, meant to make an enterprise vpon Oran, which was the Cardinalls conquest, and therefore hee did much affect it, and the king being then at Sea, had news of it, the which did trouble them much, holding it a great losse if this landing place in Afrik were taken from the Christians. But God provided for it, for the Moores and Arabian Africans ieaious that the Turkes should settle themselves in their countrie, assembled in great multitudes, and incountred them, which came against Oran, and defeated them, freeing the Spaniards, who attended a siege, from that paine and care.

King

1557  
Arrivall of king  
Charles as the  
Asturies.

8. King Charles having taken ship in Flanders about the beginning of September, hee came in the end of that month to the most vneascie coast of all the Asturies, about Tazane, a place full of rocks, and not frequented by seafaring men, not farre from Villeuicuse. The mountaine people of that countrey not knowing what they were which landed vpon their coast, hauing put their wiues and children into the most inaccessible places of the mounrains, they betooke them to armes, and ranne in troups to the Sea shoare, thinking they had bene French-men or some other enemies, which came to spoyle the countrey: the which they perceiuing which were yet at sea, and the king himselfe, hee commanded to display the royall standard, that hee might beeknowne. The Asturians discouering the Lions and Castles, knew that it was their king, and laying downe their armes, they came to salute him vpon their knees, accompanying him to Villeuicuse, the which by a good equiuocation they called Villadichofa, which signifies a happy Towne, which sight was most pleasing vnto the king: there hee rested himselfe after his sea trauell, being accompanied by his sister D. Leonora then Queene of Portugal.

There were with him the lord of Cheures, the Chancellor *Sauuage*, Charles of Lanoy, & other Flemish lords: and in a short time there came many noblemen of Spaine vnto him, among which were D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velasco the Constable, a man of great possessions, in that barren countrey, being accompanied with 700 horse, all his kinsmen, friends, and vassals, who had giuen order that store of victuals should be brought vnto them as they past: there came other noblemen to kisse their princes hand, and then they returned presently, that they might not incōmodate his household and train in the streits of the mounrains, vntill that he were come into a more open country, and better provided. The Cardinal who lay in his Conuent, scarce able to breath, was so glad at the news of the kings arrivall, as he left his bed, sung masse, and eat in the Refectorie among the friers, the which did much discontent the Flemish Courtiers, who desired that hee had bene dead before that the king should conferre with him; for they were well aduertised that hee sought to chase them from the counsell, and from all affaires, whereof hee had often treated by his letters and agents with the king wherefore they informed themselves curiously of his phisitions, how long he would liue, thinking that his death was neer; & therefore they staid the king as long as they could vpon the way, desiring much that he were dead before the king should see him. Some counselled the king to goe first and visite the realme of Arragon, before he staid in Castille, the which the Cardinal hindred all he could, informing him of many inconueniences which would happen by that counsell: and beseeching him most humbly not to determine anything touching his publike or priuate affaires, before hee had giuen him a full information of the estate of his realme: hee did also counsel him to send the infant D. *Ferdinand* his brother, as soone as might bee into Germany, to the emperour his grandfather, thinking that hee could not take a better resolution, neither for his owne affaires, nor for the good of the Infant, then to send him thither, and to bee a meanes that all; or a good part of *Maximilians* succession might come vnto him, seeing that by the grace of God, he was king and lord of so many realmes and rich estates.

This counsell was followed after the Cardinals death, nor at the Flemings sute, who it may bee had other designs, for the lord of Cheures desired to keep him vnder, & soon after would haue had him giue water vnto the king his brother: who, being discontented to see his brother so abuse himselfe, said, that *Ximenes* counsell was better. Whereupon he ordained that the Infant should be conducted into Germany. The king being come to Saint Vincent of Barquera, D. *Anthony* of Rojas, Bishop of Granada, President of the Counsell royall (who had bene alwaies opposit to the Cardinal) went from Aranda with all the Counsell, not making him acquainted therewith, to go and mee with the king; and the better to excuse their fact, they would haue carried with them the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, if the Marquesse of Aguilar had not hindred it. The Cardinal finding himselfe wronged herewith, sent two of the kings letters to the President; by the which hee and the whole counsell were commanded not to depart without him; but they staid not for all that, thinking that the Cardinals authority was much decayed: but hee mouued with this

contempt,

A contempt, sent to the king, complaining of D. *Antonio de Rojas*, and of the counsell departure, in contempt of his letters, terming the forsakers of the commonweale, & of the affaires of estate, protesting, that if before his coming they had presumed to doe such a thing, he would haue punished them in such sort, as within 3 dayes both the president & the counsell had bin reuened, and had deprived the of their dignities with disgrace: wherefore he besought him to obserue the honor and dignity of his counsell of Spaine, & to cause them to returne, to the end they might all together go to meet him, as it was fit: the which was done to the presidents great discontent and shame, who returned with at his train to Aranda. The masters of accounts did not abandon the cardinal: to whom the admirall *Henriques* and other noblemen, who were ready to go & meet the king, offered to go in his company: but he thinking that there were other considerations in these noblemen than in the Senat he gaue them thanks, intreating them to goe before and without him. Winter which comes sooner, and is more sharp in the region beyond the mountains, than in other parts of Spaine, prest the cardinal to leaue the conuent of Aguilar, which place was too moist for his health: wherefore he removed to Roa a towne in the county of Siruelas, where he had learned his first letters in his infancie, causing himselfe to be caried thither in a close litter, and clad in furs: carrying with him the infant D. *Ferdinand*. Roa is 14 leagues nearer to Vaileddolit, than Aranda, and it is a commodious place, to take the way to Vaileddolit or to Segobia, as if it had bin don of purpose. For his part hee desired the court should rather go to Segobia than to Vaileddolit, whereas the Knight consule of his affairs, & assemble the states, the which he dissuaded much at this his first arrival, saying, that their spirits were yet inflamed with the forepassed mutinies, doubting not but there would be many rash and impertinent articles preferred, wherefore it was expedient to deferre it for a time, & to suffer those humors to settle: being of great importance, that the people should meet and see their prince at the first with all humility, obedience and feare, which aduice was contemned, to the great preiudice and danger of the realme.

In the mean time there came deputies from Toledo to the king, beseeching him to chuse that citie, which was great, spacious and healthfull, and situated in a fertile countrey, for his first abode, the which would haue bin very pleasing to the cardinal who was archbishop of Toledo: but the Flemish courtiers took no delight to be so far from the sea: wherefore the king hauing giuen good reception to the deputies, he sent them back, making choice rather of the towne of Vaileddolit; but before his coming thither, he would go visite his mother D. *Juane* at Tordeillas, writing the causes vnto the Cardinal, and to his brother D. *Ferdinand*, which had moued him thereunto: his resolution seemed full of pietie, but considering the indisposition of this princeesse, it was not needfull to conferre so long with her of affaires, as he did. During the Kings abode at Tordeillas, the lodgings were made at Vaileddolit, where the Cardinal beganne to find that the Flemings could doe more than he in Spaine, for his seruants demanding the lodging of doctor *Bernardus* for him, being in a wholesome place, and fit for his infirmity, the harbenger *Terremonde* refused it him, hauing marked it for Queene *Germaine*, wherein the Cardinal had infinite troublesome difficulties, being not accustomed to intreate, although he obtained it: (it was knowne after wards, that the duke of Alba had bene the motiue of this ynworthy vsage of a man of so great authority;) but as for his traine it was lodged in a village without the towne: and yet he must haue patience, it auailed him nothing to complayne of this contempt and disgrace, which he had neuer tried being in a meane estate, no nor when the kings D. *Ferdinand*, and D. *Philippe* were together in that towne, with a great traine of noblemen and knights, and all their ordinary guards, saying, that it was a poore recompence, after so much toyle and sweat, to receiue a wrong in the place of a reward, whereof he blamed the K. officers who were strangers & ignorant of the customs of Spaine. But the worst was, when he receiued letters from the K. by the which he was commanded to attend him at Mojados vpon the way to Tordeillas, where he desired to confer with him, and to haue his counsell in affaires both of his realme and house, to the end he might discharge him of so great a burthen, & suffer him to retire to his own house, to liue in rest, where God would comfort & recompence him, for so many good offices which he had done for the realme, seeing he thought it was not in the power of any man to do it, & that for his part hee would euer remember it, and honour and reuerence him as his father. These letters were written at the persuation of *Mote* Bish. of Badajos, an affectionat seruant

X x x

to

Assembly of  
the Estates  
dissolved by  
the cardinal  
Ximenes at  
the kings ar-  
rivall.

Entertainment  
betwixt K.  
Charles and  
his mother  
unnecessary.

Signe of the  
Cardinals  
disgrace.

Letter of dis-  
charge from  
the Cardinal  
to the King.

Practises of the  
Flemish courti-  
ers to keepe the  
king from seeing  
of the Cardinal

1517

Death of the  
Cardinal  
franc  
Ximenes  
of Cisneros.

Cardinal  
Ximenes  
is  
referred  
by the people  
and vniuer  
sities of Al  
cala.

9  
Disposition  
of Cardinal  
Ximenes.

Bible  
printed  
in many  
tongues.

to the L. of Cheures, & yet much bound to the Cardinall, who having received them, conceiued so great a griefe to see himselfe put backe, as within few hours after he died, his feuer encreasing which he had gotten the day before these strange news: feeling his end to draw neer, he had some little conference with some of his people of the mercy of God, & of the vanity of this world, & forgetting no ceremonies which his order & profession required, he commended his soul to God & to all the Saints, namely to the virgin Mary, to S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Iaguer, and S. Michael, but especially to S. Francis, vnder whose rule he had liued, and to the protectors and patrons of his church of Toledo, S. Eugenio, and Idelfonse or Alphonso. Being thus provided, & with the prayers & suffrages of some priests which assisted him, he ended his daies, leaving a great griefe to many, but it may be the number of those that were glad of it exceeded. He was no sooner dead, but 2 Spanishe captaines *Vellido* & *Collozo*, going out of the Antichamber into the chamber where he died, began to lay hand vpon some plate and other things, thinking that all was to be sackt, but they were balmied by the colonel *Spinosa*, D. *Alphonso* of Arcellan eile of Aguilar, & other noblemen, who were better taught. His body was imbalmed, and being attired in his pontifical robes, he was laid for a time bare faced vpon a rich bed, whereas euery man came and kist his hands, being insulted thereto by the sound of a trumpet, with promise of pardon for their sins: Then according to his will, he was carried to Alcala of Henares, where he was founder of that goodly Vniuersitie, and there with great honour and funerall pomp, he was interred in the church of S. Idelfonse, as he had ordained, where his tombe is to be seene of white marble, with his Image in his archbishops weed, excellently well cut, enuironed with a grate of yron, wherby are 16 spaces, representing the deeds of this Prelate, artificially grauen. The people of Alcala shewed him small reuerence, for presently after his funerall they went and beat downe and rased the houses and farmes, which he had caused to be built without the towne for *Benedict* his nephew: and they of the vniuersity and colledge of S. Idelfonse disannulled many things which he had brought in, and chased away the chanon *Cardagna*, who was treasurer and superintendent of that colledge. Such was the end of this cardinall, a famous man for his great wisdom & iudgement in the government of the affaires of state, constancie in his resolutions, and magnanimity in the execution of his enterprises, seuer, rigorous, and inexorable: a terror to great men, not yielding to force nor flattery, being exceeding ambitious & desirous of honor, the which he shewed in his softer disposition, fit for them that gouerne great Estates. His constitution of body did represent the qualities of his mind, for he was of a great stature, strong & lustie: his pace was graue, his voice strong & firm, his face long and drie, a large forehead without any wrinkles, reasonable big eyes, hollow, but quicke sighted, and alwayes moist, long nosed & crooked like an Eggle, his great teeth stucke out, so as some called him Elephant, & thick lip. His skull being found in the yere 1565 in the vault where it had bin laied, seemed to be all of one peece without any scame: he deliuered his conceptions in few words, & neuer straid fro the purpose, no not in his greatest choler: if he promised to do any man good, he always performed more than he spake: he did seldome vse to iest, yet he took delight to heare them that were quick conceited, & would laugh at them that were pleasant in their speeches: he kept a mad man, who sometimes had bin learned & a diuine, & was delighted to heare him rehearse many passages which he had retained, the which he repeated without any reason, & yet sometimes not ill applied: he would be pleasant with a Spanishe captaine called *Maderol*, who had made many promises, but done little good in all his life, counselling him to become a monk to do penance for his sins: & in these things he recreated his spirits, being charged with great affairs. Finally, he loved learning, & to heare the disputations of learned men, & oftentimes of yong scholars. This prelat being well informed of the great profit which the world might draw from the knowledge of tongues he did intertain men that were learned in them: & to imploy the in matters fit for his religious profession, & to the end the studious of the holy scripture might tast the word of God fro the original springs, he caused the bible to be printed in many tongues: that is, the book of the old testament distinguished into 3 parts, whereof the first contained the Hebrew text, the second the comon translation into Latin which we vse: & the third the Greeke of the 70 Interpreters, with his translation in Latin. As for the new Testament it contained the Greeke text, & the common translation in Latin, very well corrected: and in the end of the volume, a dictionary of Hebrew words interpreted, very ample & copious: a

959  
1517

Men employed  
to peruse the  
Bible.

Cardinal  
Ximenes  
oppress  
with melancholy

A lower of in  
justice.

Execution must  
be speedie after  
mature delibera  
tion.

Cardinal  
Ximenes, though a  
friar, yet he was  
richly apparell  
ed.

Discretion in  
giuing of bene  
fices.

11  
Buildings made  
at the charge of  
Cardinal  
Ximenes.

A worke of great labour, impetuous and stately, witnessing the greatnes of this cardinalls courage, who was not daunted with any difficulty. Herein he vied the care, learning, and iudgement of *Demetrius Candidot*, *John* of Vergara, *Anthony Nebriencia*, *Lopez* of Estuniga, *Fernand* of Vailledolit, worthy professors in the Greeke and Latin tongues, *Alphonso* of Alcala a philition, *Paul Cornel*, and *Alphonso Zamora*, learned men in the Hebrew tong. These men were very careful to examine the old volumes that were most correct and approued of both testaments, wherein they had no small help and ease by the library of the Vatican at Rome, through the bounty of Pope *Leo*, who refused not any thing to cardinall *Ximenes*. The Latin explication of the translation of the 70 Interpreters, was the worke of *Demetrius*, of *Fernand* of Vailledolit, and of *Alphonso* of Estuniga, assisted by some of their disciples learned men, *John Vergara* was also assisted and called by them to take part of this charge, who interpreted some of those bookes which he was wont to call *Sapientiales*: as Ecclesiasticus, the which he could not finish as he desired, by reason of his indisposition; for hee had an intent to make large Annotations. The Bible was begun by these men in the yere 1502, who spent 15 whole yeares, with great care and toyle to turne ouer infinite volumes and copies, gathered together from many parts of the world, with wonderful charge, for proofe whereof *Gomellius* saies, that he had often heard *Alphonso Zamora*, professor in the Hebrew tongue, affirme, that for 7 Hebrew copies which are kept in the Vniuersitie of Alcala of Henares, were payed 4000 crownes of gold. Being ended by *John Brocario* of Alcala, it was dedicated to pope *Leo*, whereof the world hath receiued great profit. This Cardinall hauing his mind continually attentive to great matters, was sometimes oppressd with melancholy, which made him to vnder take things rather through surie than counsell, but very seldome, as the conuersion of the Moors of Granada, and the enterprises of Africa, attempted with too great affection & zeale without any ground. The quarrels which he had with great me with such obstinatio as we haue said, proceeded fro the loue of Iustice, magnanimity & vertue: for he would teach them to liue according to equity. The chanons of Toledo were his chiefe counsellors, without whose aduice he would neuer attempt any thing of importance: he would, as it was fit, that whatsoeuer had bin decreed after mature deliberation, should be instantly put in execution: he censured of mens errors, not by the effect, but by the intent. Although in publike affaires, he were impatient of a reply, & bold speech, yet in that which concerned himselfe, he often indued the liberty of another mans tongue: the which he shewed to *Contrera* the preacher, who blaming him one day in his presence, for that he being a friar did often weare tables & other rich furrer, he was invited to dine with him, where he commended his preaching, but he excused that which he did reprehend in him, saying, that men aduanced to dignity and great charges, had need of precious ornaments, and rich attire, as well on their persons as in their houses, for that doth breed maiesty in him, and causeth reuerence in subiects. They write that these ornaments were vsed superficially by the Cardinall, for as for his vnder habit and his sleeping, he alwayes carried himselfe according to the Order of Saint Francis: he daily said his prayers, either alone, or accompanied, the doore being shut, that he might not be diuerted. He had great compassion of great persons vnworthily afflicted, and did releue them with mony, as to D. *Gulmar* of Castro duchesse of Nagera, being chased from her house by her husband, whom he did nourish and comfort in the city of Toledo with as great honor, as the duke himselfe could haue done her, blaming his churlishnes the more, for that he had bin made duke by king *Henry* the fourth in fauor of this woman, with whom, as we haue said, he seemed to be in loue.

When there was any great benefice void in the church of Toledo, hee gaue it either to the sonne of some prince or great nobleman, or to some one of the learnedest men of Spaine: saying, That nobility brought fauour, and learning authority to the clergie: finally, hee was liberall, and very charitable to the poore, and careful of his household seruants. He spent a good part of his revenues in religious buildings, which preferre his memorie: as at Tordelaguna, where hee was borne the conuent of Franciscan friers, intituled of the virgin *Mary*, a goodly and stately worke: at Toledo the conuent of Saint *John* penitent: and one of the like title at Alcala of Henares, two Conuents, one of Franciscans, and the other of Iacobins, in the city of Oran: but above all, the building

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of

of the colledge of Saint Idelfonse or *Alphonse*, in the vniuersitie of Alcalá of Henares is most famous, and the institution of the company, which should be all Diuines. This man was so seuerē, as he had attempted to reduce all the Orders of monkes to their ancient and first simplicitie and puritie. After this prelat's death, *D. Alphonse* of Arragon archbishop of Saragossa, base sonne to the deceased king *D. Ferdinand*, came to Tordesillas, to salute the king his nephew, and also to get the archbishopricke of Toledo, if he might; but the lord of Cheures, who would haue it for *William* of Crouy his nephew, stayed his coming, so as this prince was forced to go to Vailladolid, there to attend the King, who hauing seen him, and complaining to all the noblemen of Spaine, of the wrong the lord of Cheures had done him, he returned into Arragon, frustrate of that which he pretended.

12 The king hauing caused the Estates of Castille to assemble at Vailladolid, in September 1518, he was declared king of Castille, Toledo, Granado, and other dependances in Spaine; hee receiued and tooke the othe after the accustomed manner, wherein there was some difficultie made by some great noblemen, for that Queene *Isabe* his mother did yet liue; notwithstanding it past; and hauing there ordaind many things touching the gouernement of Castille, he past into Arragon, to haue alike assembly and solemnity, in regard of those realmes and the lands depending. Being in Arragon he was solicited to send ambassadors to Mompellier, to conferre with the deputies of the French king, and of *Henrie* of Albrēt, touching the rights of the realme of Nauarre, held and enioyed by him, in the name of *D. Isabe* his mother, and his owne, by hereditary title, whereof there had bin another parliament held at Noion: whither were sent the lord of Cheures, the chancellor *John Saurage*, who was of Bruges, *D. Ant. of Estuniga* one of the priors of S. Iohn, the great commander of Castille, doctor *Carnial*, with other knights and learned men; but all this conference was to no effect, for he that was in possession, would hold it: besides *Arthur Goffier*, L. of Bouilli dying, was a hinderance to it. At that time *D. Ant. Manriquez* duke of Nagera was viceroy of Nauarre, hauing for assistant *D. Roderigo* of Mercado bishop of Auija, at which time the new king *Charles* had caused the marshall *D. Pedro* of Nauarre to be deliuered out of prison, being in the castle of Atienza, & prest him much to take the othe, & to do him homage, as to his king; but he who bare an affection to his master, refused it: by reason wherof he ended his daies in the prison of Simancas. The King being at Barcelone he had news of his election to the empire of Germany: wherefore he went towards Vailladolid, to make preparation for his iorney, & order for the affaires of Castille, which were very confused. But hee was forced to make halt, and to leaue many things vndecided, being aduertised of the conspiracies & leagues betwixt the towns and great lords of the realme, for the defence of the priuiledges and liberties of the country, against the greedines & usurpations of the Flemish counsellors, who gouerned this yong prince: among the which the chiefe was, as we haue said, the L. of Cheures. The King for that he would not be engaged in these Spanish mutinies, with whose humours he was not acquainted, he parted as it were flying away, & imbarcked at the Groin, a famous port in Galicia, leauing for gouernors cardinal *Adrian*, & the constable. *D. Inigo Fernandez* of Velasco, to whom he afterwards ioyned *D. Frederic Henriques*, great admirall of Castille. Being landed in the low countries, he went presently to Auija Chapelle, where he receiued the imperiall crowne, in the yere 1520, being 20 yeres old. The first Act's of his gouernment, were to suppress by mild & quiet means the doctrine preached by *Luther*, which increased much in Germany. To this end, & for some other matters of importance concerning the empire, he caused the princes and estates to assemble at Worms, wheras *Luther* appeared hauing a passport, and was heard disputing against doctor *Eschius* & others, but there came no fruits of it. But in Spaine there grew great seditions and tumults, in the towns and prouinces of Castille, many townes & noblemen complaining of the breach of the lawes and priuiledges of the realme, and of the bad gouernment of the Flemish lords, who by their great couetousnes, had drawne vnto them great sums of money, vnder the kings authority, vsurped the estates, offices & benefices of the realme, & caused a profanation in a manner of all things, as if they had bin in a country of conquest: so as the people being moued vpon so apparent occasions, the excesse and troubles which ciuile dissensions are accustomed to produce, followed soone after.

Coronation of King Charles the first of that name.

Conference of deputies touching the realme of Nauarre.

13 Charles chosen emperor of Germany.

Departure of the emperor Charles out of Castille forced.

14 Ciuile warre in Castille.

Cardinal

A Cardinal *Adrian* & the constable thinking to suppress this mischiefe in the breeding, made the fire greater, for hauing sent against the of Segobia, *Ronquillo* Alcaide or prouost of the court, a man of a fower disposition, rigorous in his executions, & proud and insolēt in his threats, hauing made the summations & solemnities required in Iustice, he began to burne, wine, cut & pul vp, take & kil al that he found about Segobia: wherewith the inhabitants of Toledo being incensed, they took armes and went to field chasing away this prouost. They being once armed in one place, the sedition grew generall: Burgos, Vailladolid, Salamāca, Auija, Zamora, Leon, Toro, and other chiefe places rebelled openly, & had many noblemen & knights of their faction, yet they were more led by their owne priuate interests then the publike good. The deputies of all these cities thus mutined came to Auija, where they made a league with the noblemen, the principall whereof were *D. Iohn de Padilla* of Toledo, *D. Anthony & Acugna* bishop of Zamora, *D. Pedro Giron*, of whom mention hath bin often made. Cardinal *Adrian* had bin already forced to flee from Vailladolid, by the help of a priest, who conueied him away by night, breaking a piece of the towne wall, notwithstanding that *D. Pedro Giron* & *D. Iohn de Padilla* had assured him that there was nothing intended against him, & that his innocencie was well knowne. The president and counsellors of the Audiance and Chancery were in like maner fled, of the which doctor *Vargas* escaped by a funke. The people being masters in all the towns made choice of captains of their owne sort, smiths, belfounders, skimmers, tailors and such like, who forgat nothing to make them detestable, in all couetousnesse, cruelty, and other wicked actions.

B Auija, where they made a league with the noblemen, the principall whereof were *D. Iohn de Padilla* of Toledo, *D. Anthony & Acugna* bishop of Zamora, *D. Pedro Giron*, of whom mention hath bin often made. Cardinal *Adrian* had bin already forced to flee from Vailladolid, by the help of a priest, who conueied him away by night, breaking a piece of the towne wall, notwithstanding that *D. Pedro Giron* & *D. Iohn de Padilla* had assured him that there was nothing intended against him, & that his innocencie was well knowne. The president and counsellors of the Audiance and Chancery were in like maner fled, of the which doctor *Vargas* escaped by a funke. The people being masters in all the towns made choice of captains of their owne sort, smiths, belfounders, skimmers, tailors and such like, who forgat nothing to make them detestable, in all couetousnesse, cruelty, and other wicked actions.

C At Segobia they did hang the rector betwixt 2 sergeants, thinking to aduise them something for the good of the publike peace: they of Auija did rase the house of *Pedro Ponce*, for that he would not signe the league with the rest. The constable was chased from Burgos, who with the earle of *Alua de Lista* and others were pursued by the conspirators with publike Edicts, who had summoned with solemnities and order of iustice, all the princes and great noblemen of the realme to ioine with them, for the defence, said they, of the lawes & liberties of Spaine: in default wherof to proceed against them as traitors to their country. The gouernors seeing this great reuolt, furnished themselves with armes & all other means to defend themselves & to suppress the rebels. *Anthony Fonseca* being sent Medina del Campo, with a good number of horse, to bring the artillery which was kept in the storehouse of that town, he found such resistance, as he was forced, partly through choler, & partly by a stratagem of war, to set fire in diuers parts of the town, to the end he might draw the people (who were earnest to defend the artillery) to go & saue their houses which were on fire: but their obstinacie was such as they had rather suffer their goods to be burnt, then abandon the artillery to *Fonseca*, who was forced to returne without it: so vpon this occasion they of Medina ioyned with the league: In which towne there was great store of merchadise of all sorts, mouables & other riches of inestimable value burnt.

The conspirators hauing put their army to field seised vpon *Tordesillas*, where *Q. Isabe* (being distracted) kept, her they saluted for their *Q. &* gaue her a gard of 300 priests, leuied by the Bish. of Zamora in his dioces, whom he commanded to sweare and renounce God, & to looke like fouldiers: and if hee did see any one that did handle his portaise, hee would beate him with a cudgell. The emperor being aduertised of all these miseries, hee wrote vnto the Admirall *D. Frederic Henriques*, which was then in Cartelogne, to take the charge of gouernor with the rest, & to seek by all means to pacifie those troubles. *D. Frederic* ioyned with the gouernors with equall authority & did what he could to pacifie al, notwithstanding that the Confederats had taken and spoiled *Vniegna*, *Tordelumes*, and *Villabassica*, lands belonging vnto him, & had sackt his brothers palace, & committed other indignities in contempt of him, and to his preiudice: yet notwithstanding hee went and sent diuers times to the rebels: but the disease required a sharper remedy: for

F In truth there was no more any question to reforme abuses, and correct the faults of the common weale: all were now grown into a furie to ouerthrow the estate. As for the noblemen and knights their owne greedy desires had thrust them into armes. *D. Pedro Giron* would be duke of Medina Sidonia, and win his cause by the sword, *D. Iohn de Padilla* promised to himselfe the mastership of S. Jaques, others hauing priuat quarrelles, would breuenged and spoyle their enemies: and as for the Townes, if their first motion had

Excesse of Ronquillo prouost of the Court.

Townes conspired.

Insolencie against the Cardinals and the Kings officers.

Tordesillas taken by the conspirators.

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some



1520

Tordeſillas re-  
covered.Battel of Villa  
Lara, and de-  
feat of the re-  
bells.Puniſhment of  
rebells.

Nauarre.

Pampelone  
abandoned by  
the Caſtilians.Beginning of the  
Ieſuits.Inigo of Loyola  
and his familie.

some lawfull cauſe, their manner of proceeding, and their forme of demanding, had ſpoyled all, and made them and their cauſe odious: wherefore the war beganne to grow hote: *John de Padilla*, and *John Brano* being come to Villapanda, with part of the forces of the League, it ſeemed to the emperours capitaines that an opportunitie was offered, to recover *Tordeſillas*, and to deliuer *Queene Ioane*, who was held as a priſoner by the rebels: the which ſucceeded well without anie great loſſe or difficultie, for the place was not ſtrong: There were many of the ſeditious taken there: *Tordeſillas* was ſackt, yea the *Queene* and her ſeruants lodgings, yet all was reſtored vnto them againe. It is written, that when they battred the towne, a priſt of the biſhop of *Zamoras* being behind a loop hole ſlew 11 men with his peece; and to diſcharge himſelfe ſomewhat of this guilt, or to giue ſome eaſe to his ſoule at whom he aimed, at euery ſhot he made a croſſe with his harquebuze: In the end this priſt was ſlaine with an arrow. After this prize the Conſtable and the Admirall who were commaunders for the emperour, marched againſt the enemies, who went towards *Toro*, with an intent to ioine with their other confederats, who had gathered together a rable of 8000 rascalls out of the townes and diocesse of *Zamora*, but they were ouertaken neere vnto *Villa Lara*, and fought with: where notwithstanding that they had great numbers of men, and that *Padilla* and *Brano* performed the parts of valiant and hardy capitaines, yet they were defeated and taken. This defeat pacified all tumults, and made them all more quiet. The confederate cities laboured euery one apart to returne into fauour, and did eaſily obtrayne pardon, yea the city of *Burgos* before this rout had left the ſocietie of the reſt. The biſhop of *Zamora* hearing of the defeat of his companions, thought to eſcape, but he was ſtaied in *Nauarre*, and afterwards ſtrangled. *D. John* of *Padilla* and *John Brano* were condemned to looſe their heads: *D. Maria* wiſe to *John* of *Padilla*, fell into the like miſerie, a woman of a great courage, but deceived by the falſe predictions of diuines and forcerers, whom the beleueed: their palace at *Toledo*, by the ſame ſentence was ruined, and the ſoyl ſowen with ſalt, and therein a pillar erected, for a perpetuall memorie of their rebellion: *D. Pedro Giron* who had left the other confpirators, by the perſuaſion of his friends and kinſmen (whereof the Conſtable was the chiefe) was confined to *Oran*, with many other knights. Many men of leſſe note felt the rigor of Iuſtice; and many alſo were pardoned. Thus ended the ciuile warre and ſedition in Spaine, which grew by reaſon of the exceſſe and violent gouernement of the *Flemings*, who ſuffered the *Spaniards* to end it, whileſt that they were Iudges of their puniſhments and rewardes, for that the emperour was gouerned by their counsell.

15 Whenas this rebellion in Caſtille happened, the gouernours finding themſelues weak and ill provided of many things, they were forced to vſe the ſouldiers which were in the gariſons of *Nauarre*, and to draw many peeces of ordonance, out of *Pampelone*, and places of that realme, which gaue occaſion to ſome well affected to the houſe of *Albret* and *Foix*, and to *Henry* of *Albret* the true heire of that realme, to haue ſecret intelligences, in *Bearn* and in *Fraunce*, in whoſe fauour king *Francis* ſent *Andrew* of *Foix*, Lord of *Aſperaut*, or *Eſparre* younger brother to *Odet* of *Foix* Lord of *Lautrech*, who being receiued by them of the faction of *Gramont* tooke the caſtle of *Saint John de Pied de Port*: wherefore *D. Anthonie Manrique* Duke of *Nagera* finding himſelfe ſurprized, the city of *Pampelone* beginning alſo to mutine, he left it, and returned into Caſtille, abandoning his houſe to the ſacke of the people.

16 At that time there was in *Nauarre* following armes, *Inigo* of *Loyola*, the firſt author of the *Ieſuits*, an obſtinate enemy to the houſe of *Albret*, who whenas the viceroy *Manrique* diſlodged, remained in the caſtle of *Pampelone* in gariſon, with the other ſouldiers of the emperour. It hapned that this caſtle being aſſailed by the people, there was a canon ſhot made by them of the towne, at a certaine place, where as this man had both his feet ſo bruised with ſtones which the bullet had ſcattered, as hee fell from the top of the caſtle to the bottome, but being ordained for an inſtrument to this new kinde of plant in the church, he was taken vp, and his life preferred. He was ſonne to *Bertrand* of *Loyola* and *Ognez* in the prouince of *Guipuscoa*, in the iuriſdiction of *Aſpeytia*, which in old time was called *Miranda* of *Yraugui*. After this miſchance he was carried to his fa-  
thers

1521

Studies of Inigo  
of Loyola.

Firſt Ieſuite.

Self of Ieſuits  
confirmed at  
Rome.Cardinall Gui-  
dicion firſt pa-  
tron to the Ie-  
ſuits.

Athershouſe at *Loyola*, which is in the middeſt of the prouince of *Guipuscoa*, where ſeeing himſelfe maimed and vnable euer after to beare armes, he changed his mind and profeſſion, and quitting the world, he gaue himſelfe to ſpirituall things, following the direction which he had, according to the religion which was then eſteemed amongst men: His firſt religious exploit was to goe and viſit the place of *Monſerrat*, where hee ſpent nine days; then he gaue all his goods vnto the poore, and retired himſelfe into the mountaines of *Manreſa*, where hee began to lead a ſolitarie life, for the ſpace of ſeuē months. Afterwards he went to *Barcelona*, from whence he paſt by ſea to *Venice*, and finding the pilgrims ſhip ready to depart, he put himſelfe into it, & went to *Paleſtina* to ſeeke the places of that land whereof mention is made in the holy Scripture: but the father gardian of the *Franciscans* of mount *Sion* forced him to returne: and for that hee was but ignorant, he began to ſtudy his *Grammar* at *Barcelona*, after which he frequented the vniuerſitie of *Alcala* of *Henares*, going alway bare footed, although hee was lame, which maner of liuing many did interpret to be very ſuperſtition: wherefore hee was apprehended, and let goe againe by the iudgement of doctour *John* of *Figueroa*, with charge that he ſhould goe no more bare footed: this made him leaue *Alcala* and goe to *Salamanca*, where hee was more derided: wherefore ſeeing himſelfe croſt in his ſtudies by theſe perſecutions, he left *Spaine* and came to *Paris*, where he heard maſter *Peter Faber*, and there he remained not long, being vext by ſome and ſupported by others, in the end allowed by maſter *Ori*, they held an opinion that hee was a holy man, and of a ſcholer he became a maſter, hauing for his followers his maſter *Peter Faber*, *Diego Laynes*, *John Coduri*, *Claude Gay*, *Paſqual Bronet*, *Francis Xauierre*, *Alphonſo Sameron*, *Simon Rodrigues*, and *Nicholas* of *Bouadilla*, ſtudents in diuinitie, all which ſubmitted themſelues to an Order ſet downe by *Inigo*, and did vow perpetuall pouertie & chaſtitie. Hauing wrought this in *France*, he returned into *Spaine*, honored with the degree of Maſter in the vniuerſitie of *Paris*, and retired himſelfe to the place of his birth, not to his fathers houſe of *Loyola*, but to the hoſpitall of *Aſpeytia*, and would not be knowne: there he began to preach, as well in the church of *Saint Sebastian* of *Soreſu*, as in other places of that countrey, with ſo great a concurſe and reputation, as it was (ſaid they) wonderfull, ſo as in the end being diſcouered by a clerke of *Nauarre*, who had ſtudied at *Paris*, hee was made knowne vnto his parents, who ſought by all means poſſible to retire him from that begging kind of life, but in vaine. Hee had concluded with his companions abouenamed, to make a voyage with them to the holie Land, wherefore he went to meet them at *Venice* where the *Rendez-vous* was: from whence they went to *Rome*, and ſtayed there all Lent in the yeare 1537, and obtained leaue of pope *Paul* the third to performe their pilgrimage: whereupon they returned to *Venice*, but finding that the paſſage was ſtopt by reaſon of the warre betwixt that commonweale and the *Turke*, they were forced to ſtay there, and by that means the *Ieſuits* were firſt knowne in *Italie*, not without great croſſes, from the which they were delineed by the iudgement of *Gaſpar* of *Ottis*, who diſputed in their cauſe. Deſirous to be of greater fame, they got leaue to heare in Confession, and ſome of them receiued Orders to ſay maſſe; then they diſperſed themſelues in the *Venetians* territorie, preaching and doing other workes of their profeſſion, purchaſing great fame, eſpecially with the ignorant, ſo as in the yeare 1538 they came all to *Rome*, whereto they obtrayned from pope *Paul* confirmation & approbation of their maner of liuing, and of the ſtatutes and orders of their ſect, by the aid and fauor of cardinall *Contareno*, and they were receiued vnder the protection of the ſea of *Rome*, but only vnder voice or acule, referring them for the petition of the perpetuation of their ſect, to cardinall *Guidicion* of *Luca*, the which was effected with the more eaſe, for as much as there were at that time in *Rome*, doctour *John* of *Figueroa*, maſter *Ori*, and *Gaſpar* of *Ottis*, who gaue ample information of the life, maners and intention of *Inigo* of *Loyola*, whom they had knowne at *Alcala*, *Paris* and *Venice*. Cardinall *Guidicion*, notwithstanding that hee had a little before ſer forth a booke *De non multiplicandis religionibus*; not only embraced and allowed them, but became their ſolicitor: wherefore they were confirmed and allowed by letters and bullies, the firſt of October 1540, giuen at *Tiuoli*, vnder the name and title of the company of *Ieſus*, with liberty to receiue into their company, being then but threene, the number of three ſcore, by



1521

by prouision. The eleuenth which was retayned into this Order was called *Anthony* of Araos, borne at Vergara in Guipuscoa. *D. John* the third king of Portugall, being aduertised of this new brood, by his embassador *D. Pedro Mazzeueras*, desired to haue some into his countrey: wherefore he caused suit to bee made vnto the Pope, to send some vnto him: For this cause there were sent into Portugall, *Francis Xauierre* a Nauarrois, and *Simon Rodrigues* a Portugall, brothers of this Company of Iesus: *Simon Rodrigues* remained in Portugall, *Xauierre* past to the East Indies to preach, and there died. In the yeare 1543 they had leaue from pope *Paul* to increase their number as much as they would, and to receiue all that would enter into the Order: and then in the yeare 1545 hee graunted them all the priuiledges, faculties and graces which they now enioy. Afterwards *Peter Fabri* and *Anthony* of Araos came into Castille, and consequently the rest, so as Spaine hath neuer wanted of this brood. After the death of *Paul* the third, pope *Iulio de Monte* his successor, did in a manner beginne the first Acts of his papacie, by a confirmation of this Order in the yeare 1550. By the conuersation of doctor *Anthony* of Araos, *D. Francisco Borgia* and of Arragon, Duke of Gandie and Marquesse of Lombay, conceived a great loue to this sect, in the which he was the more confirmed by the persuation of his wife *D. Leonora de Castro*, a Portugall, much deuoted to the Iesuits: so as *D. Francisco* went out of Spaine with this doctor, who was the first Prouinciall of Castille, towards Rome, where he resolyed to make himselfe a Iesuite, and to leaue his temporall estates, whereunto he was admitted by father *Inigo* of Loyola, author of that Order. The duke and doctor *Anthony* being returned into Spaine, the duke made renunciation of the duchie of Gandie, and of his other lands, vnto his sonne *D. Charles Borgia* and of Arragon, in the Iesuits Colledge of Ognate, where he tooke the habite, and receiued all the Orders: and soone after he would that his second sonne *D. John Borgia* and of Arragon, should marry *D. Laurence* of Loyola and Ognez, daughter to *D. Bertrand* of Loyola nephew to father *Inigo*, who with the aid and fauour of cardinall *John Mouron*, did build the Germane colledge at Rome, to instruct the youth of that nation against *Luthers* doctrine: Before his death he saw sixteene Prouincialls of his Institution and Order, and about a hundred and seuentie colledges, the which since haue multiplied strangely. He died at Rome in the yeare 1556 being threescore and one yeeres old, hee was buried in the chiefe house, and head of that Order, called *Sancta Maria de la Strada*. We haue seen the abouenamed *D. Francisco Borgia* a Castilian generall of this Order in our time. There are three sorts of religious in it, one of protest who can hold no goods, the other probationers, and the third collegialls, and it is lawfull for these two to possesse what they will. The Iesuits are not Theatins: for they whom they called Theatins, had an other beginning, and another kind of life; they were certaine gentlemen and others moued with deuotion, who gaue themselves to prayers, singing, and other such works, and were first called of the company of the loue of God, to whom there being ioyned *John Peter Carrafa*, Neapolitane, bishop of Chieri, and being reputed as a worthy man, the head of those religious, they began to call them Chierins, and then corrupting the word Theatins, these Chierins were in credit in the time of pope *Clement* the seuenth, who by reason of the sacke of Rome, being retired to Ostia, and there finding certaine Venetian galleys, they past to Venice, and there made their abode eleuen yeares, before that *Inigo* of Loyola and his companions came there. The Iesuits comming afterwards from Venice to Rome, for that they could not performe their voyage to the holy Land, the people thought that they were the Chierins or Theatins which were returned, and confounded these two Orders through ignorance, whereof there is great difference. This *John Peter Carrafa* came afterwards to be pope, and was called *Paul* the fourth. Of the Theatins there are not many other colledges or houses to be found, but at Venice, Rome, Naples, and Paulia. The Iesuits are also called in Arragon *Iniguists*, of the name of their author, and in Portugall Apostles, but in all other places Iesuits, according to the Popes Bulles and Briefes. This we find in the Spanish Histories of the Institution of the Iesuits, inserted here of purpose, at the time of the rout of Pampelone, in the yeare 1521 where *Inigo* of Loyola their first Institutor was. There was at that time an ample subject prepared for these Iesuits to practise their charities, and, withall, a fit and pleasing abode for them,

Duke of Gandie becomes a Iesuite.

17  
Sect of Theatins differs from the Iesuits.

1521

A them, and other religious Spaniards, at the west Indies by *Eernand Cortes*, who hauing runne along the coasts of the firme land at this new world, going vp Northward, and there by sundry conquests hauing drawne vnto him many of those Indian people he entered into the country and assailed the city of Mexico, took it, and conquered that realme with an incredible facilitie. It is at this present called Noua Hispania. This great citie which was one of the wonders of the world, by reason of the situation was taken in August this yeare 1521, where the king *Moteczuma* was slaine, and about a hundred thousand of his subjects.

Mexico at the Indies taken by the Christian.

Returning now to the historie of Nauarre, we say, that as soone as the duke of Nagera was retired, they of Pampelone did choose the signior of Osioien for their captaine, who had serued the catholike king, *Monsieur Asperaut* pursuing his conquests was met in the Pyrene mountains by some deputies of the valley of Roncal, who yeelded him obedience, and gaue him aduertisement of the estate of the countrie, with whom hee past to Pampelone, and made himselfe master thereof in the name of king *Henrie*. *D. Lewis* of Beaumont earle of Lerin desired to come to him, but they refused him a safeconduct for his returne. The lord of Asperaut finding no resistance in the whole realme, he reduced it in few days vnder the obedience of its naturall king, and making vse of the ciuile wars of Castille, hauing good intelligence with the communitie, he past the riuier of Ebro, and laid siege to Logrogne, through a rash and ill digested counsell. *D. Pedro Velaz* of Guenahad put himselfe into the place, with some souldiers, who resisted the French armie virtuously, they being much fauored by the victorie of Villa Laria, which the viceroyes of Castille had woon against the commons: by reason whereof the Victors aduanced with the Duke of Nagera, who had leuied men from Burgos vnto the sea, making his sonne *D. John Manrique de Lara* colonell of the Guipuscoans, a yong Lord but fiftene yeeres old: and of the Biscains *Gomes Gonsales de Butron*, Lord of Muxica and of Butron: which forces being great, forced the French to raise their siege, and repassing the riuier, to returne into Nauarre, the Castilian army following them so neere, as whereas the French sup, the Castilians dined the next day. The armies beeing come neere vnto Pampelone, the Lord of Asperaut being accompanied by many Nauarrois, was of opinion to turne D head, and to hazard a battell, but very inconsideratly: for at that time he was not strong enough to incounter the power which came against him; neyther had he the patience to attend some of his forces which were at Tafalla, with the signior of Ollaogui, and at Pampelone, and a new leuie of sixe thousand Nauarrois, which might haue ioyned with him the next day, or the day after, wherefore being neere one vnto another, after that the artillery had played, when they came to ioyn, the French horsemen behaued themselves woorthily: but the footemen, who were most part Gascois, could not endure the force of the Castilians, but were presently put to rout, which made them to giue the field, and to leaue the victory vnto the viceroyes. In this battell which was giuen neere vnto the borough of Noayn, and the port of Reniega, there died of French E and Nauarrois neere fife thousand, and amongst them *D. Charles* of Maulcon, and *D. John* of Saraza, captaine *Martin*, and *Charles* of Nauasques, or of Nouailles: the generall also of the French armie being hurt by a man at armes of the company of the Earle of Alba de Lista, yeelded to *D. Francis* of Beaumont: the Lord of Turnon was also taken, *D. Pedro* of Nauarre sonne to the Marshall *D. Pedro* prisoner at Simanca, saued himselfe in France, with *D. Arnold* of Gramont, *D. Frederic* of Nauarre, and others in great numbers. Through the fauour of this victorie Pampelone was recovered without any difficultie, by the Castilians: and after their example all the other places of the realme yeelded, except some strong castles in the mountaynes. The Lord of Asperaut was blamed to haue hazarded a battell, being weak and within the realme, without any constraint, but hee excused himselfe, for that hee had discouered a great disorder amongst the enemies, which promised him an assured victory, but he was deceived: it had bene more safe for him to haue stood vpon his gard, contenting himselfe with that which hee had wonne in so short a time, without striking stroke, and not to haue inuaded the lands of Castille: a while after hee was set at libertie, paying tenne thousand crownes raunsome, by *D. Francis* of Beaumont, against the willes of the Viceroyes of Castille, who

The lord of Asperaut makes himselfe master of Pampelone.

Logrogne besieged by the French.

French retire from Logrogne.

5521  
Rout of the lord of Asperaut and the French army at Noayn.

Pampelone recovered by the Castilians.

1521

D. Francis of  
Eftuniga earle  
of Miranda  
viceroy of Na-  
uarre.

Admirall of Ba-  
rines enters  
Guipuscoa.

Fontarraby be-  
sieged and takē  
by the French.

Demolitions in  
Nauarre.

Adrian chosen  
Pope.

1522

Maine's im-  
pregnable fort  
taken by the  
French.

who made D. *Francisco* of *Eftuniga* and *Auillaneda* earle of *Miranda* viceroy of *Nauarre*, in the place of the duke of *Nagera*. This year the bishopricke of *Pampelone* was voided, by the death of Cardinall *Aman* of *Albier*, and Cardinall *Alexander Cesarin* *Romain* was aduanced to that place.

19 King *Francis* discontented with the bad successe of the Lord of *Asperants* amie, hee resolved to inuade *Spaine* with a greater power by *Guipuscoa*, whither hee sent the Lord of *Boniuier*, Admirall of *Fraunce*, who at his first entrance tooke the Castle of *Beoyuia*, into the which he put capayne *Beaufils* in garrison; then leading his army against *Fontarraby*, he besieged it, and planted his battery in the most conuenient places. *Diego de Vera* was gouernour within it, who either through negligence, or want of means, had ill furnished it with victualles, so as the third day of the siege they beganne to want, yet notwithstanding he made some resistance, and endured an assault: but seeing there was no meanes to holde it, hee yeelded the place vpon composition, the souldiers departing with their armes, and their colours flying. This yeelding fell out very happily for the French amie: for had it bene delayed but two dayes, they had bene forced to dislodge, for that there fell such aboundance of raine, as the brookes being swelled in those vallies, would haue carried away both men and baggage. The Admirall *Boniuier* put a garrison of three thousand *Galcoines* into *Fontarraby*, vnder the command of the Lord of *Lude*, hauing rampared vp the breaches, and furnished it well with victuals. There was sent out of *Spaine* vnto that frontire, to make head against the French D. *Bertrand de la Cuenca*, sonne to the duke of *Albuquerque*, who provided for the towne of *Saint Sebastian* and other forts of that countrey. About that time the emperor sent a commaundement from *Brussels*, to the earle of *Miranda* viceroy of *Nauarre*, to raine all the wallles and forts of *Nauarre* to prevent another rebellion; all which was executed, but at *Pampelone*, *Lombier*, *Pont de la Roine*, and at the castle of *Estella*. It was resolved to fortifie *Pampelone*, and therefore the monasteries neere adioyning were ruined, and the monks drawne into the towne.

20 Pope *Leo* dying this year 1521, cardinal *Adrian* bishop of *Lortola*, who was then gouernor in *Spaine* with the abouenamed viceroies, was chosen pope in the 62 year of his age: and retaining his name, he was called *Adrian* the sixth. The newes of his election was brought him to *Victoria*, where the viceroies were, full of care for the losse of *Fontarraby*: passing from thence towards *Aragon* & *Catalogne*, he embarked and left *Spaine* to go to *Rome* to receiue the pontificall crowne, the which he enjoyed but few daies.

The year following 1522 was taken the fort of *Maja*, not far from *Baione*, by the diligence of the earle of *Miranda*, viceroy, and D. *Lewis* of *Beaumont*, earle of *Lerin*, the which was defended by *James Velez* of *Matran* a *Nauarrois*, with others of the faction of *Gramont*, a place held impregnable for the situation, the which notwithstanding being extraordinarily prest, was yeelded by the said *Madran*, who was led with his sonne prisoner to *Pampelone*, where they died both within 14 dayes. By this prise king *Henry* was quite spoiled of all that did belong to the realme of *Nauarre* towards *Spaine*.

The garrison of *Galcoines* which were within *Fontarraby*, was held very short, by them that were at *Yruin*, *Vranfu* in the valley of *Ojarum* in the *Renterie*, and other neighbour places. There was within the towne a captain called *John* of *Ese*, who was newly fled out of *Spaine* vpon a quarrel which he had with *Pedro* of *Vrdaniuia*, seignior of the house of *Aranzate*: This captain being desirous to be reuenged of his enemy, vnderooke to surprise him in his house, which he knew verie well, being of the countrey, where hee had inioyed the seigniory of *Ibarolle*: wherefore going one night out of *Fontarraby* with about six hundred men, he marched with great silence vnto a house called *Vrede*, where the dogges hearing the noyse of them that past, beganne to bay, so as the master of the house who was a farmer, coming forth in his shirt to see what it was, was taken bound, and carried so farre as *Ojarum*, where before all things the souldiers tooke away the clappers of the belles, lest being discouered they should giue an alarme. Then going to the house of *Pedro* of *Vrdaniuia*, they did inuest it and seke to force it: but hee who was valiant and resolute, and knowing the passages to saue himselfe, escaped. Capitaine *John* of *Ese* and his souldiers seeing themselves frustrate of their pray, resolved before the alarme

1522

A larme were giuen in the Countrey, to returne as speedily as they might, and they had bene wise if they could haue effected it: but being desirous of spoyle, they lingered there about certayne packes of merchandize which were come thither from *Lyon* for *Medina del Campo*, with a passport, so as the people of those vallies being solicited by the Lord *Aranzate*, with cries, and other such signes and aduertisements as hee could giue them, assembled to the number of three hundred, whereof some following the French behind, and some getting before them by vnkowne wayes, and cutting off their passage, they fought with them in such sort as they put them to rout and slew about halfe of them, and tooke many prisoners, they loosing but one man, and some hurt.

B *John* of *Ese* escaped by the mountaine of *Iazquiuell*, with few men, and got into *Fontarraby*: whose goods were confiscate by the Emperour, and giuen to capayne *Ambuladi*. The Castle of *Beoyuia*, was of verie great importance for the French, that would make warre in *Spaine*, for it is the onely passage by the which they may bring artillerie into *Guipuscoa*; notwithstanding being very ill aduised, they resolved for the sparing of men and money, to ruine it, which capitaine *Beaufils* hauing begunne, by the commaundement of the Earle of *Lude*, in few dayes hee sapt and undermined the wallles at the foote, the which hee vnderpropt with piles, which were made hollow and filled with powder, with an intent to giue fire to it, and to ouerthrow all: the which hee hauing done very secretly, as he thought, it was notwithstanding discovered by one of his

C owne gunners, called great *John* of *Liborne*, who for some question hee had had with a souldier, was retired to the Spaniards, and had revealed this businesse to D. *Lewis de la Cuenca*, brother to the generall D. *Bertrand*: wherefore a great number of men of those vallies, being all souldiers, did presently assemble, and were sodainly led by the said commander against this castle, euen as the French, hauing drawne forth their Artillerie, and all that was within it, did abandon it, and hauing already kindled certayne matches to conduct the fire to the powder and pillars which supported the wallles, which the Spaniards prevented with great diligence, quenching these matches, and so preserved the Castle, whose wallles they did repaire, rampire vp, and fortifie againe, and as a matter of great moment could keepe it well. *Ochus* of *Asia* was made capayne of that Castle with an hundred souldiers. The French finding their owne error, sought afterwards to recover it, there being an enterprise made by some gentlemen of the Countrey of *Labbord*, amongst which were the Lords of *Ortubia* and *Semper*, who hauing leued about a thousand men of that Countrey, and ioyned vnto them a regiment of Germans old souldiers, which were in that frontire in the Kings pay, they led them to the passage of the riuer of *Bidaso*, which diuides *Fraunce* and *Spaine*, where they were staied by the resistance which they of the Castle made with their artillerie, and the Commons of the Countrey: whereupon seeking an other foard, and other wayes by the mountaines, thinking to surprize the garrison, they found such resistance of all the Spanish forces, which had bene drawne thither, as they were defeated, and in a manner all

D slaine. This was called the rout of *Saint Martial*, for that it was giuen on *Saint Martialis* day, the last of *Iune*, this year 1522. In the which the emperor *Charles* returned into *Spaine* and landed at *Saint Ander* the five and twentieth of *Iuly*, from whence hee passed to *Vailledolit*, where hee heard the ambassadors of many princes, and also the deputies of the realme of *Valencia*, who came to craue pardon, for that they had ioyned in vnion with the rebells of *Spaine*, and were the last which submitted, whereof they excused themselves vpon the hard vsage of their viceroy D. *Iaques* of *Mendosa*, whom hauing fauourably heard, he comprehended them in the generall pardon, which he caused to be published, himselfe being present, and sitting in his royall throne in view of all the world: hee deprived *Mendosa* of the gouernement of *Valence*, by meanes whereof all the

E strong places and castles of the realme, were yeelded vnto him: In that of *Xatua* there had bene till that time detained D. *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* duke of *Calabria*, sonne to D. *Frederic* the dispossessed king of *Naples*, who died afterwards in *France*: him hee deliuered, and kept him neere him, with honour and fit entertainment: commending him that hauing bin solicited by the rebells to be their head, he had refused it: and in time hee caused him to marry Queene *Germaine* (who had bene wife to king *Ferdinand* his grandfather, and

*Beoyuia* a castle  
of great impor-  
tance abandon-  
ed by the  
French.

Rout of *Saint  
Martial*.  
Returne of the  
emperour into  
*Spaine*.

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Rebellion in  
Majorca.

and was then married againe to the Marquesse of Brandeburgh, who died soone after) to which Queene *Germaine* he gaue at that time the gouernement of Valencia.

Seeing the troubles ended vpon the firm land of Spain, he had news that the city of *Majorca*, & the whole Iland were reuolted, at the instigation of a poore Artisan called *Calon*, wherupon he speedily dispatcht the viceroy with some gallies: who thinking to reclaime them by mildnes, was beaten back by them with their artillery, & forced to go out of the hauen with his gallies, being incensed the more for that he had refused to shew them the letters of pardon, which he said he brought them from the emperour, before they had laid downe armes, and deliuered him the towne. And in this fury they began to fall vpon them which aduised them to acknowledge their prince, and to yeelde vnto his mercie. The Viceroy being fortified with more shipping, went to an other part of the Iland, where hee landed his men: there many of the Ilanders came vnto him, and offered him seruice: hauing mustered his armie, he found that he had about tenne thousand fighting men, with the which seeking to inuest and besiege the citie, the rebelles sallied courageously forth, and came twice to handie strokes, and were twice repulsed within their walles, the which caused great trouble within the towne: for many fainting would haue the gates opened, and make triall of the Emperours clemencie: but the greatest and strongest part, being obstinately desperate, reiected this wholesome counsell with outrages, hanging and cruelly murdering those that were of this aduice, if they could get them, setting their heads vpon the publique places and towers of the towne, a grievous and fearefull spectacle. And then they discharged their rage vpon the wiues, children, goods and houses of them that were absent with all barbarous cruelty. Wherefore they were besieged and battered both by sea and land, so as seeing themselves forced, not able long to hold out, and without hope of any succours, or meanes to escape after that they had indured some assaults, and shewed that they had courage, they yeilded, vpon condition that the people should be pardoned, yet there were twelue reserved at the Viceroyes discretion, the which were deliuered vnto him: among them was *Calon* the Author of the rebellion, found in a priuie where hee was hidden, who being led so defiled to his punishment vpon an Asse, and his companions following him on foot, they were all pincht with horyrons and quartered, and their heads set vpon the towers and gates of the citie, which payed a certaine summe of money in consideration of a fine, and for the charges of the warre. These troubles being thus suppressed, the Emperour spent some dayes in sports, and would himselfe runne at the tilt, to the great contentment of the Spanish nobilitie, with whom hee got the reputation to bee a good man at armes.

Combat betwixt  
two Arragonis

During the Emperours abode at *Vailledolit*, he granted the combat to two gentlemen of *Arragon*, and did see them fight with those ceremonies which were then vsed in combats, both in Spaine and elsewhere: the report whereof it may be will not be vnpleasing vnto the Reader; for that now they are left off, and they proceed after another manner.

*Peter Toreilla* and *Ierome Anca* (for so the contendants were named) both borne at *Saragosse*, great friends before and allied, yong and fierie, neither of them being yet fise and twenty yeares old: falling out at play, they had bene already in field, vnaccompanied with their rapiers and cloakes, where it happened that after many thrusts and blows, and neither hurt, either of them hauing very good knowledge in his weapon, *Anca* with an ouerthwart blow stricke his aduersaries weapon out of his hand, who seeing himselfe disarmed, confessed generously that he was vanquished. But he intreated *Anca* to do him this curtesie, to rest satisfied with the victorie, and not to tell any one that they had bin in field, as their quarrell was also secret, and no man had bene acquainted therewith, the which he hauing promised they embraced each other, and returned good friends to their lodgings, thinking that not any one had scene them fight. Two or three dayes after *Toreilla* vnderstood that all the court talked of this fact, wherewith being much grieved, hee blamed *Ierome Anca*, saying, that hee had sayled of his promise, and that through vanitie, and to dishonour him, he had published that which had passed betwixt them. *Anca* protested that hee had neuer spoken of it, but one had told him that a Curate of the

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A next village, walking at the time of their fighting about a troupe of his that was feeding, had seen them fight, & had told it, for the which hee was soiry. The Curate being demanded touching this matter, answered doubtfully & seemed to speake all in fauour of *Ierome Anca*, which did confirme the other in his opinion, that he had broken his faith: so as hee told him resolutely, that he had done at a vnworthie of a knight of honour, and that he must do him reason by arms: who admitting no excuse, he made his petition to the emperour, that he would be pleased to graunt him the combate against his enemy, to make it knowne that hee was a traitor, disloyall and vnworthy to beare the name of a gentleman, and withall hee sent him a challenge. The emperour referred this difference to the iudgement of his Constable *Dynigo Fernandes* of *Velasco*, who did what hee could to reconcile them, but seeing there was no means, he put them into the field, with the formalities vsed in those times. In the publique place at *Vailledolit* there was a plot measured out, which was 50 paces long, & 36 broad, & railed round about. On either side lgg waies without the lists was a scaffold set vp, one on the one side for the emperor, & the other for the Constable, either of them being couered with rich tapestrie, & in them chaires couered with cloth of gold. At the other two ends were two other scaffolds built lower for the kinsmen and friends of the combatants, and ioyning to either of them was a pavilion in which the chapiens should take their armes: the place had bin made very euen and couered with sand, that they should not slip. About 11 of the clock the emperour came accompanied with a great nobility, the marshals of the field and his gards both of horse & foot. Being set in his seat vnder a cloth of estate, they deliuered a golden rod into his hand, the which being cast by him should part the combat. Soon after came the Constable with a graue & settled countenance, being about 60 yeeres old, hee did weare a long robe of cloth of golde, and was mounted vpon a Genet of Spaine, richly furnished, hauing alighted from his horse, hee came and past before the emperour, to whom he made a low obeysance, there marching before him forty gentlemen & a Squire carrying the royall sword (thetted as his Maiesties lieutenant, and after him another Squire carrying the Constables armes and his coat of armes. After whome came other gentlemen pages, or young Squires richly apparelled in blew satten imbrodered with gold and silver. Hauing in this poime gone about the campe and viewed it, he went vnto his seat which was right against the emperor, whose gards did presently compasse in the field without the lists. Then *Toreilla* the challenger presented himselfe being accompanied by his godfather, the duke of *Beiar* & *Albuquerque*, the admirall of *Castille*, and many other noblemen and gentlemen: hee was attyred in a short luppe of silke, imbrodered with gold, & furred with fables, before whom there was carried a battle axe and a sword, a scutcheon with his armes, & a cassacke to weare vpon his armes. Hauing presented himselfe in this manner before the emperor, hee made him a low obeysance, and hauing done the like vnto the Constable, hee went to the pavilion which was prepared for him. On the other side *Ierome Anca* entered the lists, accompanied after the same manner, and with the like furniture, except his luppe, which was furred with ermines; the Marquesse of *Brandeburgh* was his godfather, and hee was followed by the dukes of *Nagera*, of *Alua*, and of *Benavent*, the Marquesse of *Aguilar*, and of other noblemen and knights, who hauing made the like submissions to the emperor and Constable, hee went to the pavilion which was prepared for him; and the scutcheons and coats of armes of both combatants were carried and planted before the Constables scaffold. During these shewes, the ayre did echo againe with the sound of drummes and trumpets, the which being commanded to cease, the two knights were brought by their Godfathers before the Constable, where a booke of the Gospell and a Crucifix being presented vnto them, they putting their hands into a priests hands did swear that they came to this trial of armes, with an intent to defend a iust quarrell, wherein they would behaue themselves like loyall knights, without fraud, charms, or any enchanted sword, or without vsing the naturall vertue of any herbes, stones, or any other thing, protesting to imploy only the force and dexterity of body and mind, trusting only in God, *S. George* & the virgin *Mary*, and with the aduice & counsell of their godfathers, who caused a cofer to be brought before the Constable, in the which were the armes, wherewith the champions should fight, and be couered, the which were weighed

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ed in his presence, according to the laws & customs of combats, by the which the weight was limited to 90 pounds of the country, at the least. This done, they were chosen & carried to either Pavillion, where the champions did arm themselves in the presence of some that were appointed by the Constable, to wimes that there was no fraud; whilest they were arming, the trumpets and drums sounding againe. The constable went from his seat to dispose of that which was fit within the lists, the which he did with great grauitie & ceremonies: Then he wēt & sat him down at one of the corners of the field, accompanied with 12 knights, sending the like number to the other opposit corner, commanding them that they shold not remoue frō thence before the end of the combat. To either of the other two corners, he sent 3 noblemen of quality instructed in like maner. Then hauing commanded silence, one of the marshals of the field cried out with a loud voice in the emperours name going to euery one of the 4 corners, that it was forbidden vpon pain of death for any one to make a noise whilest the champions did fight, nor to make any signe by deed, voice or word, neither in spitting, coughing, blowing of the nose, neezing or whistling, nor by beating of hands or feet, lifting vp of the hands, nor by shaking of the head, or any motion of the bodie to giue them aduertisement, courage, feare or amazement, nor otherwise to instruct them in what they haue to do, except their godfathers in their charge & duty: And then the two knights entred the field in compleat armor, holding in their hands their batel axes, & their swords by their sides: *Peter Toreilla* the first, (for that he was challenger) accompanied with his godfather, presented himself before the constable, who demanded of him what he was, & for what cause he was entred so armed: hauing receiued his answer he caused him to put off his head peece to know him, & then he caused him to put it on againe, & sent him to one of the corners of the camp, where he was receiued by the three noblemen, that were plaist there. Then he past to the other corner opposit, & being ser in the midst of the 12 knights that were left there by him, he made the like demands & ceremonies to *Ierom Anca*, who was also presented vnto him by his godfather, & from thence sent to the other corner right against his aduersary, wher he was in like maner receiued by 3 noblemen. After al this the constable went to his first seat, & then the trūpēts did sound again, which hauing done, the knights which shold fight, & their godfathers sel vpo their knees & praied, which done, either of the godfathers hauing imbraced his chāpion, & exhorted him to fight valiantly, he bad him farewell, & then they retired into their Pavillios. After which, one cried out that they shold let the good champions go. Then they came & affronted one another courageously, fighting a long time with their batel axes, sometimes one reeling, sometimes another, vntil they had broken them in peeces. Being thus vnarmed they had no leasure to draw their swords, they were so neere one vnto another, so as they fell to handy gripes, one seeking to ouerthrow another: But the emperor who would not lose the, cast his rod, in sign that they shold part them, saying that they had done enough, and that he held them both for good knights, wherupon all they that were set at the foure corners, being 30 in al, ran, but they had great difficulty to part them, they wer so incensed one against another, crying & contending for honor and victorie, whereas either of them thought he had the aduantage. In the end the respect of the emperor made them retire, yet wold they not be friends, but threatned one another bitterly, condemning the constables persuasions, who told them that they shold rest satisfied & reuerence the emperours testimony, who had pronounced with his own mouth, that either of the had behaued him self valiantly, & had done his duty, so as their honors were vntoucht. The emperor was constrained through their obstinacy to send them both to prison, frō whence they parted not, vntil they were reconciled, at the least in shew, for they were neuer perfect friends. If of two bad things we must chuse the one, as some think it necessary, the maner of combats practised in the time of our predecessours, wold seem more tollerable then that which is vsed at this day, for in that they made a certain kind of trial of doubtful things. The princes leue, or of his lieutenants was required, who first of al took knowledge whether the cause did merit, that two men of quality and honor shold hazard their liues who might serue the publike in better affaies, or their Soueraigne, or their owne families. If after mature deliberation they held it fit to grant the combate, they came vnto it with great ceremonies, as we haue shewed, witnessing that in those times they made no little esteem of the life of men.

A men. They did carefully procure a certain equality, preuenting surprises, by any aduantage, in armes, strength and dexterity of horse or otherwise: They made them swear that there was no slander in them, but that they came to fight for a iust quarrel, & to defend their honors. The point wherein it did consist in those daies, was to reuerence God, their princes, & the lords of the fee, & to be loyal & true to al men, courteous, quick & modest among friends & valiant & courageous against their enemies in war. If it were known that in this point of honor, any one were falsly blamed, or wronged by deed, with aduantage of time, place, or company, with vnequall and extraordinary armes, or that hee had otherwise iust cause to complaine, they caused speedy reparation to be done of the wrong, as the cause required, either by the lawe, or militarie customes, which did neuer allow the combate when there was any other remedy. Much lesse did they suffer a gentlemā of honor to come to the vncertain trial of armes, with one that was convicted of rashnes or manifest slander. He that was vanquished in the combat was held guilty of that wherof he was accused, or a slanderer & a liar, & if he did liue he was punished ignominiously by degradation, & sometimes by death. The combat was most cōmonly continued or staied according to the pleasure of the prince, or of iudges that were appointed, who most commonly did part the champions before they came to the extremity, declaring them both vpon the place to be good & hardie knights, which did also shew a wise affection to preserve the nobility, to better vses. If any were found so froward & disobedient, as, notable to get leaue to fight in the country of their natural prince, should go vnto some other soueraigne, neere or far off, to grant them a place of combat, hauing fought, they were not to return into their country, for they were held for mutins, yea felons, & guilty of high treason, & there was great difficulty to obtain letters of abolitio for such offences. But in our daies al this is out of vse, & their proceedings in combats is very different. For if it happen that any man offend another without cause or reason, the point of honor is, that he must maintaine his deed, & not giue any excuse; nor confesse that he hath erred, for that were a signe of base cowardise: It were better (saith the point of honour) to be insolent and rash, than to subiect himselfe to that modestie which wold be taken for weaknes in a man that maketh profession of armes. Another that hath taken iest for iniury, or is offended at a free word spoken by his friend, the which in effect is not iniurious, will take it in so ill maner as he will admit of no excuse nor reparation: what must he so little esteem honor? It were better (saith the point of honor) to be quarrelous, froward & vsociable, than to vse such facilitie, & base courtesie derogating from cheualry: there is no friendship that binds, he must needs fight. If the prince or some great officer wil heare, and end their quarrell: they fear those iudgements more than lightning, they fly, they wil be followed, & they fight in corners, whether it be that they are ashamed to discouer the ground of their quarrell, which is most cōmonly so foolish & impertinent, as they would blush to speake of it; or that they are posselt with a thirstlesse desire to shed mā's blood, & with an appetite of reuenge, accompanied with pride & vanitie. It were better (saith the point of honor) to be rebellious & vnciuil, then to submit himselfe to that discipline, for they wold say it were want of courage, & that he wold fly the lists. And thereupon they conclude, according to the point of honor, that it is not in the king to rule it, according to the limitations of his justice; & that gentlemen doe not know any other justice or equity, than the custom of duels receiued among gentlemen, which giues this prerogatiue, priuiledge & authority, to do all, & not to suffer any thing, & to maintain themselves by the sword in this possession, although it be vniust, & vsurped but of late. Thus they are easily drawn to the combat at this day, and they must not seeme to drawe backe vpon any pretext whatsoever, neither of God, the king, nor his edicts: he must goe being called, else he shal be held base & ignoble, & thenceforth shal be exposed to the outrages of him that did challenge him with such aduantage as he shal please: for it were better (saith the point of honor) to be a murderer, than to go to field with one that had refused a challenge. Be they ready to fight, either will make prouision of a long rapier, of an excellent horse, with other such helps which shal be neither visited nor measured: for there are neither godfathers nor witnesses in their combats. Euery one must looke to himselfe (saith the point of honor) & it were better to exceed something in that respect, than to be short; although we may iustly say afterwards, that the honor of the victory belōgs rather to the armes & horse than to the knight. Yet they goe in their shirts, & the point of honor well

Point of honour  
of the ancients.

Moderne combats and the  
Maximes of the  
point of honour  
at this day.

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wel obserued require, that they run one another through like boars, rather than to slip a side, when the thrust comes, or to seek to auoid it by sensing, & it were better to die (saith the point of honor) then to seem by any gesture or countenance to fear death. It is then a wonder that these men ordained for murther & slaughter, who thinke they are not come into the world but to kill or be killed, should vouchsafe to arm themselves, when they go to the war, & they shold not impute it to want of courage to couer themselves with harnesse, like vnto the Cimbrians and ancient gaules, for there is in a manner the like reason. But behold the most subtil and very quintessence of the point of honour: It is lawful for them that go to fight in duel, to issue a second & a third if they wil, the which shalbe bound to fight against the like number chosen by the other part, & kill them with whom they neuer had any quarrel, yea, their deare friends, at it often happens: It is the law of duels; it were better (saith the point of honor) to be a murtherer of his own soul, than to refuse a knight which doth him the honor to intreat him to second him in his quarrel, bee it iust or vniust. If it happen that the second kills him against whom he fights, he must come & succor his partner, and help him to kill his enemy, although it seeme outrageous to fall two vpon one, who it may be is also sore wounded. These are tollerated murtherers; and it were better (saith the point of honor) so to kill him who thou thinkest hath wronged thee, than to leaue him his life, vnlesse he demand it of thee: For it is the fruit of duels, either to kill his aduersarie, or to brag that he hath giuen him his life. Being returned from fighting, much contented when they haue vanquished, they wil tel wonders of courtesies, done vnto him whom they haue thus slaine: He is dead (wil they say) through his own folly, by his overweening, by his ostinacie, wherein they cannot be gainsaied, for that they see all witnesses and ludges.

If he that suruiues be wounded and dies soone after; he comforts himself in that point of honor, that he hath done himself right by his sword, and that he hath caused his aduersarie to die first. But for the health of their soules, they thinke they haue prouided sufficiently, if going to the combat with an heart vndered with a deadly hatred against their neighbour, posselt with a spirit of reuenge, and a vaine opinion of their excellency, dignitie, and valour, they fall vpon their knees, entring into some Church or Chappell, and pray vnto God heartily that hee will giue them the grace to kill their enemy, or to force him to acknowledge his life from them. They will confesse themselves to a priest or some religious man, they will demand absolution of the sinne which they are going to do, & will giue money to haue masses said for him or them that shall die in this fight. Yet it is the least of their cares: for if they meet with any church man that hath wit and conscience, who seeks by holy admonitions to diuert them from this bad resolution, and refuseth to absolue them, they will say that hee vnderstands not the point of honor, and will goe from him in a rage or will mocke at him. It is not from God that these duellists haue learned or will learne that which doth truly honour Nobility: But they doe rather seeke to instruct themselves in their false point of honor, by the precepts and suggestions of the enemy of mankind, who was a murtherer from the beginning, and who is alwaies delighted in murther & blood. By the instigation & conduct of this godfather, we see them go cherefully to yeeld vp their cursed soules, most of this humor liuing without god, without king, without law, without friendship, & without knowledge of ciuill vertues, hauing for their sole vertue, a violence which they call courage, the which they haue common with brute beasts. If there were euer barbarism like vnto this since the foundation of the world was laid they may iudge which be me, hauing retained some light of reason, & may conclude pertinently, that there is not any thing among human actions in this miserable age, that is more repugnât to the law of god, more absurd in nature, more preiudicial to good gouernment, more in contempt of kings & magistrats, & to conclude more offense before God & man, than these modern duels. Nor that we should allow or giue place to the ancient manner of combats, whereas there is a king, or some other soueraign power, who ought not to grânor suffer them according to the rules of justice wel administred: & without the authoritie of which soueraign power, it is not lawful for any whatsoever to draw his sword, according to the laws of Christendome. Being most certain that combats, in the best form that they were euer practised (if it be not against an enemy that prouokes in open war) are the inuentions of cruel & barbarous nations which are ignorant of piety, justice, and gouernment.

Returning

1522

A Returning to our Historie, wee find this yere 1522, James of Aillon, earle of Lude, gouernor of Fontarraby, being so long disquieted by the enemy, & wanting things necessary for the defence of a town of war, which attended a siege hourly, he aduertised the French king his master of his estate, intreating him to releue him, & to send another gouernor: the which the king performed as wel as he could, for he was otherwise busied, the war being hot both in Italy, & Picardy, betwixt him & the emperor: The marshall of Chastillon was sent thither, who dying at Dax, his charge was giue to the marshall Chabanes, who victualled Fontarraby, in view of the enemy, & changed the garrison, drawing forth the earle of Lude, and making captain Frauget gouernor in his place, who had alwaies had the reputation of a good soldier, but he lost it in this charge. They of Fontarraby hauing a little before made a fallie vpō the enemy which lay at Yrun, it had succeeded ill, in the which they had lost the signior of Chanfarron, & many good soldiers; and after the comming of captain Frauget, they made many skirmishes, most of them preiudiciall to the French.

In the yere 1523, the marshall D. Pedro of Nauarre a prisoner in the fort of Symanca died, whose death was diuersly published: it is most certain that it was violently, & by the sword; the Spaniards impute the fault to himself, saying, that being too much affected to K. Henry of Albrete his naturall Prince, & seeing himself so long detained in prison, for that he would not swear to another, he fell into such despaire, as hee slue himself: hee left one son of the same name, who did then serue the French king in Fontarraby. At Rome Pope Adrian also dyed, the 20 month of his raigne, in whose place Iulio de Medicis was chosen, & was named Clement 7. The same yere the emperor entred into Pampelone, where providing for the defence of his countie of Guipuscoa, he sent the constable D. Inigo Fernâdes de Velasco, with the prince of Oran, who led an army of about 24000 me, by the pace of Beoyua into Bearn, & camped before Saluaterre, the which yeilded, where staying, they made shew that they would conquer the country of Bearn, or attempt Bayone, and so they held the minds of men in suspence. The lord of Lautrec, gouernor of Guienne, gaue good order both for Bayone & Fontarraby, being doubtful what designe the enemy had, who hauing remained 4 daies at Saluaterre, returned into Guipuscoa, hauing done nothing memorable in that voyage, but taken the Castle of Vidaxone, belonging to the lord of Gramont:

D a great part of this army died of cold and want in this voyage. In the beginning of the yere 1524, the emperor leauing Nauarre; retired to Victoria, where he resolved of the siege of Fontarraby, which was begun in the beginning of February, the Constable of Castille being generall of the army, assisted by the prince of Orange, and many other noblemen and knights of name, among which was William of Roccandolphe Colonel of 3000 Germans: the batterie was planted towards Miranda, against the queens bastion, & it was furious & continuall, yet they gaue not any assault, for the Spaniards desired to take it by famine & without the losse of their men: the place was reasonably wel furnished to endure a long siege, yet captain Frauget yeilded it vpon composition, to depart with their armes & baggage saued, & their colours flying, as the Spaniards had done, Frauget excused himselfe, vpon the intelligences which D. Pedro of Nauarre had with the enemies: notwithstanding he was degraded of his nobilitie, vpon a scaffold in the citie of Lion. D. Pedro of Nauarre was sonne to the Marshall D. Pedro, who died a prisoner in the Castle of Symanca, and was nephew to the Constable of Castille, by whome being solicited, he went to emperors seruice. The place was found well furnished of all things, whereunto hauing added other prouisions, the gard and defence thereof was giuen to Sancho Martines de Leyua, brother to Anthony de Leyua, who was then reputed a wise and discreet Captaine in the warres of Italie. Besides the gouernment of that towne, Sancho Martines was corrector of the Prouince of Guipuscoa, the which hath not happned to any one, to haue had the charge of waire and of iustice. Those which haue gouerned in Fontarraby, successively vnto our time, after Sancho Martines, were D. Sancho de Leyua his son; then D. Diego of Caruajal lord of Xodar, & in our time D. John d'Acugna.

In Nauarre the king appointed D. Diego of Auellaneda, bishop of Tuy, to bee Viceroy, gouernor & reformer of the iustice. And then the knights of the faction of Gramont, which had followed the kings of the house of Albrete, returned into their country, & to the emperors seruice, to whom they did swear, as to their king, namely D. Pedro of Nauarre,

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uarre,

Frauget gouernor of Fontarraby.

1523  
Death of the Marshall D. Pedro de Aillon.

Emperors entred into Pampelone.

Exploits of the Spanishe army in Bearn.

1524  
Siege laid by the Spaniards to Fontarraby.

Fontarraby yeilded to the emperor.

Punishment of Captaine Frauget for the yeilding of Fontarraby.

Diego d'Avellaneda viceroy of Nauarre.



1524.  
Grammontes  
returne into  
Nauarre to the  
emperours ser-  
uice.

Francis the  
French king ta-  
ken at Pavia.

Worthy Council  
of the bishop of  
Osma.

1525

Passage of king  
Francis being  
prisoner into  
Spaine.

uare, who obtained the dignity of Marshall, which his father had held, and the Marquisate of Cortes, hee was descended from D. Lionell, sonne to king Charles, the second of that name. As for the earle of Saint Stephens, when as he came to the emperours seruice he had the title of Marquesse of Falses giuen him, and the office of high chamberlaine of Nauarre, with other fauors; since which time that realme hath bene held by the house of Castille, in peace, and without troubles.

22 On Saint Mathias day, being the 24 day of Februarie that yeare 1524, the computation of the yeare beginning at our Lady day, was that memorable battaile of Pavia, where the French were defeated, and king Francis taken prisoner by the imperials, whereof the chiefe were Cont Charles of Launoy, viceroy of Naples. Ferdinand d' Aullos Marquesse of Pescara, and Charles duke of Bourbon, who for some discontentment had left France, and followed the emperours party. What were the causes of this great overthrow, and what succeeded after, ye may read at large in the History of France, whereunto I referre the Reader, to auoid needlesse repetitions. The emperor was aduertised of this defeat and prison the tenth of March; the news were pleasing vnto him, as we may coniecture, yet he shewed himself verie modest, shewing no tokens of pride for this great successe. There were two opinions debated in his council, the bishop of Osma was author of the one, to suffer this great prisoner to depart freely, & to bind him vnto him by a frank and brotherly deliuerance; the other was to keep him still, and to draw from him all the profit and aduantages that might be. This last aduice proceeded from D. Frederic of Toledo duke of Alua, & was followed by the emperor, wherefore there were certaine articles drawn and sent with all speed vnto the king, by the lord of Reux, who reiected them, as unreasonable.

Hereupon the Viceroy of Naples perswaded the king not to take it in ill part; if he were led into Spain, to treat himself with the emperor touching his libertie, assuring him that he desired it, shewing him letters from his friends in court. But his intention was in the meane time to lead him to the castle of Naples, and there to attend the opportunitie of a passage, for they were not strong enough at sea for the French, who had Andrew Dorias Gallies at their deuotion; Neither did hee much trust his armie at land, which wanting pay, hee feared would mutine; Besides, he was iealous of the Pope, Venetians and other Potentates of Italie, who were discontented at the prosperitie of the emperor his master, wherefore being thus resolu'd, he conducted the king to Genoa, and from thence to Porto Fino: whereas the marshall of Montmorency comming vnto him with fixe French gallies, without any souldiers, by the commandement of the Queene Regent, the kings mother, he changed his aduice, & hauing furnished those gallies with Spanish souldiers, and ioyning them to those which he had, thinking that he might easily passe, whilst that the French expected his going to Naples, he suddenly bent his course for Spain; & laded the prisoner at Barcelona, before that it was known, or that he had aduertised the emperor and from thence hee conducted him to Valencia: But passing by Tortosa, the king was in great danger among the mutyned Spaniards, who pursued the Viceroy tumultuously for their pay, forcing him with their shot to escape ouer the top of his lodging, the bullets flying nere vnto the kings person. The emperor hearing of his arriuall, comanded he should be put into the castle of Xatrua, a place ordained in old time to be a prison for great men: but the viceroy obtained that he might liue in certain houses of pleasure, about Valencia vntill that he had commandement to conduct him to Madrid. The emperor was resolu'd not to see him before thee had concluded for his liberty, for the treating whereof, besides the archbishop of Ambrun, who was afterwards Cardinal of Tournon, and selua the first President of Paris, he gaue a safe conduct to Marguerite of France, duchess of Alanson, who arriued at Barcelona in September, & passing from thence by Saragosse shee came to Madrid, whether she found the emperor was come to visit the king, who had bin brought almost to deaths doore with a violent feuer.

This had a shew of charity, to comfort him, giuing hope that he should be soone set at liberty, but it was rather a curiosity, that he might visibly see in what estate he was, fearing to lose the fruits of his prize if he should die. It is said, that being in consultation whether hee should see him or not, hee was dissuaded by his Chancellour, who told him, that

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A if he saw him, and did not set him freely at libertie, the world would thinke that hee had been brought thither by couetousnesse, thrust on with a mercinarie charitie, and a seruile feare, to loose by the prisoners death the price of his ranfome: a noble aduice, and worthy to be obserued. But the duchesse of Alansons preference was the best remedie to recover the king, where she remained almost three monethes: what she effected, and vpon what tearmes the king was deliuered, you may read in its proper historie.

23 These things past in the yeare 1526, in the which the Emperour Charles married D. Isabella of Portugal, daughter to the king D. Manuel. D. Alphonso Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, and primate of Spaine, with D. Ferdinand of Arragon, duke of Calabria, were sent to receiue this princeesse, who conducted her with great state to Seuille, where the mariage was celebrated. Of this mariage was borne, the one and twentieth day of May, in the yeare 1527, D. Philip, who succeeded in all the realmes, lands, and seigniories of the Emperour, as well hereditarie as conquered. A memorable yeare, for that by the Emperours armie, consisting for the most part of Spaniards, whereof Charles duke of Bourbon was generall, the citie of Rome was taken and sackt, and Pope Clement, with many cardinals, ransomed, and hardly intreated; the greedie and insolent souldiers not sparing the cardinals of their owne nation, prophaning by all acts of crueltie and excesse, in their disordered appetites, the places and persons dedicated and vowed to religion, notwithstanding that the prince, for whom they made warre, heire of the realms of Spaine, carried the title of Catholike, purchased by his predecessors, for the good offices they had done to Popes and to the sea of Rome. The same yeare king Francis being returned into his realme, he caused the mariage to be accomplished betwixt D. Henrie of Albret, and Marguerite of France, widow to the duke of Alanson, father and mother to queene Ioane, heire to the realme of Nauarre.

King Francis being come from his imprisonment discontented, he entred willingly into league with the Pope, the king of England, the Venetians and Florentines, for the libertie of Italie: But when as he vnderstood the cruelties vsed by the Imperiall armie at Rome, he allied himselfe more strictly with the king of England, vnder colour to free the Pope and the territories of the Church; whereupon the lord of Lautrec was appointed to lead an armie into Italie, at their common charge.

The Emperour being aduertised, that king Francis not onely refused to performe his promise, but had also declared himselfe his enemy, he caused monsieur de Gramont, his embassadour in Spaine, to be put in gard, and the French king did the like to Nicholas Perrenot of Granuelle. These kings sent two kings at Armes into Spaine, namely, Guienne and Clarencious, to proclaime war against the Emperour, but before their arriuall the embassadors were released. They proclaiming war against the emperor, and complaining of the Popes imprisonment, receiued this answer, as some write.

That he might not proclaime warre against him, being by right his prisoner, although he were at libertie, hauing giuen his sonnes for hostages, that not obseruing his promise, which he had solemnly sworne, for that he was hindered by his subiects, he should returne againe to prison, for that he could not by the law of nations, being not yet freed from his oath, protest warre against him. But if he did repent him of this accord, he should returne into his power, and breaking the first contract, the French should recover that which they had held. That he did wonder at the complaints of those kings touching the Popes affliction, as if they were ignorant, that all had bene done without his priuie, and that he had long since giuen commandement the Pope should bee set at libertie. Du Bellai writes, That king Francis talking to Perrenot, touching the Emperours speech, answered, That he was not Charles his prisoner, neither had he euer giuen his faith, but had made a promise by force, being deprived of his libertie: but being now free in his kingdom, he did not know any man that could force him to keepe that promise, neither was he voluntarily bound to obserue that which constraint and imprisonment had made him to promise.

In Spaine the Infant D. Philip, being a yeare old, was sworne and declared Prince of the Asturias, and heire of the realmes of Castille, and the dependances, with the lands annexed, in the towne of Vailledolit: after which the Emperour Charles and D. Isabella had

1526

Gouernours  
council.

Mariage of the  
Emperour Charles

1527

24  
Rome taken &  
sackt.

25  
Mariage of king  
Henry of Albret

League against  
the Emperour.

Answer made  
by the Emperour  
to the French  
king.

Speech of king  
Francis touch-  
ing his promise  
to the Emperour.

Genealogie of  
Castille.

1528

Genealogie of  
Portugall.

Portugal.

Voyage of Fer-  
dinand Magel-  
lanes.Land of Giants  
who have win-  
ter when we  
have Summer.Straits of Ma-  
gellan.

had another sonne named D. Ferdinand, who liued little, and two daughters, D. Maria, who was married to Maximilian of Austria, her cousin german; sonne to Ferdinand, and D. Joane, married to D. John of Portugall, grand child to the king D. Manuel: Wherefore I haue thought it fit to retorne vnto his actions, during the three yeares which hee liued after his third marriage, which was in the yeare 1518, who begat of his wife D. Leonora the Infant D. Charles, and D. Maria an after birth.

26 In the discourse of the raigne of D. Manuel, we made mention of two of his discontented subiects, D. Ferdinand of Magellanes, and Rui Fallero, who had addrest themselves vnto the Councell of the Indies in Castille; and demanded leaue and meanes to discover the rich islands of the Molucques, the which they obtained at the coming of K. H Charles, who being at Barcelona, sent them with letters & necessarie provisions, to Seuille, there to prepare themselves for so long and so important a voyage. Ferdinand Magellanes married in Seuille, with the daughter of Edward Barnosa, captaine of the arsenal of that citie; and for that Rui Fallero, his companion, fell madde, he was forced to make his preparation without him, having five ships, that is, the Victorie (the pilot whereof was John Sebastian del Cano, borne at Guetaria in Guipuscoa, he that in the same voyage went about the world) S. Anthony, S. James, the Conception, and the Trinitie, in which ships were two hundred thirtie seven men, souldiers and mariners, with the which he parted in the yeare 1519, from the port of S. Lucar, and passing by the islands of the Canaries, and Cape Verd, he sailed toward Saint Augustines cape, betwixt the South and the West, vntill that he came three and twentie degrees beyond the Equinoctiall, where he found a land whose inhabitants were wild Giants, & of so great a stature, as some were e-leuen, twelue, and thirteene spannes high: which country he called The land of Giants. He stayed in it May, Iune, Iulie, and August, which is the Winter in those quarters. The king D. Manuel was much discontented, that king Charles, his brother in law, had employed these Portugals, and attempted this voyage, to his great prejudice; yet he did comfort himselfe with a conceit, that Magellanes could not performe what he had promised. This voyage of Magellanes was verie difficult and full of lets, by reason of the discord betwixt him and his companions; so as one of his ships, called S. Anthony, returned into Spaine, leaving the rest as farre as the strait or cape, called Eleuen thousand Virgines, fiftie three degrees beyond the Equinoctiall, whereas the nights haue but six houres in the end of October. And they so called this cape, for that they toucht there on Saint Ursulaes day, which is the one and twentieth of October. The fame of the islands of the Molucques, and others which were rich in spices, was so great, and of the profit which might be made there, if they could find meanes to shorten their voyage, as not onely the Spaniards, but other nations, fought out wayes for this traffique and negotiation. Paul Centurion, a marchant of Genoua, going for this cause into Muscouie, gaue Basilus, prince of that country, to vnderstand, that there was meanes to bring the spices into his countrey, by diuers riuers which he declared vnto him; saying, That those which the Portugals brought into Europe, were for the most part corrupted and falsified. The way which he meant, was, to bring the marchandise vp the riuier of Indus, vnto Bater, from whence they must carrie them by land to the riuier of Camu, and from thence by Citraya, and the Caspian sea, to bring them into the riuers of Volga, Oeca, and Mosque. But this passage had bene with greater charge, paine, and danger, than Centurion did conceiue, yea to distribute them after they were come into Muscouie, by Liunia, Polonia, Prussia, Saxonie, and other parts of Germanie.

Ferdinand Magellanes, besides the ship which returned into Spaine, lost another in a storme: with the three others he past the strait which was called by him Magellan, the which is aboue sixscore leagues long, and scarce two leagues broad, the entrie of the which from the North to the South seas, are about two and fiftie degrees from the Equinoctiall: the waters are verie deepe, the shore full of high rockes, and barren, covered continually with snow. In this passage, & for a great space in the South seas, they thought to die of hunger: in the end they came to the island of Inuagula, repassing the line eleuen degrees, which they called Good signe, where they found wherewithall to satisfie their hunger; and from thence they came to the island of Sebut, where they past the feast of

1528

Death of Ferdi-  
nand Magella-  
nes.Five islands of  
Molucques.27  
Marriage be-  
twixt the duke  
of Sany and  
D. Beatrix of  
Portugall.Death of the  
king D. ManuelVniuersitie of  
Coimbra erectedColledge of 16  
fuites built at  
Ebora.

This

A of Easter, in the yeare 1521, and perswaded the king of that countrey, called Hamabar, to become a Christian, receiuing victuals and presents from him, with information of the Molucques. In the same island there was another king, enemie to Hamabar, called Calpulapo, lord of Mautan, against whom Ferdinand Magellanes going to fight, was slaine there in battell, the 27 of Aprill 1521. John Serran, who was chiefe piloe of the armie, remaining the chiefe, was soone after taken by king Hamabar, who had been called Charles at his baptism, and put to death with seuentie other Spaniards. Wherefore the three ships parted from thence, hauing but an hundred and fiftene men remaining; and came to Cohol, where they burnt one of their ships: there they trimmed vp the two others, and then went to Bornoy, where they were courteously intreated by the king, Shripida, a great and mightie lord, who releued them with all necessaries: in which countrey they saw great riches and deuises of gold and siluer. Then passing by the island of Cinbunon, they came to the island of Tidore, which is one of the five of the Molucques, where of the other foure are, Terrenate, where, seven monethes before this arrivall, died Francis Serran, a Portugall, kinsman to Magellanes, who gaue him first knowledge of these islands; & he encouraged him to go thither, Mate, Marille, and Maehian, which lye vnder the Equinoctiall, of thera-bouts, verie small, but abounding in riches, being distant from Spaine aboue an hundred and seuentie degrees. The king of Tidore, called Amanfor, although he were a Mahometist, suffered these Spaniards to traffique freely, and was pleased with their arrivall, and C with the friendship of the king of Castille. The discourse of these islands in the time of the king D. Manuel, did cause great controuersies betwixt Castille and Portugall, the Portugals pretending that they were thereby interested; and hindered in their course assigned for their navigation: Yet the king D. Manuel moved no debate, for before that the newes of this discouerie was knowne in Spaine, he ended his dayes, towards the end whereof there happened a great plague, and famine, in Portugall: During which afflictions the marriage was concluded betwixt the Infanta D. Beatrix, second daughter to the king D. Manuel, and Charles duke of Sany, to whom she was sent this yeare 1521, with a fleet of three and twentie saile, of the which D. Martin of Castilblanc, earle of Villanoua, was generall, being accompanied by D. Martin of Acofta, bishop of Lisbon, with D other noblemen, and by D. Leonora de Sylua, and a daughter of the earle of Faro, with many waiting women. The Infanta was then sixteene yeares old and seven monethes. After the retorne of this fleet, about the end of the yeare, the king D. Manuel died, little lamented by the Clergie of his countrey, of whom he had leuied new and vnacustommed subsidies, hauing raigned six and twentie yeares and three monethes, in the three and fiftieth yeare of his age. He was buried in the monastie of Belem, which he himselfe had caused to be built.

### D. Iohn, third of that name, fifteenth King of Portugall.

28 His sonne D. Iohn succeeded him, the third of that name, at the solemnitie of whose reception there were present some of the Infants his brethren, D. Iago duke of Bragance, the master of S. Iames, the earle of Tentugal, the earle of Taroca, D. Iohn de Meanes, prior of Saint Iohn, the great master, the marquisse of Toumouo, and Villa Real, with other noblemen and gentlemen of the realme, and the cardinall D. Alphonso his brother, in whose hands the oath was taken. This prince was fat and vnweldie, verie religious, and a louer of learned and valiant men. He was founder of the Vniuersitie of Coimbra, and of the royall colledge of Saint Paul, the which he endowed with great reuenues, and large stipends, for the Regents and Doctors: wherein hee was followed and assisted by the cardinall D. Henrie, his brother, who built in the citie of Ebora the colledge of Iesuites, with professors in the tongues and sciences, both sacred and prophane. The queene D. Leonora, widow to king Manuel, was in the yeare 1522, deliuered of an after birth, named D. Maria, which was not married.

1528

This new king continued the navigation begun by his predecessors with great affection, and had great contention with the Emperour *Charles*, in regard of the Molucques, whereas the ships of Castille had bene well entertained, as we have said, by *Almanzor*, king of the island of Tidore, whereas the Castillians stayed five whole monethes, and made a kind of baraine, by the which king *Almanzor* promised to giue so many cloues for a caine of stuff of red cloth, blew cloth, or linnen, and so proportionably of other spices. The two ships of Castille remaining of *Ferdinand Magellanes* armie, that is, the *Victorie* and the *Trinitie*, divided themselves and disposed of their returne, so as the *Trinitie* should appeare his countie to *Phoama*, vpon the coast of new Spaine, which they held to be but a short voyage, and *John Sebastian del Cano*, with the *Victorie* following the Portuguese voyage, should returne into Spaine, by the cap *Bon Esperance*. The *Victorie* then parting from Tidore in the month of Aprill 1525, with fortie seuen Spaniards, and thirtie caine of stuff of Tidore, they came to *Zumatra*, in old time called *Taprobana*, and there passing vnder the Equinoctiall, and the Winter Tropike, they doubled the cap of *Bon Esperance*, and arrived in the port of *S. Lucar de Barameda*, in September, having bene about three yeares in this long and dangerous voyage, in the which it is thought that this *John Sebastian del Cano* made about foureteen thousand leagues at sea. The other ship, called the *Trinitie*, commaunded by a capitaine called *Spinosa*, sayling towards new Spaine, was put back by contrarie winds to Tidore, whither *Antonio Brito*, a capite for the king *D. John*, was come with five ships of Portugal, by whom the Castillians were taken and spoiled, and carried being fortie eight, to Malaca; so as of five ships which parted with *Fernando Magellanes*, the *Victorie* onely returned into Spaine, besides that of *S. Antonio* which would not follow him.

The voyage of the East Indies hath alwayes bene more successefull for the Portugals than the Castillians; and at that time the king *D. John* intreated the Emperour *Charles*, not to suffer his subjects to goe to the Molucques, to auoid the ruine of armies, which are sent to discover those countries: wherunto he yielded (not knowing what *Antonio Brito* had done to the Castillians that were in the *Trinitie* at Tidore) vntill that expert men in the Mathematickes and Navigation had decided it. This cause was debated in the yere 1524, at *Yelbes*; whither came for the king of Portugal, the Licentiate *Antonio* of *Azeuedo*, *Cotigno*, *Diego Lopes* of *Sequeira*; *Pero Alphonso* of *Aguaiar*, *Fransisco* de *Nelo*, *Simon* of *Tabora*, and others: and at *Badajos*, the Licentiats, *Aluaga*, *Barrientos*, and *Pedro Mamel*, *D. Ferdinand Columbus*, son to the Admirall *Christopher Columbus*; *John Sebastian del Cano*; *Pero Ruiz* of *Burgos*, & others, for the Emperour. These deputies of either part having conferred many dayes vpon a bridge on the river of *Caja*, which diuides Portugal from Castille, they parted in greater disorder and confusion than before, the Castillians maintaining, That the Molucques, yea, and the islands of *Zumatra* and *Malaca*, with a good part of *China*, fell in their strait and Navigation, according to the line drawne by Pope *Alexander* the sixt; and the accord made betwixt king *John* the second, and king *Ferdinand* the fift, in the towne of *Tordesillas*: The Portugals affirming the contrarie, with their reasons.

In the yere 1525 died queene *Leonora*, widow to king *John* the second, who was called The mother of the poore, for her great charitie. She had the hospitall of *las Caldas*, and the monasterie of the mother of God, to be built. In which yere king *John* the third then reigning, being two and twentie yeares old, married *D. Catherina*, daughter to king *Philip* of Austria, and sister to the Emperour *Charles*, being then eightene yeares old: which marriage was solemnized at *Ebora*. Of this marriage were borne the Infants following, *D. Alphonso*, who liued little, *D. Maria*, borne at *Coimbra*, in the yere 1526, she was princeesse of Castille, *D. Catherina*, who liued but a while, nor her sister *D. Beatrix*, *D. Manuel*, who in like manner died soone, *D. Philip*, and *D. John*, who were borne at *Ebora*, and *D. Antonio* at *Lisbone*.

The Emperour *Charles*, perswaded by them that had bene at *Caja*, betwixt *Badajos* and *Yelbes*, rigged out seuen ships of *Biscaye* at the *Groine*, to seeke a passage to the Molucques, by the land of *Bacalaps* and *Labrador* towards the North, if they might find any meaning to make a storehouse for spices at the *Groine*, from whence they might be distributed.

29  
Voyage of John  
Sebastian del  
Cano.

Conference for  
the limits of the  
Navigation betwixt  
Castille  
and Portugal.

Marriage of D.  
John king of  
Portugal, and  
the Emperours  
sister.

Castille.  
Vntill the  
voyage of the  
Castillians to the  
Molucques.

1528

A distributed into Spaine, France, Flanders, Germanie, England, and other regions: from the which *D. John* king of Portugal sought to diuert him by intreaties and reasons, offering to pay the charges of the armie, and to giue him many other gifts, which the Emperour refused, persisting still in his resolution: Wherefore these seuen ships parted from the *Groine*, being commaunded by *Garcie Geoffrey* of *Loaysa*, borne at *Cité Real*, a knight of *S. John*, who had *John Sebastian del Cano* for his lieutenant, who were all lost, or went astray, except the Admirall, which came to Tidore, without her generall *Garcie Geoffrey*, who died at sea. *D. Garcia Henriques* of *Ebora*, was then generall for the king of Portugal at the Molucques. In the yere 1528 *Fernando Cortez*, gouernour and conqueror of new Spaine, sent from the countries conquered by him, two ships, by the kings commaundement, wherof *Aluaro* of *Sahauedra Ceron*, was capitaine, to seeke out the Molucques, but he was as vnfortunat as the rest: which made the Emperour to yeeld more easily to an agreement with king *John*, his brother in law, being prest by other weightie affairs, which called him into Italie, for the Crowne of the Empire, which hee should receiue from the hands of Pope *Clement*; for which voyage the king of Portugal lent him three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats, in consideration wherof the Emperour engaged, or suspended the controuersie for the Molucques; wherein the Licentiat, *Antonio* of *Azeuedo*, deputed by the king of Portugal, hauing negligently negotiated, and left the business almost in the same tearmes as it was at the conference of *Badajos* and *Yelbes*, was punished: wherby, in time, the quarell was reuiued betwixt the Portugals and Castillians.

In the yere 1529 *Lewis* of *Beaumont*, earle of *Lerin*, and constable of *Nauarre*, died there, whom his son succeeded in all his lands and dignities, bearing the same name. The Emperour *Charles* did alwayes honour him much, acknowledging him for his kinman, for that he was descended, by the mothers side, from *D. John* king of *Nauarre* and *Arragon*.

32 The treatie of *Cambray* was concluded the yere following 1530, in the which *Louyse* of *Sauoy*, mother to the French king, and *Marguerite* of Austria, the Emperours aunt, had long laboured to reconcile these two princes: By the which the Infants of France were deliuered, in regard of two millions and five hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, payable at severall paiments, as well readie as otherwise, in discharge of the Emperour to the king of England: and it was said, that the king should renounce the souerainie of *Flanders* and *Arrois*, and his pretensions to the duchie of *Milan*, and realme of *Naples*. That he should marie the queene *D. Leonora*, and if there came a sonne of this marriage, he should be duke of *Bourgondie*, with many other conditions, which are to be sene in the said treatie, and here omitted, for that they did not hold. The articles of this treatie being performed, as farre as might be at that time, the Emperour came to *Barcelona*, from whence he past to *Genoua*, in *Andrew Dorias* gallies, who hauing a little before left the French kings seruice, was come vnto the Emperours. From *Genoua* he went to *Bolonia* la *Grasse*, whereas Pope *Clement* attended him, and there he receiued the Imperiall Crownes, one of yron, which the Emperours haue bene accustomed to receiue at *Milan*, and one of gold, which he should take at *Rome*; but the Romans had not yet forgotten the sacke and spoyle which the Spaniards had made. This coronation, which was performed on Saint *Matthias* day, verie happily for the Emperour, had bene purchased of the Pope, with the price of the Florentines libertie, and the change of their commonweale into a principallie. After this solemnitie the Emperour hauing heard certaine princes, and the embassadours of many Estates in Italie, he tooke his way to *Trient*, and past into Germanie. Whilst that they were making preparation for the Emperours coronation in *Bolonia*, he receiued aduertisement, That *D. Isabella*, his wife, was deliuered of another sonne, whom he would haue called *Ferdinand*, by his grandfathers name. There was great joy and triumph for this birth both in Spaine and Italie, and especially in *Bolonia*; but this joy was of small continuance, for he died within few monethes after his birth.

At the Emperours passage into Italie, to his coronation, hee had bene attended on by the gallies of Spaine, of the which *Roderigo Portundo* was generall, who in his returne backe,

1530  
Treatie of Cambray.

33  
Coronation of  
the Emperour  
at Bolonia.

*Ferdinand* Infant of Spaine borne.

*Roderigo Portundo* defeated and slaine by pirates.

1530

backe, hearing that there were certain pyrats of Barbarie in those seas, the chiefe of which was *Haydin Rays* of Smima, called *Chafe-diuell*, which spoyled all men, he resolved to defeat them: wherefore having well furnished eight of his gallies, both with souldiers and slaues, and leauing the other seuen in the island of *Yuisa*, he directed his course towards *Formentana*, where he vnderstood the pyrats lay with certaine galliots and foists, but he knew not their number. But as he was of an vndaunted courage, and discoursed with reason, that those small barks of the Barbarians, commaunded by diuers men, and for their owne priuat interests, would rather flie than fight, he did not respect the number of his enemies, but, after the Spartane maner, sought where they were. All which, it may be, had succeeded happily, if he had not aduanced too hastily with his Admirall, the which was boarded, and he slaine by the pirats, before the other gallies could succour him, the which, as they aduanced one after another without any order, they were enuiroed, and fought withall by the enemies: so as of the eight gallies onely one escaped by flight, the rest were taken, and all the Christians slaine, or made slaues. *Iohn* the sonne of the generall *Portundo*, was taken prisoner. With this noble spoyle *Haydin Rays* presented himselfe to *Haradin Barberousse*, who by the death of *Horusco* his brother, remained king of *Alger*, and head of all the pyrats of Barbarie: so as growne confident (being so fortified with gallies and slaues) to be able to attempt some matter of importance; whereon whilest he did meditate, he drew into his companie *Siman Cefut* of Smima, who was called the Jew, a famous pyrat, who retired with his vessels to *Gerbe*. He called also another desperat pyrat, called *Alicotto* of *Caramania*, who scoured the seas with foure foists, and two gallies, the which he had taken when *Florence* was besieged, at *Montargentaro*, where they had laden certaine munition, conducted from *Naples*, for that enterprise. *Barberousse* hauing at the least 60 vessels of warre, great and small, had resolved to surpris *Cales* in Spaine, and to get a rich bootie, by reason of a *Haix* that was kept there. Whilest that he prepared all things which he held necessarie, to the armie lying at *Alger*. During this preparation in *Africke*, *Andrew Doria* went to sea with a great armie, desirous to purge that sea of pyrats, and to reuenge the wrong and great losse which the Emperour had sustained by the rathnesse of *Portundo*. Being therefore aduertised, that the Barbarians armie was diuided, and where it lay, he went towards *Cercelli*, whereas *Alicotto* remained with 17 vessels; where he arrived so suddenly, as the pyrat had not any time but to vnurnish his vessels, to chase the Christian slaues into a cave, or secret prison vnder ground, and to retire himselfe with his men into the castle, sending messengers with all speed vnto the Moores of the neighbour mountaines, to come and succour him. *Doria* being arrived, he became master of the town without any difficultie, and of the port, where he tooke two gallies, and seuen galliots, and burnt the rest. He caused a diligent search to be made for the slaues, and finding them, he set about 1000 free. Notwithstanding he lost about 400 souldiers, who going rashly to spoile the towne, were cut in peeces by the Moores which came, and by the Turkes which sallied out of the castle with *Alicotto*, or else forced to run into the sea, *Doria* hauing caused his gallies to go from the thore, to the end he might fight for his own safetie, there were sixtie taken & made slaues, with *George Palawicino*, an Ensign. And this losse which *Alicotto* made of gallies and galliots, was the safetie of *Cales*.

Andrew Doria  
takes many gal-  
lies of pyrats.

1531  
Inundations.

Ferdinand cho-  
sen king of Ro-  
mans.

1532  
League betwixt  
the Pope and  
the Emperour.

The year 1531 was memorable for the earthquake and inundations at sea, which happened as well in Spaine as in *Africke* and *Flanders*, whereas many towns & buildings were ruined, and much land drowned, and infinit numbers of ships swallowed vp by the wonderfull spring tides, with the losse of a great number of men. This was at such time as the Infant *D. Ferdinand* was chosen king of Romans at *Coullen*, & that Germanie was threatened extraordinarily by *Solyman* the Turke, who hauing raised a huge armie, entred soon after into *Hungarie*, with an intent to besiege *Vienna*, the chiefe citie of *Austria*, and the rampar of *Christendome* on that side: to withstand whose power the Emperour, being assisted by the princes of Germanie, went thither in person, which disappointed the designs of that great enemy. He being retired, the Emperour returned into *Italie*, whereas Pope *Clement* & he had an interview at *Bolonia*, in shew to treat of a general Councell, which was not verie pleasing vnto the Pope, although he made shew to inuite all princes: but

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A the chiefe end of this enteruiew, was, to make a league betwixt them, and the other Potentates of *Italie*, for the assurance of their estates against the enterprises of the French. Which done, the king returned to *Genoua*, where he embarked in *Februaire*, in the year 1533, and past into Spaine.

34 During these affaires the Castilians continued with great vehemencie, their discouerie of new lands, whereas *Francis Bizarro*, borne at *Trugillo*, who had lived long at the Indies, discovered the countrey of *Peru*, from whence such abundance of treasure hath come: by reason whereof the Emperour made him marquisse of *Auailles*. He had some time before discovered an island, and in it a towne, which he called *Saint Iago*. Continuing his course, he coasted along the firme land of *Peru*, and there planted a colonie, which he named *Saint Michael*; then entering farre into the countrey, he found a fit opportunitie to doe his businesse, in a warre which fell out betwixt two brethren, contending for the realme of *Cusco*; whereof the one was called *Guscar*, and the other *Atabalipa*. *Guscar* finding himselfe the weaker, had recourse vnto *Pizarro* and the Spaniards, who promised to succour him; but it was with an intent to ruine them both. *Ferdinand Pizarro* was happily come to the Indies at that time, with new forces from Spaine, who hauing joined with the forces of his brother *Francis*, and the Indians of *Guscar*, they made a strong armie, sufficient to assaile *Atabalipa*. He for his part attentiuely to all occasions of warre, did not stay vntill the enemy came vnto him, but went to meet them, hauing in his armie above six score thousand Indians, and gaue them battell about the towne of *Catamarca*, yett (as somewrite) within the circuit of the same towne, which was verie great; into the which *Pizarro* had put himselfe, finding it without dwellers; and was there entertained in that time by the Barbarian king, vnder colour of treating friendship with him, but they could not agree. The Spanish captaine had caused *Atabalipa* to be summoned, and solicited, that he should not disdain to submit himselfe to the Emperour *Charles*, as his vassall, and to pay him tribute; and moreover, to make himselfe Christian; else they threatened him, that the Pope would deprive him of his realme, and would giue it wholly vnto the Emperour: the which he might well doe (sayd they) for hee was Gods lieutenant on earth, of God, who had made all the world of nothing, and who, to deliuer and saue men from the slauiery of the euill spirit, had made himselfe man, had died vpon the crosse, and was called Christ Iesus. Father *Vincent*, a Iacobine Monke, was messenger of this summons. To whom *Atabalipa* answered, That hee did much esteeme and desire the Emperours friendship, and would send him presents, as to his friend; but to pay him tribute; he would not doe it, the kings of *Cusco* being accustomed to make others tributaries. That as for the Pope, whose power hee did alledge, hee held him for some madde man; seeing he presumed to giue vnto another that which was not in his power, and where he had no right. And in regard of Iesus Christ, and of his seruice, he said, that he had no knowledge of it, and therefore he would not leaue the auncient gods of *Cusco*; and especially for that he vnderstood by him, that Christ was already dead. He would therefore adhere rather to the Sonne and the Moone, which died not. And touching that which he did assure him, that the Christians God had made heauen and earth of nothing, and finally all the world, he demanded of him where he had learned it; for he thought that the world had euer beene, or at the least many thousands of yeares: wondering much, that the Monke, who was not yett much aduanced in the first hundred of the course of his life, did speake so confidently of such ancient things. Frier *Vincent* replied, That the Emperour *Charles* was a great Monarch, whom many kings, as mightie as the king of *Cusco*, obeyed, and therefore he should not make triall of his force, nor compare himselfe vnto him: and holding in the one hand a *Criticke*, and in the other a Bible, he told *Atabalipa*, that that Image had instructed him what the creation of the world had beene, and the booke contained the certaine historie. The king taking this booke in his hand, opened it; and turned it ouer, he smelt to it, and layd his eare to it, hearkening if it spake any thing vnto him; but seeing there was no feeling in it, and that it spake not any thing, he cast it to the ground, saying, That both the booke and Monke mockt him. Wherefore Frier *Vincent* hauing taken vp his booke, returned to *Pizarro*, to whom hauing related all, he perswaded him to take some cruell reuenge of the im-

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uered.

Colonie of S.  
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pietie of that Infidell king. The two armies therefore being so neere, as one might say, G they were mingled within the circuit of the great citie of Caxamalcan, the Spaniards ran vpon the Indians with a great thunder of muskets and artillerie; and the sound of drums and trumpets: wherewith the Indians being not acquainted, were daunted and confounded: *Atabalipa* himselfe was so amazed, as forgetting the due tie of a generall, not giuing them any signe, nor commanding to fight, he saw them slaine by heapes, neere vnto the place where he was set vpon an high seat of gold, carried on his gards shoulders, who sought to retire him out of the prease, and to flie away with him; but they were staied, and their king ouerthrowne and taken; being abandoned by all his people, most of them escaping by flight.

*Atabalipa defeated & taken*

By this victorie, and the taking of the king of Cusco, the Spaniards made themselves, easily, masters of all the townes of that great and rich kingdome, and the souldiers were instantly made rich with the spoyle of the kings mouables, and of the noblemen of his traine, with a wonderfull quantitie of gold, siluer, and slaues, among the which there were found five hundred maids and wiues, which did serue king *Atabalipa*, who for a time was honourably garded, in hope to be set at libertie, for the which he promised to glut the couetousnesse of the Spaniards, whom he saw to be verie greedie after gold and siluer; yea he offered to goe into Spaine, or whereas the Emperour should be, and was perswaded to be baptised. But notwithstanding all this, they strangled him cruelly, and hauing halfe burnt him, they caused his bodie to be laid in a chappell built to that end in the market place of Caxamalcan, for that they would haue all men honor his funerall, excusing themselves of the execution, vnder colour of justice; for that (said they) hee had treacherously made secret leuies of souldiers in the realme of Quito, to surpriue the Spaniards, and to free himselfe by force out of their hands; and also, for that he had put his brother *Guscar* to death, after the same maner, being their allie. The which he dissembled not, for that (said he) he had attempted to take away his life, to raigne. In the place of him that was dead, there was set vp by *Francis Picarro* the gouernor, for a shew, another brother of his, called *Mangan* (others name him also *Atabalipa*) who discovered vnto them part of the treasures: so as the present fruits of this victorie amounted to many millions, drawne as well out of the kings houses, as out of the Indians tombes, being accustomed to burie with the dead bodie, the most precious things they had: and in like maner from their temples in the towne of Pauca Canu, & in that of Cusco, which is the chiefe of the realme. This great citie of Cusco is situated 17 degrees beyond the Equinoctiall line, towards the South sea, in a temperat region, yet their Winters are somewhat sharp in their season, that is, when we haue Summer, for those people are almost Antipodes to vs, & the cold continues, and is the greater, for that the high mountaines of that country, are most part of the yeare couered with snow. Soone after this conquest of *Picarro*, James of Almagra, who had a good share in the honor thereof, went and inuaded the region of Chile, or Chiliane, but he found more difficultie than he expected: for besides that his men were in daunger of death through cold, hee found stronger resistance, the people being more warlike than they of Cusco; whom notwithstanding the Spaniards do not represent vnto vs, without dexteritie, or martial discipline: for they witnes, that in their armies they did oblerue a foreward, a battel, & a reeward; that they had scours, and forlorne hopes, which were excellent casters in slings, as in old time they of Majorca were, who furiously began the fight, casting a showre of hard polished stones, as big as an egge, & carrying a targuet on the left arme. Their chiefe battalion where their king was, did consist of men richly armed, with cueraesses quilted with cotton, & boners of the same, reasonably strong to resist a handie stroke, enriched with plates and threds of gold and siluer: and for offensive armes, some had clubs about foure foot long, and the heads as big as two fists, hauing five or six sharpe pikes of mettall; others carried hatchets like vnto our halbeards, which they could handle well. As for their reeward or subsidarie squadrons, to releue the rest, they were all pikes, whose heads were better armed than ours bee. *Francis Picarro* found the Indians of Peru in this equipage to resist him, it may bee (say they that haue written of his enterprises) to make his conquests more admirable vnto vs: For not confessing that either he or any one of his capitaines made any account

*Discipline of them of Peru at the warre.*

1533

A of the Indians of the country, whom they had drawne vnto their partie, and joyned with them in the aboue mentioned combat of *Caxamalcan* and others, they vaunt, that this great king *Atabalipa*, was vanquished with all that great multitude of men of war which did accompanie him, by lesse than five hundred foot, and an hundred and twentie horse of the Spanish nation, whereof most of the footmen were crossebowes, hauing few harquebuses: yet they confesse that they had some peeces of ordnance, whereunto they attribute some part of their victories, saying, That the Indians were almost dead for feare, seeing these engines spit fire, and hearing the noyse thereof, wherewith they had neuer been acquainted; the which hath some likelihood.

B *Atabalipa* was sonne to a warlike and valiant prince, called *Cusco*, who comming out of the prouince of Quito, which is directly vnder the Equinoctiall line, towards the South sea, had conquered by armes from many other kings and lords, those ample regions wherof his sonne was in an instant dispossessed, at the comming of these Spaniards: and hauing there built the citie of Cusco, had called it by his owne name, and made it the seat of his empire, which was about three hundred leagues long and broad, stretching from the South to the West. At his death he left an hundred children, males and females, most of which liued when *Atabalipa* was defeated and taken. To *Guscar* (whom some also call *Cusco*) he had left the greatest part of his conquered countries, and had giuen to *Atabalipa* the realme of Quito, where he was borne. But *Guscar*, not satisfied vnlesse he might haue all, did first moue war to dispossesse his brother, wherein he was vnfortunat: for after many unhappie encounters, he was quite defeated, and taken, by *Chilicuchima*, lieutenant to *Atabalipa*, by whose commandement, although he were a prisoner in the Spaniards hands, he was strangled: the which did so displease the gouernor *Francis Picarro*, as he conceived a mortall hatred against the king and his lieutenant, not ceasing vntill he had put them to death; yet after that he had discovered, by their meanes, the treasures of the realme, had seized of a good part of them, and was assured the rest could not escape him. In the distribution of which treasure he did afterwards shew himselfe verie vniust and false, as well towards his souldiers, as to the Emperors master, whom he did frustrate of a good part of his right of the sists. It seemed that God, by this sudden & easie conquest, had prepared D afit subiect for the Emperour *Charles* to settle a perfect estate at Peru; but his ministers did corrupt it. All things were there according to a mans desire, to execute a great and memorable designe: the which had bin admirable to posteritie, were it in regard of the glorie of God, or temporall commodities, in regard of the riches, and all sorts of blessings, the which heauen and all the elements doe powre downe abundantly vpon that region, but especially for the aptnesse of the people, who were found ciuile and capable of reason, much more than they that had bin first discovered at the islands, or vpon the continent of those Westerne Indies towards the North sea. They did not find them naked, and without shame, but apparelled, both men and women, handsome in their garments, industrious in their buildings, and in all other arts and workes; tillers of the ground, feeders of E pastures, marchants, sociable and courteous, as wel among themselves as to strangers, and religious also, although it were after the Pagan maner: whose imperfections should not be censured with rigor, but excused, with an intention to reforme them in time, by good examples of pietie and charitie, and by justice well and duely ministred: considering that in their religion and maners, they were not more sauage and barbarous than the first ancient Spaniards, before they were ciuiled and instructed, of whom we haue made mention in the beginning of this historie. They did beleague the immortallitie of the soule, & the resurrection of the body, and therefore they buried their dead with honour, and did graue markes vpon their tombs, which did shew the forepassed life of the deceased: into whose tombs they did cast precious jewels, and brought meat and drinke thither, and many times their wiues and seruants did shut them in there, & did willingly starue themselves. They did punish adulterie with death, and did put out the eyes of theeeues. Their childrens children, or some other of their blood, did inherit their goods, and not their owne children, except those of kings. Men might take as many wiues as they would, and did often marie their owne sisters. Thus among the seedes of pietie, humanitie, and policie, they had errors and blemishes, like sensuall people, which knew not

*Beginning of Atabalipa.*

*Maners of the people of Peru.*



1533

the true God nor his justice. The which they did not measure by the perfect rule of nature, but according to their corrupt imaginations and their breeding, destitute of light and good gouernment. Through this defect they did worship the starres as gods, and especially an Idoll, which had its temple in the cite of Pancacami, who spake Oracles vnto them, and from whom they attended all their prosperities. It is the vsuall course of the Gentiles, to whom the mysteries of saluation are not reuealed, which are speciall graces. And had not these poore Perusians, vices in that regard, which were common with the auncient Egyptians, Grecians, Romans, and other such famous nations, who haue beene happily drawne from Paganisme to Christianitie, among whom the world hath scene so many goodly Churches to flourish, by the bountie of kings and Emperours, and by the doctrine, diligence, and exemplarie life of good bishops? But the Spaniards nor their commaunders had no such intent, as their actions written doe witnesse.

It was sufficient for them to commaund these ignorant people proudly, to make profession of Christians, in assisting at the ceremonies, vpon paine of death, or seruitude. And it fell out often, I know not through what charitie, that many which for feare had caused themselues to be baptised, were by them instantly slaine, that they might haue no leasure to denie it: And thus, they sayed, they procured their foules health. These courses, which could not bee pleasing vnto God, drew his wrath vpon the heads of the *Picarrs*, and their companions, who made miserable ends: for it was not long before *Francis Picarro*, and *James of Almagra*, fell into a great quarell for the gouernment of Peru, and so to ciuile warre, whereof followed their punishment and ruine: A worthie reward for their cruelties and rapes, as wee will hereafter shew. These two men haue beene the chiefe leaders and conducters of the enterprise of Peru, both souldiers, but of obscure and base families: for *Francis Picarro* was a bastard, borne of an vnchast woman, who had left him at the doore of a church at Trugillo, from whence a captaine, called *Gonsal* of Nauarre, caused him to be taken, and to be bred vp at a ferme of his in the countrey, like a clowne: But being growne great, he ran away to Seuille, and so past to the Indies, where he got reputation: and being held for the sonne of the foresayd captaine, there came vnto him three of his brethren, by the fathers side, *Ferdinand Gonsaluo*, and *Iohn Picarro*, and a brother by the mothers side, called *Francis Martin* of Alcantara. As for *James of Almagra*, he was borne at Almagra, but of so obscure a father, as no man euer could leame his name. He was in like manner valiant, but hee and *Picarro* were both grosse witted, and so ignorant, as they could neither read nor write; fit men to conquer and destroy, but not to edifie and preserue, ambitious, and without gouernement, as they did refuse by their actions. *Simon* of Alcafaa, a fugitiue of Portugal, was also sent to the Molucces by the Castilians; but through his owne importunities hee was slaine by his men, before hee came to the strait of Magellan.

Beginning of  
Francis Picarro  
and James of  
Almagra.

1534  
Muley Hafcen  
king of Tunes  
dispossest by  
Barberousse, &  
restored by the  
Emperour.

Virtue fittest to  
aduance a man.

Barberousse  
brethren.

35 The Emperour being in Spaine, he was solicited by *Muley Hafcen*, king of Tunes, who had beene dispossest by *Haradin Barberousse*, to restore him to his realme, promising to hold it of the Crowne of Spaine. This occasion was willingly embraced, as necessarie for the good of Christendome, and verie honourable for the Emperour in particular: for *Haradin* hauing succeeded his brother *Horusco* in the realme of Alger, he was growne into great fauour with *Solyman* the great Turke, who had made him generall of his galleys, and with whose forces he had seised vpon Tunes, threatening all the Princes and Potentates about the Mediterranean sea, both Christians and Mahometists. Although we haue formerly made some mention of these two famous pyrats, yet, in my opinion, it will not be impertinent, if we relate more particularly what they were, and by what means they came to that greatnesse wherein our fathers haue scene them: reporting, vpon this occasion, some of their desperate enterprises, vpon the coast of Africke, where they began first to appeare; to the end that by this notable example they which haue fame for their onely object, may know, that neither the nobilitie of the race, nor the vertue of predecessors, nor wealth, nor the seruices of Court, can bring men to great and eminent honours, but their owne industrie and valour: *Horusco* then, and *Haradin*, brethren, surnamed *Barberousse*, were borne in the countrey of Turkie, or Turcomania, which the aunci-

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A auncients called Cilicia, or Tarsis: Some say, they were borne in the towne of Metelin, in the island of Lesbos, whose father was a Christian, but he did not continue in it; a poore pyrat, or theefe robbing at sea: Their mother was a Spaniard, of the towne of Marchena, taken by this pyrat at sea, who held her for his lawfull wife. Their first institution and breeding was in their fathers trade, vnder a pyrat called *Camal*, and afterwards they put themselues in pay with the Emperour of the Turkes, which was *Selim*, father to great *Solyman*. Being sent for a conuoy to a Treasurer, who went to pay the garrisons of Corron and Modon, townes of Morea, they stript him, and fled with the money: with which money hauing armed out a foist, or brigantine, they joyned with *Crocut*, being then pursued by *Selim* his brother. He being dead, they fled for feare of punishment, and went to sea: Their first prey was of two marchants ships of Siracusa in Sicile; with which bootie hauing furnished themselues better, it happened, that theeuing with too great assurance, they were taken by *Peter Vittorie*, captaine of the Popes galleys; but through bad gard, this taker was himselfe taken, and lost two galleys. Being thus fortified, and growne more cunning, they got such reputation, as in a short time *Horusco*, who was the elder, was acknowledged for head and conductor of all the pyrats vpon the coast of Barbarie, hauing for his lieutenants *Haradin*, his younger brother, and *Scanderraz*, of their brother in law. In this fauour hee presumed to surpriue the cite of Bugia, one of the best peopled in Africke, the which was then vnder the protection of the kings D. C *Ferdinand* and D. *Isabella*, of Castille, and garded by a strong garrison of Spaniards: but his enterprise succeeded not; for being master of one of the three castles, or towers, which are in that cite, as he fought for the rest, he was repulst, and forced to leaue his prey, with the losse of an arme, so as euer after he wore one of siluer. Hauing sayled in this enterprise, he retired to Alger, the lord whereof was called *Celim Beni Tumi*, whom he succoured, in shew, against a brother of his, who made warre against him, and then hee slue him in treason, vnder colour of friendship, making himselfe Lord of the towne.

This was no act of vertue, but of hardinesse and policie, the which is much esteemed in this later age. Hauing gotten Alger, he seised vpon the towne of Circele, by the D like meanes, the which is the auncient Carcena. Into this he put *Scanderraz* for gouernour, and left the gard of Alger to *Haradin* his brother, and continuing to molest the world, he did also seise vpon the rich towne of Tunes, situated betwixt Alger and Oran, the lord whereof hauing fled into Spaine, hee had perswaded cardinall *Ximenes* to send armie of Spaniards into Africke, against this theefe, vnder *Diego de Vera*, who was defeated there, and lost about eight thousand men, as we haue noted in the precedent booke.

*Horusco* being putt vp with these good haps, he aspired to greater matters, and to make himselfe king of Tremessen, a great and mightie cite, and the chiefe in all Mauritania, sometimes called Cesarientis. To attaine vnto the which, he thought to helpe himselfe E with superstition, to the which the Moores and Arabians are more giuen than all the people of the earth, procuring certaine Morabites (which are religious hermits of *Mahomet* sect) who (to bring the king of Tremessen in hatred of his subiects) gaue them to vnderstand, That he had secret acquaintance with the Christians, and that they should be all damned if they did not chafe him away: the which they did, with the helpe which *Horusco Barberousse* gaue them. To couer his designe, which was, to subdue them, he counsellled them to draw a nephew of the kings (whom they had chased away) out of prison, hauing beene long kept in yrons by him, and to make him king; the which they had a will to effect: But this tyrant, seeing them to proceed slowly, and hee impatient and blinded with ambition, slue this young prince, and sought to F seise vpon the cite, in despight of the inhabitants, whereof he slue many of the principals, which was his ruine: for the dispossest king was called home, and had means to recouer his kingdome, with the forces of Spaine, which he obtained easily. He pursued his aduersarie so, as he forced him to flie into the mountaine of Abez, vpon the confines of Bugia, & to shut himselfe in a castle, where being besieged, necessitie forced him forth to fight, where he was vanquished & slain, and his head caried to Tremessen & fro thence

Moores Super-  
stitions.

Religion a  
cloak for tyrans.

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into Spaine to the great contentment of the Moores and Spaniards, for he was a subtile & dangerous enemy: Pride growing through prosperitie ruined him: But *Haradin* gouerned himselfe more discreetly, and did manage his fortune with more honour. Thus we see, that those which hazard themselves in dangerous enterprises, doe most commonly miscarrie, and make such as follow after them wise by their rashnesse, to whom they haue made the way.

*Haradin*, by the death of his brother, remaining lord of *Alger*, one of the best ports of all *Africke*, he was no more held a pyrat, but a prince, and withall a great captaine at sea: so as Sultan *Solyman*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, made his *Basia* and his Admirall, with whose incomparable forces he made himselfe a terrour to all the countries of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africke*, which lay vpon the sea; where hauing taken infinit booties, and spoyled many townes, in the end he made himselfe master of the citie and realme of *Tunes*, in the yeare 1535, by this occasion.

A little before there had reigned in *Tunes* *Mahomet*, descended from *Abdul Hedi*, who was a Moore of *Andaluzia*, borne at *Seuille*; he was wise and discreet: and being made by the king of *Marroc* gouernour of the citie of *Tunes*, which had rebelled, and had bene taken againe and punished, he following the example of many others, had made himselfe lord of his gouernement, when as after the battell of *Muradat* in *Spaine*, woon by the Christians, there was a generall reuolt in *Africke*, against the *Almohades*, Emperours, and great Miralmumins of the Moores, and *Alarabes* at *Marroc*. This *Mahomet*, issued from this race, had had many children by many wiues, who seeing himselfe old, and desirous to prouide a successor to his realme after his owne humor, for certaine considerations, he made choyce of the youngest of all, called *Hascen*, whom hee had by an Arabian woman, called *Gezia*, and would haue him succeed him to the Crowne. It is this *Muley Hascen* for whose restitution the Emperour was perswaded to lead an armie into *Africke*. This jealous prince was no sooner seated in the royall throne, but he put *Mamon*, his elder brother, to death, and after dispatcht all his other brethren and kinsmen: (these be the fruits of *Polygamie*, in the followers of *Mahomet* their Prophet) *Arraxide* onely escaped, and fled to *Bixacara*, a towne of *Numidia*, where, with the aid of certaine *Xecques*, or lords *Numidians*, hee gathered some forces together, to invade *Muley Hascen*; but it was in vaine: wherefore he had recourse to *Haradin Barberousse*, king of *Alger*, who hauing receiued him courteously, aduised him to go with him to *Constantinople*, to informe the great Turke of his misfortunes, promising to present him vnto him, and to doe him all fauour and good offices. Being come to *Solymans* Court, *Barberousse* was presently dispatcht with a good number of gallies, well furnished with souldiers, to come to *Tunes*, giuing it out, that hee carried backe *Arraxide*, to make him king, who notwithstanding was stayed at *Constantinople*.

*Muley Hascen*, a paracide, couetous, voluptuous, iniurious, and a coward, amazed at this great preparation of armes, which came to assaile him, staied not, but fled to his kinsmen by the mothers side, *Ismael* and *Dorar Alarabas*, of the lineage of *Vled Aixa*, which are a member of *Vled Tahaya*, of those which led a vagabond life in the plaines and deserts of *Africke* and *Numidia*: a mightie people, but disloyall, and of no friendship. Finding not such succours there as he expected, he followed the aduice of a *Genouois* renegado, called *Ximaa*, which was, to implore ayd of the Emperour *Charles*: and this *Genouois* was he which made a voyage into *Spaine*, who could so persuaide the Emperour, and season his request with liuelie reasons, and infinit promises, as he obtained that which he pretended, which was, To persuaide the Emperour and his counsel, that it was both profitable and necessarie for him to restore *Muley Hascen* to his realm: Euery one weighing the importance of this businesse, and foreseeing how it might prejudice *Italie* and *Spaine*, if the Turkes, which did already hold many ports vpon the coast of *Barbarie*, should set footing into *Tunes*, a great and mightie citie, fit for the situation (which is neere vnto the ruines of old *Carthage*, sometimes concurring in power with the Romans) to make ordinarie and prejudiciall impressions in that State. *Barberousse*, who had found the place void of souldiers, or Commander, did easily seise vpon the towne, castle, and fort of *Goulette*, which

Abdul Hedi  
Remaine of the  
last king of  
Tunes.

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A which stands on the entrie of the lake which the Sea makes there. But hee did not thinke the Christians had taken this so ill, as hee found by experience, and therefore hee was not so carefull to prouide all things necessarie to preserue such a conquest, against the power which the emperor brought: who as soone as this honorable enterprise was concluded, hee did aduertise all Christian princes, and invited them to contribute men, money, and ships to this warre, whether hee would goe in person. The rendezuous was appointed at the port of *Caillieri* in *Sardynia*, whether the emperor came with the gallies of *Spain*, those of *Genoua*, and the particular gallies of *Andrew Doria*. D. *John* king of *Portugal* sent him twenty gallies, and one great gallion, vnder the command of D. *Lewis* his Brother.

B The Pope armed nine gallies at *Genoua*, at his owne charge, of the which *Paul Iustini-an* had the command, and *Virgilio Vrsino*, earle of *Angulare* had the leading of the soldiers that were in them: And hee suffered him to leuie the tenths of the Clergie of *Spaine*. The knights of *Malta* sent foure gallies. All which ioyned at *Caillieri*, where (before the emperors comming) there arriued the royall gallies of *Naples* and *Sicile*, with many gallions and foists, armed by the noblemen of *Naples* and *Sicile*, at their owne charge, in which the Marques of *Guaft* was transported with the old Spanish souldiers which he had drawne out of the garrisons of *Italie*. Thither also came many round and flat bottomed vessels, carrying victuals, munition, artillerie, horse, and a good number of foot, newly leuied to that end in *Spaine*, *Italy* & *Germany*, so as there was found when this army weighed anchor, three hundred and sixtie saile, carrying besides the Court, the traine of noblemen, and many voluntaries, seuen hundred men at armes, two thousand light horse, and 12 thousand bisloques or new souldiers, five thousand old souldiers, Spaniards, and sixe thousand Italian foot, & seuen thousand *Lansquenets*, men of experience. These forces being not lesse than forty thousand men, parted with a prosperous wind from the *Island* of *Sardynia*, and came to land the five and twentieth of Iune, this yeare 1535, at a place called *Porto Farina*, neere to the ruines of old *Vtica*, about sixe leagues distant from *Tunes*. There order was giuen by the emperor, for the landing of his men; the first were the old Spanish arquebuzies and the Italians, that they might keepe off the Moores, who had shewed themselves both horse and foot, to disturbe their landing, wherein the Marquess of *Guaft* who was general of the foot, shewed great iudgement, for he wold not suffer the souldiers to leaue their standings and to pursue the enemy, vntill the army were landed with the victuals and munition, and the quarters made and fortified with a Trench: in the which they found great difficulty for that the sand was loose & not fit for that purpose, neither had they any bauiens or other matter to binde it with all. The army being lodged, the emperor called a Councell, where it was propounded, whether they shold first assault *Goulette*, or goe directly to fight with the enemy in *Tunes*, which was much more easie than that of *Goulette*: whereas attempting that fort first, being strong by situation, defended by valiant men, commanded by iudicious captaines, and hauing great store of artillerie, and which did most import, not being able to take their succours from them, neither by the lake, nor by land on the east part, either the action would proue desperate, and they shold consume their forces there in vaine, or at the least they should spend so much time there, as not onely *Barberousse* would grow stronger in men, & be of greater reputation; but the Christians campe being wonderfully assisted with the violent heat of the Sunne in that region, and vnder that clymat, and, which did more import, the waters which they dranke being halfe salt, in short time being corrupted, would breed a great mortalitie, so as they should be forced rather to seeke to saue the reliques of their army, than to attempt any new enterprise. But the most iudicious shewing how dangerous it was to leaue such a fort as *Goulette*, with a great garrison, and so neere vnto *Tunis* behind, that the army aduancing they should be in extreme want of victuals, the which not being able to bee conducted but from the army, the enemies horse being many and venturous, scouring the fields continually, would at the least force the Christians to keep the greatest part of their horse and of their best foot, to gard their victuals which were engaged. It was therefore resolved first to attempt *Goulette*: which fort *Barberousse* had furnished with great care: it is a great square Tower, with large rampers and flankers, and is set vpon the mouth or entrie of

Forces of the  
Emperour at  
his going to  
Tunes.

Councell held  
by the emperor  
for the besie-  
ging of *Goulette*.

*Goulette* the  
fort.

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of the Lake, which extends from it vnto the Citie, and is foure leagues broad: G  
(*Campaña* writes that it is twelue miles long, and siue miles broad.) The Citie of  
Tunes was great and well peopled, but at that time the walles were weake and low,  
hauing three suburbs open, greater and farre better peopled than the towne, in the  
which there dwelt many kindes of Merchants, some of the most industrious Artisans,  
and among them some other rich people, who were delicate and idle. For the gard of  
these places, *Barberousse* had about eight thousand good souldiers, whereof he had put a  
good part into the fort of Goulette (some write they were three thousand men) comman-  
ded by *Sinan Cefuss* of Smima, called the Jew, and *Naid*, surnamed *Chafedinel*. The rest  
were with *Barberousse*, who had also leuiued great numbers of Moores and Alarabes, both  
horse and foot, whome hee sent, or led himselfe continually to the warre, and made  
continually skirmishes to molest the emperours campe, to hinder the approaches, and  
the batterie which was planted against this fort, the which they must force and take  
before they came vnto the citie, vnlesse they would bee betwixt two enemies, subiect  
to the great and ordinarie fallies of either of them, especially of the Moores, who o-  
uerrunning the cuntry, which was well knowne to them, might hinder the victuals,  
surprise them that went to forrage, seeking aboue all things water, which is rare in  
that cuntry, and take from them the commoditie of the sea, if they had gone farre,  
and left this fort standing, and so had ruined the imperiall armie. Whilest they are busie  
at this worke, and about siue weekes after the emperours arriuall, *Muley Hassen*  
creepes out of his holes, and comes vnto the campe (hauing had a good conuoye  
sent vnto him) with two hundred horse, or thereabouts, Moores, illattired and rag-  
ged, mounted vpon geldings or mares, peasantlike clownes. Hauing saluted the empe-  
rour, and kindly receiued by him, they conferred long together by truchmen, but  
they soone discountred that this Prince had neither friends nor meanes, although hee  
vaunted that hee had left, not farre from thence, sixteene thousand horse Alarabes,  
and eight hundred camels laden with victuals and refreshings, of the which they ne-  
uer saw head nor taile, assuring impudently that hee had great intelligences within the  
Towne, with the chiefe inhabitants, who notwithstanding neuer made any signe that  
they would fauour him.

Thus the winde carried away all the goodly promises, which his embassador had made  
in Spaine to the emperour, for he kept not any one, were it through inconstancy or impos-  
sibilitie. Notwithstanding the emperor continued constant in his resolution, to chase away  
*Barberousse*, and to restore this exiled king, to the possession of his realme, for he had made  
no accompt to be assisted by the Moores, and had bene drawne vnto this enterprise more  
for his owne priuate interest, then for any other consideration, and therefore he was come  
well provided. Notwithstanding all the attempts of the Barbarians, Goulette was batte-  
red by land with forty peeces of ordnance planted in two batteries, and by sea with about  
200, for the galleys being put into squadrons, whilest that one approached to discharge,  
the other retired to charge their peeces, and so they continued from the break of day vntill  
noone, whilest that the two batteries at land thundred continually. The which did so ru-  
ine the tower, as the greatest part of it falling, it covered or made most of the ordnance,  
within it vnprofitable: The ruines of the tower had made the way easie for an assault, so  
as the Spaniards, Italians, and Germanes being put in order, one nation after another,  
at their time appointed they presented themselves with ladders to the assault with so  
great resolution, as al the defence of the moors & Turkes was in vain, so as a great part of  
them were slaine or wounded fighting, neither was the slaughter lesse of them that  
fled along the lake, or that sought to escape by swimming, for they were slaine by the shot,  
or thrust through by the Germanes pikes, if they came neere the shore, so as it was reported  
there died about 1500, and not without the losse of some men of worth among the Chri-  
stians, yet *Campaña* writes there were not about thirty slaine. Goulette being taken it was  
bruted that they had taken 300 peeces of ordnance, & all *Barberousse*'s fleet which was in  
the chanel of the lake; the number whereof is diuersly reported, some write 20 galleys, 20  
gallies, and siue foyfts, others seuentie & two, and some affirme they were 107. Three  
daies after the taking of this fort *Fernad Gonsago* came vnto the camp, who hauing certain  
vessels

Forces of Bar-  
berousse in Ta-  
mel.

Goulette taken  
by the emperor

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A vessels appointed him by the viceroy of Sicile, brought many refreshings, for the which  
but especially for his owne valour, hee was ioyfully receiued by the emperour, and by the  
whole army. There grew now some diuersitie of opinions touching the continuance of  
the warre, some cold stegmatike complexions, were of opiuiou the emperor shold rest sa-  
tisfied with the taking of Goulette, which was held impregnable, the which hee should  
fortifie and furnish with a great garrison, and good prouision of victuals to liue and defend  
it, with a designe to returne the next yere to besiege Tunes, Alger, and the other townes  
vpon that coast of Afrike. Their reasons were grounded vpon the great difficulties which  
the army did then suffer, in their drink, whereas the scorching sun did cause great thirst, and  
did force the poore souldiers to drink the pit water which was verie salt, which bred many  
infirmities, & many died of it, wherefore seeing the army much diminished by the former  
enterprises, and hearing that the enemy grew daily stronger, & that he did shortly expect  
a great number of Arabians, which he had hired, they perswaded the emperor that he might  
with his honor return into Europe, & prepare, as we haue said, for the next yere. But this  
was contrarie to the greatnes of *Cesar*'s minde, who discovered with better reasons the  
weakenes of his enemy hauing lost Goulette; the little confidence the Turkes had in the  
Arabians & Moores, & the good disposition of the Christian army, especially after so great  
a victory, the which although it were diminished in numbers, yet it was increased in courage  
and resolution, so as *Barberousse* should haue means to furnish himself better for the next  
yere, & to obtaine greater forces from the Turk, to defend his possession in Afrike, the co-  
quest whereof (which was not now vneasse, hauing found the enemy in a maner vnpro-  
vided) would afterwards proue vnpossible, besides it was not for the dignitie of so great an  
army, honoured with the presence of the Christian Emperour, to goe away contented  
with the taking of a Tower. The captaines of greatest resolution and experience were of  
the same opinion, the which was maintained by *Muley Hassen* with great reasons, who  
discourfed particularly of the nature of that nation, of the designes of *Barberousse*, and of  
remedies for the thirst, perswading them to the enterprise of Tunes, and of the easinesse  
to take it; affirming that the enemy would neuer be drawne to a battell, neither had  
he meanes to keepe the citie many daies: His reasons were beleueed, and although his  
desire to returne into his realme, with the hazard of another, made him to be the lesse cre-  
dited, yet the authoritie and will of the emperor, who was the authour of this councill,  
did confirme it. *Barberousse* on the other side was wonderfully grieved for the losse of  
Goulette, so as hee could not forbear to complaine of *Sinan* the Jew, who might haue  
escaped, flying away with his men, from so great a daunger, in the which hee had lost  
many Ianifaries, and other good souldiers. It is written that *Barberousse* was once in an  
humour to haue slaine all the Christian slaues that were found there, the which for his bet-  
ter securitie, being diuers thousands, he had already imprisoned in the castle: and that *Si-  
nan* the Jew, and others of authority had diuerted him from that wicked and cruell  
resolution, shewing him, that so foule and brutish a fact, would not onely bee a perpetuall  
blemish to his name, but also bring him into disgrace with *Solyman*, who was a generous  
Prince, and hated all such base and wicked actions, as that would be, to kill people who be-  
ing in a strait prison, neither had nor could offend him. Being then dissuaded from these  
cruel imaginations which rage & greefe for his former losse did suggest, he began to pro-  
uide for the rest, taking councill of such as were about him what was to be done for their  
common health, with this resolution still, to keepe himselfe close, and to defend the citie,  
and not to come to battell with the enemy, hoping that in Autumne they should be for-  
ced to leaue that coast, & it might be their fleet would be beaten, & dispersed with stormes.  
The emperor being not freed from that feare, was carefull to haue the ruines of the fort  
of Goulette repaired, whereof he gaue the charge to *Andrew Daria*, with his sea-forces,  
who caused it to bee clenfed from the infection of dead bodies, which were found there,  
both men and beasts, and the breaches to be raised: Hee tooke an Inuentorie of all the  
goods that were in it, where were found (as we haue said) three hundred peeces of ord-  
nance, great and small; great store of armes of all sorts, with an incredible quantitie of  
victuals, powder, and all other munition, Engines, and implements necessarie for the  
defence of places.

Ferdinand  
Gonsaga comes  
to Goulette to  
the emperor.

Councill of the  
Imperialists to  
continue the  
warre of Na-  
ples.

The

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The emperor seeing all things in a readinesse, hee commanded euerie souldier shold carrie a bottle, full of water taken out of the prouision of the nauie, hee marcht that way the twentieth of Iuly. Comming within fve miles of the citie, they found certaine welles of fresh water, which bred great disorder among the souldiers, who were verie greedy to drinke, so as the emperor was forced to come thither in person, to stay the souldiers greedy rage, who desired rather to drink and die presently, as many did, for that the enemy had poisoned the waters, than to suffer a little, & to preserve themselves, at the least to die fighting. Having past this danger with no smal difficulty, they discovered *Barberousse* armie, who was come forth of the citie, in shew to giue the emperor battel. The number of his army is diuersly set downe: *Ylloa* writes that he had 70000 moors and Arabians, and 7000 Turkes, whereof two thousand serued on horsebacke, and *Guaazzo* affirms that he had twelue peeces of ordinance in front: others write that by the report of some Christian slaues, who had seene him take view of his men two daies before, he had 20000 horse, and about 100000 foot, moors and Arabians, besides his Turkes, vpon whom hee did chiefly relie. The two armies being in sight one of another, and it being generally beleued by the Christians that they should fight, their captains fought to incourage them with good words, notwithstanding that they were all verie ready and willing: the prince of Saleme made a speech vnto the Italians, *Alarcon* to the Spaniards, and *Eberstin* to the Germanes, and to all the nations the emperor himselfe, who going among them all, promised them a certain victorie, and filled them all with an assured hope, & importunate desire to charge the enemy, who stretching themselves out in length, thought to terrifie, disorder and put the Christians to flight. *Barberousse* had staied within three miles of Tunes, who began as soone as euer the imperiall armie approached to discharge his artillerie, but without any great effect: On the other side *D. Fernand Gonzaga*, who serued that day without any charge, but being among the foremost, charged the enemies, and slue a Captaine of the Moores with his lance, making such a slaughter of the enemies, as hee was that day noted about the rest: Hee was nobly followed by others, and the Spanish Harquebuziers did so gall the Barbarians with their shot, as hauing scarce begun to fight they basely fled: neither did *Barberousse* shew any courage that day, who had no intent to hazard his life and state vpon a battell, but to flie speedily into the Citie.

Battell betwixt  
the Christians  
& Barberousse  
in Afrique.

Barberousse  
flies into Tunes.

Christian slaues  
seaze vpon the  
Cassle of Tunes.

There was no great slaughter of the enemy in this action, for that they fled presently, besides the Christians horsemen could not pursue them being but weake, and much lesse might the foot men do it, being tyred with their march in the sand, and with the extreme heat: wherefore the emperor lodged his army that night vpon the place whereas *Barberousse* had stood in battell, fortifying it with the carts of his baggage, yet standing alwaies ready in armes being so neare his enemy. *Barberousse* being returned into Tunes, full of disdain for this disgrace, being a proud man, he consulted what was to be done, seeming verie confident to be able to defend the citie: and then he entred againe into a resolution to murther the Christian slaues, and he was againe dissuaded by his own people; God disappoynting so wicked a counsell, to make the Christians victorie more easie, for this pretended crueltie of *Barberousse* being bruted abroad, it did moue two renegados to compassion, *Giasfer Aga*, and *Meni*, the first was borne in Cataro, and was called *Vinsenzo*, the second a Spaniard, whose name was *Francisco*, who was much fauored by *Barberousse*. They opening the prison doores to these wretches, who some write were fixe thousand, some ten thousand, and they hauing broken their chaines, wherewith they were bound, got slaues and such other weapons, & became masters of the Cassle, draping away those few Turkes that were left there in gard, and with all they seazed vpon the treasure, victuals, & armes, which *Barberousse* had left there: who being aduertised thereof, posted presently thither, seeking first by good words, and then by threats to bele in him, but it was in vaine, they chasing him away with reproches, and the hazard of his life, if he had staied.

All this hapned the day after the Battell, the emperor preparing to drawe neere the towne, when as those slaues fought to make signes vnto him to approach, but the distance would not suffer them to be seene, and yet the emperor finding that there was some alteration, he sent two companies of horse to discover it. In the meane time *Barberousse* finding himselfe in bad termes, and fearing the inconstancie of the Moores, heere-  
solued

1535

A solued to leaue the citie, by the gate next the mountaine, and went towards Bona, being followed by seuen thousand Turkes whom hee had perswaded to serue him at need: The Christian army marching towards Tunes, they were met vpon the way by the Embassadors of the citie, who offered to yeeld vnto the emperor, and to receiue what conditions he should impose, so as he would secure them from sacke, wherein some write that *Muley Hascen* intreated the emperor: so as at the emperours first entrance into Tunes, the souldiers carried themselves mildly; But soone after as some affirme, at the instigation of *Muley Hascen*, who desired to be reuenged of the inhabitants, which did not seeme to fauour him during the siege, the Spaniards fell to the spoile, vsing all kinde of excessse and acts of hostilitie, as if they had bene in a rowne taken by force, and assault. The Germanes also slue many Moores, and fell to their feeding, being forrie they found no wine in their sellers, for those people drunke not any.

Retreat of  
Barberousse  
from Tunes.

The sacke continued foure and twentie houres, some write three daies, together, with great slaughter, and then it ceased, the emperor commanding euerie man vpon greuous paines, to retire vnto his quarter. They say that this sacke was not much lesse than that of Rome, and that euerie souldier was rich. The Marquesse of Guast guided by a slaue, found thirty thousand dicars, buried in a caue of the castle, wherewith acquainting the emperor, he gaue him them. The emperor lodged within the Cassle which was reasonably well built, and newly accommodated by *Barberousse*. There were great numbers of slaues found, whereof there were eightie and one Frenchmen, all which were set at libertie, apparelled and sent home vpon the retreat of the army. There was found in it much ancient armor gault & grauen, which some thought were the spoiles of the French armie, which *Saint Lewis* had sometime led into that cuntry, where hee dyed, and many of his armie, of the bloody flix. The emperor hauing remained some daies within the citie, and conferred diuers times with king *Muley Hascen*, touching his future gouernment and agreed vpon conditions, according to the which these two princes and their subiects should liue, traffike, and conuerse together, hee returned to the campe, making the more hast to depart, to the end that such as were fled into the mountaines might returne without feare to their houses. The armie was lodged close about a village called *Lude*, two miles from *Goulette*, where there past a little brooke of fresh water, whereof the cuntry was much destitute, which was the greatest discomfortie they had in all this warre: from thence they went to the first lodging they had made before the taking of that fort, neere vnto a Tower which they called of waters, which was the common watering place of the cuntry. Thither came *Muley Hascen* to the emperor to confirm and sweare the articles, which were these.

Tunes taken by  
the emperor.

- 1 That king *Muley Hascen* did confesse and would acknowledge, for him & his successors kings of Tunes, that hauing bene chased out of his estate, he had recouered it by the grace of God, and by the arms and vertue of the emperor *Charles* king of Spaine, who had taken *Goulette*, an impregnable fort, and chased away his enemy *Haradin Barberousse*.
- 2 That in regard of so great a fauour, he shold set at libertie, all the Christians of what age, sexe, or condition focuer, that were detained prisoners within his realme, what offences focuer they had committed, without punishment, price or ranfome; and that from thenceforth there should not any of the emperours subjects, nor of his brothers *D. Ferdinand* king of Romans, be made slaues within the realme of Tunes.
- 3 That it should be lawfull for al Christians to traffike at Tunes, and places depending thereon, stay, inhabit, purchase lands, build chappels & churches, & exercise their religion.
- 4 That the moors of Spain which had received the baptisme of Christ shold not be receiued into the realm of Tunes, if they did not shew letters of permissio from the emperor or his successors kings of Spain, or from their lieutenants, viceroies, or Magistrates.
- 5 That *Muley Hascen* did resigne vnto the emperor and his successors kings of Spaine, all the right which hee had to any towne of Afrique, places and Islands held then by *Barberousse* and the Turkes to enioy them in propriety, if they did conquer them.
- 6 That *Goulette*, and two miles of the cuntry round about, shold remaine in soueraintie to the kings of Spaine, who might put in any garrison, and fortifie it as they pleased.

Articles of Accord betwixt  
the emperor &  
king of Tunes.

7 That the inhabitants of Goulette, and the territorie about it, & the souldiers of the G  
garrison should bee free both by sea and land, from all imposts and customes for that  
which they should buy for their own vse, and if they traded in Merchandize, they should  
be vsed like to them of the country.

8 That they of Goulette should not bee hindered to receiue the tolles and customes  
of the kings of Tunes.

9 That to entertaine the garrison of Goulette, the kings of Tunes should pay  
vnto the gouernours twelue thousand crownes yearly, at two paiments, in August  
and Februarie.

10 That the fishing for corall and the trade thereof, should be reserued for the empe- H  
rou, and his successors, kings of Spaine, to dispose at their pleasures.

11 That in acknowledgement of the benefits done by the emperor to *Muley Hafs-  
een*, hee and his successors should honour the kings of Spaine for euer, as their Pa-  
trons and protectors, and for an homage of that protection, they should bee bound  
to giue them euery yeare sixe faire horses, and twelue exquisite faulcons, the which he  
should deliuer into the hands of the gouernour of Goulette, the three and twentieth of  
August, vpon paine to loose fifty thousand crownes for the first time he should faile, and  
for the second a hundred thousand, and if they should continue to neglect this duty, to  
forfeit their realme to the king of Spaine, who might iustly dispossesse them.

12 That vpon the like paine the kings of Tunes should not make any leagues nor alli- I  
ances with any princes or states, Christians or Mahumetists, to the preiudice of the empe-  
rou or his successors.

13 That there should no entrance bee giuen, in the ports of the realme of Tunes, to  
any Pyrats, or robbers at Sea, common enemies, nor to the priuate enemies one of an-  
other.

14 Lastly that there should be good, sincere, & perpetuall friendship, & free commerce  
maintained, betwixt these Princes and their subiects, and right & iustice mutually done.  
These articles were sworne and signed in this forme reciprocally in the emperours  
campe neere vnto Goulette, the thirteenth day of August, in the yere of Christ 1535, and  
in the yere 942 of *Mahumet*, the sixt day of the moone of the month Cala. K

King *Muley Hafs* taking the othe drew out halfe his Cymiter, & touching the blade  
hee sware by the prophet *Mahumet*, and by the Alcaron, that hee would faithfully ob-  
serue all the contents thereof, and neuer breake them: and the emperor sware and  
promised the same, kissing his right hand, and taking hold of a cloake which a knight  
of Saint *James* there present did weare, on the which there was a crosse, he kist it also. And  
of this contract there were foure copies made, two in the Spanish, and two in the Ara-  
bian tongue, respectiueky kept and carried by the officers and Secretaries of these princes.  
There was also added to the said articles:

That from that time there should bee a supreme Iudge and Councell in Goulette, the  
which in the emperours name should iudge without appeal, of all ciuill and criminall  
causes, where any of his Majesties subiects should be a partie, trafficking or going into any  
countrie of the realme of Tunes: And in regard of the towne of *Africke* then held by the  
Turkes, if it came by any meanes into the power of the kings of Tunes, the emperor and  
his successors kings of Spaine should dispose thereof as they should thinke good. For wit-  
nesse to the said accord & articles, there were set downe for the emperor *Nicholas Pere-  
not* seignior of Granuelle, doctor *Fernand* of Guevara, and *Anthony Peres*, counsellors of  
State; And for the king of Tunes, *Aluar Gomeis Mahumet* of Tunes, *Hamet Gamaza*, and  
*Abeder Heymin Maier* his counsellors, kinsmen, and officers.

This done *Muley Hafs* retired to Tunes, and the emperor gaue order for his  
returne. He had a great desire to set vpon the towne of *Africke*, which lyes right against  
Sicile, & was verie comodious, for the Turks which held it, to make enterprises, but see-  
ing Autumne approach, which stirs vp the Seas for Gallies, hee deferred it to an  
other season. Hee left D. *Bernardine* of Mendoza, brother to the Marquesse of Mon-  
dejar gouernor of Goulette, with a thousand Spaniards, of the old bds. He sent *Andrew  
Doria*, along the western coast, to learne what was become of *Barberousse*, and to watch  
what

Emperours re-  
treat from Tu-  
nes.

A what he would vndertake, who found that at his dislodging from Tunes he had retired  
to Bone, and that hauing some notice of *Doria*s approach with forty gallies, he had left  
the place voyde, whereon *Doria* leazed without any difficulty; who by the Emperours  
commandement put a garrison into the castle, and left the towne at the disposition of  
the king of Tunes, thinking that the Moores inhabiting there would maintaine them-  
selves in peace better vnder his obedience. There is a suburbe at Tunes without the port  
called *Bethelmenara*, containing about a thousand households, where there dwelt cer-  
taine Christians, called by reason of that suburbe *Rabbattins*, whose predeceffours had  
bin brought thither by *Ioseph Almanfork*, king, and *Caliph* of Marroc; ruler ouer all *Africke*,  
some 300 yeres since. Of those which made profession of the Christian religion, the kings  
B of Tunes did commonly make the gardes of their persons, for most of them made profes-  
sion of armes: and carried the countenance of gentlemen; they held lands by homage  
of the king, and were rich. The Emperour carried some of these *Rabbattins* into Europe,  
and did them good. Hee dismissed the infant D. *Lewis* of Portugall from Tunes, with his  
galleys, and did witnesse by his letters vnto king *John* his brother, that in this voyage hee  
had giuen great proofes of his iudgement and valour, and with this opportunitee he sent  
some of the noblemen and youth, which had accompanied him, into Spaine.

*Barberousse* flying from Tunes, being come from the riuer of *Maggiordech*, one of his  
chiefe pirates called *Aidno* of *Smime*, being very drie, drunke of that water and burst. At  
C his comming to Bone, he drew 14 gallies vnfurnished out of a neere lake, which had been  
kept there for the like need, and hauing suddenly caused them to be armed, and all things  
ready to goe forth, fearing to meet with the emperours armie, he had caused that port to  
be fortified, but it appearing not, he went towards the East, meaning first to be reuenged  
of the Christians in some sort: wherefore hauing passed to *Alger*, and there provided  
for his affaires, and furnished his army well, he sailed towards the Iland of *Minorca*, where  
comming neere vnto the port of *Maone*, he set vp certain Christian flags which hee had  
taken the yere before: the Ilanders thinking it to be a part of the Emperours armie, re-  
ceiued them ioyfully; where afterwards they tooke great spoiles of goods and people: I  
hee sacke a shippe of Portugall there, and slew *Gonsaluo Perelia* the captaine after a long  
D fight: and so retiring with his prey to *Alger*, he set saile towards *Constantinople*.

The Emperour hauing dismissed part of his army from Goulette, he passed with the rest  
into Sicile, where he landed at *Trapani*, from whence he came to *Palerm* the thirteenth  
of September, where he made a solemne entrie: soone after they of the Iland made him  
a present of two hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, as well for the charges he had bin  
at, as for the preparation he meant to make the next yere against *Barberousse*, whom he  
desired to chase out of *Africke*, especially from *Alger*. Going out of Sicile, he past from  
*Messina* to *Naples*, which city he had not seene: in his voyage hee was sumptuously re-  
ceiued as wel by the whole state, as by priuate princes his subiects, especially by the prin-  
ces of *Bisignuno* and *Salerno*, vntill he came to *Naples*, where being royally receiued,  
E that noble citie, the head of that kingdome, would not faile to make an extraordinarie  
demonstration of their loue vnto their prince; so as on the third day of Februarie one  
thousand five hundred thirtie and six they resolued in the monasterie of Saint *Laurence*,  
the Emperour being present, to giue him a million and five hundred thousand ducats,  
the which was speedily effected.

During the emperours absence D. *Isabella* the empress was gouernesse in Spaine as  
she had alwaies beene, with a councell of state appointed to assist her: by whose aduice  
and order D. *Gutierte de Vargas* Bishop of *Plaisance* caused a flecte of five shippes  
to be finished, the which had beene long before vndertaken, in the presence of D. *John*  
then prince of Portugall, who was come in pilgrimage into Castille. These shippes be-  
F ing well furnished were sent vnto the *Molucques*, of the which onely one past the streit  
of *Magellan*, which discovered the shoare of that continent, from the going out of the  
stret vnto *Arequipa* 25 degrees from the Equinoctiall.

36 After the emperours returne from Tunes to Naples, a new warre being kindled  
betwixt him and the French king, by reason of the duke of *Sauoy*, the Emperours bro-  
ther in law, whom the French sought to spoile of his estate. Hee was not able to resist so  
A 2222 potent

Bone in Africke  
taken by An-  
drew Doria.

Rabbattins Chri-  
stians at Tunes.

Minorca spoiled  
by Barberousse.

Emperour comes  
into Sicile.

1536  
Gift of the  
realme of Na-  
ples to the em-  
perour.

Shippes sent out of  
Castille to the  
Molucques.

Emperours voy-  
age into Pre-  
sence.



potent an enemy, and therefore he had recourse vnto the emperour for aid; who hauing gathered together a goodly army, consulted with his captains of the maner how he should make warre, whether he should stay in Piedmont, and recouer that which the French had taken from the Sauoiard, of which opinion the marquesse of Guast & D. Fernand of Gonzaga were, who alledged some reasons to maintaine their opinion, or that he should passe presently into Prouence, & leaue such forces to recouer Piedmont as should be thought fit, the which *Anthony de Lema* and *Andrew Doria*, did maintaine, but especially the emperour himselfe, who was confident for the enterprise of Prouence, and to that end he made an eloquent Oration vnto his Councell, in these termes.

Oration made  
by Charles the  
fift upon his  
passage into  
Prouence.

If the war we vndertake, & the enemy against whom we are to fight, were not known vnto vs, & withal, we were not assured in our selues that we should bring this war to a good end, without doubt we should not blame this your councell, or, to speak more properly, consideration; but should rather commend it, and follow it. But knowing that we make war against one that hath broken his faith, a perfidious man, who hauing no regard that the duke of Sauoy was comprehended in the treatie of Cambray hath made war against him, the which he knew to be against vs, we doubt not but God the iust Iudge of a violated peace, and of the breach of faith, will take a seuer reuenge.

I will adde thus much more, that we shall warre against the same enemy, ouer whom we haue bin victorious for these 20 yeares: by which victories (to proue against that which you haue said that we haue wonne, & that they may confesse they haue lost,) we hold still the duchie of Milan, a glorious remembrance, & a rich spoile of our vanquished enemy, the which should giue hope and courage to you that be winners, and feare and dispaire to them. Besides, let vs compare our forces with our enemies, we shall find ours to exceed them both in number and valour: we see no such danger as you pretend, although we diuide our army, passe the Alpes, & go into France to assaile our enemy. But to answer first vnto this, & then to retume vnto our former proposition: It is not vnknown, and we can proue it by examples, how many being afflicted with warre in their owne estates, haue freed themselves by transporting the war into their enemies countries, & haue made conquests of their aduersaries states: But in our case we will rather ground vpon firme and sound reasons, than vpon examples, the which can hardly be found equal in all circumstances. You are of opinion, that before we transport the war into France, we should chase the enemy out of Piedmont, so as there may be no reliques remayning: and we on thother side, induced by many reasons, hold it much better, that passing into France we transport the warre thither, rather than to nourish it in our owne and our friends countrey, and maintaine it in Italie, the which hath bene so many yeares afflicted, and therefore it is reason we should preferue it, and giue it some time of rest, after so great and tedious miseries: so as it hauing felt for these 30 yeares, by meanes of the French, those miseries which do accompany war, let France in like manner tast of spoiles, burning, rapes, let it tast of the feare, terrour, amazement and flight of citizens, let it make proofe of the sacking of houses, desolations, ruines, and the burning of cities. It fittes not to haue the citie of Turin, or the country of Piedmont the reward of our victories, but Paris, yea the very Crowne of France. We haue too long suffered that king, to make war in anothers country, I pray you let vs make him labour to defend his owne dominions, and let vs trie if the French be as much worth at home as abroad. But it may be their nature and disposition is not well known vnto you, whom you haue so often known by experience: At the first charge they are somewhat worth, but after some resistance, they faint, and loose their force: Besides, we haue knowne that king to haue bin of so great a mind (we will not say so rash) as he will hold it a great dishonor to suffer vs to enter and remain in his confines without giuing vs battel: The which if he do, who is there among you that wil doubt of a victory? Hold this for certain, that there is no other means to end the war, but that either he must adde Spaine and the empire, to that which he now enioyes; or we conquer the realme of France to our other possessions: for the effecting whereof we come to seek him in the bowells of his owne realme. We must not grow old here, expecting when he should come, and giue him means to preferue his owne country, from whence he is continually supplied with money, whereby he entertaines his armie here at our cost, who enrich them-

selues

A selues with spoile of those things, which should serue to pay our souldiers. And for that which you feare, that the French king may leuy new souldiers more commodiously, there is nothing more impossible to do; nor more vaine to speake, for that in bringing an armie higher, it drawes new souldiers with the hope of spoile; being accustomed to it, it is no spoile in a Country wonne by the sword; the which without doubt they cannot doe in France: for being kept in Martiall discipline by the king, the respect of the countrey binding them, they will hold themselves for aduenturers, which I shalbe lawfull for them to liue with their owne pay, though hardly: so as few will expose themselves to wounds and death, for the miserable gaine of an ordinarie pay: and if the souldiers will seeke to haue it augmented, they must afflict the people; so as what the enemy can not get by warre, the companies will iniuriously take away, they will spoile the victualles and diminish the treasure, raising tumults, seditions and rebellions; and the rather, if the matter proceed in such sort; as the king himselfe be the cause of this spectacle, wherein wee shall see a manifest example of Gods iudgements. And so hee which hath so often afflicted anothers countrey with fire, sword and spoile, shal be now forced, ruining and burning his owne countrey, not only to beare it, but also to do it himselfe. But me thinks I heare some of you feare, that he wil do that before our army arriue; whereunto he shal be forced. This should not moue you, neither can there be any thing to hinder vs; but wee should abound in victuals, hauing provided for it; so as piercing into the heart of France, we shall haue great abundance, and without any charge. As for your doubt, that the king will gather forces together on this side the Alpes whilest that wee are in France; and this country destitute of souldiers; we assure you that we haue provided him so much worke in other places, as he can hardly bend his thoughts to any other business: for that besides this army which will make him oppose all the vigour and force he hath, and another, which it may be you haue heard of shall be led by *Nassau* and *Rossau*, to inuade the confines of Picardy; there is yet a third which should come and ioine with vs in Prouence, the which at the emperres intreaty, our people of Spaine haue leuiod: and to that end we haue sent 23 gallies thither; & one with a particular commission, to informe her of my intention, & of the prefixed time of my voiage: we haue also taken order that an other shalbe made ready, the which during the hottest of the war, passing through Champagne, shall inuade Burgundy, and with the help of some of those two prouinces, which are affected vnto vs, that army will worke no lesse effects than either of the other three: So as the king being thus busied in many places, and with such great preparations of war, hauing no means to leuy at one instant sufficient forces to resist so great a masse of armies, it can not be but on some side we shal pierce into the bowells of his realme, let him prepare what army he can. Let vs not feare to diuide our forces; Let vs leaue what shalbe fit for the siege of Turin, & the rest which we shall lead with vs shalbe able to vanquish him fighting, specially, if (as you haue propounded) he shal think to diuide his forces, to man those places which he meanes to fortifie against vs. Adde (the which you know as well as my selfe) what the French footmen are, whereas they desire to be more esteemed for their horsemens, which indeed they practise more, & proue better; at this time they are much vnfurnished. It is not vnknown vnto you, that at Fossan & Conflans we haue spoild them of 250 horse of seruice; there are 200 now in Turin which can not hope for any better successe: and of the other companies which came hither, halfe of them are consumed with the toile. So as you are not to fight with that old caualerie of France, but with some reliques thereof: Besides, they hauing heretofore wholly relied vpon the German footmen and the Suitsers, of whom they thought to haue what numbers they pleased, we doe assure you that thorough the helpe of God, and our diligence, they shal not haue any, concealing what means we haue vied to cause a good number of them that were with him to abandon him: And from the Suitsers we haue gotten a firme promise (wherein we suppose they wil not faile) not to suffer any one to go out of the country to serue any Prince. Matters standing vpon these termes, let vs continue constant in our first resolution: that we leaue a convenient army for the recouery of Turin, and that we passe into France with the rest, and with such men as shalbe leuiod in Italie, & nothing staid by those difficulties which you haue wisely considered; we may go by the ruer of Prouence. As for the difficulties which you

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1536 haue propounded touching the entrance, we will neuer suffer the French to deprive vs of G that honor, to haue endured it more constantly than we. Concerning victualles, there is sufficient provided, which shalbe brought by sea, with the artillerie, munition, and other necessaries, which otherwise would be very chargeable. Finally, the intemperates of the aire, which it seemes you feare in Prouence; hold it not worse than that of Africke, the which our souldiers haue constantly endured. And therefore all duly considered, I donot see why we should rather feare danger, than glorie in this victory, hauing to deale with an enemy who is vnprovided of valiant men.

Army of Charles the fifth going into Prouence.

After this speech the enterprise was concluded, and preparation made accordingly, they wrote that the emperor had in his army 24000 Germans, 14000 Spaniards, 12000 Italiā & 5000 horse. The marques of Guast was general of the foot, the D. of Alua was general of the men at armes, and D. Fernand of Gonzague, of the light horse. How they entered, & what they did in this enterprise, you may read at large in the French history.

The prince D. Philip of Spaine, being now tenne yeares old, gaue great signes of wisdom and sufficiencie hereafter, to gouerne those realmes, whereunto hee was borne an hereditarie successor. And to make his studies the more easie, they appointed him for his Scholmaster Iohn Martin Siliceo a man not onely very learned, but of an innocent life, whose merits did afterwards make him archbishop of Toledo and cardinal: D. Iohn of E. stuniga or Zuniga, a knight of great wisdom and iudgement, and commander maior of Castille, was made his gouernour: and to giue him an honourable Competitor in all his studies, and a sweet companion in that tender age, two yeres before D. Lewis his cousin, the eldest sonne of Sauoy, had passed out of Italie into Spaine: But this yong prince of great hope died this yeare on Christmasse day at Madrid, to the great griefe of the prince D. Philip, who loued him dearely, and of the whole court, in the 13 yeare of his age.

Lewis prince of Sauoy dies in Spaine.

India, Exploits of the Portugalls.

37 I will now relate something of the progresse of the Portugalls nauigations at the east Indies, and how the Turkes came and besieged them in Diu, a towne which the Portugalls had so fortified, as they neither feared the fraud nor force of that barbarous and inconsistent nation. But the better to vnderstand the war which was brought thither this yere by the Turke, wee will make a repetition of some things that went before. In the yeare 1532 the king of Portugal had sent *Nonio d. Acugna* generall to the Indies, who hauing a desire to get footing in the realme of Cambaia, hee sent *Antonio Silueria* with a great army, to discover that riuer, and to informe himself wel what might be expected. This capitaine made great proofes of his valor in that country, spoiling and burning some townes, and striking a great terror into that people of the Portugalls name. It followed after that the Bascha of Egypt, called *Soliman* by commandement from *Soliman* the great Turk, who could not quietly indure the Portugalls good successe at the Indies, whereby his kingdoms had receiued so great losse, being disappointed of the nauigation for spices, and other merchandise from the east, the which were brought by the Arabic gulph, vnto the ports of Egypt, and so distributed by his merchants ouer all Europe; he sent 2 Sangiacs, *Mustapha* and *Sasar* treasurer of that province to take Aden, a strong towne with a port in the said gulph. Whilest that the Turkes labored to take city, being valiantly defended by the king, it hapned that *Antonio Silueria* scouring those seas with a fleet of Portugall ships, he heard of the Turkes attempt, and not pleased they should extend their forces beyond Egypt, he bent his course that way, whose arriuall did so terrify the Turkes, being grieued of that conquest, & growne strong by the numbers that were come vnto them in hope of prey, as they dilodged. After which *Silueria* put the King in mind of the fauour he had done him, and did so magnifie the force & power of king *Iohn* of Portugal, as he drew him to put himself vnder his protection, so as he should always defend him against the Turke, for acknowledgement whereof he should pay a yereley tribute of 10000 crownes to the king of Portugal, or as they say, *Serafini*, money of Ormuz: But this Barbarian did not keep his faith long, for *Silueria* being gone, there came a ship ladē with pepper to the port of Aden, the which he spoiled, & treacherously slue the men. There hapned worse after the Turkes flight, who being 600, and about 1000 Arabians, vnder the same *Mustapha* & *Sasar*, and in the same ships, they went to seek their reuenge by those riuers, so as coming to Diu at such time as *Nonio d. Acugna* the Portugall gouernour was there, with a great armie of

*Nonio d. Acugna* assaults Diu in vaine.

A of aboute 300 sail wel furnisht, with an intent to get that citie, hauing seized vpon a strōg lland called Betelem, not much aboute 7 leagues from Diu, they were a great aide to *To. can* who was lord of it. These succors (*Mustapha* hauing brought valiant men, harquebuziers, much artillerie, and himselfe a good souldier), made *Nonios* attempts vaine, so as being often repulst with losse, he was in the end forced to depart & retorne with his army to Goa, leauing *Antonio Saldania* and *James Silueria* with some ships & souldiers at Betelem, for that they should continually annoy the sea coasts of Cambaia, as they did: for the summer following *Silueria* entred into Diu, and sackt and burnt the towne, with some places thereabouts, for that *Mustapha* knowing that the Portugalls would not willingly desist from that enterprise, and that they should need greater forces to resist them, he was gone into Turkie, as an embassador for that king, to let the great Turke vnderstand how much it imported him, to take him vnder his protection, & to get footing in those Indian seas, hauing a great desire to chase away the Portugalls, whose power was feared in those seas. But *Acugna* grieued at the disgrace he had receiued by his retreat, made ready a nanie of 80 ships, in the which were 4000 valiant soldiers, & hauing called *James Silueria* with his forces to him, he presented himself before *Bazaino* a sea towne, which the K. of Cambaia did fortified with all industry, but it could not resist the Portugalls valor, who ruined all the fortifications. There came a new gouernour of the Portugall army at the Indies, called *Martin Alphonso de Sosa*, who made some attempt in Cambaia, & took the castle of Panam by force, the like a conqueror he ran vp that riuer as far as Diu, forcing that lord to sue for peace, and to yield *Bazain* and the neighbor lland of *Salfeta* vnto King *Iohn*.

*Bazaino* at the Indies taken by the Portugalls.

An. 1535 *Badurio* K. of Cambaia finding himself ingaged in dangerous wars, he craued aid fro the Portugalls, & gaue the liberty to build a fort at Diu, the which they caled *Thomas*, for that it was begun on that saints day, & another neer vnto it, which they named *S. James*, either of them being strōgly walled; this fort was raised in 49 days, whereat the K. wondred. To whom afterward the Portugalls gaue great aid, & recovered for him certein places which he had lost; the leauing *Emanuel de Sosa* in the fort with 800 soldiers, & good store of artillerie, the gouernour returned to Goa. Soon after *Badurio* repented him that he had yielded so much to the Portugalls in his realm, so as in the yere 1536 he commanded *Timarao* gouernour of Diu, that vpon some fained colour he should seeke to build a strong wall opposite to the Portugalls fort, the which being denied him, there fel a deadly hatred betwixt them. The viceroy *Acugna*, hearing that this king making a shew of friendship, sought to ruine the Christians, he sailed to Diu with a great army, where faining himselfe sick, he drew the ill-aduised king, to visit him in his ship; but in his returne he was slaine by the Portugalls, with some of his people that had accompanied him, in which action there were some Portugalls also slaine, among the which was *Emanuel de Sosa* capitaine of that fort. It was easie the for the Portugalls to seaze vpon Diu, & vpon the whole lland, where-as they got good store of mony of the kings treasure, abundance of victuals, instruments of war and ships of all sorts. In the beginning of this yere 1537 they began to fortifie the castle better, fearing some new alteration of those Barbarians, knowing how much they were discontented for the death of *Badurio*, in whose place they presently set a child, his nephew by the sister, whom certain lords of the coutry took the gouernmēt of with great authority, so as the realme seemed to be diuided among many, which was lesse dangerous for the Portugalls: The gouernment of the fort at Diu, in the place of *Sosa*, who was slain, was giuen to *Antonio Silueria*, and 600 soldiers appointed him for his garrison, who could not long rest, beeing still annoyed by them of the countrey; fearing moreover that they should be soon set vpon by the Turkes forces, hauing discovered that *Badurio* a litle before his death, had with rich presents obtained great succours from *Ottoman*, and that after his death his wife went vnto the Turkes court, and made greater instance: wherefore the great Turke caused a great army to be prepared at Suez, a port in the farthest bosome of the red sea, *Soliman* the Eunuch, Bascha of Egypt, who had the charge of it, surpassing so many difficulties as it seemed incredible: And hauing caused timber to be cut in *Caramania*, he made it to be transported wrought to *Damietta*, and then by the riuer of Nile to *Caire*, where the vessells being made, and ready to ioyne, they were in the end carried vpon Camels backs to Suez 80 miles. This army as some write, was of 63 gallies, of 26 barks, the

Fort built at Diu by the Portugalls.

*Badurio* king of Cambaia slaine by the Portugalls.

Army of Turkes prepared against the Portugalls.

1537

the which there ioynd 6 galleons, 6 galeots, 2 foists or Olcadi, 26 ships of burthen, and many other small barks, as they might well carry, besides the men of seruice, 20000 soldiers, among the which were 4000 lanizaries, with so much artillery, as they thought necessary for so great an enterprise. Towards the end of Iune, *Solyman* went from Suez with this army: in his voyage he strangled *Zebith Novada* lord of that place, by whom he had bin bountifullly entertained: then continuing his course, on the 5 of Iuly, he came to Aden, a famous citie & port, standing vpon the left point of the Persian gulph. Here the Eunuch gaue a new testimony of his treacherous crueltie, for first he craftily sent some of his men into the city, where they were friendly entertained, and then he procured that K. (who we said had contracted friendship with the Portugalls) to come and visit him in his ships, faining himselfe sick, where this king complaining much of the tyranny that was vsed against him, being made acquainted with *Solyman's* mind, he was presently hung vp at the maine yard, with some of his people which had accompanied him. The army staid some daies at Aden, first sacking the city, & then leauing a good garrison to keep it for the *Ottomans*, and then they sailed towards Diu, where they arriued the 4. of Septemb. There they found the Portugalls ready to receiue them as enemies, for approaching neere 2 of their gallies were sunck with the Artillery, so as they were forced to retire, and to be more warie in their landing, which they did afterward with the great ordnance to batter the castle. *Solyman's* army was much augmented, by some lords of the country that ioynd with him, among whom there was one called *Coffaro*, his mother a Turk, his father a Christian, born in Chio; others say that his name was *Cotazaffer*, a renegado, borne in Calabria, who had bin very deere to the deceased K. of Cambaia, and had brought vnto him 20000 souldiers gathered vp in the country. They ioyntly besieged the fort both by sea and land; *Silueria* hauing but few souldiers in regard of the enemies number, & his continuall toile; & with all he had not much poulder for the vse of his artillery; wherof he did aduertise the viceroy being in Goa, crauing succors, and assuring him that they had made what defence was fit for them. There were in Diu, besides the chiefe fort held by the Portugals 2 towers of a reasonable strength, in the one there were 60, in the other 50 souldiers, and being both battred by the Turks (who had treacherously sackt the citie in entring, without respect that they had declared theselues friends) the one was yielded vpon conditions, but il obserued, for hauing promised liberty to the Portugall souldiers, they made them gally slaues. The *Bascha* did also batter the castle, shewing more furie then iudgement: *Silueria* defended it with great iudgement & valor, making sallies vpon the enemy, & disappointing all their designs: the Turks, besides their huge artillery had with their pioners raised a mount against the fort so high as they might look into it, & discouer what they did, annoying the defendants much with their shot. But the Portugalls did speedily preuent it, making diuers Trauerfes, imploying therein all their cotton, timber, or whatsoeuer else they had. The Turks & they of Cambaia prest the siege hard, but more by land than by sea, for that they held it weakest on that side, so as battering a tower they made a great ruine, by the which they were in great danger to lose the whole castle, the enemy seeking twise a day to force it, which they continued all the month of October. *Silueria* did sodenly cast vp a trauers with good flanks, wherby they might brauely defend theselues, making great slaughter of the Turks. On the 20 of October they attempted to take a tower standing towards the sea, for the defence of the Castle by scalado, but they were repulst with great losse: yet the next day they came with 10 gallies, & 33 armed barks, with great numbers of soldiers, to force the tower, but in vaine; for they were not only forced to retire by 50 Christians which defended it, but also flanked by the artillery of the castle, there were in 2 daies about 800 slain, & many vessels sunck. Three daies after at noon day, when they least expected, there was a fally made by 150 Portugalls, who entred the Turks trêches, that were sleeping, with such resolution, as they slew about 260, & so disordered the whole army, as they could scarce put theselues in defence, but seeing the nûber so small, they offered to charge them, yet so late, as they had time to retire into the fort in good order, with the losse of 3 men only, & 6 hurt. Soon after *Silueria* sent a frigot to Goa, to craue aid frô *Acugna*, who had already sent 16 galeots, with poulder, march, & some soldiers, but they were not yet come to Diu. At the coming of this second message to Goa, *Garcia* of Norogna was come to be viceroy,

King of Aden  
hanged at a  
mainyard by the  
Turkes.

Fort at Diu  
held by the  
Portugalls be-  
sieged by the  
Turkes.

Sallie of the  
Portugalls up-  
on the Turkes  
at Diu.

*Garcia* No-  
rogna viceroy  
at the Indies.

1537

A viceroy, who took vpon him the charge to prepare a great armie, to succor the besieged, and to fight with the enemy, if need were. Arriuing the 11 of September, and taking vpon him the gouernment, he gaue libertie to *Acugna* to returne into Europe, but he died in his voyage neere vnto cap Bone Esperance, hauing bin gouernor for his K. tenne yeres at the Indies, with much honor and reputation. *Norogna* came wel provided from Portugall, for this war, for that they had intelligence of the Turks preparation in Egypt, bringing 7000 soldiers in 11 ships, being at Goa he prepared 12 great ships of burthen, called hulks, 16 galleons, 25 characels, 29 gallies of 26 banks, 15 galeots, and 20 foists, which in all made 117 great & small, but all well armed. The 1 of Nouember, *Solyman* made his first attempt to force the castle of Diu, but he found a braue resistance. *Silueria* hauing the night before discovered the Turks intentions by their preparations. At the break of day there approached neere vnto the tower vpon the sea, about 50 barks and 12 gallies full of soldiers & engins, making a shew to assaile it, but it was only to draw their force thither, from the land part, where they meant to make their greatest attempt. But *Silueria* like a discreet capitaine, knowing the strength of that part towards the sea, brought his greatest force, where there was most need, & where the enemy was likely to vse his greatest force. And so it fell out, for first of all there were 3000 Turks, which presented themselves to the assault, who for an houres space were brauely affronted by the Portugalls, and in the end repulst with great losse: but the *Bascha* renewed the fight with brauer men, but fewer in number, which did not a little terrifie *Silueria*, who had seen many of his men slaine in the first assault. He therefore commaunded his lieutenant *Roderigo* of Araue, who was in the tower towards the Sea, to come vnto him with his fresh band: the which was speedily effected, but vnfortunatly for him, being slain with a shot, in whose place *Emanuel Vasconcello* was put, being followed by 30 fresh souldiers, for that the enemy omitted no force. *Vasconcello* carried himselfe brauely, the enemy being vpon the breach, whereas they were come to the sword, & in the end repulst. Hauing had som litle rest, behold ther sallied out of the trêches about 6000 lanizaries, Turks, & others of the realm of Cabaia, which *Solyman* had chosen & reserved for the last, to ouerthrow the Portugals forces, which were already much weakened; and at the same instant he caused a generall assault to be giuen to the whole castle. The enemy aduanced to the rampires, and the Portugalls made resistance, *Silueria* went from place to place with a few choice souldiers, and comming where hee saw greatest need, he turned him vnto his company, and said: Ah countrymen, do you not remember that you are the souldiers of Christ, for the confession of whose faith we haue put on these armes, follow me then, & sacrifice your liues gloriously in his seruice, who refused not to suffer a shameful death for our health. And without speaking more words, shaking his sword, he went wher he saw most of the enemies, wheras he made such resistance as after 5 houres that this last assault continued, he made the enemies attempts vaine. At the last night gaue an end to this cruell assault, not without great slaughter of the Mahumetans; they had lost that day, as some write about 3500, besides hurt men, of the Portugals there were 70 slaine, & about 300 wounded, so as they say, there remained only 12 vntoucht. But the numbers of the slaine and wounded are diuersly reported, yet they all affirm, that if the enemy had giuen another assault, they could not haue withstood it, wanting both men & munition, for they had no poulder but what their ordnance was charged with, so as *Silueria* to prouide for a future mischiefe, caused those peeces which were towards the sea to be drawne away in the night, & to be planted towards the land. But the *Bascha* seeing his attempts vaine, laied the blame proudly vpon *Coffaro*, & other Lords of the countrey, who had assured him that the fort was very weake, and not able to make two days defence: moreover he said they had abused him, and not assisted him, with such forces as they had promised him in the beginning, & assured the great Turk in Constantinople, so as full of wrath & shame, he knew not what to resolve, for that there was a bruit of a Portugal army which was preparing at Goa, doubting they wold fight with him both by sea & land, trusting litle in them of Cabaia, who in effect hated him generally, for the sacking of Diu & other great wrongs the Turkes had done them: Besides, they feared that this cruel man hauing chased away the Portugals, would put their new king to death, and seaze tyrannously on the whole Countrey. Whilest they stood vpon these termes,

Death of *Norogna*  
*Acugna*.

Army of *Portugalls*  
prepared  
against the  
Turkes.

Assault giuen  
by the Turkes  
at Diu.

Turkes valiantly  
repulst at  
Diu.

1537

the 16 galeots sent by *Acugna* arrived happily, being come the night after the 2 day of November within sight of Diu, foure miles off from the enemies army, the commanders thought it a politike stratagem, euery one to carry 4 lanthorns, the which succeeded happily; for the enemies thinking they had bin so many ships as they saw lights, and beleueing it had bin the whole army, they lay close and would not hazard to meet them: so as being fauored by the darknes of the night, and the enemies seare, being terrified with the former successe, and the opinion they had of the army, they entred happily into the riuer, which made the port of the castle, bringing great ioy to their friends, who were in that poore estate. The *Bascha* being first in doubt, was now resolu'd to rise, having no hope to better his condition, whose rising was with such disorder and feare, as it seemed a very flight. *Soliman* leauing at land about 150 pieces of ordnance as *Odez* writes, 1000 Turks that were wounded, & another thousand which were gone forth to forrage, all which were slain by them of the country, to reuenge the iniuries they had receiued. The Portugals got the artillery, with some goods of value to repaire the losses they had sustained in those combats. The Turkish army being gone from Diu in this confusion, *Soliman* reuenged his disgrace vpon those miserable Portugalls, which had bin taken in the Tower, whom he had treacherously kept in prison, causing them to be all murthered.

Turks retire flying from Diu.

The new gouernor *Norogna*, hearing that his men were freed, that ther was no need to goe with an army to Diu, he resolu'd to secure all things in the prouince, in quieting the peopls minds, the which was easy to effect, through the reputatiō which the Portugals had gotten, in defending themselves against the Turks forces, & by the hatred which they had purchased by their thefts. He therefore made a peace with *Mamudio* the new K. sisters son to the deceased *Badurio*. Vpon these conditions, That the Portugalls should be masters of the fort, & port of Diu, but the king should haue half the customs of the said port; & that he might raise a wall right against the fort, but so farre off, as it should no way annoy nor hinder it; which concluded, he provided for the gard of the castell, sending *James Sesa* for gouernor, in *Siluerioes* place, who required rest after so honourable a seruice, he had 900 men giuen him for garrison, with all fit prouisiōs. This yong king was not long quiet, but solicited by the ambition of some, and by his grandmother, desirous to reuenge the death of her son, he began to make warre against the Portugalls, vpon a pretext to recouer *Bazain*, whereof there had been no mention made in the last accord: but it proued a war of no moment.

Mamudio K of Cambisia: and an accord made by him with the Portugalls.

Entervue of the Pope, Emperour, and French king at Nice.

38 After the Emperours retreat out of France, the war being hot in Piedmont, pope *Paul* considering how many miseries this warre brought vnto Christendome, & fearing and foreseeing the ruine of Italy if it continued, hee procured an entervue of those two princes and himselfe in the towne of Nice, where there was no means to reconcile them: there was onely a truce concluded for ten yeares, of either side the Alpes, both of them holding what they had gotten: the pope hoping during this long truce there would be some means found to conclude a peace. The emperor returning frō Nice towards Spain, he was staid by the weather about Marseilles, where the king sent to intreat him to enter, and to rest himselfe vntill the wind were faire: for the which he gaue him thanks, letting him vnderstand, that he desired they might see one another at *Aigues mortes*. Whereunto the king consented, and went thither from Auignon, being vpon his returne towards France. The emperor landed, and dined with the king in *Aigues mortes*, & the king entered afterwards confidently into the emperors galley, where they discouered long together, but what it was few men vnderstood, yet they parted with great shews of friendship.

Emperour and French king meet at Aigues mortes.

1539 Death of the emperesse Isabella.

This yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, the emperor, the yong prince *Philippe* his sonne, his two daughters, and the whole Court, were full of sorrow and heauinesse for the death of the emperesse *Isabella*; she died the first day of Maie being deliuered of a sonne, which followed her soone after, they were both much lamented by the yong Prince, who beganne to feele the heauie crosse whereunto the miserable condition of man is subiect. Shee was carried from Toledo where shee died, with a funerall pompe besitting so great an Emperesse, to bee buried in the royall Chappell of Granado, which honours were afterwarde religiously reiterated in all the Cities subiect to the Emperour her husband, and by King *Iohn* of Portugall, her brother,

A brother. After her death the emperor *Charles* remained alwayes a widower, during the which he had a bafe son by a maid whose name and family was concealed: he was called *D. Iohn* of Austria, whom he did not aduow vntill his death.

1539 D. Iohn of Austria.

39 The emperor being a prince of a great courage and high attempts, embraced many actions, so as his reuenues could hardly supply the charge, wherefore he sought to draw money from the people & towns that were subiect vnto him, by diuers means, by subsidies, impositions, loans and extraordinary beneuolences. Among others he would haue the Castilians make him a present whereunto the Nobility should contribute, without exemption of any, hauing caused it to be propounded in an assembly of the lords & noble men of the countrey, giuing them to vnderstand it was for the charges of the war he made against infidells, whereof the profit and honor was common to them with him. VWhereunto answer was by *D. Inigo* of Velasco constable of Castille in all their names: That the Nobilitie would neuer suffer their freedoms and liberties to be broken, whereat the emperor was very much discontented; & there hapned at the same time an accident, where by he might see that the nobility of Castille, were not easie to be gouerned as they pleased that councelled him: and this it was. There being a turney held without the city of Toledo, where the court lay, whē the sport was ended, & the emperor desirous to return towards the citie, the presse being great, an Alcaide or Prouost meaning to hasten those that marched before, he strucke the duke of the *Infanta* gos horse with a riding rod vpon the cropper, he being the chief of the *Médofas*, & one of the greatest noblemen of Spain, who so suddenly drawing his sword strucke the Alcaide on the head, telling him that he should learn to execute his charge with respect whereupon the dukes seruants would haue slain him presently, but he staid them. The Alcaide being al bloody, presented himself before the emperor, whereat he seeming to be offended, doctor *Ronquillo* one of the 3 prouosts of the emperors palace, aduanced as if he would lay hold on the duke to carry him to prison: but he was willed to forbear vntill he would receiue as much as the other, and that hee should go and learne his duty better: wherein *Ronquillo* shewed himselfe nothing obstinate. The duke retired to his lodging being followed by all the pobilitie, leauing the emperor in a manner alone: who dissembled this act, lest hee should cause some trouble in Castille, where they had so freely refused him the donatiue which he had demanded, and D the better to couer his discontentment, hee caused this Alcaide to be put in prison, as hauing exceeded in his charge, sending the duke of the *Infanta* go word, that he wold cause him to be hanged to giue him satisfaction. The duke came and gaue the king thanks with al humility, sued for his deliuey, had him cured at his charge, and gaue him 500 crowns, wherein he shewed himselfe generous. The emperor soone after passed into Flanders, where he vnderstood that the Gantois were rebelled by reason of subsidies and imposts, which Queene *Marie* of Hungarie gouernesse of that country had laied vpon them, and discharged his choler vpon that people.

Impositions cause of trouble

Act of choler done by the Infanta go.

Satisfaction done by the emperor to the duke of the Infanta go.

Rebellion of the Gantois for imposts.

The Emperour at his going out of Spaine towards Flanders, he left the prince *D. Philip* his sonne, his lieutenant and vicegerent there, being then not fourteene yeares old, he was assisted by the same Council that the emperesse his mother had, he took his way thorough France, where he was royally entertained, and accompanied by the Infants of France. *Henry* Dauphin of Viennois, and *Charles* duke of Orleans, whom the king his father desired much to see duke of Milan. What passed in his voyage betwixt him and the French, the French historie relates. But the Gantois were severely punished, and kept in awe by a strong Citadell, which was built, furnished and garded at their owne charge: the Emperour being the more incensed for that hee heard of nothing but mutinies and rebellions in all places for want of money: for that at the same time that hee punished them of Gant, the Spanish souldiers which were in Lombardie mutined against the Marquess of Guast gouernour of Milan, for want of pay, but they were pacified by *Bernardin* of Mendosa had more difficultie to content his mutined garrison in Goullette, being forced to shew his wisdom and to saue both himselfe and the place from their furious disobedience and mutinie, which made him feare that they had some intelligence which the Moores of Tunes or the Turks of Alger, and that they would deliuer

1540

Citadell of Gant built.

Mutinie of the Spaniards in Lombardie.

1541

Rebellion at  
Gonelle.

liuer the fort into their hands. The duty we owe vnto God, and reasons of State marche not in one ranke in our policies. D. *Bernard* having aduertised D. *Fernand Gonzague* viceroy of Sicile, of the danger wherein he was, and had good correspondency with him, he intreated, conured and flattered the Spaniards in such sort as he filled them with hope to receive their pay in short time, holding them in this expectation vntill the coming of the galleys of Sicile, bringing new soldiers to change this garrison: and then it behoued him to lie, and assure them with the most religious cries that might be, that their money was all ready at Messina, to be paid them as soone as they should land, and that the Emperour remembering the good and faithful seruices they had done him, and desirous to reward it, drew them out of that barbarous land, to lodge them in a more pleasant and delightful country where they should be freed from their toyle, perswading them with such good words, as they gave him credit, and embarked in the same galleys: But they were much amazed, that coming to the port of Messina they would not suffer them to enter into the citie, and that they told them there was no money for them, and that they sought to diuide them into diuers garrisons, vntill that the Emperour had otherwise disposed, where one being transported with furie and shame, to haue been thus circumvented, they began to ouerrunne the country, and to spoile houses in open villages, with all the insolencies that might be imagined: they first of all gaue an assault to the towne of Castro real, and had almost forced it: their insolencies were such, as ioyning other mad men vnto them, they were a terrour to all the Island, the viceroy being forced to assemble the nobilitie and commons to suppress them by armes, seeking in the meane time to winne and draw away the heads and ringleaders of this mutinie, so as having won some with othes and promises of impunitie, and hope of pay, he had means to disperse them into diuerse small troups, afterwards he caused the most seditious to be easily apprehended and to be executed by way of Iustice, filling the townes and high waies with gibets well furnished, for examples sake. This seueritie caused the Spanish nation to beare a deadly hatred to D. *Fernand*.

Punishment of  
the mutinous  
Spanish soldiers.

Portugall.

1541  
Portugall  
not suffer the  
Castilians to  
saile to the  
Molucces.

The Castilians of the east Indies, whereof D. *Antonio* of Gueuara was gouernor, sent forth in the yeare 1541 a new army to the Molucces, vnder the command of capitaine *Villalobos*, which arrived safely at Tidore and Gilolo, but hee was as vnfortunate as the rest, which had gone before him, he himselfe with his ships and men falling into the Portugalls hands, hauing retreats and forts in those Islands, and could not indure the Castilians should vnder take that voyage. The like successe they all haue had, which haue since attempted it: whereby it seemed that it was the will of God the Portugalls should inioy them: who haue vsed this nauigation with great honour and profit as well to their owne nation, as to other countries of Europe: hauing made storehouses for that trade, and for the distribution of their merchandise and drugges, in the city of Lisbon, euen vnto the kings palace, vpon the riuier of Tayo, the which are called the house of the Indies. To giue more ornament to the realme of Portugall, the city of Ebora had bene the yere before 1540 made an Archbishopricke at the instance and request of the king D. *John* in fauor of cardinall *Henry* infant of Portugall, the kings brother, who was the first Archbishop, hauing the bishop of Silues for his suffragan. So as from that time there were three Metropolitans in Portugall, Braga, Lisbon, and Ebora.

Ebora made an  
archbishopricke

Castile.

The Emperour hauing settled his affaires in the Netherlands, he went by Metz to Spire, and from thence to Ratisbone, where hee had appointed an imperiall diet, as well to provide for the warre against the Turke, as to bring the Protestants vnder the obedience of the Pope and Church of Rome, which was a faire publique pretext: but hee had other designs for the aduancement of his owne house, which hee did hope to attaine vnto, vnder colour of religion, as it appeared, and vntill at that time this shadow of religion, hee thought to stay the French king from making war (being much offended, for that *Cesar Fregose* and *Anthony Rincon* his embassadours, were murdered vpon the riuier Po, going to Venice) by vnder taking the conquest of Alger, for the which hauing assembled what forces hee thought sufficient out of Germanie, Italie and Spaine, hauing seene Pope *Paul* at Luques, receiving obstinately the wise counsell of *Andrew Doria* and other great Captaines, aduising him to deferre the enterprise vntill the

Voyage of the  
emperor to Al-  
ger.

1541

A the Spring following (by reason of the season of Autume which would be come before hee should land his men, and the bad disposition of that yeare: but he imbarqued in the port of Luna, and came in view of Alger with about two hundred and fiftie vessels, of the which there were threecore & fise galleys which caried two and twenty thousand foot entertained, with some three thousand voluntaries, and twelue hundred horse, besides the traine of noblemen and captains which did accompany him, whereof the chiefe were D. *Fernand Gonzague* Viceroy of Sicile, D. *Fernand* of Toledo duke of Alua, *Andrew Doria* prince of Melfi, *Virginio Visino* earle of Anguilara, *Augustine Spinola*, and *Camillo Colonna*. *Barberousse* had left *Affan Aga* a renegado of Sardinia gouernour in Alger, being accompanied (besides the Moores inhabitants) by many Turkes, of the which there were 800 horsemen, for the defence of the towne, & without it there were great numbers of horse and foot, Alarabes and Africans entertained, or otherwise drawne thither with the hope of spoile: For this vagabond nation doe like vnto rauens or vultures, who by a certaine instinct follow armies, being assured to finde whereon to feede: So this people when they heare of any tumult in the country, they stay not till they be inuited, but flie thither in great troups, as people which haue no other care nor imploiment but to theue, by whom the emperours army was much annoyed in the landing, which was on the East side towards Cape Metafuso, within 7 miles of Alger. They diuided the army into three battallions; on the left hand were the Spaniards with *Aluaro de Sande* marshal of the field, and with D. *Fernand Gonzague* viceroy of Sicile, and the duke of Camerino. In the battel where the emperours person was, the Germans marched, and on the right hand towards the sea, were the Italians with their colonels, the earle of Santa Fiora, and other noblemen aduenturers. That day they marched only 2 miles, and staid neere vnto a fountaine that night, hauing still sight of the Moores and Arabians on horse backe, but they durst not approach to charge the Christians; but at night thinking they had bene at rest, they came downe from a neere mountaine on the south side with great cries, & charged the Christians, by whom they were easily repulst with losse. The Emperour at his first landing had sent to trie *Affan Aga* the gouernour, if hee would yeeld vp the place to his Majesty for reward, and not subiect himselfe to the danger of a mighty and victorious enemy. But the *Aga* answered with a smiling countenance, that hee was to defend that place against the Christians, as it had bene done twice to their great losse, and some write, that hee grew thus confident, not that hee found himselfe so well furnished for his defence; but through the words of an old Inchauntresse, who hauing foretold the vnfortunate attempts of D. *Diego de Vera*, and D. *Hugo de Montada*, had also affirmed that the Emperour of Christendome should suffer great losse there. The next day they marched three miles, and camped within two miles of Alger, in a place strong by nature, being flanked by two torrents which fall from the mountaines, the Spanish foot (whereof the Duke of *Alua* generall of the horse was the chiefe) took their lodging vpon a little hill, from which the army might haue been much annoyed. The sea being also growne somewhat calme after a great storme, the galleys came within canon shot of Alger, and the shippes drawing neere, they did with great toyle vnship their horses, there being a great skirmish betwixt the Spaniards and Moores vpon the hill. But in the meane time they gaue order to land their victuals, artillerie and munition. Towards night the sea began to swell againe, & there fell such abundance of raine all night, with a cold northern wind, which is dangerous vpon that coast, as both the campe at land, and the army at sea did suffer much, and the enemies imbracing this occasion, thinking they could not be much annoyed with the Christians shot, meant to assaile them at the breake of day. And so the Arabians which were abroad, and the Turkes and Moores within the city being ioynd, made a great attempt on the Spaniards and Italians quarters, towards the mountaine and the sea shoare, the Germans being something more backward: but the Spaniards repulst the enemy valiantly, although they could not vse their harquebuses, & did win much more commendation than the Italians, who keeping a gard vpon a bridge which was vpon one of those torrents, suffered them to winne that passage, so as the enemies horsemen came euen vnto their quarter. *Camillo Colonna* was that day in gard, who with great valour withstood the Barbarians force, and putting them to flight, chased them beyond the

Disposition of  
the Alarabes  
of Affrike.Imperiall army  
landed at Al-  
ger.Italians assailed  
by the Turkes  
at Alger.



1543

the bridge, thinking it sufficient: But it was the opinion of D. Ferdinand of Gonzagato pursue the enemy, that they of the towne not being able to vse their artillerie by reason of the raine, the Christians in their pursuite might happely enter pell mell with the Turkes, and so sending *Spinolaes* regiment after them, they pursued them vnto the port of Algier, the which they finding shut, the Turkes went about the wall, and being well acquainted with those places, escaped from the Italians: who retiring encouraged the enemy to fall forth, and to pursue them with great numbers; they being new souldiers, tired with the raine and myre, not knowing the country, and wearied first with pursuing the enemy, they fainted and disbanded, so as the Barbarians made a great slaughter of them, for *Assan Aga* falling forth with his horsemen, and fresh foot, they were easily put to rout, but some knights of Rhodes, colonell *Spinola*, count *John Francisco de Bagna*, with some few captaines and old souldiers, making a stand at a bridge, withstood the enemies force: And yet worse would haue happened considering their great aduantage of armes, vsing arrowes and stones, whereas the Christians could not vse their harquebuses, vnlesse the emperour, who that day, and alwayes performed the duty of a captaine, a sergeant, and a souldier, had not come to succour them with some companies of Germans; whereof the first being put to flight, he with an inuincible mind giuing courage to the rest both with words and action, in the end he repulsed the enemy, and retired his men out of that dayes daunger, hauing lost about 300 men, and 200 hurt, but few men of account: D. Carlo of Lanoye sonne to the prince of Sulmona was wounded. But the fortune of the armie at sea was more miserable, which tost with the waues and windes, had continued from midnight vntill noone the next day, in a hard and insupportable conflict, against the furious violence of those enemies. The ships which had no other shelter, but to commit themselves to the mercy of the raging windes, sought to vnburthen themselves, casting their ordnance or any thing else of weight into the sea, & cutting downe their masts; yet many perished, being either swallowed vp in the sea, or beating one against another were driuen on shoare, to be a prey the Barbarians. With the like misfortune, but with more art, and force, the gallies did strue. *Doria*, and the other captains of iudgement laboring to preserue them with many anchors, & with the industrie of their oares, they also casting their artillerie ouer boord; but they still finding themselves in exceeding great danger, some hoping to saue their liues at land, cut their cables, and ranne on ground, which was a most miserable spectacle: for the gallies breaking, whilest that the men tired with the toile, being vp to the chin in water, sought to saue themselves, & held it for a happinesse to be accepted for slaues, the Arabians and Moores which stood ready, to make the vnfortunate condition of those Christians more miserable, shewed themselves to be greedy of their blood and death, killing them most barbarously without any mercy. Among which *Iannettin Doria* Admirall ranne on ground neere vnto the Emperours campe, so as it might well be relieued by his maiestie, who presently sent some companies of Italians, to suppress the furie of the Arabians, and saued that valiant yong man, with the greatest part of his companie. There perished foureteene gallies, some write fiftene after this manner, whereof eleuen did belong to prince *Doria*, and the rest to *Anthony Doria*, to Naples, and Spaine; of greater vessels some say seuentie, and some a hundred and fifty, of shippes, carauells, and pinaces. At night it grew somewhat calme, so as in the morning the gallies drew neere vnto the shoare, where they lay first, but towards euening the wind grew high againe, so as prince *Doria* did perswade them to retire to cape *Matauso*, holding that place to be lesse daungerous, for that there were few rocks, the which the emperour perceiuing, and seeing that there were no victuals in the campe, the souldiers hauing bene the day before without any meate, he resolved to rise and march that day six miles with his whole armie. The which he had put in good order, for that the enemy was still behind him & on his flanks, yet they durst not charge them; the sick & hurt men being put in the midst of the squadrans, vsing all care to saue them, yet many were slaine by those Barbarians, being so weak as they could not be carried. For wanting all kind of victuall, they had relieued themselves those two daies with the roots of dates which they call palmette, & horse-flesh, some being slaine to that end. They came that day vnto a riuer, which the Moores call *Agaraz*, the which was so risen with

Shipwracke of  
the imperiall  
army in Algier.

1541

Hunger in the  
Emperors army.

A with the raine, as it was not possible to wade through, where by reason thereof, and to see if they could get any victuals, they staid that night, and gathering together the masts and yarges of broken ships in that riuer, they made a bridge to passe the Germanies and Italians the next day, the Spaniards hauing found out a foard somewhat higher. The Turkes and Moores of Algier did not pursue the armie any further, and the Arabians did little annoy them, so as within two daies they came vnto their gallies.

B Heere the emperour did somewhat refresh his army, drawing some victuals out of the ships, and then hee gaue order for their shipping, which was on the last day of October. The inuincible and vndaunted courage of the emperour was admirable; who was a great consolation to those afflicted troupes: but in the shipping of the armie there was great pietie noted in him; thinking it impossible that ships shaken with the rage of the Sea, should carrie so much people, hee commaunded that all the horses whatsoeuer should bee cast into the Sea, were they of better so great price, nor regarding the intreaties of their owners, desiring rather to saue the basest soldier being a man and a Christian, than those noble instruments of warre: D. Ferdinand of Gonzaga, staid two daies to imbarke, who coasting along Barbarie towards the East, had a shorter passage into Sicile. The Sea grew rough again, and they staid not long to haue more particuler directions, the emperour hauing giuen order where his troupes should land.

Constancy and  
pietie of the  
emper Charles

C There is a memorable accident reported of two ships full of Spaniards, which in the tempest were driuen on shoare neere vnto Algier, the souldiers within them seeking to preserue their liues by being slaues, but the cruell Arabians thirsting after mans blood, refusing to accept them, they made a braue and generous resolution, so as keeping close together, they marcht fighting euen to the verie gate of Algier, where they gaue *Assan Aga* to vnderstand that they were come to yeeld themselves his slaues, hoping that hee being borne a Christian, would not suffer them to be torn in peeces by the rage of the Arabians, whose liues might be a greater benefit, & so they were preferred by that *Assan* with more shew of humanity. The gallies which were with the emperours person, running the same fortune recovered the port of Bugia, and there they refreshed themselves a little, and then the seas being somewhat calmed, they sailed towards Spaine, where the emperour landed at Carthage, from whence hee sent to Occagna to visit his daughters, hauing first met with the Prince, D. Philippe, who went speedily to doe his duty, and to reioyce at his returne, who with an inuincible courage, speaking little of his losse, shewed how we should beare the crosses of humane accidents: Prince *Doria* who yeelded not to any in greatnesse of minde and constancy, being arrived in Italie, where the miserable successe of this enterprise, was already knowne, he did comfort such as came to condole with him for his losse, and sought to comfort him. But the emperours bounty repaired his great losse, for he did not onely giue him three thousand ducats offerely sent for euer out of the fines at Naples, but he also made him Protototarie of that kingdome, which is the fist of the seuen principall offices; the which the prince *John Andrew* his nephew doth now enioy.

Spaniards pre-  
serue their liues  
generously a-  
gainst the Ara-  
bians.

Emperour  
Charles his re-  
turne into  
Spaine from  
the pillage of  
Algier.

Bounty of the  
emperour to  
Prince Doria.

41 At the emperours returne from Algier, hee found himselfe engaged in a difficult warre, against the French king, the which would not suffer him to make any long aboad in Spaine. The king pretended that the truce had bene broken, and the first violated by the Marquesse of Guast his lieutenant in Lombardie, by reason of the murder of *Eugene* and *Rinson*: which fact being sufficiently verified, he was assembled by him, whereupon the French king, began the warre in many places: In Brabant, and the countie by the lord of Longuenall, and *Martin van Rosse* in the countie of Luxemburg by the duke of Orleans: The Dauphin *Henry* was come into the countie of Roussillon, & did beseege the Towne of Perpignan with forty thousand foot, two thousand men at armes, two thousand light horse, and great store of artillerie, one of the goodliest armies the French had of long time drawne together; the which proued to bee of no effect, for that proceeding so slowly the duke of Alua had meanes to put some troupes into the town (which was ill furnished) by land, and D. Bernardin of Mendoza newly made generall of the gallies of Spaine, to supplie it with victuals and all other kind of munition by sea,

41  
Warre betwixt  
the French king  
& the emperour.

B b b b b

so

1542

so as the Prince seeing it was not easie to force, and hearing of great succours G which did aduance both from Spaine and Italie, hee retyred. In Italie the Lord of Langey made warre for the king, and in Picardie the duke of Vendosme: what the successe was, the French Historie will fully satisfie you.

The emperor feeling yet the bad successe of this affaires of Barbarie, and stung by the French in so many places, fainted not: but that which did most trouble him, was the due tie he ought vnto Germanie as emperor: for besides that *Sultan Solyman* had newly repulst the forces of the empire from before *Buda*, hee was aduertised that hee prepared to returne, this yeare in person into Hungarie with a mighty armie: and that which toucht him nerer, he vnderstood that by the persuation of the French king, and of Captaine *Paulin*, his embassador in the East, *Barberousse* was at Sea, with a great number of gallies and foists, with an intent to inuade his Countries of Naples and Sicile, and to spoile Spaine if hee might finde any opportunitie.

To prevent all these mischiefes, hee went to Barcelone to passe into Italie: where whilst they made the gallies readie for his passage, and that the Souldiers came which should goe with him, hee went into Nauarre, and caused some roades to bee made into the neere frontier of Fraunce, and the Towne of Saint *John de Luz* to bee burnt. And seeing himselfe thus prest, hee held the support of *Henry* the eight, king of England, to bee needfull, with whome hee entred into league.

Having concluded together how they should make warre, the emperor came to Genoua with forty gallies, and some troupes, when as *Barberousse* sackt and burnt the coast of Calabria, and had taken the town of Regium in the streit against Sicile. Then the Turkish armie came to Ostia, which did much amaze the Romanes, but they did only water, and so past, not doing any harme to the territories of the church, which were recommended by the French king, then leauing the riuer of Genoua, hee came to Marcelles.

The French king had sent *Frances* of Bourbon, duke of Anguien to bee his lieutenant, in Prouence, and to receiue the Turkes armie, who attending *Barberousse*, and thinking to surpris the Castle of Nice, had like to haue bene surpris himselfe, by *Janetia Doris*, who watcht for him within the Port, with twentie gallies; for hee, beleuing one, who had laied this double plot, aduentured to goe with some of the kings gallies, whereof foure, which hee had caused to aduance were taken, and hee himselfe, escaped by flight. *Barberousse* being come, *Doris* quit the Port and Towne of Nice to the Turkes, who sackt and burnt it, but the Castle held good, being valiantly defended by *Paul Simon*, a knight of Malta, the place being of itselfe vncaie to batter, and worse to assaile, but after a while they tooke an occasion to leaue the siege. *Barberousse* retyred with his gallies to Antibio, being much discontented against the French, for the bad prouision hee had found in Prouence, for the warre, for hee saw many necessarie prouisions to faile them suddenly, and that the kings men were often forced to borrow powder, match and other necessities from the Turkes; so as hee grew often into such a rage, as hee did threaten Captaine *Paulin* to put him in chaines, and to carrie him to Constantinople, there to bee punished as an abuser, and lyer, hauing made infinite promises to the great Turke, whereof hee saw no effect, the which hee had done if the prince of Anguien had not somewhat pacified him with good words. Being at Antibio, he vnderstood that the Marquesse of Guast drew the ordinance out of the sea: After which he went & wintred at Tolon, from whence he sent five and twenty gallies to Alger, with the spoiles which hee had taken, the which they increased with many poore prisoners of either sex, passing along the coast of Cate logne and Valencia, and with a ship and a galley, which they found neere vnto Palamos, which they carried away.

I must speake some thing of *Fernando Cortez*, who conquered *Mexico*, from whence hee was

S. John de Luz  
burnt by the  
Spaniards.

Barberousse  
besieged the  
Castle of Nice.

Fernando Cortez  
deprived of  
his government  
of Mexico.

1542

A was called being viceroy, by the meanes of some which enuied his greatnes, being accused in Spaine vnto the emperor, and forced to come and yeeld himselfe a prisoner, in theyeare one thousand five hundred and forty: he could not so soone iustifie his innocencie, although hee were in a manner as a libertie following the emperor to the warre of Alger, yet hee had no command; and as one in disgrace with his Maiestie, hee was neuer called to counsell in those dangerous accidents, although hee were a great Captaine, and had bene tryed in greater difficulties, whereof hee had giuen good proofes in all his attempts.

B Hee carried with him indifferently in this expedition, five admirable emeralds, the which hee lost, whose forme and qualitie being held rare and precious, it is fit there should be some mention made of them. One of them which was valued at forty thousand ducats, had the forme of a scy, the button whereof was a great pearle, and the foot of pure golde, the second was like a little bell, the clapper was of pearle verie properly made: the third had the figure of a fish, on the head whereof there were eies of gold, artificially wrought, the fourth was cut like a horne, and the fift like a rose. After the return from that vnfortunate attempt of Alger, he laboured five yeres to proue his innocencie, and in the end had leaue from the emperor to returne to Mexico, and to hold his first honours and estates, but he could neuer enjoy them, for being sixtie yeares olde, hee died in the beginning of December one thousand five hundred forty seuen, leauing an honorable testimony behind him, to haue bene valiant, modest, and religious.

C After the taking of the Citty of Cusco at Peru by *Francis Pizarro*, the Spaniards went to take the towne of Quito, which was great and rich, and stood in an excellent ayre almost vnder the South line, the which, besides that it abounds in mines of metall, hath great store of quicke siluer of yellow colour as they write. There came other Spaniards from Panama, vpon the heare of this great store of gold which *Pizarro* had found in that prouince, and they soone made good purchase, though not so great as they expected.

D There came also from S. Iago in new Spain, *Pedro de Aluaredo*, with a fleet of some ships, thinking to effect some great matters, but *Pizarro* would not suffer him to make any profit in the countrey which he had discouered, and was his government: wherefore they agreed to leaue his ships with *Francis* for 100000 crowns, and *Aluaredo* returned from whence he came. In the yere 1535 the citty of Lima was enlarged, and many dwellings made for Spaniards by *Pizarro*, he made it the residence for the council of the realme, and called it the kings citty, choosing it for his dwelling, & giuing the government of Cusco to *Almagro*.

E This yeare 1542 the emperor caused the Prince *D. Philip* to be sworne future king of Spaine, by the estates of the Countrey, seeking to draw his subjects to giue him good helps for the future warre, wherein hee was well assisted by the treasure which came in those daies from the West-Indies for his fift part, besides a great summe of money which was lent him by Merchants, and others, giuing them assignements out of the ordinarie reuenues of his realmes. He was come to Barcelona, to be neere to Perpignan, or to any other attempt of the French, and there he caused the Spanish footmen to passe, which had been in Sardynia at his returne from Alger, the which hee wold haue remaine vpon those frontiers, if need should require, or be transported elsewhere vpon any occasion. From Barcelona he went with the court to Tarazona, from thence to Tortosa, & then to Valencia, the Prince making a solemne entrie in all these place, where he was entertained with great feasts and pompe.

F After which they past the feasts of Christmas at Alcalá of Henares, whereas their ioy was doubled by the presence of the two Infants, two marriages being concluded at that time; one of the Prince *D. Philip* and *D. Maria* Infanta of Portugall, daughter to king *John* the third, the other of *D. Iohn* prince of Portugall, a youth of fourteene yeares of age, and *D. Ioane* the emperours second daughter. They continued in Alcalá with great feasting, vntill the end of the yeare, and then went to Madrid, where hee made his entrie the first day of the yeare one thousand five hundred forty and three, where they made preparation of new solemnities for the future marriage, as also for the warre, the emperor being resfolued to passe into Italy in the Spring.

B b b b ij.

The

Emeralds, five  
exceeding faire

Proceedings of  
Pizarro at Peru.

Lima called the  
kings Citty.

D. Philip sworn  
future king of  
Spaine.

Philip prince of  
Spaine contracted  
to the Infanta  
of Portugall

1543  
Marriages of  
the Prince and  
Infant of  
Spaine.

Tremessen re-  
bels against  
the emperor

Earle of Alca-  
dette as the en-  
terprize of Tre-  
messen.

The marriage of prince *Philip* concluded in winter, was celebrated in March after, with great pompe and state, and in like maner that of the Infanta his sister; the Emperor neglecting nothing touching his preparation for warre, as well against the French, who had the yeare before annoyed him in many places, as also against the Moores of Tremessen, who according to their naturall inconstancie, had inuisiously rebelled. To suppress the which hee had in beginning of this yeare, sent *D. Martin* of Cardone, earle of Alcadette into Africke with eight thousand foot, and about fiftene hundred horse, what succeeded there you shall heereafter heare. After which having provided a great summe of money, and such foote and horse as should passe with him into Italie, hee gave order for the government of those Realmes vnder the charge of the king *D. Philip*, to whome hee appointed for his chiefe Councellours, the commander *Cowas*, and the Duke of *Alua*; fore-seeing many matters of great importance, and providing for them all with great care, as hee that sought to make his forces greater, to free himselfe from the molestations of Fraunce, and frustrate their praides which they had in Germanie, where they had those Princes readie to make any alteration, being not greatlie affected to the house of Austria: wherefore hee fought to settle the greatnesse of his house, for many ages, according vnto humane wisdom: And therefore hee had matcht *D. Philippe* his Sonne to the eldest daughter of Portugall, and to the sole Prince of the realme had given his second Infanta, onely with foure hundred thousand crownes dowrie, although his Sonne had receiued double the summe, and for *Maximilian*, eldest sonne to *Ferdinand* his brother, hee had reserved his eldest daughter for all doubtfull euent of succession in those great dominions.

In the beginning of the yeare the emperor (as wee haue said) had sent the earle of Alcadette to the enterprize of Mostagan; who going with eight thousand foote and fiftene hundred horse from Oran; in the beginning of Februarie this yeare, neere vnto Tabida, had a skirmish with the Moores, who charged him in thereareward, but it was of no moment. The next day at the passing of a riuer neere vnto Tabida, they found a greater armie of Moores, both horse and foot furnished with good shot, yet the Spaniards marcht in such order, and shewed themselves so valiant, as notwithstanding that the enemy stood ready on the other side of the riuer (which they were to wade through) to receiue them, yet they repulst them with great losse, and aduanced to take Tabida.

Having rested there a while, they marcht on the next day, but somewhat late, towards Tremessen, lodging two leagues from the citie, being continually molested by the Moores, with often charging and flying away. The king was in Tremessen where hee had leuied what souldiers he could both of horse and foot, having entertained about 400 Turkes which were in garrison vpon that coast, so as the next morning the earle did with great indgement put his men in battell, lest that (being farre inferiour in nuber to the enemy) he should be inuironed by so great a multitude, & disordered, being charged in front, flanke, and rere: and therefore he so disposed of his troupes, both horse and foot, as they might fight and succour one another, fortifying his rereward as much as might be, for that he vnderstood they had laied an ambush, and would charge them behind. They had sent the woman and children with their richest mooueables into the mountaines which were neere, to preserve them whatsoeuer should happen; and the king having disposed of his troupes, would not be present at the battell, but attend the euent in a place of safetie. The two armies being ioyned, the Spaniards shewed no lesse valour then was needfull, the enemies foreward being greater then all their army, and although the Moores in the beginning shewed great resolution, & discharged a great volley of shot, yet they did it so disorderly, and so far off, as there was not any one slain, and but three lightly hurt, the Spaniards giuing them no time to charge again, & the horse coming vpon them with great violence: the fight continued about two houres; and the General having placed some loose shot in the head of the foreward, they made a great spoile of the Moores and Turkes; so as in the end the enemy was put to rout on that side, whilst that they fought with great obstinacy in the rereward. Thither the earle sent two companies, who charged with such resolution,

on, as the Spaniards taking new courage, & the enemy being amazed, having seen their companions put to rout, the battell was ended (having continued about three houres) & the Christians won the victorie, but there was no great slaughter of the Moores, who desired rather to saue themselves by flight than by fighting obstinately, to giue their enemies any cause to feare a new encounter. The king of Tremessen, who expected the doubtfull euent of this battell, having a signe giuen him by smook that it was lost, he provided for his safety by flight among the rest. The earle of Alcadette did win great honor in this battell both for his valor and iudgement, being worthily imitated by his three sons, *D. Alfonso*, *D. Francisco*, & *D. Alvaro*, the first leading a part of the foreward, & the second of the rereward: *D. Alfonso* of Villaruolo marshall of the field, *D. Martin* of Cordoua, *D. John Pacheco* with other noblemen of marke, were much commended for their prowesse that day. This victorie was won the fift of Februarie, the victor having lost few men, and most of them were slaine with crosbows, whereof there were not aboue a hundred among the Moores, and about fife thousand Harquebuziers. The Spaniards desirous to enter the Towne, the generall sought to stay them that night, fearing the slaughter would be great, or there would be some great disorder committed in the sacke: wherefore he lodged the army without the town, among certain Oliue trees, giuing good instructions vnto the captains, to prevent all dangers which might grow by their too great confidence of the victorie, or the disorders which doe accompany spoiling; as it hath often fallen out, either by the small authority of the generall, or by indiscretion, on want of militarie discipline.

About this time the state of Tunes (which the emperor had conquered and restored to *Muley Hascen*) fell into great combustions, he having only retained Goulette, with an homage and small tribute for the kings of Spain, as we haue said. The occasion was that *Muley Hascen*, being desirous to confer with the emperor, had past into Sicilie, with an intent to come vnto him to Genoa, or wherefoeuer he should be at his last passage out of Spaine; after which hee came to Naples, and meaning to continue his course by sea he was staied there some daies by a tempest, during the which *D. Pedro de Toledo*, viceroy of Naples, receiued a commandement to will him not to depart from thence, vntill hee receiued farther newes from the emperor, who was busied with the warres of France, and would not haue any thing to diuert him. This king as it was reported, had a meaning to demand some forces against the Turkes which held Constantine, a towne within his realme, the which was rich and strong, and did much annoy him; and for that at the time of his passage into Sicilie, *Barberousse* was at Marseille, hee feared also that in his returne he would fall vpon him.

He thought in like maner that in leauing the countie he should auoid some great accident wherewith the starres did threaten him, if hee remained in Africke at that season, this prince being studious of Astrologie, and too credulous of such diuinations. During his absence, such as loued him not and desired some Innouation in the state, bruted it out that the king was dead at Naples, after that he had bene baptizd; and prest his Sonne *Amida*, (who had the command of certaine garrisons which were appointed to withstand the invasions of the Turkes, and the thefts of the *Alarabes*, which did adhere vnto them,) to hasten his coming vnto the Citie, and to seaze vpon the Caffe and his fathers treasure, before that his younger brother called *Mahumet* (who remained in hostage at Goulette) should preuent him, and make himselfe king with the helpe of *Francis de Tovar*, then Gouverneur of the fort. *Amida* did easily credit that which it may bee he desired, and although in the beginning he found some resistance, which was made him by the Manufette of Tunes, (who as it is were the kings Lieutenant general in that Countie) yet in the end hee preuailed, and slue all his fathers friends & seruants, yea, hee abused his wiues and concubines.

The newes being brought to Naples, *Muley Hascen* was much troubled; & making great hast to depart, he made great instance to haue some forces, the which hee obtained of the viceroy, who suffered him to leue 1800 men, such as were banished & condemned by iustice, to whom impunitie was promised, if they went to this warre; & they had a gentleman of the countie appointed for their commander, whose name was *Baptista Lofredo*: with which troupe the King did assure himselfe that hee should bee able to surpris his rebellious

King of Tremessen  
defeated by  
the Spaniards  
first.

1545  
Moores 42.

*Muley Hascen*  
king of Tunes  
disposeth again.

Moores curious  
and superstitious.

Sonne disposed  
of the father.

*Amida* incestuous.

1545

bellious sonne before hee were settled. Being come to Goulette the Gouverneur G sought to dissuade him from going into the Towne; no nor to approach too neere, before hee vnderstood how the people were affected, and whether there were any men of authoritie of his faction, to assist him: notwithstanding that, some Africanes came to visite him, promising him by ceremonies, orthes (setting their daggers against their throates, according to their manner) to aide him, and to die with him if neede were, whome the gouverneur wisht him not to trust.

Notwithstanding all that *Touar* could say vnto the king, and to *Lofredo*, they would needs march towards the towne, but before they came thither, they knew that they had beene well aduised by *Touar*, for they fell into an ambush which *Amida* had laid for them, and were charged by so great a multitude of horse and foot, as they had no meanes to saue themselves. In this defeat there were slaine about thirtene hundred Christians vpon the place; the rest with great difficulty recovered Goulette, disarmed (having cast them away) and wounded. Among the which the king had escaped, had hee not beene discouered by the perfumes wherewith hee was annointed according to his custome; whereupon he was hotly pursued and taken.

Defeat of Christians.

King of Tunes taken.  
Crueltie of the sonne to his father and Brethren.

Being deliuered to his wicked sonne, hee caused his eyes to be presently put out, the like crueltie hee vsed to *Nahasar* and *Abdulas* his younger brethren, who were taken with the king, to whome hee reproached that hee did him but justice, for that he had in like maner made his Vncles blinde, and in the end had slaine them, to raigne. Which being done, *Amida* renewed with *Francis de Touar*, all the conuentions and accords which his father had made with the emperor, and did the same homage. The which *Touar* thought good to accept by provision, applying himselfe to the time, drawing (for that hee would not seeme too carefull of that which had hapned) a certaine number of ducats from the new tyrant; who also deliuered twenty knights, Rabatins of the blind kings gard, who had been imprisoned for that they had shewed themselves too affectionat to his seruice; yeelding vp also the ensignes, which had beene taken from *Lofredo*, and his body, without a head, that they might burie it after the maner of Christians: And moreouer *Amida* deliuered into his hands for hostage a sonne of his called *Seithen*. But notwithstanding all this, *Francis de Touar*, detesting the fact of *Amida*, as vnworthie to bee tolerated by the emperor, hee did aduertise *Abdamelec* one of the brethren of *Muley Hasen*, (who had escaped with *Araxid*, and liued then in exile with a Lord of Numidia, called *Anensiba*) wishing him to come speedily to Tunes, hauing wacht an opportunitie by the absence of *Amida*, who was gone to Biserte to receiue that rich custome of fishing which was neere. *Abdamelec* was not sloathfull, but coming secretly to Goulette, hee found meanes to enter into Tunes by night, with a good number of horse which had accompanied him, going directly to the Castle with his head and his face couered, and wrapt in a sheet after the maner of the Countrie, where hee was receiued without any difficultie, they thinking it to bee *Amida* who was returned from Biserte, but they soone found their owne error, and being amazed L thought to fall to armes; but they that were most forward, were presently slaine, and the rest so terrified, as they yeilded. *Abdamelec* being Master of the Castle, hee caused many of the towne which did fauour him to come, by whome hee was saluted and acknowledged for king of Tunes; but hee raigned but thirtie and sixe daies, dying of a pestilent burning feuer. Before his death hee drew *Muley Hasen* out of prison, who receiued this good from him whome hee had persecuted, and retired to Goulette, where hee had left in the hands of *Francis Touar*, many jewels and mouables of great price, whereof hee gaue him no verie good account. The Tunesians in *Abdamelec*s place, did choose for their king a Sonne of his called *Mahumet*, being but twelue yeares old, to whome they gaue foure cheefe men for Councellers and Gouernors of his youth; which were *Abdulages*, who held the dignitie and office of Manufacte, *Abdelchirin* Manufacte, which is another dignitie, and *Xerife*, borne at Bugia, a Moore learned in the law of *Mahumet*, and with them one *John Perell*, of the order of the Rabatins. *Abdelchirin*, for that hee was an honest man, was slaine by his companions, who afterwards made a Triumvirat betwixt them, committing all ex-

*Amida* dispossessed by *Abdamelec* his vncle.

Disloyaltie of the Regenis to the young king of Tunes.

1545

A cesse and villanie, contemning the kings youth, and promising vnto themselves all impunitie. Among other insolencies, *Perel* hauing seiled vpon the Serrail, where the wiues and concubines of *Amida* were, he rauisht them all, which haply was the greatest displeasure *Amida* received, for those people are wonderfull jealous of their wiues: but he tooke a cruell reuenge, hauing soone after surprisid the citie, with the helpe of his friends and partisans, so suddenly, as the young king had scarce leasure to get into a little barke and flic to Goulette: he caused *Perel* to be cruelly tortured, and hauing cut off his priuie parts, the instruments of his sinne, he caused him to be burnt aliue in the market place. He put them also to death which had adhered to *Abdamelec*, and among others forrie Rabatins, whose bodies were eaten with dogs, a punishment which he vsed for them which had committed any haynous offence, causing them to be torne in peeces aliue, and deuoured by his famished dogs. *Amida* raigned about fiftene yeares after, vntill that *Aluch Ali*, whom they called *Locciali*, gouernour of Alger, depriued him, surprising the towne in the yeare 1560, which hath euer since beene held by the Turke, but for some short interruption, whereof *D. John* of Austria was the cause, as we will shew. As for the poore king *Muley Hasen*, he caused himselfe to be conducted to Naples, and from thence went to the Emperour to Ausburg, where he reported his misfortunes, and complained much of *Francis de Touar*, who detained his jewels. The Emperour ended this difference, by a composition made betwixt the parties, and he appointed that *Muley Hasen* should haue C a pension paid him, during his life, by the Sicilians, and so he was sent back into Italie, and *Touar* soone after called home from his gouernment.

Reuenge of *Amida*.

THE



## THE 28 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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The

A The Realmes of Castille, Leon, Arragon, and Nauarre, remaine vnitid in D. Philip the second.  
Portugal by the death of the King D. Iohn, is gouerned by Queene Katherine his widow, and the Cardinall D. Henrie, during the Infancie of D. Sebastian.

B His yeare 1545 the Emperour had two feuerall aduertisements, the one of great joy and content, the other of much sorrow and heavinesse: He had newes, That the prince D. Philip had his first son born in Vailledolit, the ninth of Iuly, who at his Christening was called *Charles*, at the which there were great & solemne feasts prepared; but within three dayes after all was turned into mourning and heavinesse, by a strange accident: for the prince's mother, the young child's mother, died, for that (as they sayd) she had eaten something disorderly, contrarie to the state wherein she was; which happened by the negligence of the duchesse of Alua, and the wife of *Couos*, the high Chauncellor, to whom the care of her being committed, they absented themselves a little, being desirous to see a certaine sight, so as at their returne they found her dead, or dying. The prince felt that force which is vsuall at the losse of so deere a person, yet hearing it with that constancie that was fit for his royall mind; but the loue hee bare her, being a prince's of singular vertues, made him to retire himselfe for a time. Shee was much lamented and wanted of all men, for her great bountie and charitie. She was honoured with a royall funerall pompe: her bodie remained for a time in Saint Pauls church in that towne, in the custodie of the Dominican Friars, vntill that it was carried to the royall chappell of Granado. D. Philip had this sorrow increased soone after with a new griefe, for the death of D. Iohn of Tavera, Cardinall, and Archbishop of Toledo, vnder whose wife gouernement he had bene bred vp from his infancie, so as he loued and respected him much.

The Emperour Charles hauing concluded a peace with the French king, he presently began to imbrace the affaires of Germanie, which were in combustion, by reason of religion, since the preaching and writing of *Luther*, against the Pope, to whom some princes of that nation, and many townes, did adhere: Which controuersie many graue and religious men did beleue, might haue bene easily reconciled by the Emperours onely authoritie, being assisted by the Estates and Princes of the Empire, without craving any other helpe. But, according to the common opinion, this prince and the Popes were posselt with one humor, to rule absolutely, the Popes aspiring to bee sole Iudges in matters concerning religion, and Charles aspiring to the like soueraigne power in temporall things depending of the Imperiall function, and not to gouerne himselfe by a certaine necessitie, according to the aduice of the assemblies of the Estates, which they call Diets, by the which hee thought hee was kept in awe.

2 Pope Paul and he concurring in one designe, made a league the six and twentieth of Iune 1546, by the negotiation of the Councell of Trent, and they concluded to pursue the Councell of Trent; published the yeare before, and begun in December: and for that the Protestants did not allow of it, nor would not submit themselves vnto it, it was said, the Emperour should force them by armes, and if he entred into any treatie of peace with them, hee should not doe any thing to the prejudice of the Church of Rome. That the Pope should consigne an hundred thousand crownes at Venice, besides an hundred thousand which he had alreadye consigned, to be employed in this warre. That he should moreouer entertaine twelue thousand foot, and five hundred light horse, for six monethes, ouer the which he should appoint a Legat, colonels and capitaines. That the Emperour might for this warre take the one halfe of the reuenues of the Clergie,

1545  
Birth of prince  
Charles of Spain.

Death of Marie  
of Portugal,  
wife to D. Philip.

1546  
League betwixt  
the Pope and  
Emperour.



Designe of the  
Emperour a-  
gainst Germanie

Clergie, and sell of abbie lands to the value of five hundred thousand crownes: And if any prince should seeke to hinder their resolutions, they should joine their forces together to resist him. This was at such time as the Councell began, whereas they made preparation for warre against the Protestants, both in Germanie, Spaine, and Italie, the Emperours designe extending farther, for his intention was (as it appeared since, and was not then unknowne) That after that he had subdued the Protestants, which made the greatest power of Germanie, he would subiect the Estates of the Empire to his will, that he might keepe the Empire in his familie, and make it hereditarie. And to give some proofe of this absolute power which he did affect, he had made a truce with the Turke, the better to attend this warre, without taking the aid of those princes and States, who had contributed great summes of money, to raise an armie against that common enemy of Christendome. The Protestants had long before made a declaration, That they tooke the Pope and See of Rome for their aduersarie, and therefore they would not haue him for Iudge, accusing him of impietie, sacriledge, false doctrine, and of usurpation ouer the magistrats appointed by God, and of many other crimes. They offered to giue vndoubted proofes to a free Councell, lawfully called, were a generall, or nationall in Germanie. They complained, That the Emperour had often put them in hope, but now they saw themselves frustrat: yea, that contrarie to the decree of the last Diet of Spier and Wormes, where it was concluded, That to prepare the way to so holy an assembly, there should be a conference of Doctors, and men of State of either part, which should bring in writing the meanes to liue in peace and vnitie one with another, attending the determination of such a Councell, and that in the meane time all proceedings against the Protestants should cease: yet they saw the Archbishop of Cologne pursued and condemned, for that he sought to reforme his Clergie; the conference made frustrat by the policie and importunitie of some Monkes; the Pope to vse his absolute authoritie, and all Germanie to be full of armes; their aduersaries picking quarels, with the priuie of the Emperour and Pope, so as they were forced to defend themselves, the which was falsely termed sedition. Vpon which discontents there were many embassadours sent vnto the Emperour, from the Protestant princes, whereof the chiefe were *Frederic* duke of Saxonie, Elector, and *Philip* Landgrau of Hesse, who drew after them many princes and barons of great place, their friends, allies, or vassals, with the chiefe Imperiall townes, all which demanded peace, and assurance that it should not be broken by any decree of the Councell of Trent, and a present reformation of the Imperiall Chamber, where there were some of their profest enemies.

Demands of the  
Protestants.

To which demands the Emperour made dilatorie and ambiguous answers, to win time, to the end hee might draw his forces, which came from all parts, into one bodie: so as they, seeing no other remedie, began also to arme, Ausbourg, Vlme, and other townes of high Germanie, being assisted by the duke of Wirtemberg, came first to field, and fell vpon the subiects of *Ferdinand* king of Romans, taking Ereberg at the foot of the Alpes; coming out of Italie, with other places. The duke of Saxonie, the Landgrau and their confederats, raised a mightie armie vpon the marches of Franconia, and marcht towards the riuer of Danow, passing quietly through the lands of the bishop of Vitzbourg, and of other Clergie men. The Emperour, who prepared his campe with all speed about Landshut, vpon the riuer of Iler, proclaimed them as troublers of the publicke peace, and guiltie of high treason. Being fortified hee came and lodged vpon the riuer of Danow, betwixt Ingolstade and Ratisbone, hauing receiued tenne thousand foot, and five hundred light horse, from the Pope, led by cardinall *Farnese*, Legat, and *Ottauio* his brother, prince of Parma and Plaifance, assisted by many worthie captaines; whereof the chiefe were *Alexander* and *Paul* *Vitelli*, *John Baptista* and *Frederic* *Sanelli*, *Iulio* *Vrsino*, *Sforce* *Palinucin*, *Alphonso* of Este, and *Ralph* *Bailloni*: And they had brought him out of the garrisons of Italie, six thousand Spaniards of the old Regiments, vnder the command of *Ferdinand* of Toledo, duke of Alua, Marshall generall of the armie, *John Baptista* *Castaldo*, *Philip* *Launoy*, *Aluaro* *Sandis*, *Alphonso* *Vines*, and other auncient and approued Captaines.

Protestants  
proclaimed.

Captaines of the  
Popes armie.

Captaines of the  
Emperours forces

In

A In this Imperiall armie the cardinall of Ausbourg had the charge of the viqualls. There was with the Emperour, *Maximilian*, sonne to the king of Romans, *Emanuel Philibert*, prince of Piedmont, with many princes and noblemen, Germanes. The Protestants armie aduanced, being much stronger than the Emperours; they had two generals, the Elector *Frederic*, and the Landgrau, with equally authoritie, which, if two generals may be, was the ruine of their armie. They had with them *John Ernest*, brother to the duke of Saxonie, and *John Frederic*, his eldest sonne, *Philip* duke of Brunswic, and four of his sonnes, *Francis* duke of Lunebourg, *Wolfgang* prince of Anhalt, *Christopher* of Heneberg, *George* of Wirtemberg, *Albert* of Mansfield, earles, *William* of Furstemberg, *Regrod* and *Reffeburg*, colonels; with six companies of Suisses. The two armies lay nere together for some dayes, and the Protestants offered battell to the Imperials; but the Emperour would none, assuring himselfe, that the enemy could not keepe those great forces long together, and that in the end hee which gets the profit of the warre, hath the honour: besides, hee expected *Maximilian*, earle of Bure, with foure thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, of the choice bands of the Netherlands.

Two generals  
the ruine of an  
armie.

The Landgrau, who was a resolute souldier, and therefore feared more by the Emperour than all the rest that were in the Protestants campe, made offer to force the Emperour to fight, if they would giue him credit; but the Elector would not yeeld to it: so as these two commanders not concurring well together, lost many occasions. The earle of Bure came to the campe, and many of the Emperours faction in Germanie, spoyled the Protestants lands, whilest they were in the armie; yea some Protestants, being wooon by the Emperour with goodly promises of aduancement, and persuading them, that the warre was grounded vpon other causes than religion. Among them was *Maurice* of Saxonie, who desirous to get the Electorship, was entred into duke *Frederics* countrey of Saxonie, wherewith king *Ferdinand* had furnished him, out of Bohemia and Hungarie, and had by loue, or force, seised vpon all the townes and places of Turinga, Misnia, and other prouinces adioyning, vnder a colour of charitie, saying, That it was to preferre the duke Electors countrey and lands, the which would haue bene ruined, if any other had bene employed by the Emperour in that conquest: yet the Bohemians and Hungarians vsed as great crueltie and violence, as if they had made warre against the Turkes. The Protestants armie being verie great, and not able to draw the Emperour to battell, being in some want of viqualls, but much more of money, the which they were forced to beg from the townes and comminalties, the confederat princes hating no support from the kings of France and England, as they had expected, hauing sent embassadours vnto them with full instructions, touching that which the Emperour practised by this warre, to the prejudice of Germanie, and the neighbour Estates. The heads being also jealous of their owne houses and lands, which they saw inuaded whilest they laboured for the common cause, they thought to draw the warre neerer to their owne commodities, whereupon they dislodged, and marched towards Norling, the Emperour still coasting them.

Heads of the  
Protestants ar-  
mie disagree.

Maurice of  
Saxonie serves  
the Emperour.

The townes of Vlme, Ausbourg, and others, holding the Protestants partie, seeing the armie retire farre from them, hauing done nothing of import, they began to think of their estates, and the rather, for that the Imperiall armie increased daily, there being a fresh supply of six hundred men at armes come from Naples, vnder the conduct of *John Baptista Spinelli*: and the confederats being retired, they made shew as if they would besiege Vlme; one of the richest townes of all Germanie. Being troubled with these considerations, and terrified when as they vnderstood that the Landgrau had left the duke of Saxonie, and was retired home to his house, leaving the whole conduct of the warre to him, and that the duke marcht towards his owne countrey, without any longer delay they sent vnto the Emperour, to make their peace. Vlme was one of the first that obtained pardon, paying an hundred thousand crownes, and twelve peeces of ordnance, with their furniture, and receiuing a garrison of ten companies of foot. Ausbourg did the like, and paid an hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, and twelue peeces of ordnance, and receiued the like garrison.

Protestants  
league dissolved

Diuers other towncs yielded also, and in the end the duke of Wittenberg would make triall of the Emperours clemencie: so as being assured of high Germanie, he began to follow the Protestants armie, and came to Nuremberg. The Prince Elector tooke some small towncs in his way, bending towards Francfort, to draw money as well from his friends as from the Clergie; and then he turned towards his countrey, his armie decreasing much, for that many, seeing the Emperour to prosper, abandoned him. He being come into Turinga and Misnia, Maurice dislodged, having put good garrisons into Leipfic and Dresda, which places he onely preferred, for all the rest the Electors recovered, and then he retired to Ferdinand, and they both together came and ioyned with the Emperours campe at Egge, vpon the confines of Bohemia. The earle of Bure was come towards Francfort, with commaundement to enter into the Landgraues countrey, for whom many princes, and among them Maurice, his sonne in law, did sue vnto the Emperour for his pardon; but to small effect, for he had a great desire to haue him, thinking him alone sufficient to raise the Protestant affaires, if they were ruined. Bure tooke Darmst by composition, and then Francfort, where they were in great feare to loose their Faïres, which many of their neighbours did affect. Strasbourg, a great and rich cite, did also compound. The Emperour comming with great speed to the river of Elbe, having found a foord, where the Spaniards did him great service (for the passage was defended by the Protestants armie) he past his troupes, and pursued the Elector, who sought to recover Wittenberg, the chiefe towne of his Electorat, being strong and well fortified: but he stayed him neere vnto the forest of Lochane, the Elector having scarce halfe his forces, for he had not leasure to gather them together, being dispersed: Being thus forced to fight with disadvantage, he was vanquished and taken, being wounded in the face. Ernest of Brünfwic, sonne to Philip, was taken with the Elector: his eldest sonne recovered Wittenberg, being hurt, whither many others escaped from this conflict. The Emperour having this prince his prisoner, used him roughly in speech, and king Ferdinand more. He was giuen in ward to the duke of Alua, who committed him to *Alphonso Vines* to keepe safely. Within few dayes the Emperour gaue sentence of death against him, the which notwithstanding was reuoked, at the suit of the marquisse of Brandebourg: but to redeem his life, he was forced to vndergo hard conditions. Among others, he did quit the dignitie of Elector, which was giuen to Maurice, with all his lands, by the Emperour, who did confiscat them, as being guiltie of high treason; he and his children promising to obey the Imperiall chamber: such as the Emperour should erect; and for his entertainment, Maurice was charged to pay him a yearly pension of fiftie thousand crownes: The towne of Wittenberg, and the castle of Goth, were deliuered to Maurice, leauing it to his discretion, to suffer Frederics children to dwell in Goth: and as for himselfe, hee should remaine the Emperours prisoner. There were many other sharpe conditions imposed vpon him, all which he signed, and refused but one article, which was, a promise to obey the decrees of the Councell of Trent, the which hee constantly reiected, saying, That he had rather die than yeeld to it: wherefore the Emperour caused it to be raised out. Duke Maurice being now Elector, and having ioyned to his owne patrimonie the inheritance of prince Frederic of Saxonie, he began to be a suitor for the Landgraue of Hesse, his father in law, employing all his friends, as the marquisse of Brandebourg did in like manner, who in the end obtained a promise from the Emperour, to pardon his life, to remitt all other punishments due to rebels, to leaue him his country, with one fort, furnished with artillerie: so as he did renounce all leagues, to the preiudice of him or his brother Ferdinand, obey the Imperiall Chamber which the Emperour should establish, giue him all the rest of his ordinance, pay him within foure moneths 50000 crownes, for the charges of the warre, to deliuer the prisoners which he held, and come and craue pardon of the Emperour.

The Landgraue having accepted these conditions, by the aduice of his counsellors, considering the present danger, he came to Hale in Saxonie, to the Emperour, on the eight and twentieth of Iune, where, before he presented himselfe vnto him, they brought him the former articles to signe: but for that they had added many things which were not contained in those which the marquisse of Brandebourg and duke Maurice had sent him, he

Landgraue feared by the Emperour.

Defeat of the Elector of Saxony, and his escape.

Conditions imposed upon the Elector of Saxony.

Constancie of the Elector Frederic.

Conditions proposed by the Emperour to the Landgraue.

A he would not doe any thing, for the which there was great question betwixt betwixt him and the bishop of Arras, who would needs haue him signe it. Among other things, they had added, That the Emperour did reserve vnto himselfe the interpretation of euerie article, and that the Landgraue did submit himselfe to the decrees of the Councell of Trent, for the which he should giue caution.

The Landgraue being prest and threatened, remembering that Brandebourg and the new Elector, had promised to maintaine the confession of Ausbourg, he signed, That he would obey the decrees of a holy, free, and generall Councell, where both head and members should be reformed, as Maurice and Brandebourg would doe. This done, they led him into a hall, whereas the Emperour was set vpon a throne, where kneeling downe before him, and confessing, That he had offended his Maiestie, and deserved punishment, he craued pardon, and implored his clemencie. The Emperour made answer by George Selde, That although he had deserved grieuous punishment, yet vsing his clemencie, and yeelding to the intreaties of many princes and noblemen, whom he desired to gratifie, he remitted the punishment which he had deserved, either by losse of life and goods, or by perpetuall imprisonment. Which done, the Landgraue was carried backe to the duke of Aluaes lodging, where he slept; where, having played late at dice, he was amazed, when as offering to goe away, he was staied, and had a gard giuen him: whereat the marquisse of Brandebourg and Maurice were much discontented, but there was no remedie, the duke of Alba and the bishop of Arras saying, That it was the Emperours pleasure. This proceeding, which the Emperour sought to iustifie by glosses, depriued him of the fruit which he pretended of his enterprises: so easily are mans designs and imaginations ouerthrowne.

3 We must now returne to the Portugals at the East Indies, where the Turkes sought to expell them. They hauing honourably defended their fort at Diu, and concluded a peace with the Indians of Cambaia, in the yeare 1537, whereas the young king *Mamudo* had succeeded after the death of his vnckle *Badurio*, into whose fauour *Zaffer* the Rencgado did still seeke to insinuate himselfe, and to whose wicked practices this last warre is chiefly attributed; deuising still how hee might expell the Portugals, for the effecting whereof he made such secret preparations as hee thought necessarie, drawing men together from other barbarous nations, making of armes, ordnance, and harquebuses: hauing with exceeding charge drawne fise master workemen from Constantinople, and yet they circumvented the Christians, making them beleue, that it was to make warre against the king of Patano, an ancient enemy, which confined vpon them; and yet they sought with great secrecie to incense the lords of the neighbour prouinces, against the Portugals: Notwithstanding they intreated them verie louingly, and obsequiously, knowing that it was pleasing vnto the king. With which policie they had made them so secure and carelesse, as they were wholly giuen to the gaine of marchandise, and to propagate the faith of Christ in those parts. The Portugals then were growne so secure, and had so neglected all care of warre, as whereas *Garcia* of Noragna had left nine hundred foot in garrison at Diu, there were not then about two hundred and fiftie, vnder the gouernement of *John Mascaregna*, who had succeeded *James de Soza*; and which was worse, they had no munition to make fortie dayes defence, and for that the souldiers had wanted their pay, many of them had sold their armes; all which was well knowne to *Zaffer*, and to king *Mamudo*, which made their designs more easie, and their hopes greater to be effected from the Portugals. To make their enterprise more easie, *Zaffer* began to giue it out, That the king had giuen him that cite, and that hee would soone come and take possession thereof. And although it seemed strange, it being one of the chiefe towncs of Cambaia, and brought great profit vnto the king by trade of marchandise, yet it was the more credible, for that the towne was reduced in a manner vnder the Portugals dominion, and many times annoyed by the Turkes, so as it was not so beneficiall to the lord as it had beene, who long before had giuen another strong place, called *Sorato*, vnto *Zaffer*, besides many other places which he had either purchased, or gotten by fauour. He writ vnto *Mascaregna*

Submission of the Landgraue.

Portugals at the Indies.

1547  
John Mascare-  
na gouernour  
at Diu.

*caregna*, as a friend, rejoycing, that by the kings bountie he had meanes to be his neigh-  
bour continually, and to enjoy more freely the fruits of their friendship: but knowing  
how distastful new lords were vnto their subjects, he should be forced to come with some  
numbers of souldiers, to keepe them in awe that should not like of his gouernement in  
the beginning: whereof he thought it good to aduertise him, to the end that *Mascare-  
na* should not suspect, that they would not entertaine peace with king *John* and the Portu-  
gals. But *Mascaregna* began, in the end; to fall into consideration of these things, thin-  
king, that these great preparations could not be against the king of Patana (as they had  
giuen it out) who notwithstanding did not moue; which made him feare that it was a-  
gainst the fort of Diu: Whereupon he did write to *D. John de Castro*, Viceroy of the In-  
dies, remaining then at Goa: Hee did also write vnto *Antonio Sosa*, gouernour of  
Chaul, and to *William Meneses*, gouernour of Bazain; to let them vnderstand in what a  
strait the fort of Diu was, and what need he had of helpe; and therefore they two should  
seek to stop the victuals which should come by sea from that coast vnto the enemies,  
who stayed not long to enter the towne of Diu, with *Zaffer*, being then about five  
thousand, but with such a number of pioners and labourers, for their workes, as  
some affirme, they were almost thirtie thousand. Most of the souldiers were Turkes and  
Abissins.

Diu besieged by  
the king of Cam-  
baja.

Among other aduantages which the king of Cambaja, and *Zaffer*; his generall in this  
enterprise, had gotten, this was most important, to haue begun the warre in the beginning  
of Winter, the which begins, in those countries; when as the Spring begins with vs, a-  
beut the beginning of March. But *Mascaregna* knowing with what policie the enemy  
had wouen this web, and seeking with the like dissembling, to win time, and to prouide  
for himselfe, he dissembled the jealousy he had of *Zaffer*'s designe: he seemed content  
with his coming to Diu, and to discover his mind fully, hee sent *Simon Feo*, a man of  
great judgement, to visit him, and to congratulate his coming; who, with like coun-  
terfeiting, was joyfully and honourably receiued by the Renegado, yet seeking to ef-  
fect his designes, he began to discover plainly to what end he was come thither. He  
propounded vnto *Feo*, That hee would build a wall which should diuide the com-  
merce of the fort from the towne (the which had beene granted at the peace making,  
so as it were no hinderance to the fort) whereof *Zaffer* made not any mention; but hee  
complained, that the traffique at sea was reduced to that point, as the king of Cambaja,  
to his great dishonour; could not dispose of it, being expelled out of the possession by  
their violence, whom some few yeares before hee had of courtesie receiued into his  
realme, to make them partakers, as other strangers, of the trade of marchandise  
in those countries.

All this being related to *Mascaregna* by *Feo*, he found, that the Barbarian desired as much  
to haue an occasion to fall to open warre, as he sought to auoid it for the reasons aboue  
mentioned, and therefore he sent again to *Zaffer*, to let him vnderstand, That whereas by  
order from the king he would renew some treatie touching the Nauigation, it must bee  
done with the Viceroy *Castro*, who being not farre off, would soone resolue, and accord-  
ing to equite: Touching the building of the wall, hee was not to hinder it, perswading  
himselfe it should be according to the conclusion of the peace, whereof he sent a co-  
pie by *Feo*. The Renegado tooke occasion vpon this writing to breake out into armes,  
who growing into a rage, tare it, and put the embassadour into prison: Then giuing the  
Portugals no more respite, hee began to make his approaches; and to assault the fort.  
*Mascaregna* foreseeing all this, had made such provisions as time would giue him leaue,  
and hauing an especiall care of their want of victuals; he had sent away the weakest  
women, with the children, and other vnprofitable persons, in two marchants ships,  
to Bazain and Chaul: and for that the fort was large, hauing seven bulwarkes; and hee  
so weakely manned, hee diuided his souldiers and commanders, appointing twentie  
to euerie bulwarke, and the rest where necessitie should require. He had also drawne  
into the fort many Christian marchants which did traffique in the towne, and did prouide  
for all things necessarie for a siege.

The

- A The seat of this rocke was in an island where the towne stood, made by a riuier which  
falls into the sea: (Some haue written, it is Indus, making no difference betwixt Diu and  
Diu:) That part of the island which lies betwixt the sea and the riuier, makes an angle,  
and riseth with certaine steepe rockes; there the fort is built: so as on two parts towards  
the sea and the riuier, it is safe. Towards the citie, besides the strong walls and bulwarks,  
there was a large deepe ditch, which did stretch from the sea vnto the riuier. Within  
the riuier, right against the fort, there was a strong tower, not easie to bee battered, for  
that towards the chanell (which was betwixt it and the fort, whereas the marchants  
ships lay) there could no enemies ship come in, being subiect to the canon on either side:  
B but in the other chanell they had entrance, but in small barkes, the water was so low,  
and yet the souldiers could not wade through. The Portugals reserued two ships in  
the great chanell, the which vnder the commaund of *James Latta*, hauing also ar-  
med two smaller vessels like gallies, *Mascaregna* commaunded they should scour  
that coast, to stop the victuals and other commodities which came to the enemies:  
Wherein *Latta* shewed such diligence, as in a short time hee had taken fouretee  
barkes, laden with victuals and diuers other things for the vse of the armie. But  
*Zaffer*, who had long before deuised how this enterprise should bee gouerned, and  
therefore had brought such a multitude of labourers, in one night he caused a fort  
to bee made vpon a little hill betwixt the towne and the castle; and hauing made  
C the outward part of stone, many foot thicke, within hee filled it with earth, leauing  
some loope holes for ordnance. The like hee made in the towne, the which was  
so high, as it did equall the highest part of the fort, hauing safe parapets: Hee ar-  
med the wall on the our side with sackes of cotton, to defend it from the enemies  
ordnance. This fort being seene in the morning, did not amaze the defendants, be-  
ing prepared to resist the Barbarians assaults euen vnto the last gaspe, for the ho-  
nour of Christs name, and the seruice of their king, labouring with all industrie  
and valour, to frustrate the designes of a treacherous enemy: and then the ordnance  
of either side began that cruell warre, which did much honour the Portugals name in  
all the East.
- D To the first fort *Zaffer* added a second and a third, with the like speed, both towards  
the sea shore: and for that the ground was stonie and hard, so as they could not well  
make their trenches, but with losse of time, they aduanced a wall of stone, trauesed  
in such wise one before another, as whilest they aduanced, they were safe from the  
ordnance of the castle; and with this art they might easily come within a stones  
cast. There hee began to rayse a strong rampar of stone, thirteene foot thicke, and  
behind fortified it with earth, the which they brought from the sea vnto the riuier,  
and so they enuironed the fort on that side towards the citie, where it might be af-  
faulted: And for that there was a great distance betwixt the first great forts, they  
made some lesser along the wall, in the which they placed small Corps de gard, to de-  
E fend the workes against the enemies sallies; this renegado planting ordnance and  
small shor, with great judgement, to batter the fort continually.
- Hee had a designe also to take the tower vpon the riuier, and thereby not onely  
make the way more easie to take the fort, but also hinder such succours as should  
come by sea vnto the Portugals, for being master of that port, the armie which  
came from Goa, should with great difficultie land any men. To attempt this tow-  
er, they had prepared a great marchants ship which they had kept in the hauen, making  
a sort of wood vpon it; and fortifying it with cotton against the defendants shot, and  
it was made so high, as being brought vnder the tower at a full sea, it did reach to  
the top of it: With these and with certaine floates of planks which they thought to  
F make fast at a low water, they resolved to assault the tower; whereof *Mascaregna*  
was aduertised, who feared the successe would be dangerous: Wherefore hee com-  
maunded *Latta*, That he should come in the night with his two ships, and fire that  
engine within the port: for being depriued of that ship, they should hardly at that  
season prouide another, the riuers being carefully kept by the Portugals. On the sue

Fort raised by  
the Barbarians  
against Diu.

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and

and twentieth of Aprill *Lassa* went with all the silence that might be, to burne this ship, yet he was discouered by the noyse of them that rowed, giuing an alarme vnto the enemye: notwithstanding, hauing but twentie souldiers with him, hee went on to execute his designe, whereas they found another let, for that it was not possible for them to fasten the wild fire which they had brought, vnto the ship: yet hee left not to effect his designe after another manner; for some of them leaping, with great resolution, into the ship, and cutting the cables speedily, they towed her, in despite of the enemye, into the channell vnder the fort, where they burnt it at their ease, making great joy for this happy successe on Easter day.

On the eighteenth of May *Fernando* of Castro, the Viceroyes sonne, arriued with eight barks, like gallies, who by reason of the contrarie season, could not haue come sooner, without verie great danger, he brought them some small succours of men and munition, promising him, in his fathers name, that they should haue greater succours, as time would permit. His arriual renewed their joy, and taking a view what souldiers they had, they found 450 valiant men, which were better than two thousand hirelings, and gaue hope of a victorie, although their enemies were hardie and resolute, and furnished with all things to annoy them. They did trouble them of the fort with their continuall shooting, and slue many, yet they had made no royall batterrie, with any intent to giue an assault, neither were their defences taken away, as the art of warre required: the which was referred, for that king *Mamudio* would haue the honour to be present at so important an action: Wherefore, on the siue and twentieth of Iune, he being come into the towne, at the breake of day, there were suddenly three great peeces of ordnance planted vpon the Barbarians trenches, which they called Basilisks, with other small peeces of batterrie, against two bulwarkes, one called *Saint James*, and the other *Saint Thomas*, and the curtaine betwixt them. *Masoregna* had provided for all this, who had not only caused a platforme to be made for the defence thereof, but also, fearing they would vndermine that of *Saint Thomas*, he caused a countermine to be made, but with exceeding great toyle, by reason of the hardnesse of the stone whereon it stood: vpon which bulwarke he did also plant two great peeces, with the which hee did wonderfully annoy the enemye, breaking two of their Basilisks, and dismounting the third. They continued their batterrie siue dayes against those two bulwarkes, and did somewhat ruine that of *Saint Thomas*, and they did so spoyle the parapets of *Saint James*, as the gunners could not stand to charge their peeces: yet for all this they saw no meanes to take the fort, and they were rather fit to consume the besieged at leasure, than to make way for an assault. Afterwards they planted another batterrie against *Saint Johns* bulwarke, which was weaker, resolving to seeke to force it and the other two, which they found to bee in bad estate: wherefore they began to batter them anew with many great peeces. In the meane time there fell out an accident, which did so terrifie king *Mamudio*, as, doubting of his life, hee returned to Madaba, and was neuer more seene in the campe; for that a peece being discharged from the fort, slue a kinsman of his, which was verie neere him: Yet *Zaffer* continuing his designe, hee ruined *Saint Thomas*, *Saint John*, and the curtaine, verie much, whose breaches falling into the ditch, they began to make the way euen for the Barbarians to goe to the assault.

They had also rayled in the neerest trench a cavalier, or mount, from whence they might looke into the fort, so as the Portugals could not safely goe to their places of gard, without great daunger: and therefore *Masoregna* was forced to rayse vp a platforme against it, whereon hee planted fortie harquebusiers, vnder *Antonio Pazanna*, to driue the enemye from thence, which could not bee done without great toyle, and the losse of many: so as the number of the besieged decreased daily, but they increased in courage and resolution. The harquebusiers vpon the platforme, not performing that which was needfull, they raised another cavalier neere vnto the church, on the which hauing planted a Basiliske, they made such spoyle of the enemies, as no man durst stay there. It seemed the ruines of the bulwarkes were such, as if they might fill vp the ditch to come to the assault; there would bee no

great

A great difficultie to force the fort, and therefore with a long and infinit toyle he began to dig certaine trenches to fill vp the ditch: and for that they would not be troubled in the carriage of it, they were couered ouer head with quarters of timber and chaulke layed thicke vpon it, to defend it from fire and shot. Carrying stuffe by this channell, and casting it into the ditch, they made their worke in such sort, as they were not annoyed, nor yet seene by the defendants: for the which they found a remedie, in opening a little doore, whereby they were accustomed to goe into the ditch: but it was stopped vp with the ruines, and it did behouue them to cleanse it, and make vse thereof, the which they did verie secretly in the night, to feed the enemye the longer with that hope. But they in the end finding that their worke did not aduance, and discouering the reason, they drew *Zaffer* himselfe thither to view the place, and to provide some remedie; a happy accident for the besieged: for whilest that hee went carefully vp and downe considering of all things, putting his head aboue the trench, and leaning vpon his hand, a great shot came and tooke away his hand, and in the top of his head, so as he fell downe dead. Hee being slaine, the armie was in some confusion to name a successeur, so as attending order from the king, he declared that *Rumegan* the sonne of *Zaffer* deceased, should hold his place, who in his fathers life time had bene generall of the ordnance. This man shewed himselfe much more carefull and vnderstanding, than either friends or enemies did at the first beleue, so as following euery action without rest, and trying all possible meanes, they rayled vp the cavalier againe with new matter, being halfe ruined, where hauing planted two Basilisks, they made so great a mine, as they stopt vp the doore by the which the Christians came forth, to emptie the ditch, so as they could no more oppose themselves, being tyred by a multitude of their enemies, which came daily in great numbers to the campe, and the besieged decreasing wonderfully; and therefore they had sent another Fregate to the Viceroy, to sollicite him to send them greater succours.

The enemies hauing filled vp the ditch, and torne the bulwarkes of *Saint John* and *Saint Thomas* verie sore, they sought to climbe vp, hauing set vp long beames and peeces of wood crosse, like ladders, with such obstinacie, as the vndaunted valour of the defendants was not sufficient to repulse them, vsing many meanes to annoy them, whereof one wrought great effect. They tyed certaine piles together with chaynes of yron, and betwixt euery pile they put pitch, rozen, and other matter to burne, the which being fired, and cast vpon the enemye, it did burne and spoyle them, and at the least did stay their furie, yet neither fire, yron, nor stones, could terrifie them: Seeing therefore that place in great daunger, and the little fort made neere to *Saint Johns* bulwarke being weake, from the which both it and the curtaine were defended by *Antonio Pazanna*, with fortie souldiers, hee was commaunded, if need required, to goe and succour *D. Fernando de Castro* with some of his men; who on the nineteenth of Iulie had with great valour repulst the enemies, which were come in great numbers vpon the breach. But the enemye hauing now made the ditch euen, he resolved the next day to giue a generall assault, going the night before to their temples, and praying with great affection, after the manner of the Gentiles, to their imaginarie gods: Which *Fernando Carrual*, captaine of the tower vtiles, to their imaginarie gods: Which *Fernando Carrual*, captaine of the tower vtiles, seeing, hee aduertised *Masoregna*, that hee might prepare for his defence with such forces as he had remaining. Two houres before day the Barbarians presented themselves to the assault: their greatest force was against *Saint Thomas* bulwarke, where *Lewis de Sosa* with certaine choise souldiers behaued the places of least daunger, though with some losse. And at this time the Portugals leaving the places of least daunger, to succour where need required, had left the corner of the fort next vnto the sea with few defendants, where (by reason of the height of the rocks) they did not thinke the enemye would make any attempt: but they (whether discouering it then, or suspecting it before, as it is likely) being not yet day, and the tide being gone had left the water very low, sent some of their most active and resolute souldiers with ladders, who (being three score in number) mounted without discouerie. In the end they were discouered to be not only

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vpon

Batterrie against  
the fort of Din.Zaffer generall  
of the armie  
against Din, slainAssault giuen  
at Din.Assault generall  
at Din.

1547

upon the walls, but within the houses, where falling to spoyle, they found some little resistance made by the women who were there remaining, who both there and at the walls, did vse armes, and assist their husbands and brethren in so great danger. Whereof *Masfcaregna* being aduertised, he with a discreet secrecie (for that he would not amaze them that defended the breach) taking some souldiers with him from places least in danger, went and charged the enemy, whereof some he slue, the rest cast themselves from those rocks into the sea, but few escaped. They fought obstinately at *S. Thomas* bulwarke, where there were about 1000 of the assailants slaine, and they were so wearied, as they were forced to retire: but soone after, hauing brought fresh souldiers, they gaue a more furious assault than before, and were as valiantly repulst by the Christians: and it is reported for a wonder, that in this cruell encounter there were onely seuen Portugals slaine, but many were hurt. Two dayes after they gaue another assault, whereas they lost about three hundred souldiers, in which *Fernando de Castro*, and *Lewis de Sosa*, did win much honor. The like did *Francis de Almeida*, who hauing the gard of *S. Thomas*, about noone time, when as other men vse to take their rest, the enemies ran furiously to the assault, the which he with twentie five souldiers maintained valiantly, vntill that some others came to second them, where the fight was cruel for some houres, with great losse to the Barbarians, where they lost 800 men. But the defendants began to be out of hope of victorie, their numbers being diminished by death, and weakened for that many were hurt, and the assaylants on the other side were much fortified, there being come vnto the campe, a supplie of foureteene thousand souldiers, vnder a certaine lord of *Cambaia*, called *Moiatecan*: besides, within the fort they had great want of victuals, and many hurt and sicke for want of good feeding. Afterwards the Barbarians began to make mines, with great secrecie, making shew of other approaches; but on *Saint Lawrence* day, hauing brought one to perfection, vnder *S. Johns* bulwarke, they made offer of an assault, to draw many thither to defend it; but when they thought it time, they retired without the compasse of the mine, and then gaue fire to it, which blew all that building into the ayre: in which accident there dyed about sixtie valiant souldiers, and men of account, among which were *D. Fernando de Castro*, the Viceroyes sonne, a young man of great worth, *John* of *Almeida*, *Lewis Mello*, *Diego Sotomaior*, *Aluaro Ferriera*, *Roderigo Sosa*, *Lorenzo Faria*, *John Brandano*, *George of Almeida*, *Tristan Sosa*, *Francis Lupio*, and *Garcia Ferreira*. It is writen, that *Masfcaregna* doubting of some fraud, when he saw the Barbarians retire, aduertised *Fernando de Castro*, That he should leaue that place; but he was not obeyed. The Infidels would not loose the opportunitie of this ruine, but suddenly aduanced to enter into the place, where they found foure souldiers onely to make resistance, for that of twentie which were remaining aliuie, the rest were so amazed at this accident, as they could not doe any seruice. In the meane time those foure, more by the assistance of God than any humane force, staid the enemies furie, vntill the coming of *Masfcaregna* with some choyce souldiers, who repulst the enemy, being fauoured by the approaching night: And in the meane time others labouring behind, they had raised vp a wall of stone, without mortar, sixtene spans thicke, the which they did afterwards rampar with earth: and thus they repaired the ruines of that bastion. They continued their mines in other places, especially vnder *Saint Thomas*, where the Portugals countermines auailing them nothing, they ruined a great part of it. The like they did to others, and were aduanced into the place, and had gotten footing into *Saint James* church, from whence the Portugals could not expell them, so as they drew a wall through the middle, and it remained a lodging for them both some dayes.

The Viceroy being aduertised of the progress of this siege, foreseeing their need, sent another sonne of his, called *D. Aluaro*, with foureteene vessels, who parting from *Goa* on *Saint James* day, which was in the month of the vntic height of the Spring, he arrived (notwithstanding the foule weather) at *Batim*: and for that he knew it would be impossible (by reason of stormes) to come all together to *Diu*, he gaue order, they should all get thither as they could; so as all of them arrived some or late, as they could worke it out at sea. *D. Aluaro de Castro*, and *Francis de Meneses*, arrived the eighth of August with the greatest part, hauing not brought about 400 souldiers, who had much courage, but

A second assault.

A third assault.

Bulwarke of S. John blowne up with a mine.

Succours sent from Goa to Diu.

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A not so much militarie judgement, as the state of their affaires required. They pretended that standing alwaies vpon their defence, they had lost much, and therefore they should sally forth courageously vpon the enemy, and hinder his proceedings.

The good reasons of *Masfcaregna*, did somewhat restrain their forwardnesse: when as hearing that the enemy sought to draw two great peeces of ordnance out of one of the ruined Bastions, they held it an insupportable affront, forcing *Masfcaregna* to giue the leave to sallie forth, who to auoide a greater mischiefe by a sedition, yeelded to this necessarie remedie, to whome he spake after this manner. That it was fit souldiers should be gouerned by their Captaine, and not gouerne him; that they should attend their ensigne, and not take it by violence, as it did behoue a commander and his Councillors, to know how to mannage warre. But you hauing now in a manner laid violent hands vpon me, and presented your selues before me with seditious words and looks, the Maiestie of command is ouer-ruled by an vnreasonable desire, by an indiscreet hope: Go on and God make it successfull vnto you; let them know your valour and the force of your armes: I will be content to follow you, who by right should lead you; & although it be in an vnseasonable time, yet will I be partaker of your toile and daunger. Remember that in going into the enemies trenches, & in fighting, you continue as valiant and resolute as you haue shewed your selues before the fight.

After which speech, when occasion & time serued, he diuided his little army into three small squadrons leauing some few to gard the fort. The first he gaue to *Aluaro de Castro*, the second to *Francis de Meneses*, and himselfe remained with the third to succour where need should require: which action was performed with as little discretion as it was begunne: For they were no sooner in the enemies trenches but they began to doubt of the event, and although they did terrifie those that were then in gard, killing some, and putting the rest to flight; yet when as they saw the great squadron began to march from the bodie of the armie, they were so surprised with feare, as they had no care but how to saue themselves by flight, neither could they which had retained more valor, make the retreat without disorder. The losse was great; for among a hundred that were slaine, there were diuers of great worth, as *Francis de Meneses*, who led the second squadron, *Francis de Almeida*, *Lupado Sosa*, and *Edward de Meneses* sonne to the earle of *Feria*, who would not be partaker of his companions defect, but making a stand to withstand the furie of the Barbarians, contemning their horrible cries, and fighting valiantly, exhorting the rest both by his words & example, to vanquish with the sword and not by flight, he dyed honourably. *D. Aluaro de Castro*, mounting vp a wall, had a great blow on the hinder part of his head with a stone cast out of a sling, the which battering his head peece did hurt him verie sore, causing him to fall backward, where hee had bene slaine, if *Masfcaregna* had not come presently to succour him, & carried him into the fort, as he did all the rest that were wounded. This vnfortunate action, which hapned the first of September, did much weaken that small garrison: yet *Masfcaregna* fainted not, but provided such remedies for his defence, as time and meanes would giue his leave: The enemy did so ruine the Bulwarks and courtines with his mines, as planting diuers peeces of artillerie in those mines against the Portugals, they did wonderfully annoy them within the fort, wherefore the besieged were forced to labour day and night, and to make new defences, either fighting or working continually, hauing little leasure to eat, or rest, their number being so small.

The Viceroy *D. John de Castro* had bene aduertised of the death of his sonne, who supprest his particular griefe, vnto great diligence to prouide a remedie for the generall good: He therefore first of all dispatched *Aluaro de Almeida* with order to gather together those few Portugall ships, that were in those seas, and hauing put souldiers into them to saile presently to *Diu*, the which bee effected; comming thither the last of September, with five ships and so many men as the garrison was increased to twelue hundred, so as they might with more ease make head against the enemy. Soone after hee sent five other ships from *Goa* with foure hundred souldiers; and with them many Artificers, and some Architects for the vse of building, so as they grew daily more confident, neither did they feare, hauing heard that a certaine kinsman of *Zaffers* who had bene

Importunite of some Portugals

Succour brought to Diu.



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Victorie of the  
Portugals at sea

D. John Castro  
the viceroy  
comes to relieve  
Diu.

beene sent to Caire to leuie men, came sailing towards Diu) to encounter him with their armie, whome hauing fought with all, defeated and taken him with many others prisoners, therest being sunke or disperised at Sea, they returned ioyfull to their Companions. They would not saue one of their prisoners aliue, but beeing slaine, they cast their heads into the current of the riuier, to carrie newes vnto the enemye, except that of *Xassers* kinsman, which was set vpon the top of a lance. But the Viceroy with all his diligence, could not draw such an armie together, as hee might hope to raise the siege, before the middest of October: so as hauing about seventy ships great and small, hee beganne his voyage, and hauing surmounted all difficulties, being forced by foule weather to stay some daies at Bazain, hee came to the coast of Diu, the seuenth day of Nouember: where hee presently sent for *Mascaregna*, being desirous to vnderstand particularly in what estate they were, where they tooke counsell how to put souldiers into the fort, and to charge the enemies camp, which being done, *Mascaregna* returned, and prepared to receiue the succours on the side towards the Sea, where the enemye least suspected it; and hauing planted ordnance in all places, where they might annoy them, they did it in such sort as it did much aduance their affaires, neither did the enemies shew themselves fearefull; but they answered them with the like art and courage, and foreseeing that they meant to charge the campe at one instant, both from their armie at Sea, and their fort at land, they did fortifie that part towards the riuier, with a gard of fiftene thousand Souldiers.

The Viceroy had fore-seene all this, and therefore hee vsed a politike stratagem, on the ninth day at night, hauing drawne two thousand souldiers out of the ships into the fort, hee caused the whole fleet to stand as it were in armes, some holding burning torches, some held two lances, and some an ower in oare hand, and a match light in the other, all men of no seruice, causing the ships to moue but softly, as if they would giue an assault to that part of the riuier, where the enemies feared most, and to gouerne all these things hee had left some captaines, himselfe being gone to land.

All things being readie, the souldiers hauing reconciled themselves vnto God, in the morning they went out of the fort, the Viceroy hauing caused all the gates to bee set wide open, and leauing a gard within the fort, commaunded by *Antonio Corigia*, they did not feare with fise and twentie hundred souldiers, to goe and charge an armie of forty thousand in their owne trenches. The enemye was verie watchfull of the landing of the Armie, where they most feared the daunger, for that they were perswaded there could not come any great numbers from the besieged, wherefore they had placed the best of their forces on that side, which made the Portugals victorie the more easie. *Mascaregna* had the fore-ward, with foure hundred choise Souldiers, who beeing entred into the Barbarians trenches, had fought valiantly, and they began to retyre, when as fresh men arriuing, hee had good need of succours, and so they did fight often that day, with an interchangeable inclination of victorie, yet the Portugals aduanced still; and hauing wonne one of their forts; in the end by their exceeding valour and the fauour of heauen, they defeated the Barbarians, and put them to flight, some escaping by a bridge which they had made, ioyning the Island to the firme land, all the rest of what age and sexe soeuer, were made subiect to the reuenging sword of the Conqueror, who incensed with crueltie vsed against them at that seege, and with the treacherie of them of Cambaia, would not suffer any one to bee taken prisoner, except *Juan Brito* a Captaine of Cambaia, much esteemed, who was in the Viceroyes power. The souldiers hated was so great, as they not onely slue men, women with childe, and infants, but euen their tame cattell.

*Rumecano* the Sonne of *Zaffer* (who had the chiefe charge of the army) was found dead, with *Audecano* a Captaine of Cambaia, who came the day before vnto the armie with fise thousand Souldiers, and *Idalecano* a Captaine of strange souldiers. They tooke the royall Standard of Cambaia, with many others, they recovered their lost ordnance, and tooke thirtie and fise peeces of the enemies: but the spoile gotten afterwards

Victorie gotten  
by the Portu-  
gals at Diu.

A wards in Diu did much enrich the Souldiers. They write that this cruell seege continued eight moneths: there dyed one thousand fise hundred Portugals, and in this last battell onely sixtie, and foure thousand Infidels. The Viceroy hauing taken order for the repaying and new building of the fort, hauing also rewarded the well deseruing souldiers, returned to Malaga.

4 During the warre in Germanie, whereof wee haue formerly made mention, there was a marriage concluded in Fraunce, betwixt *Joane* of Albret, the heire of Nauarre, and *Anthony* of Bourbon, duke of Vendosme, a prince of the bloud royall of France, the marriage was celebrated at Molins, in Bourbonnois. This realme of Nauarre was reduced vnto a Province, when as the duke of Alua seased thereon in the name of the king *D. Ferdinand* in execution of the sentence of pope *Iulio* the second, and had been alwaies gouerned by Viceroyes and Lieutenants, as wee haue said. In the yeare one thousand fise hundred fortie and two, *D. John de Lauega*, Lord of Grayal, was viceroy, in whose time *D. Ferdinand Aluares* of Toledo, grand childe to the duke of Alua, rased the wals of Lombier, which stood vntill that time: *D. Lewis* of Mendosa, Marquess of Montdejar succeeded the Lord of Grajal in the gouernment of Nauarre, in the yere one thousand fise hundred forty and three; and in the yeare one thousand fise hundred forty and sixe, *D. Aluaro Gomes Manrique* of Mendosa, entred into the gouernment, and succeeded in the yeare one thousand fise hundred forty and seuen, *D. Lewis Velasco*, at which

C time this marriage was consummated.

The emperor hauing gotten so great and absolute a victorie, as hee thought he now held the reynes of all Germanie in his hand, he sends *D. Ferdinand* of Toledo, duke of Alua into Spaine, to persuaade his Son to come vnto him into the low countries; whether he went carrying his prisoners with him in triuph, leauing *Ferdinand* king of Romans his brother to gouerne the affaires of the empire in his absence, and for that *D. Philip*, coming out of Spaine, he must leaue some great one there, with the title of gouernor; and to giue that dignitie to any lord of the countrie, it would breed jealousie in the rest, hee resolved to send *Maximilian* of Austria, prince of Hungarie, his nephew thither, to whome hee had designed for wife *D. Maria* his owne daughter, with a dispensation from the pope; for they were cousin Germans. This Prince came and imbarked at Genoua, soone after the duke of Aluas departure, being accompanied by the Cardinal of Trent, the yong duke of Brunswike, the earle of Mansfield and other noble men, & arriued at Barcelona, with a prosperous wind, whereas all the chiefe noblemen of Arragon and Castille came and met him; as their Gouernour and Viceroy, and conducted him to Vailledolit, where the marriage betwixt him & *D. Maria* was solemnized. These princes being married, they gouerned Spain for a time in prince *Philips* absence, who parted in the same fleet, & in the same vessel that had brought *Maximilian*. Being arriued at Genoua, he staid there fifteen daies, where he was visited and honoured with gifts and presents, by al the princes and potentates of Italie, and by the estates of the emperor his father. From Genoua he came to Milan, where he had a soleme entrie made him, and then by Mantoua & Trent hee continued his voyage throug Germany & came to Brusselles, where the emperor attended him, who made a progresse with him through all the prouinces of his hereditarie countrie, causing an other feastie to be taken vnto him as to his onely heire.

At the estates of Castille who were held at Vailledolit in the yeare 1548, it was decreed that the emperor should be intreated againe, (as he had beene often) to pay the money which he had borrowed of the king of Portugall, by colour whereof he did not pursue his right vnto the Moluccus, for the which there were deputies sent vnto him into Flanders, who offered him in the name of the estates, to discharge that debt, so as hee would graunt them that trade for sixe yeares, making the landing and entring of Spices at the Groin, as he had formerly ordained; which sixe yeares being expired, the emperor should receiue the benefit of the trade; whereunto he gaue no great care, for that hee would not displease *D. John* king of Portugall, to whom hee bare great affection.

6 At that time there came vnto *Maximilian* of Austria, and *D. Maria* of Castille his wife, gouerning in Spaine, *Muley Buafon*, a Prince of the Moores, and Lord of Veles de la Gomera in Africke, who had beene brought into Spaine by *D. Bernardino de Mendosa*

Nauarre.  
Marriage of  
Joane heire of  
Nauarre to An-  
thony duke of  
Bourbon.

Castille.

Prince Philip  
goes into Flan-  
ders.

1548

Muley Buafon a  
Moore demands  
succor in Spaine  
Mendosa

1548

*Mendoza*, generall of the galleys, to demanda succour, against *Muley Mahomet* Xerife of Marroc, who had expelled *Muley Hamet* his kinsman, of the race of the *Merins*, out of the realme of Fez. This Moore was honourably entertained by *Maximilian*, but touching his chiefe businesse, hee aduised him to goe vnto the emperour, the which hee did, and past through Fraunce, but hee could not obtaine that which hee pretended, notwithstanding that hee offered to doe homage to the emperour, and to pay him tribute for the realme of Fez. Hee knew well there was no great assurance in the promises of those Barbarians, who are naturally disloyall, and that it was in vaine to make any enterprises in Afrike, if hee did not altogether follow it; else it would prooue but a fruitlesse toile and charge. After long soliciting, *Buafon* returned into Spaine, and made a like sure vnto *D. John* king of Portugall, who gaue him some succours, the which had like to haue ruined him, but afterwards hee made good vse of them.

Councell transferred from Trent to Bologna.

7 The Councell continued at Trent vnto the seuenth Session, touching the doctrine and reformation of Prelates, and the Pope seeing that Germanie was in such a combustion, as there was no likelihood of any reconciliation, hee thought it expedient for his affaires of Cologne to draw the Councell out of Germany, and transerre it to Bologna, a towne belonging to the church, causing a decree to bee made in the eight Session, as if this translation had come from the motion of the Fathers that were assembled, by reason of the indisposition of many which fell sicke through the bad constitution of the ayre, and the discommodities of the cold and moist cuntry. The Legats went, and were followed by the Prelates and Doctors of Italie, but the Germanes were discontented: wherefore the emperor vpon the complaints which were made, sent his ambassadors vnto the Councell of Bologna, (which hee called an assembly) which were *Francis Vargas*, and *Martin Velasco*, to the end the Councell might be fetled againe at Trent.

The Princes and States of the empire being assembled at Ausbourg, did also write verie earnestly vnto the Pope, beseeching him to cause his Legats to returne to Trent, and to continue the Councell there, vnlesse he wold spoile that which had bin wel begun. The Pope referred it to the fathers that were at Bologna, who could not be induced to retract that which they had resolved by a common consent, and as it were (said they) by the inspiration of the holy Ghost.

Interim of the emperor rejected by the Pope and Protestants.

The emperor being discontented at the Popes obstinacie, thought to finde some meanes to reconcile the controuersies in Religion, without attending a councell any longer, for the which hee caused a booke to be made, which he called Interin, containing in substance all the doctrine of the church of Rome, & the ceremonies thereof; and to giue occasion to the Protestants to receiue it, they were allowed to communicat vnder both kinds, and for Preefts to marrie. It was censured by the Pope in those two articles, and was rejected by some of the Protestant Princes: but afterwards the Councell was returned againe to Trent, after the death of *Paul* the third, vnder Pope *Iulio* the third.

1550 Sedition at Peru for the government.

8 The emperor being come this yeare, one thousand fise hundred and fiftie, out of the Netherlands, to an imperiall assembly at Ausbourg, doctor *D. Pedro Gualca*, (being newly come from Peru, where he had commanded foure yeares) came vnto him to giue an accompt of his gouernment, of the fruits whereof hee brought him a great summe of gold, the which did much further his affaires. This man by his wisdom and good gouernment, had ended the sedition and rebellion of the *Pizarros* in that cuntry, which had continued many yeares much vnpleasing to the emperor; and therefore he was verie welcome: wherefore I haue thought it conuenient to make a breefe relation of the whole action. Wee haue formerly made mention of the quarrell betwixt *Francis Pizarro* and *James* of *Almagra*, either of them seeking to command ambitiously our his companion in that rich cuntry, which they happily conquered with mutuall duetie, and their common armes: wherein they had gotten great honour if they could haue maintained themselves, but they grew into factions, and to ciuill warre, pretending nothing lesse in the end, then to make themselves absolute Lords, and it hapned after many attempts and enterprises, to the preiudice one of another; that *Francis Pizarro* had bene vanquished in a great incounter, in the yeare one thousand fise hundred

1550

and his brother *Ferdinand* taken, who notwithstanding was soone after set at libertie, yet not without great difficulty.

Having afterwards repaired their forces, and comming againe to fight, the misfortune fell vpon *Almagro*, who being led to Cusco, hee was there publicly, but vniustly, beheaded, by the commandement of *Ferdinand Pizarro*, who was a little before his prisoner. The son of *James* of *Almagra* carrying the same name, born in that cuntry, of an Indian woman, desirous to reuenge the vniust death of his father, found meanes to come by night into Lima, (otherwise called the towne of kings) where hee surprised *Francis Pizarro*, and a brother of his, and cut their throates in their owne lodging, and if *Gonsaluo Pizarro* their other brother had bene there, hee had past the same way, but hee was gone to make warre at Quintoa, in the prouince of Cauclane.

Francis Pizarro murdered.

*Gonsaluo*, being aduertised of this accident hapned to his bretheren, brought backe his Souldiers, and beganne to make a cruell pursuite against young *James* of *Almagra*, and hee on the other side to make head against him, so as the whole Countrie was for some yeares miserably afflicted with these factions, vntill that the emperor sent a gouernour thither with some forces called *Vasco de Castro*, who did somewhat suppress these seditions, going first against *James* of *Almagra*, whom hee besieged in Cusco, forcing the Inhabitants to deliuer him, hee causing his head to bee cut off without any long processe.

*Ferdinand Pizarro*, (who had put his father to the like death) beeing come at that time into Spaine with great treasure, it may bee for that hee would not bee in Peru at the comming of *Vasco de Castro*, and giue an accompt vnto him of his actions) was there committed to prison in the Castle of Medina, where sometime after at the instance of the kings Atturney generall, and vpon the accusations which were sent from the Indies, his processe being made, hee was condemned to loose his head; and the chiefe reason was; for that hee had vniustly and rashly put *James* of *Almagra* the father to death.

It is said; that through the quarrels of these mutines vnto that time, there had perished one hundred and fiftie thousand Indians, sometimes taking part with the one, sometimes with the other. By the death of the heads it seemed the troubles had bene ended and suppressed, there remaining none but *Gonsaluo Pizarro*, who kept himselfe close: but the change of the Gouernour made them greater than before. For it seeming to the emperor, or to the chiefe of his Councell, that *Vasco de Castro* was not fit to gouerne that prouince of Peru, hee called him home, and sent *Vasco Nugnes de Velez*, in his place, with so absolute and seuerer a Commission, as seeking to execute it, he caused in a manner all the Spaniards that were in that cuntry, to reuolt with the Indians, hauing for the first act of his Tragedie declared all them guiltie of treason, which had carried armes, were it for the *Pizarros*, or the *Almagras*, not considering how farre this generalitie did extend, for among all the Spaniards which dwelt at Peru, and the souldiers entertained there since the Conquest thereof for the emperours seruice, there was not any one which had not followed some one of the parties, wherefore there were infinite appellations to the Councell of Spaine, and to the emperor, whereunto the new gouernour refusing to yeeld, and stopping their passage into Spaine, which were deputed to carrie the justifications of so many men that were condemned, they were forced to rebell, choosing *Gonsaluo Pizarro* for their Captaine, the which he willingly accepted, being already incensed, for the death of his bretheren, but especially for *Ferdinand*, whom they had beheaded in Spaine, beginning to make sharpe warre against *Vasco Nugnes*, and them that followed him, in the which a great number of his old Spanish souldiers perished. This new gouernour although hee were vnfortunate in his exploits and enterprises, yet he continued in his seueritie or rather infolency, so as such as were about him, appointed to be his counsellors by the emperor, were forced to lay hold on him, & deliuer him to the custody of *John Aluarez*; for that he had slain *William Suares* of Caruajal, with his own had, for some priuat hatred, hauing an intent to send him into Spain by the first wind, as an vnprofitable person, yea prejudicial to the quiet of the cuntry, that he might giue an accopt to the emperor of his actions, but the violence of the rebels, & of their

Sentence considered and vniust.

Gonsaluo Pizarro head of the rebels.

1550

Death of the  
gouverneur Vaseo  
Nugnes.

D. Pedro Guafca  
gouverneur at  
Peru.

Dexterity of  
Guafca to win  
the rebels at  
Peru.

their commander, *Gonsalvo* was such after this restraint of the Gouverneur, (they of the Councell disagreeing among themselves) as they were forced with all speede to deliuer him; to gouerne this warre, the which prouoked difficultie, for *Pizarro* being assisted by *Francis* of Caruaial, a great Captaine, and an old experienced Souldier, hee then declared himselfe openly against the Emperour, and contended for the Soueraigntie of Peru, hauing made the Towne of Cusco the chiefe of that countrie, his store-house for the warre. *Vaseo Nugnes* striving to resist them somewhat rashlie, was slaine in an Incounter neere vnto the towne of *Quitoa*, and his head was carried to Cusco, and there made a publike spectacle, and scorne to all men, a brother of his called *Vela Nugnes*, being then a prisoner, who had no better fortune afterwards.

To bee reuenged of this rout, *John Aluarez*, *James de Silva*, and *James de Ceutron* remaining heads of the emperours part, vntill there were some other order taken, gathered all the souldiers they could together, but they were also defeated by *Francis* Caruaial, so as they had great difficultie to mainteine their masters authoritie vnto the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and sixe, that the Emperour after long deliberation, and by the aduise and choise of his Councell, sent *D. Pedro Guafca* thither, a clergie man and of the Councell of the Inquisition, a graue, wise, and discret man, to whome hee gaue a more ample power than to any of the precedent Gouverneurs, with the title of President of the royall audience of Peru: parting from Seuille that yeare, he came to Nombre de Dios, notwithstanding that he vnderstood that there was there in garrison *Ferdinand*, *Mexia de Gusman*, vnder *Pedro Alfonso Hinoiofa*, Gouverneur in that Countrie for the party of *Gonsalvo Pizarro*, who had a little before put *Melchior Verdugo*, one of the emperours Captaines to rout, and chased him as farre as the fort of Carthagena, which is vpon the North Sea, *Hinoiofa* remaine at Panama, which is opposit vpon the South sea. It is the narrowest place of all the firme land of the Indies, betwixt the two Seas. *D. Pedro Guafca* did in this action shew a great resolution, for hee had bene aduertised at the neere Islands of this rout, and that the port of Carthagena was the onely landing place for him, yet hee would needs cast anchor neere vnto Nombre de Dios, which place was held by the said *Mexia*, with a garrison of eightene hundred Spaniards, where hee sent *Alfonso Aluaredo* to land, in ioyning him to aduertise *Mexia* of his comming, and to found him how hee stood affected. The which *Aluaredo* performed so well, as *Mexia* and hee parted good friends in effect, though they made shew to the contrarie. For some daies after the President *Guafca* was receiued honourably into that place, yea, with ioy and content of the whole garrison. Thus this religious man being politike and modest, did for the first fruits of his comming, winne this fort and them that held it, without any tumult or blowes, who thinking himselfe well fortified, began with grauitie and authoritie to sollicite the rebels and their leaders, that they should acknowledge their errors, to repaire the which, hee gaue to vnderstand, that they had nothing to doe, but to imbrace the emperours clemency, and the grace and pardon which hee offered them. *Hinoiofa* who was at Panama vpon the South sea, had bene aduertised of the presidents arriual, and although he were none of the most obstinate rebels, yet would hee see how hee would carrie himselfe at his first entrie into his gouernment, being somewhat discontented that *Mexia* had spoken with him without his leaue and priuie, writing in choller vnto him; but *Mexia* was nothing amazed thereat, but by the Presidents aduice went freely to Panama, to *Hinoiofa*; what discourse they had, the euents did shew: for *Mexia* returned as freely as hee went, and presently the President departed, and went towards Panama, where hee wrought so with good words, persuasions and promises, as he drew *Pedro Alfonso* of Hinoiofa, and all them that were with him to the emperours obedience. They say, that the greatest motiue to make them resolute was, that they saw with the President the Marshall *Alfonso* of Aluaredo, who had bin a dear friend to *Francisco Pizarro*. These things succeeding thus happily, the president holding it a great aduantage to haue won *Hinoiofa*, hee thought it now time to presse *Gonsalvo Pizarro*, to come vnto himselfe, and to acknowledge his master. He gaue him hope

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A of good vsage, if he did obey, if not, he protested his vtter ruine, writing vnto him, and sending him letters in the Emperours name (from whom he had brought many blanks signed) the bearer whereof was *Ferdinand Paniaguada* borne at Placentia in Spaine. The emperours letters were dated at Venloo in Guelderland the 17 of February 1546, & the Presidents the 26 of September following. *Gonsalvo* was at the time of this dispatch in the citie of Kings (so called for that the first foundations thereof were laid, the day before the feast of Kings, which wee call Twelue day) where hauing some intelligence of the Presidents comming, hee had called all the heads of his party vnto him, to consult what was to be done; in the end they resolved to send vnto the emperour, and to informe him of the causes of their rising, and to iustifie themselves for the death of the gouverneur *Nugnes*, and it was concluded, that the Deputies should carry letters from all the townes in Peru, and that they should demand the generall gouernement for *Gonsalvo Pizarro*: That in passing by Panama, they should informe themselves of the president *Guafca* authority, and should acquaint him with the cause of their voyage, with protestation, that if hee attempted any thing, or did presume to enter into the Countrey of Peru in armes, before their returne and the Emperours answer, they would resist him by armes. The deputies were *Ierome Loyosa* Archbishop of the city of Kings, *Lawrence* of Aldana (who commanded the garrison there) *Thomas* of saint Martin prouinciall of the order of saint *Dominicke* at Peru, and *Gomes de Solis de Carceres*, some of which being suspect to *Pizarro* (namely the prouinciall) he was glad to be rid of him, and to estrange him from his designs, procuring the bishop of Santa Martha to goe the voiage with them. Thus the deputies being dispatched, they embarked in diuers ships, and sailed towards Panama, causing *Lawrence Aldana* to aduance, and aduertise them what was done there. In the meane time there was a conspiracie discovered against the person of *Gonsalvo*, which had bene practised, as they said, by *Vela Nugnes*, the deceased gouernours brother, who was then a prisoner, following *Pizarro*, but not in custodie, for the which he lost his head, being publicly executed, to the great grieve both of Spaniards and Indians, who sawe well that this would make the peace more difficult. *Lawrence Aldana* being come to Panama, and hauing conferred with *Hinoiofa*, and spoken vnto the president, he was presently wonne by them, he forgat his companions, and took an othe to the Emperour, persuading the president *Guafca*, to go to field to fight with the rebels, if they giue him not a good answer. The other deputies comming neere to Panama, and aduertised what *Aldana* had done, did the like, and ioyined with the president: who gaue soure shippes of warre to *Aldana*, with some souldiers, commanding him to run vp Southerly and Westward, and to trie if he could seaze vpon the port & towne of Kings, there to make a body of all those that desired to maintain the Emperours maiestie, and to giue all hindrances he could to *Pizarro*: he left a good garrison at Panama, he paid his souldiers bountifully, he made *Hinoiofa* generall of the imperiall army in field, he confirmed all the other captaines in their first places, and filled them with hopes and promises to haue better: He caused the prouinciall *Thomas* of saint Martin, a man of great authoritie with the Spaniards, to imbarke with *Lawrence Aldana*, being fit to fortifie the imperiall party, to whom he gaue many blanks signed by the Emperour, that he might fill them with letters directed to the captaines that were with *Gonsalvo Pizarro*: He sent *D. John de Mendosa* into new Spaine, to *D. Antonio de Mendosa* the viceroy to bring him some succors, and others were sent by him to the gouernours of saint Domingo and other prouinces, to the same effect. Whilest that *Pizarro* expected newes from Panama, and from his deputies, they brought *Fernand Paniaguada* bound vnto him, who (as we haue said) had bin sent from the president *Guafca* vnto him, with letters from the emperour, and had bene slaid by him who commanded in the fort of saint *Michael* for the rebels: The Councell was assembled to heare the charge and report of this prisoner, but *Pizarro* suppress the letters. Being heard, al their opinions were nothing but *Romones*, rebellions, fire and murder, and to conclude that they must keep the Emperours army from entering into Peru: whereupon they sent for *Francis de Caruaial* who held the second place among the rebels, and was then at Plata: he came to *Pizarro* with 140 Spaniards, 30 field peeces, and about 400000 crownes, passing by the towne of Kings, they told him that they had discouered foure shippes at sea, but they knew not what they

*Gonsalvo* abandoned by his  
chiefe adherents.

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were, nor whither they went: *James de Mora* gouernour of the fort of Truxillo, was sent forth to discouer them, who found that it was the little fleet of *Lawrence Aldana*, with whom hee spake in the port of Malabriga, and hearing what had passed at Panama, hee staied with him encreasing his armie with his shippe, and so they went all to Truxillo: from which place *Mora* was sent towards Caxamalcan, a neere Prouince to draw all them together which had a desire to serue the Emperour, carrying with him many blankes, the which hee filled with good words, assurances of pardon and promises to the Captaines of that Countrie, all which in a manner did abandon *Pizarro*, who beeing at that time much troubled for the reuolt of *James de Mora*, thinking to prouide for the fort of Truxillo, hee sent Doctor *Garcia de Leon* thither, but hee reuolted in like manner, and added an other shippe with twentie souldiers to *Aldana's* fleet. *Gonsaluo Pizarro* was then certified to what end *Aldana* was come into that Sea: beeing full of rage that hee had beene thus abandoned, hee deuised with himselfe how hee might stay the rest, beeing resolute to make warre with all violence. Hee went to field with about a thousand Spanish footemen, and three hundred horse, and a great number of Indians which followed him. The Captaines of whom hee made accept, were *Francis* of Caruajal his lieutenant (pretending to share the fruites of his victories with him) Doctor *Caruajal* and Doctor *Cepeda*, *John Acosta*, *Velez de Guenara*, *John Torrens*, and some others of lesse note. In his armie the Generalls Standard was with the Emperours armes alone, but all other ensignes and cornets had *Pizarro's* blasons and deuises, testifying that hee termed himselfe King of Peru. *Martin Silueira* and *Alphonso de Mendoza* were left to gard the towne of Plata. *Anthony Robles* was made gouernor of Cusco, and others in other places: all which hee enioyned to send souldiers and money speedily to the campe, and to publish his declarations and patents in their gouernements, that hee was not in armes against the Emperour, but against *D. Pedro Guasca*, who ambitiously contrary to the Emperours commaundement, had proclaimed warre against him, and assailed him first. All that were surprized going to ioyne with the imperiall troupes were forced to march vnder his ensignes, or to die. Hee caused *Peter* of Villosa a Iacobin frier, to be put in yrons, for that hee went in the disguised habite of a souldier amongst the troupes publishing the Emperours pardon, which he offered to all those that would returne vnto his seruice: and hee sent *John Acosta* towards the sea, to hinder the descent of *Lawrence Aldana*, who had newly withdrawne the gouernor of Guanico, and all the souldiers, and had sent them to ioyne with the troupes of *James de Mora*, at Caxamalcan, in reuenge whereof *Pizarro* caused Guanico to be fired. To encrease his miseries, the Inhabitants of Cusco, disdaining to be gouerned by *Anthony Robles*, a man of no worth, in the night they opened the gates to *James Ceaton*, who, liuing in the mountaines and woods in great miserie, euer since that hee and his companions had beene defeated, seeking to reuenge the death of the gouernor *Vasco Nugnes*, had now come out of his holes, vpon the occasion of this warre, which was made by the President, and had put himselfe into the citie with some tattered souldiers, which hee had gathered together, beeing fauoured and fortified by them of Cusco, both Spaniards and Indians; where hee defeated the gouernor *Robles*, who going towards *Pizarro's* campe, with most part of his garrison, and one hundred thousand ducats, hearing of *Ceatons* enterprise, had turned head: They fought within the walles, where hee was defeated, taken and his head cut off, retaining all his souldiers which were appointed to succour the rebelles, by force or faire means. Soas *Ceaton* finding himselfe fortified with foure hundred foote, and two hundred horse, he led them to the fort of Plata, to chase away *Alphonso de Mendoza* who had the gard thereof.

Captains of Pizarro's parties.

Cusco reuolts from Pizarro.

Towns & forts abandoned by Pizarro

Cusco being wonne, the townes and forts of Saint Michael, Mercadille, and Procellin, their gouernors, and souldiers, abandoned *Gonsaluo Pizarro*; all which garrisons went and ioynd with *James de Mora* at Caxamalcan, *Leandro Martinez* who should haue garded Arequipa, could not get thither, for hee was raised prisoner by the way by his owne souldiers, who made choise of *Jerome Velazquez* for their head, and went to *Ceatons* troupes. Against whom *Pizarro* marched, causing *John Alfo* to aduance with those forces he had

A had with him at Quito, but confounded with such ordinarie reuolts, not knowing whom hee should trust, hee beganne to vse crueltie, and without anie other reason then distrust, hee caused some captaines to be slain in his presence, the which did not secure him no more than a new oath, which hee caused the souldiers which hee had remaining to take. *Lawrence* of Aldana with his fleet of six shippes had come neere vnto the towne of Kings, and had caused three of his shippes to enter into the channell of the riuer, to see if hee could execute the Presidents charge, wherefore *Gonsaluo Pizarro* marched thither, and lodged his armie neere vnto the shoare, hauing commaunded the inhabitants to bee in armes, and some of them to follow him vpon paine of death. Whilest hee laie there in campe, there passed many messengers and mediators from either part, to come to some composition, according to the Presidents instructions, who desired to end this warre by the mildest meanes that might bee, but it was in vaine; *Pizarro* could not auoyde his owne ruine, neyther could hee by anie care or diligence stay his men from running to the imperialls campe, which should haue made him resolute to embrace the pardon which was offered him. Euerie day there were somewanting in his campe, notwithstanding that hee put them cruelly to death that could be taken: *Francis Brano Lagunas*, beeing taken by his horsemen which were sent forth to scout, hee commaunded that hee should be strangled, but at the intreatie of many, especially of *D. Agnes Brano*, wife to *D. Nicholas* of Ribera hee gaue him his life, notwithstanding *Lagunas* fled away, wherewith *Pizarro* was in a manner madde, and hee grew so furious, as no man durst come neere him vnlesse hee called him. His affaires beeing in these bad termes, all that were in his armie, were amazed and discouraged, but hee himselfe and his owne followers were most of all, whenas they vnderstood that *James Maldonado*, aduertized by *Martin de Robles*, that they sought him to put him to death, was fled vnto the enemy, and that *Martin de Robles*, who had leaue to goe to the towne of Kings that was neere, had gone to horse backe the next day early in the morning; and going forth by the port which leadeth to Truxillo, hee had said openly, that hee went to the President *Guasca*, the Emperours lieutenant, and that whosoeuer loued his life, and would not die like a traitour, should follow him, and leaue the tyrant *Pizarro*. The same night *Martin Lopes* fled out of the campe, and there grew such a tumult, as the souldiers were ready to kill *Gonsaluo*: wherewith hee was so terrified, as hee dislodged, and went and camped two leagues farther from the towne, giuing the charge of marshall of the campe to Doctor *Caruajal*, commanding him to keepe a carefull gard that none disbanded, but hee also abandoned him that night, leauing willingly his rich moueables and furniture, where hee had many goodly horses of seruice, and about twentie thousand ducats in coine, and got to Truxillo, beeing soone after followed by manie other gentlemen of name and qualitie: *Gonsaluo Pizarro* did not beare the retreat of anie one more impatiently, than of Doctor *Caruajal*, complayning often that hee himselfe had made him reuolt: for that (said hee) hee had made shew to trust more in *John Acosta* than in him, hauing lately sent him towards Cusco, by the mountaines, to trie if he might recouer that citie which *Ceaton* had left in the peoples hands without anie garrison, and also for that hee had refused to giue him the daughter of *Francis Pizarro* his neece in marriage: And it is remarkeable, that beeing in these perplexities, hee sawe with his owne eyes two of the common souldiers flie out of the campe, trusting to the swiftnesse of their horses, crying out as loud as they could, God saue the Emperour, and confound the tyrant *Gonsaluo Pizarro*. Then hee resolved to dislodge from thence, taking the way to Arequipa, whether hee brought not the fourth part of his men, for most of them had left him by the way, so as beeing come into the prouince of Nascana, hee had not about 300 men in his armie: Hee had recommended the towne of Kings, to *Anthony Ribera*, *Martin Pizarro*, *Anthony de Lyon*, and other Spaniards, whom hee held faithfull vnto him, but whenas they sawe him retired, they called the people into a field without the towne, where they had planted a standard with the Emperours armes, and there they caused the letters of a generall pardon to be published, which they had formerly received and kept, the which was ioyfully embraced by them all: Then hauing taken the othe, they did

Crueltie of Pizarro.

Pizarro abandoned by his souldiers.

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aduertise *Lawrence Aldana* (who lay there by at anchor) that hee should come and take possession of the towne in the Emperours name, the which hee did, leauing the charge of his shippes to *John Fernandes*, aduertising the President *Gusca* presently of all that had passed: and that *Gonsaluo Pizarro* was gone from thence some eight dayes iourney, with a small traine. As for *John Acosta* who had bene sent to Cusco, he had like to haue bene slaine by the way, by *Paseco*, *Sotomaior*, and other conspirators, who escaped and came to *Aldana*.

*Acosta* being freed from this daunger hauing caused some of the conspirators which he had taken, to be strangled, hee came to Cusco, and was let in (for there were no souldiers in the towne) there hee reformed the gouernement, displacing those Magistrates which *Cenon* had made, and substituting others, leauing a sufficient garrison vnder the command of *John Vasco*, *Taxia*, and with the rest of his troupes hee went to seeke *Pizarro* towards *Arequipa*; but hee was not farre gone, before that they of Cusco had changed all that he had done, and restored *Cenon*'s old officers. *Cenon* who went to *Plata*, drew vnto the Emperours seruice *Alphonso de Mendoza* with all his souldiers, and then all together beganne to follow *Pizarro*, to see that hee should not escape out of the Countrey of Peru, all the townes beeing in a manner reduced (some hauing expelled, and some hauing slaine their gouernours with their garrisons) and vnwillingly acknowledged the Emperour and the President *Gusca* his lieutenant generall, who vpon the newes of this happie successe, went from *Panama* by sea, with five hundred Spaniards, old souldiers, and great prouision of armes, and munition: he came neere vnto *Tomben*, whither Embassadours and Deputies came vnto him from all partes, to offer him men, money, obedience and seruice in such abundance, as hee had reason to countermaund the succours which hee had demaunded of the vicerey of new Spaine, and of other gouernours of the Prouinces of the west Indies. From thence hee sent *Hinoiosa* to *Caxamalcan* to command the troupes, which were there assembled, and himselfe came with the armie to *Truxillo*, appoynting them all a time to come in the valley of *Sanfaua*. *Gonsaluo Pizarro* beeing come to *Arequipa*, hee found not any creature there, for all were gone to ioyne with *Cenon*'s troupes, who aduanced to fight with him, the which hee did, but to his owne losse: for hee was defeated, and forced to flie, hauing three hundred and foure score souldiers slaine vpon the place, with some captaines, and almost as many taken prisoners, with which *Pizarro* fortified his army, distributing them among his bands: and of his part there were onely one hundred men slaine. By this good successe some others were induced to runne the same fortune with him, he promising them great recompences: so as holding his forces to be sufficient, hee returned towards Cusco, with an intent to fight with the imperiall army, wherefoeuer hee should find it, the which beeing assembled in the valley of *Sanfaua*, there were found to be sixteene hundred harquebuziers, five hundred pikes, and seuen hundred horse Spaniards, whereof the captaines were *Peter Alphonso* of *Hinoiosa*, commaunding in qualitie of Generall, *Aluaredes* marshall of the campe, *Doctor Caruial*, *Pedro* of *Vlloa*, and other Captaines: *Gabriel de Roias* was master of the artillerie: The leaders of the horsemen were *Pedro Cabrera*, *Gomes* of *Aluarado*, *John Samedra*, *James Mora*, *Ferdinand Mexia*, *Roderigo Salezar*, and *Alphonso Mendoza*, all which had revolted from *Pizarro*. The President had for his counsell, the Archbishop of the towne of *Kings*, *Thomas S. Martin*, provinciall of the preaching friers, with many others. *Peter Valduia* gouernour of the Prouince of *Chiliane*, came and ioyned with his armie, a man of great experience in matters of warre, worthe to be opposed against *Francis Carnual*, who was the most redoubted captaine the enemy had; and in the end vnfortunate *Cenon* came and ioyned with them, with about fortie horse. Being all together, they marched towards Cusco, whither they vnderstood that *Gonsaluo Pizarro* was come with his army. The Countrey by the which the imperials did march, was rough, defarr, and without victualles, so as they suffered much, vntill they came to *Andaguara*, where the Countrey is peopled, and furnished with victualles and other commodities: wherefore they stayed long there, for that they would not be consumed with trauell, and the tediousnesse of the winter, if the enemy should

Victorie of Pizarro.

Army imperiall pursuing Pizarro.

A should seeke to prolong the warre, the which he might easily doe, hauing the towne of Cusco, and the river which passeth by the valley of *Seguifagrane* at his deuotion. In the Spring time of the year, one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, the President caused his army to dislodge from *Andaguara*, and crossed many narrow passages of the mountaines without any difficultie, and many rivers, whereas *Pizarro* might haue annoyed them much, if hee had not bene negligent, and then came and lodged vpon the declining of the hillies: in a discommodious place, aboue the valley of *Seguifagrane*, in the which *Pizarro* was camped; who wanted not any thing, hauing the towne and river behind him at his commaundement; whereas the imperials suffered much hunger, cold, and other discommodities: yet notwithstanding the President did forbear to fight; being aduertised that a good number of the Spaniards that were with *Pizarro*, did but watch an oportunitie to abandon him, and to revolt, which he desired might be before they did fight, that he might haue the weaker opposition. But they could not temporize long in that bad lodging, whereas the cold which was great in that season, did so benumme the souldiers, as they could scarce hold their armes; and also for the neerenesse of the two armies which were daily in skirmish; so as they were forced to come to a generall battell, the which was soone ended. For the ordnance was scarce discharged, but many of *Pizarro*'s armie disbanded openly, among which were *Doctor Cepeda*, *Garcilazo de la Vega*, and *Alphonso Peres Hita* captaines; and all the souldiers which remained at the rout of *Cenon*, went away in one Squadron to the imperials, which made the rest retire and to flie the battell, some going towards the citie of Cusco, which was five leagues off, and others to other places: they that were most affected to *Gonsaluo*, and most guiltie remained about him, who being foure in number, were of opinion to cast themselves into their enemies troupes, and to die fighting valiantly, rather than to be led bound to an ignominious death; but *Gonsaluo* told them, that seeing Fortune had turned her backe, it were better to die Christianlike, acknowledging their faults, than to perish like pagans in such vanities. Being then enuironed by the imperiall horsemen; he yielded his armes to *Pedro de Vlloa*, great Prouost of the armie, who led him before the President, by whom hee was much blamed for his obstinacie, yet hee shewed himselfe nothing deiected, but answered resolutely to whatsoeuer was demaunded. Being giuen in D gard to *James de Cenon*, he was for some daies well and modestly intreated, not suffering any one to disquiet him either in word or deed. All the other Commanders were in a manner taken that day, either with *Gonsaluo*, or in the pursuite, except *Francis Carnual*, who was afterwards found and deliuered by his owne souldiers, being hidden among the reeds in a moore, thinking to renew the warre if hee might escape. All the rest were somewhat lamented, but not hee; for hee was exceeding cruell, and the chiefe author of *Pizarro*'s rebellion; and it was said that by his inhumane counsell, *Pizarro* had caused about sixe hundred gentlemen to be murdered, and thrice as many good souldiers, Spaniards, with an infinite number of Indians; and that he neuer was at the death of anie one, but he did reuile him with all the opprobrious words he could inuent. The rebelles E campe remained a prey to the imperials, whereby they were greatly enriched: and to preserve the citie of Cusco from sacke, and to containe euery one in his duetie, and to preuent reuenges, which do commonly follow ciuill victories, *Ferdinand Mexia*, and *Martin Robles* were sent thither with two companies. Afterwards the prisoners processees were formally made. The chiefe of the rebellion were condemned to die, as guiltie of treason. *Gonsaluo Pizarro* had his head cut off, the which was for a time set in the market place in the citie of *Kings*, for a publike spectacle with this Inscription. *This is the head of the Traitor and Tyrant Gonsaluo Pizarro, who being rebelled, and hauing taken armes in the realm of Peru, against the most mightie Emperour Charles the first, his prince, was vanquished fighting against the standard royall in the valley of Seguifagrane, and hath bene thus worthily punished.* All his goods were forfeited: his proud palace which hee had built in the citie of Cusco was ruined, the soile sowed with salt, and a pillar erected with a table containing the sentence of his condemnation. He died constantly retaining his accustomed proud lookke, he was royally attired in silke imbrodered with gold and pearle; which the executioner had. His bodie put into a coffin was honestly buried in Cusco. *Francis Carnual* D d d d d iij was

Defeat of Pizarro.

Death of Gonsaluo Pizarro.



1550 was executed in like manner with nine other captaines, but their bodies were quartered and hung in the high wayes. Many also of the most seditious were hung vpon trees on the high wayes. The President hauing thus punished the chiefe mutines and rebelles, hee caused a generall pardon to be published in Cusco so all the rest, forbidding any one to reproach the fault hereafter, vpon paine of death.

This victorie was wonne the ninth day of Aprill, one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, happie doubtlesse for the Emperour, for if Pizarro had wonne it, Peru had bin lost for him, and Spaine deprived of the treasures of that Countrey, which are great and incredible. The President found himselfe much troubled when hee came to reward such as hee had drawne from Pizarros faction, to whom he had made great promises, for there was not any common souldier but he held himselfe worthy of a gouernement: and he could not please them all, but he supplied this defect with store of ducats, which abound in that golden region. Then hee beganne to settle some order in regard of the Spaniards, which were feudatarie Lords ouer the Indians, how they should carrie themselves to the Indians their subiects. He erected a Parliament or royall Audience in the city of Kings; to the which any man that was grieued might appeale, and giuing hope to them that remayned at Peru, by the aduertisement hee said he had receiued from the Emperour, to haue a Viceroy very soone hee had them farewell, and went away in December one thousand five hundred forty and nine, carrying with him about two millions of gold for the Emperours part. He came from the city of Kings to Panama, where hauing rested some dayes, hee went by land with his baggage to Nombre de Dios, vpon the north sea, where he arriued happily: For, had hee staid alittle longer at Panama, hee had bene in danger neuer to haue seene Spaine more. For that certaine other rebelles led by *Fernand* and *Pedro Contreras* (whose father was Viceroy of Nicaragua) came and seized vpon Panama, thinking the President had bene there, and spoyled it: and missing him, they pursued him, thinking to finde him vpon the way, and to stripp him of his treasure, making an attempt to enter into Nombre de Dios, but they were repulsed by the garrison and the Inhabitants. The gouernors and garrisons that were neere made a head, and went to field, and disperfed them in some encounters, in one of the which one of the *Contreras* was slaine, and the other lost, so as hee was neuer more heard of.

This second reuolt did somewhat stay the voyage of the President *D. Pedro Gasca*, who embarked in July 1550, hauing suppressed two importaunt rebellions at the West Indies, beeing followed by a great number of noblemen Spaniards, who were rich in gold and siluer of the spoiles which they had taken, or for recompences in these seditions; he arriued happily at Saint Lucar of Barameda, and from thence went to Seuille, where hauing rested some dayes, hee passed into Germanie to the emperour, whom hee found at Ausbourg, by whom hee was graciously receiued and honoured for his good seruices, who in reward thereof some moneths after made him Bishop of Valencia which fell void.

But let vs returne to that princes affaires in Germanie, and what hee had to treat of at Ausbourg, whereas all things did succeed according to his desire, the negotiations of great Kings being like vnto other mens, seasoned with sweet and sower, by him that gouerns the whole world, and for the good of men, who else would forget him if they should alwayes prosper. This mightie Emperour, a Conquerour and wife, according to the world, and the common opinion of all men, finding after much toyle, by a hard and preiudiciall experience, that hee was farre from that which hee pretended to doe for the good of his house, by armes and force, against the libertie of the Electors, and the Estates of the empire, hee sought to attaine vnto it by the meanes of some conuention, and therefore hee did presse his brother *Ferdinand* to resigne vnto prince *Philip* his sonne his right and dignitie of King of Romans, whereupon they grew to a great quarrel, to pacifie the which *Mary* Queene of Hungarie their sister, was forced to returne to Ausbourg, from whence shee parted alittle before: he pursued this resignation by all the meanes and policie hee could, for that it was the next infallible steppe to bring *D. Philippe* to the empire, but *Ferdinand* would neuer yeelde to it, thinking that if hee made

Emperour solicited *D. Ferdinand* and to forsake the dignitie of King of Romans to his son *Philippe*.

Contreras other rebels.

this

A this daungerous alienation, all his sonnes (hauing a good number) should remaine without estates and meanes, wherein hee had reason. Hee had sent into Spaine for *Maximilian* his sonne to come to the diet, beeing a milde and courteous prince, and very pleasing to all Germanie. *D. Philippe* hauing sayled to be king of Romans, parted from Ausbourg, and tooke his way towardes Genoua to returne into Spaine to gouerne it.

*Peter Lewis Farnese* Duke of Placentia and Parma, hauing bene slaine the yere before by his owne subiects, some thought by the Emperours procurement, for that *Fernand Gonzague* gouernour of Milan, did instantly seaze vpon the towne of Placentia, *Ottauio Farnese* his sonne, distrusting the Emperour his father in lawe, hauing married his base daughter, and seeing himselfe contemned by the new Pope, hee sought support and protection from the French; whereat pope *Julio* was so offended as hee thundered out a sentence of Excommunication against him, by the which hee declared him fallen from his estate, giuing it in prey to the Emperour: whereupon *D. Fernand Gonzague* spoyled the territorie of Parma and the French sent succours to Duke *Ottauio*, which caused a new warre betwixt the Emperour and the French king.

This warre beganne in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, by meanes whereof the Germanes freed themselves from manie violences, which had bene offered them both in generall and in particular by the Emperour, beeing made proud with his victories, which hee sought to make all men feele, as well Catholikes, as Protestants, vnder diuers pretexts, of some to be satisfied for the charges of the warre, which hee said hee had made for the libertie of Germanie; of others by the waie of chastisement, for that they had reuolted, wherein hee said that he proceeded mildly, quiting much of his right to ease and spare them. By this meanes there was neyther towne nor countrey, estate nor condition of men, amongst the Germanes, which were not vexed by taxes, and by sower speeches and threats, if they presumed to tell him of his duetie, or to put him in mind of his conuentions and promises. Finally, hee would haue all depend vpon his owne will. Thus he heaped vp a great treasure; and they say, that hee had wrested from the Princes and Protestant townes, about five hundred peeces of great ordnance, wherewith he did furnish his places and forts in Italie, Flaunders and Spaine. In these discontents the Towne of Magdebourg vpon Elbe, which had bene proclaymed and streightly besieged, for that it resisted his Edicts, was now more slowly prest, so as they had meanes to free themselves vpon honest conditions, *Maurice* Duke of Saxonie thinking it best to compound this warre, hee beeing the chiefe of it, and to attend the deliuerie of the Landgraue of Hesse his father in lawe, whom hee had brought the Emperour, vpon a promise, that hee would not detain him prisoner, and yet hee kept him, and carried him vp and downe as it were in triumph: Whereupon hee often besought the Emperour to haue regard vnto his honour, which was engaged, and seeing him make no accompt to set him at libertie, hee entred into league with *Albert* of Brandebourg, the Landgraues children, and others, and all they with the French King, who marched speedily with a great armie towards the Rhine, giuing it out, that it was to restore the Germanes his good neighbours, and auncient friends to the French, to their true and first libertie, which was taken from them by *Charles* of Austria, tearing himselfe Emperour. The Protestant Princes went to armes also, and committed great spoyles in Germanie. But that warre was ended by the deliuerie of the Landgraue, and by some things that were granted or promised to the Protestants.

The French King beeing come neere Strausbourg, and hearing of this accord made by Duke *Maurice* without him, hee returned discontented, retayning for his charges and paynes, Metz, Thoule, and Verdun, Townes belonging to the Empire: And the Emperour finding himselfe bound to recouer them, hee stayed not, but came and layd siege to Metz in the beginning of winter: What the successe was you may read in the French historie.

The

1550  
Returne of  
prince Philip  
into Spaine.

9  
Ottauio Farnese  
excommunicated,  
the cause  
of new warre.

1551  
Extortions of  
the emperor vpon  
the Germans

Magdebourg  
deliuered.

10  
League betwixt  
the prince of  
Germany and  
the French king  
against the emperour.

1552

Metz besieged  
by the emperor

The fathers being yet at Trent, *Maximilian* of Austria with his wife *D. Maria* of Spaine passed there, being returned out of Spaine, who crossing from Barcelona to Genoua, had beene in some daunger, being pursued by the gallies of Fraunce, whereof *Leon Strossy* was generall. A little before hee had entred into the port of Barcelona, and carried away some vessells which had beene prepared for *Maximilian's* passage, whereof the imperials complained, saying that there was no open warre.

Port of Barcelona  
sailed by  
Leon Strossy.

Whilest the Emperour toyled both mind and body in Germany, betwixt the storms of the Councell, the Protestants, and his owne affections, being also entred into a new warre against the French king: the Turkes and pirates of Afrike spoiled the coasts of Naples and Sicile, whereof Spaine was not free. The chiefe Leader of these theues was *Dragut Rais* (whom others call *Orgus*) who had surprized the towne sometimes called *Aphrodisium*, and in our time was named Afrike by vs, and Mehedie by the Moores, belonging to the realme of Tunes, sometimes a rich towne opposite to Sicile. This *Dragut* had succeeded *Barbarousse* in boldnesse and policie, and was bred vp vnder him; of a poore gallee boy, hee grew a noble pirate: hee had beene taken about the Iland of Corfica by *Iustin Doria*, and made a gallee slave; but after some time he deliuered him for a small ranome, to the great prejudice of Christendome. Being growne more insolent than before, he committed infinite spoiles vpon Sicile, Calabria, Naples, and the coasts of Genoua and Spaine, and thrust on with the like ambition to the two biethren *Barbarusses* hee would haue a retreat for the safety of his thefts, and be also called Xec or King. Whereupon hee surprized this towne of Afrike, which was then well peopled and of great traffike: by the wealth whereof he made himselfe fearefull to all the coasts of Italie and Spaine, and of late scouring the Tyrene Seas, whilest that the gallies were busie to passe and repasse the princes *D. Philippe* and *Maximilian*, had sacked and burnt *Rapallo*. So as the Emperour was daily importuned to chase him out of that dangerous nest, who commanded *D. John de Vega*, viceroy of Sicile, and *Andrew Doria* prince of Melfi, the chiefe Author of this enterprize, to gather an army together with all speed for this action. Many voluntaries came to reuenge the publike and priuate wrongs, and to win honour, but especially with the hope of spoyle, which they thought would be very rich, for besides the great booties, which *Dragut* brought, he had with large rewardes drawne many merchants thither, and namely the Iewes which were expelled Spaine and Portugal were retired to that towne. *Andrew Doria* soliciting the preparation of the fleet, whereof hee was generall, the Emperour hauing giuen the charge at land to the viceroy of Italie: and for that he thought that before the whole armie should be ready to goe into Barbarie, this cunning pirate might doe some harme vnto the Christians, he therefore aduertized *D. Bernardin de Mendoza* generall of the gallies of Spaine, to stand vpon his gard on that coast. Hauing then receiued three gallies from the duke of Florence, foure from Malta, and three from the Pope, with those of Naples and Sicile, making in all foure and fiftie gallies, well manned both with souldiers and mariners, in the end of Iune they bent their course towards the towne of Afrike: hauing viewed it, and burnt some vesselles belonging to the Moores, it was resolved first of all to take Munisterio a little towne neere it with a castle, the which hauing few inhabitants, *Dragut* had fortified with a good garrison of Turkes being to bee feared that whilest they were at the siege of Afrike, he might annoy them continually from thence, if the pirate who was then abroad should make his retreat thither with any number of vesselles, as hee was pretended to doe, neither was hee out of hope to succour them. The towne was taken with small toyle, but finding it a worke of more difficultie, to force the castle, being brauely defended by the Moores and Turkes, they caused *D. Garcia de Toledo* generall of the gallies of Naples to land, who battering the Castle with eleuen peeces of ordonaunce, made a breach, the which they defended long, but in vaine, for in the end they were all slaine or taken prisoners: the Christians hauing lost about three score of their best souldiers, besides a cannon breaking in one of the gallies, it split and suncke, yet they saued all the men and furniture. Then they turned towards Afrike, *Doria* hauing furnished himselfe with munition at Goulette, and sent to leuie more men in Naples

Dragut a famous  
pirate.

12  
Afrike a towne  
in the realme  
of Tunes taken  
by the Spaniards.

Munisterio in  
Afrike taken by  
the Christians.

Aples and Sicile: and then did *D. John de Vega* passe, hauing left his sonne *D. Aluaro* to gouerne the Iland. They spent some time about this new prouision, so as the Turkes within Afrike had more leisure to fortifie themselves, both with men and all other necessaries: which made the siege tedious and difficult to the great losse of the Christians, for that *Dragut* hauing an intent to draw the army from that enterprize, spoiled the coasts of Italie, and burnt some weake places, doing the like at sea to the Merchants; so as *Bernardin* of Mendoza had worke to defend the coast of Spaine, whilest that this pirate annoyed the Ilands of Majorca, Corfica, and Elba: but this could not remoue *Doria* from his resolution, who held it an vnprofitable thing to spend that summer in running after *Dragut*. The Christians fleet being returned well furnished to besiege the towne of Afrike, and the situation and strength thereof being well obserued by *Vega* and other capitaines of experience, there were diuers opinions among them, for the difficulties that were propounded by one and other. The towne stands vpon a long tongue of land, right against Sicile, being three miles in compasse, it lookes towards Malta, and Gerbe, and is enuironed by the sea on three partes, the fourth being to be attempted by land, and therefore it was so secured as it could not be battred with anie armed vessells, but on two narrow flanks, the rest of the channell being so shallow, as no vessell of anie burthen could approach; so as they found this enterprize more difficult than they did at the first conceiue it. They held the wall towards the firme land to be well fortified, with five towers of equall distance, and a great raelin in the most eminent place, the which did come farre forth, and was well flanked. The question then was, on which side they should batter it, for to attempt it by sea they held it impossible, for that none but small gallies could come neere it: some would haue the raelin first battered by land, for that it would annoy them much that should goe vnto the assault, if they should batter the curtine: And others maintained that it was more easie to make a breach in the Curtine, and hauing battered the defences which flanked it, to secure themselves with it, and with some trauesse: for that it was not the custome of warre to attempt a place where it was strongest; but weakest: with this aduice they planted their ordnance, and beganne to batter from the breake of daie vntill night, finding that old wall more hard to ruine than they expected: wherefore hauing viewed the breach, and finding it not sufficient, they left it to make another: And in the meane time they had so battred the defences of the raelin, as the defendants could no more vse them, and the rather, for that the Spaniards were so farre aduanced with their trenches, as they ouerthrew any that shewed themselves with their small shot, so as they thought they might well attempt it there by scale. They had already retired their ordnance from their first batterie, holding it fruitlesse, and wholly relying vpon their second: wherewith the Generalls were much grieved (not well agreeing among themselves) knowing what a blemish to their reputations, and a losse to Christendome their retreat would bee: wherefore they laied hold of that course, which was held to bee the onelie meanes to take the towne: They had spent great store of munition in their batteries, and beganne to be scant; and therefore they were fully resolved to scale the raelin, and to make a diuersion towards the sea, the gallies should at the same instant make an offer to assaile the towne on that side. Wherefore on the second daie of Iuly the Spaniards of the regiment of Sicile, gaue an assault to the raelin, with great courage and resolution, and entred it, where they might haue preuayled, if they of the gallies had come forwards with the like courage, or at the least with that order that was set downe: but hauing shewed themselves too late, they made no diuersion, and they that had entred the raelin, were repulsed with great losse: which successe did wonderfully afflict the whole campe, not knowing what course to take to saue their honours, so as there was small hope in this siege, through the disagreement of the Commaunders, either of their seeking to execute his charge apart, whenas the situation of the place required an vnion both of minds and forces.

Situation of the  
towne of Afrike

They wanted souldiers by their continuall skirmishes, the Moores and Turkes defending it with an vndaunted courage; they wanted munition, and were shortened for victualles, hauing none but what came from Sicile, which could be in time provided.

Assault giuen  
in vaine at  
Afrike.

1553

It was therefore resolved to send *Marc Centurione* to Genoua for new men, who brought in tenne gallies twelue hundred Spanish foot, which were giuen him by the gouernour of Milan, and some munition from the common weale of Genoua, and the Duke of Florence; which fortified the campe and gaue them courage to make new enterprises. They were aduertised by a Moore, that *Dragut* being retired into Barbarie, was resolved to relieue them by land, who hauing made the Moores his friends, by his great bounty and valour, gathered a great number of them together, which ioyned to seuen hundred Turkes, hee thought might worke some good effect, who making often attempts, and they of the towne fallying out at the same instant, did much annoy the Christians, till in the end many being slaine in a furious skirmish, and many more hurt, hee dispaired of euer doing good. It was not without losse to the victors, who had manie slaine, and of great valour; amongst which was *Fernando de Toledo*: Some say hee was gouernour of Goulette, and others, marshall of the campe to the Spanish foot. Matters being thus bettered within the campe, for that after this attempt, *Dragut* had retired himselfe to Gerbe, to attend the ruine of his nest, they resolved to make triall of their last force, and not suffer themselves to be surprized with the fall of the lease, which vpon that coast would hazard the losse of their flecte. They concluded therefore to make three batteries, two by land, and one by sea, with a caualier or mount made of timber and earth, and set vpon two gallies, whereon they might plant some peeces of batterie.

*Dragut seeks  
to releue the  
towne of Afrike*

This being brought vnto the wall towards the sea, wrought a wonderfull effect, and so did those at land, for that vse had taught them better the nature of that place, where they had made many attempts and spent much munition. On the tenth day of September they came to the assault with great resolution and good order in all three places; where they found very great resistance, but it was first entred by the sea, where they found the wall weakest, and therefore had made the greater breach: they wonne it foot by foot, and in the end many of them being retired into the raelin to make their last resistance vnder a Turke, which was their leader, they neuer gaue it ouer, vntill death; so as the slaughter was great: There were manie prisoners taken, some say aboute tenne thousand, others but seuen thousand. The wealth was not so great as was expected, for that euer since *Dragut* was Lord thereof, it was nothing but a retreat for theeues and pirats. The prisoners were carried into Sicile, whereas the women and children were sold good cheape, the men that were fit for labour, were distributed among the gallies. The viceroy caused the breaches and ruines to be repayed, and left a garrison of Spaniards there, vnder the commaund of *D. Aluaro* his sonne. Whilest that the armie remained there for the finishing of the fortifications, they had a cruell storme, which continued foure daies, and did them much harme, after which they returned all home safely to the great ioy of all Italie, for this victorie. *Muley Hascen* the dispossessed king of Tunes died at this siege. Soone after the Viceroyes returne, it was resolved in the Emperours counsell, that the towne of Afrike should be rased, as a place lying too farre off, of great charge, and hard to be kept.

*Birth of Henrie  
Bourbon King  
of France and  
of Nauarre.*

13 This yere one thousand fise hundred fiftie and three *Ioane* of Albret the presumptiue heire of Nauarre, was deliuered of a sonne, and he was named *Henrie*, who should ioyne the rights of Nauarre to them of the house Bourbon which made him apprehend the Crowne of France.

*Dragut* after the losse of the towne of Afrike, being retired into the Iland of Gerbe, hee aduertized *Sultan Solymán* of his losse, who retained him into his seruice, and honored him with charges. *Doria* being aduertized in the Spring, that *Dragut* was gone to Gerbe, whereas by a long narrow channell, hee entred into a poole, where hee might at ease trimme his gallies, and goe out to his theeuing at pleasure, *Doria's* armie came sodainly vpon him and besieged him, who to defend his vessels had a Tower which garded the channell, and withall, hee had built a Bastion to couer him. Notwithstanding they must in a short time haue all perished with hunger; both hee with his Turkes, and the Moore which was Lord of that Iland, who being loath to breake his faith, would not yeelde him prisoner to *Doria*, yet hee perswaded him

*Dragut besieged at Gerby by  
Doria escapes  
cunningly.*

1554

A to finde some meanes to escape, else they should bee all famished, for that the Iland was but little, barren, and had small prouisions to liue withall. Being then forced by necessitie, hee set all his Turkes, Moores, and slaues to worke, who beganne to make a channell in a lower part; the which hee continued daie and night vntill hee came vnto the sea, neyther was hee discovered by the enemies. And so in the night time hee escaped this imminent daunger with admiration, *Doria* being much discontented that the Turke had circumuented him with such a stratageme, and moreouer that in his retreat hee had taken two of his gallies: but not so satisfied, pursuing this pirate, hee lost seuen more, which were cast away in a storme, with the death of about a thousand persons. The Turkes armie being then at sea, and *Dragut* ioyned with it, being in all a hundred and fise gallies, and thirtie other vessels, they entred into the streight of Messina, and tooke the towne of Augusta in Sicile, which in auncient times was called Megara, from thence he landed in the Iland of Malta, and attempted the strong Castell of Saint Angelo in vaine: then comming to the Iland of Goze, they sacked it, and carried away many slaues. Finally he came into Barbarie, and tooke Tripoly from the Knights of Malta, hauing held it forty yeeres.

*And now Doria's  
gallies lost.*

There was some discord betwixt *Amida* King of Tunes, and *D. Lewis Perez* gouernour of Goulette, who pretended that the Barbarian after the vsual manner of the Moores had broken his faith with the Emperour, touching the accord made with *Muley Hascen*, when he was put in possession, and therefore he annoyed him much: so as *Amida* fearing worse, made a new accord, and bound himselfe to giue euerie yere vnto the Emperour twelue thousand crownes, to pay the garrison of Goulette, and moreouer fiftene Barbarie horses, and eightene faulcons, to furnish wood for the vse of Goulette, to release all Christian slaues within his realme, and not to suffer anie more to be made, and finally, that hee should not receiue anie pirates, but should aide and defend the Emperour with all his forces against any one that should seeke to offend him.

*Amida a King  
of Tunes makes  
a new accord  
with the emperour.*

The marriage of *D. John* prince of Portugall, sonne to King *John* the third, and of *D. Ioane* the Emperours daughter, was consummated in the yere one thousand fise hundred fiftie and foure, the which confirmed the friendship and alliances betwixt their houses and states. But this yong prince who was not fully seuentene yeeres old, dyed within a yere after his marriage, leauing the princeesse his wife with child, who eightene dayes after was deliuered of a sonne, whom they named *D. Sebastian*, King *John* and Queene *Katherine* hauing not any more children remaining: *D. Ioane* being risen from her child-bed, went into Castille to gouerne the realme in the name of the Emperour *Charles* her father.

*1554  
Portugall.*

14

*Birth of D. Sebastian  
of Portugall.*

The Emperour finding himselfe much broken and troubled with many infirmities, made his will about that time at Brussells; committing in the meane time the execution of many things to his sonne *D. Philip*, for that which concerned the affaires of Italie: And as for Flanders and the Countries adioyning, he himselfe with Queene *Marie* his sister, widow to *Lewis* king of Hungarie, would gouerne.

15 This yere a marriage was concluded betwixt *D. Philippe* prince of Spaine, and *Marie* Queene of England, for the effecting whereof the Prince made preparation to go into England, hauing foure score great shippes and fortie carauells, in the which, besides the noblemen and knights which did attend the Prince, with their ordinarie traine there were foure thousand foote, Spaniards to defend the flecte, and to serue in Flanders, in the warre against the French: he tooke shipping in Biscay hauing a prosperous wind, leauing for gouernesse in Spaine *D. Ioane* his sister, who (as we haue said) was in the beginning of the yere, left a widow by the prince of Portugall. About the midst of Iulie hee came within sight of Hampton, where there was a flecte of fixe and thirtie shippes, some of the Queenes, some of the low Countries attended to gaide him, it being dangerous sailing vpon that coast; there came from Southampton a shippe royally appoynted, being followed by tenne others, which were sent by the Queene to receiue the princes person, and his whole Court, in the which were many noblemen of England

*Marriage of D. Philip and Marie  
Queene of England.*

1555

land sent to that end, and to present vnto him the order of the Garter, which he received with a ioyfull countenance, and put the garter on his left leg. Hee would not haue anie go into the ship with him, but the duke of Alba, *Ruy Gomes de Silva, Antonio de Toledo and Pedro Lopes*, the first was his lord steward, the second lord chamberlain, the third master of his horse, and the last a steward also; but afterwards other noblemen and the whole court landed, with their furniture, which continued three days. During the princes stay there, he was entertained with all the state that might be desired, from thence he went to Winchester, where the Queene attended him, and where the marriage was celebrated. On the 25 of that month, there was first read the renunciation of the emperor his father, by the which he resigned vnto him the realme of Naples, & then the articles of the capitulation made in regard of that marriage. The Emperour would not, neyther did the English thinke it fit their Queene should marrie with any one that had not the title of a King, so as the realme of Naples was assigned vnto him, and soone after the Duchie of Milan. Whereupon the Marques of Pescara was sent to Naples, to take possession in his name, which ceremonie was done the 25 of Nouember, with great solemnity in the presence of cardinall *Pacheco*, then viceroy, and of the prince of Bisignano, who was created Syndic of the city to that end.

*Philippe made king of Naples.*

*Death of pope Iulio the third.*

*Death of pope Marcell.*

*Pope Paul the fourth.*

*Death of queen Ioane the emperours mother.*

*Death of Henry of Albret king of Navarre.*

*Gouernors of Navarre.*

*Death of D. Pedro of Navarre Marquisse of Cortes.*

In the yeere 1555 died pope *Iulio de Monte*, hee was of a quiet disposition, louing his people, but irresolute in his greatest affaires; which grew of a desire he had to be friend both to the French king and Emperour, who hauing not that art that was requisite to reconcile their old quarrels, hee found himselfe often deceived in his designs, and was not beloued of any of them. He was succeeded by *Marcell Cernin* of Montepulciano, cardinall of Sancta Croix, a man of a verie good life, giuing great hope of his good gouernment; but hee died within three weekes after his election, confirming a common opinion in the people of Rome, that the Popes which change not their name, die presently. His successour *Iohn Peter Caraffa* cardinall of Ostia, failed not to change his name, whom they named *Paul* the fourth; hee was called *Chietin* or *Thietin*, of the name of an Order of religious men, whereof hee had bene the Author, at such time as hee was Bishop of Chieti or Thieti in Abruzzo, he was also surnamed the Warrior.

16 The same yeare Queene *Ioane* mother to the Emperour died in the towne of Tor-desillas, hauing bene alwayes troubled in her senses, and distracted, since the death of king *Philippe* her husband, vntill that she was threecore and fiftene yeeres old: this princess troubling her selfe infinitely for that she thought she was condemned, and that they kept her as a prisoner, this ambitious humour of command would not suffer her to take any rest, so as this sharpe and violent humor of melancholic, which she had as it were by inheritance from the Queene *D. Isabella* a Portugall, wife to *D. Iohn* the second King of Castille her grandmother, was continued and augmented in her.

17 *Henry* of Albret king of Navarre died about that time at Pau, in the fiftieth yeare of his age. He ordained as the Kings his predecessours had done, that he would be buried in Pampelone, whose bodie was layd at Lescar in Bearn. To whose possessions, and right to the realme of Nauarre, *Ioane* of Albret his onely daughter succeeded, being married to *Anthoine* of Bourbon duke of Vendosme. This realme detained by the Emperour, was in the meane time gouerned by Viceroyes: about the yeare one thousand fife hundred and fiftie by *D. Barnardin Cardenas* duke of Magueda, in whose time *D. Philippe* prince of the Asturias, and heire of Castille, Arragon &c. was sworne prince of Viana: and in the yeare one thousand fife hundred fiftie and two *D. Bertrand de la Cueva* duke of Albuquerque took vpon him the gouernement; it is hee that was in Guipulcoa whenas the French held Fontarrabie. By him there were certaine light enterprises made vpon the frontiers of France, and vpon the towne of Saint Iohn de Lus in the precedent warres, and by the diligence of the said Duke of Albuquerque, the prince *D. Philip* was declared king of Nauarre with the emperours consent, by the Estates of the Countrey, being assembled at Pampelone, in the yeere one thousand fife hundred fiftie and sixe. About this time *D. Pedro* of Navarre Marquisse of Cortes, and Marshall of the realme of Nauarre, died at Toledo, leauing for heire to his possessions *D. Ieronimo* of Nauarre, in fauour of whom her husband *D. Iohn de Benanides*, was made marshall.

The

1555

A The warre had bene verie hot these last yeares betwixt the French and the imperials, vpon the frontiers of Artois and Picardie, and in Piedmont; the which had extended into Tuscaine, whereas *Peter Stroff*, who commanded the French forces, was defeated into battell by the Marquisse of Marignan Generall for the emperor. Sienna had bene long beleeged by the Imperials, and defended by the French, but in the end it was yeilded, and made subiect to the duke of Florence. But the French notwithstanding this had successe in Tuscaine, began to grow strong in Piedmont, and seemed to threaten the duchie of Milan, where there wanted a Gouernour, *D. Ferdinand Gonzague* being called in Flaunders to iustifie himselfe, as hee did, of the flaunders wherewith hee was taxed by *D. Iohn de Luna* a Spaniard, Castell of Milan and the Chaunceller *Tauerne*. *Ruy Gomez de Silva* embraced this occasion, who being much beloued by king *Philip*, and finding the duke of Alba to be a great competitor in his Maiesties fauour, hee had practised long by all the policies of a Courtour to send him from Court, besides hee was suspected to fauour them that did molest *Ferdinand Gonzague*, to the end that being called thence, the duke might haue meanes to bee sent thither, with a large authoritie, the which succeeded according to his desire for the warre increasing in Piedmont, and ill managed by them that commanded, the king resolved, the emperours Councell being also of that minde, to send the duke of Alba, to reduce it into some better estate. But he would not accept of that charge, which indeed was great and weighty, if hee might not haue such authoritie giuen him, as hee might gouerne with honour, and hope of good successe. Wherefore hee obtained a title, which was neuer before graunted to any of the emperours Ministers, passing with full power and authoritie to gouerne the realme of Naples, and the duchie of Milan, as well in peace as in warre, and to gouerne all as if his Majestic were there in person. And for that hee knew how weake the forces were in Italie, for want of money, before his departure he would haue great prouision made both from the lowe countries, Spaine and Italie; so as with an opinion to doe great matters, not onely by the same of his authoritie and valour, but by the great sum of money which was assigned him, he gaue order for his speedy passage beyond the Alpes. Hee sent Commissions before to haue men, artillerie, munition, victuals, and pioneers in a readinesse, and himselfe came in post the twelfth of Iune to Milan, the successe of that warre you may read in its proper historie. The duke of Alba hearing of some alteration intended vpon the confines of the realmes of Naples, was invited to goe thither (notwithstanding that the king had already sent *Bernardine* of Mendosa thither, with the title of Lieutenant, in the place of Cardinall *Pacecco*, who went away hearing of the dukes arriall in Italie) making *Iohn Baptista Castaldo* his Lieutenant in the state of Milan.

*Sienna leset her libertie.*

*Duke of Alba sent Viceroy into Italie.*

*Emperour Charles resignes the Gouernment to his son*

18 The emperor this yeare one thousand fife hundred fiftie and fife, broken with toyles of the world, and willing to free himselfe of so great a burthen, and to satisfie the desire of his sonne king *Philip*, to whom although he had giuen the title of King of Naples, and afterwards of duke of Milan, yet the gouernment remained at the disposition of the emperours councell, he resolved to renounce the absolute gouernment with the titles of those realmes & states, except the empire, to the which his brother *Ferdinand* should succeed. So calling his sonne into Flaunders, he made this renunciation with great ceremonies, in the town of Brussels, the fife and twentieth day of October in a great assembly of the Nobilitie, Prelates, and deputies of townes, the Queene of Hungarie, and *Maximilian* the emperours sonne in law, with some other princes being present, but all Spaniards, officers & others of what qualitie soeuer, were put out of the hall, and not any suffered to stay, but such as had busines, or had bene called. So as from that time all matters were handled by the said kings Councell, and he was called both king of Spaine and Catholike. But before the resignation of all his realmes and estates in this honourable assembly, he gaue these instructions vnto his Sonne for the better gouernment of his estate.

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### The instructions of the emperour Charles, when hee re- signed his estates, vnto his Sonne Philip.

I haue resolued (most deare son) to come now to the point of resigning into your hands the full administration and absolute gouernment of al my estates & realms, as I haue often told you; wherefore my pleasure is, that against the morning you giue order for the performance of this act with all due ceremonies: you shall also giue order with speed, by sending messengers into euery part, that both gouernors, inferior magistrates and people, acknowledge you (as in duty they are bound) for their superior, yeelding you due obedience, & that al persons (except such as are subiect to the empire) take the oath of allegiance. The like oath I will haue the generals of armies & al the commanders of martiall forces take, that they may from henceforth in the point of loyalty depend vpon your selfe & no other. The more rare this president is of princes which haue bin content to resigne their estates vnto their successors, the greater are the signs not only of my loue to you, but of the assurance I haue of your good inclination, & my great care to see your estate settled. I could defer this act (as most princes doe) vntill my death; but hauing a desire rather to imitate the smaller number of fathers in this point, I haue chosen willingly by this act in my life time, to make my selfe superior, rather than a companion to any. It is a weak trial of the valor & resolution of a prince, to subdue kingdoms by force, in comparison of conquering himselfe, being thus far content not only to bridle al ambition & desire of rule, but to submit himselfe to a certain kind of obedience. Against this course, sensuality doth striue with all her force, and in exchange of al worldlie satisfactions which are enjoyed by the prerogative of absolute authoritie, setteth before our eyes the rigor of the laws, to which as to a common bounder, princes (setting their authoritie aside) must leuell all their actions, as well as priuat men. To blind our vnderstanding farther with like vailles, the same sensuall consideration stirreth vp by way of admonition a prouident forecast of diuers inconueniences whereinto many fall, that haue made themselves subiect to the will of other men, by the diuersitie of their conceits and censures, the which by the corruption of the care of priuat interest are apt to swarue from the right rule of integritie. It may be that some will be terrified with this common supposition; that princes which are once possessed of authoritie may resigne it at their owne pleasures, but they must resume it at the pleasures of other men. Yet fatherly affection hath preuailed in me more than all these zealous considerations, and querie also in some part, for finding my selfe now aged (which may bee accompted greater in regard of my sickely estate) my satietie of glory in this world, and wearinesse of toile; finding moreover that by my continuall trauell vnto this day, I could not satisfie in any part the duetie which belongeth vnto the profession of a Christian; I find my selfe inflamed with a most earnest desire to free my selfe from so manie troublesome incommbrances, and then retire my selfe to a meere religious kind of life, and more fit for a Christian. On the other side the consideration of your age, being now ripe and fit for gouernment, together with the expectation which you haue gotten in the world by managing the greatest affaires of Spaine with great iudgement, do moue me the rather to proceed in my resolution. Being moued by all these good considerations, I haue thought it fit to lay this weighty burthen vpon your shoulders, and to ease mine owne, which time and trauell haue now weakened and disabled. I do confidently hope that the subjects of al my prouinces shall haue cause to thanke God first, and then me, for this resolution, in respect of the gracious vantage they shall receiue at your hands, succeeding in my place: neither is it hurtfull vnto your selfe, that by his occasion during my life, you shall settle your selfe more firmly in my dominions.

It remaineth then (my most deere Sonne) that with the same tender and fatherly affection which hath moued me to this, I put you in minde also, that aboue all things you set before your eyes, the feare of God, which ought to be the ground of ciuill gouernment, and so to frame (as much as in you lies) the hearts of your subjects, keeping carefully in mind that which wee cannot prouide (by reason of this short & transitory life) by any other means, more worthily & more honorably, then by leauing vnto the world

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A when we are gone a good report of our commendable actions. Persuade not your selfe (deare sonne) that because the prerogative of commanding many estates giues great satisfaction and libertie in this world, which euer flattereth the sense of man, that it is not in like manner accompanied with many crosses, and often intermingled with a kind of subiection, either by the restlesse ielousie with which the mindes of Princes that demeane themselves disorderly are tormented, or in respect of the continual care which they take for the preleruation of their estates. Deceiue not your selfe in beleeuing that the regiment hath any kind of proportion with those mightie burthens which are imposed on you by my giuing place; for whereas Spain is a realme of ancient succession, and therefore firme and secure, the estates of Flaunders, Italie, and Germanie, are more strange vnto you, besides they are more variable and troublesome in their owne disposition; and their opportunity of crauing aide from Princes which are mighty & busie which confine vpon their countries is more dangerous. Ad hereunto that many kingdoms bring many cares, for euery smal addition (where the burthen was sufficient before) putteth al things out of order, euen as a stomacke which hath once receiued what sufficeth nature, euery superfluous bit causeth an indigestion & surfet of that which shold serue for sustenance. He makes a great tryal of himselfe that gouerns one state well, but to gouern more than one well, is almost aboue the force of man. No man can at one time attend diuers actions, for euery ship must haue her proper pilot, euery armie his general, & much more doth euery estate craue a particuler gouernor. But the greedines of man hath so much exceeded these prefixed boundes, & forced reason with such violent assaults, as the greater princes are the more desirous they are to get. It is now held basenes, not onely to depart from any thing already gotten, being more than enough, but not to seek by al means to increase it. But seeing reason is so far ouermastered herein by sensuality, and that our age is wholly disposed to ambitious designs, I wil forbear to spend any more idle words, in perswading you to that, the contrarie whereof is generally obserued. I wil rather yeeld this libertie to the worlds abuse; with this excuse notwithstanding, that either all, or the greater part (and especially those that are accompted generous) do the like, and would euer do, if opportunity and means were answerable to their desires. But yet I require you with all loue, that you endeavour

D by all means to correct this common error, and aspiring humor in your selfe, aiming at a greater good, which is, to gouern wel those subjects that are vnder your command: the which is honorable to the world, & acceptable in the sight of God. To this end I must let you vnderstand that the liues of princes stand like glasse before their subjects eyes, who looking daily into the same, as the liuelie mirrors wherunto they should endeavour to conform their courses with al obedience & loyalty, they discern more easily the good & bad that is therein exemplified: wherefore how circumspect and powerfull fouer princes be, they must not thinke that their actions can bee concealed from the world; for although during their own liues they may sometimes seale vp their subjects mouths, stay their tongues and restrain their pens, yet soon after they wil breake out with greater violence, & inueigh

E more bitterly against their honors. Wherefore let your carriage be such towards your subjects, that in respect of the great care they find you haue of the, they may the better like of your directions, repose themselves vpon your wisdom, & liue securely & contentedly vnder the protection of your valor, for that the mutuall affection & loue betwixt the prince and his subjects, doth vndoubtedly spring from this root. Remember alwaies, that it is fit that he which gouerneth a state, shold be as vigilant & carefull of the quiet & safety thereof, as a shepheard is of his flock, or housholder of his familie. To giue a certaine rule concerning this point, I would haue you to vnderstand that all the cares which princes take of their estates are referred to the consideration of one of these two times, that is, either of peace or war, betwixt which two al our actions are spent, and therefore it is wisely said, that the maiesty of a prince hath as great need to be assisted with a council of great policie & wise fore-cast in time of peace, as of a great and strong armie in time of war. Wherefore a princes whole care & course ought to be in the first time to haue a respect to his subjects quiet & content, and in the later to their securitie, from whence groweth satisfaction on both sides. And men without al question are more securely gouerned with good intreaty vnder a voluntarie subiection, than by inforced seruitude, and more firmly kept in obedience

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ence by loue than by violence. A Prince should euer prefer the leauing of his dominions to his successors by meanes of the peoples loue, lesse absolute & more durable, than by their feare lesse durable, yet more absolute: It is feare that holds the subjects loyes, and brideth their insolent desires, but no longer than some fresh occasiō is offered to shake this seruile yoke from their necks, and to settle their loyes and loyalities vpon some other mightie potentate, who shall bee both willing and able to protect them from all wrongs, which being once done, they will neuer be willingly drawne to their first obedience. It doth also often happen that the secret hatred which proceedeth from feare, inforceth them without any respect to make attempts for their deliuerie. Some hold that the best way for a prince to keepe his people quiet, is to keepe them poore: but in my opinion they stray much from the path of policie: The reason is, for that euerie hope or likelihood of bettering their estates vnder other rulers, moueth them to lay newe plots, and to desire innouations. I doe as little allow of their policie, who to diuert their subjects from practising any alterations: hold them in continuall action, especially if their employments be barbarous and base; for besides that it breakes their hearts, experience doth teach that for desire of ease they will affect alterations, for as the end of feare deserues reproofe, so the meanes that leade therunto are also reprooueable. How much the way of winning the peoples loue ought to be preferred before the course of keeping them in awe, may easily appeare by a due consideration of the causes from whence these affections haue their beginning: The causes of the peoples loue are justice, gracious vsage, and fauours, all which deserue praise: The causes of their feare are grieuances, ill vsage and oppression, which merit blame. Looke what the cause is, such is commonly the effect, whereby it followes necessarily, that as out of loue is drawne a regiment more firme and stable, though more moderate, so out of feare proceedes a kind of power more absolute in shew, but yet lesse durable: the like proportion holdes in the peoples hearts, for where they loue there is all satisfaction, mirth, sweeter conuersation and dutifull respect, but where they feare, there is suspicion, strangenes, discontent, quarrels, melancholie. Out of the impressions which feare breeds wee can expect no better fruits than hatred, but from that deuotion which loue kindleth assured confidence, whereupon we ground the common prouerbe, Loue is among kinsfolkes, and feare among enemies. The parts which beside respect of Religion, are required in a Prince for the better gouernment of his estates, & settling in his subjects hearts a loue, and reuerent respect both of his person & state, are chiefly three, Faith, Iustice & Continencie: Faith makes him intire in all his proceedings, and a man of his word, for without it no man would giue credit either to his practises or promises: Continencie makes him to be reuerenced with respect, and imitated with commendation; it giueth him an excellent aduantage in a large field, correcting feuerely the faults of subjects that offend in that degree, the which he could not doe without blushing if himselfe were culpable: Iustice teacheth a prince how to reward the good and to punish the bad, to giue euerie man his due, to restraine men by correction that are apt to erre, & to encourage others by rewards that are desirous to deserue wel: besides it makes the princes bloud, his honor, and his estate secure, without which vertue no force is able to keepe the subjects faithfully affected to their Soueraigne, for it is the propertie of all people when as they neither find reward of good deserts, nor punishment of offences, to grow first into distrust, & then into despair, which passions corrupt their minde, hauing once gotten the mastery. Wherefore let the due consideration of what is iust and honest be alwaies preferred in all your princely purposes, that being once settled in the subjects hearts, that iustice is duely admistrated, they will euer remaine satisfied with your direction, especially if besides this fauour, they liue in abundance, hauing free traffike to all parts, and quietnesse of minde, for men toile and trauell during the course of their liues, not only for their Princes & superiors, but for themselves and families. Doubtlesse, to maintain the people in abundance of all things necessarie for the preservation of their liues, is not only commendable in a prince, but doth worke great effects in winning the hearts of men, the which may be easily provided for, by a carefull fore-sight of the times of dearth, making diligent prouision for necessities in due time, so as the benefitte may who-

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A lie redound to the peoples ease, and not to the princes gaine, by inhaunsing of prices and preferring of priuate benefite before publike content. A prince may alwaies hold himselfe rich when as his subjects that liue vnder him, are rich; for vpon any extremitie he shall bee frankly releued by their beneuolence: good vsage setteth their loyes, and bindeth their deuotions. Experience teacheth, that fauours of this kind are neuer forgotten, that a small consideration in time of need winnes more vnfaigned loue than greater benefites when there is plentie: And that those fauours haue alwaies had deepest impressions in mens gratefull thought, which concerne maintenance and the preservation of life in time of necessitie. It is sufficient for a prince in this cause of prouision, to take order that hee lose not by the bargaine, or if hee desire to gaine something for the releefe of other charges, let it bee no more than an honest merchant with a good conscience may gaine, for to these bounds may the politike prouision of princes ayme, but no farther, either in respect of honour or authoritie. If a Prince will bee beloued of his people, hee must giue them cause to thinke that hee loueth them, assuring himselfe that their thankfulness must grow from his desert, their loue from his prouidence, & their content fro the peace and securitie which they enioy vnder him, and that according to the fruits of fauour which the people reape by the Princes policie, they frame themselves to liue contentedly, vnder the gracious shadow and protection of his princely wings, relying vpon his wisdom and carefull gouernement. C being in it selfe both burthen some and odious, they would soone take some new course to settle their quiet and securitie by some other means, freeing themselves from all cause of feare, which (as I haue said before) is lesse durable, and lesse secure, and therefore lesse pleasing to the state of a Christian Gouernour. Let no Prince imagine that with solempne shewes and publike fights alone subjects are delighted and pleased in their own conceits, for those things are not acceptable, but whe as their minds are satisfied in matters which do import them more. Vpon this ground and to the same end I must also aduise you in any case to vse that moderation which is fit in charging the people with tributes or any other kind of impositions, for albeit that States cannot bee ruled without some kind of releefe, in respect of the manie occasions and excessive charges wherewith Princes are D burthened in times of peace, but much more in time of war, yet vnto euerie thing there belongs a meane, which in all occurrents is the perfect rule of humane actions, especially those which any way grieue the subjects hearts, considering that euerie princes power is grounded vpon their conformitie to his directions and vniforme assent to serue and honor him: wherefore this meane must be sought out with all care, & being found it must be put in practise with great temperance; and worthily preferred before all other courses, seeme they neuer so commodious and profitable. If the continuall toile of warre hath inforced mee at anie time to holde a heauie hand ouer my subjects in this kinde, I protest this course was alwaies against mine owne liking. Touching this point of obseruing E of a prince, whether they be publike or priuate, are raised two waies, the first by augmentation of the old, the other by addition of new, for vnto these two heads all the inuentions to get money which are put in practise by the princes of our age may be reduced.

In like maner the waies by which mony may be drawn from the subject & others, are voluntarie or forced. The voluntarie may be contained in the sale of customs, offices, and other like alienations of commodities and rents. That which is forced may in like maner be exemplified in such taxes and ordinarie tributes, as are imposed vpon the people with out recompence: the first hath in it a kind of sweetnesse, for that it is feldome vrged by necessity: wherefore it is requisite to limit the other kind by this, and when necessity requires rather to sel offices & rents, than to inuent any new graciūces to the people. I haue many F times resolved with my selfe to deale after this maner, but haue euer bin diuerted by occurrences from bringing into my state that custom of selling of offices, and making magistrats for life, which is vsed in the court of Rome, for it is a matter of great import, & a means to bring a sudden gain into the princes purse, for the next vacatiō, either by remoue, imploiment, or death, yeeldeth as much or very little lesse than the ordinarie rent, which by

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their accompt is to bee answered. No doubt this was a course of great confidence, and of especiall commoditie to the superiour, as may bee gathered by this reason of experience: That the Popes in how great poueritie fouer they finde the Church at their first entrie to the Sea, yet they neuer want meanes to procure money after the first beginning of their government.

It is true that in the Court of Rome, as it should seeme, the sale of Offices, which haue annexed vnto them ordinarie administration of iustice, brings not so great danger vnto the State, as it would doe in other Realmes; for that auarice is not the chiefe obiect in that place, of mens intents, but rather hope to raise themselves to greater honour from this ground, and access to all times vnto the Pope, vpon this occasion, which carrieth with it many other especiall comodities. But the Princes of the world may in like manner deuise to set ambition in the eye of Officers, as the obiect and end of their offer to buye Offices, by rewarding such as carrie themselves well with great honours, and disgracing those that shall deale otherwise. By this meanes you may change the object of your Officers, from couetousnesse to a desire of rule, and to supply the humours of authoritie, which is alwaies accessarie to Ambition.

The second meanes to seeke reliefe from the subiect (which I termed forced) is heauie and odious, yet by the good discretion of Ministers which deale in those affaires, and by the presidents of other countries lying neere about, where they are oppressed by their Governours, this griefe may bee much qualified. The Prince in this case may doe much good vnto himselfe, by giuing easie access vnto his person when occasion doth serue; for hee must take a fit time to acquaint them with his occasions, hee must seeke in some sort to free himselfe of their hard conceits, and ease the other part by fauours of another kinde: hee must iustifie his actions in the iudgement of the world, eyther by prouing the cause of this grievance to bee verie vrgent, or colouring the same so cunningly as it may at the least appeare so, or endeavouring to send some away satisfied, if it bee possible. This not voluntarie, or forced way, is subdiuided into two other parts, into perpetuall burthens, as customes, or temporarie: as subsidies: and this later at the time of the first imposing, makes people to grieve for a while in respect of the paine which pincheth them, but this grieefe cannot long endure, for that one instant, and one payment freeth them, especially if the prince make protestation of his vnwillingnesse, and with all make apparent to the peoples meane capacitie; the necessarie cause that vrgeth him thereunto. The other kind is farre more grievous and offensive, albeit in time the people grow better acquainted with that course, and beare it as well as they can, for that there is no remedie. Sodaine impositions, although they seeme grievous at the first, yet by a prince whose lineall succession is not well settled, ought to bee preferred, as portions which are more sharp and yet more quicke in operation, are before those that are more gentle, yet long and tedious in curing the sicke; and the rather in this case, for that Princes colers are suddenly replenished. Aboue all things you must haue a great care, that during the leuie of this aid, your Officers adde nothing to the burthen, either by extremitie, discurtesie, or demand of fees, for we find daily that by such extraordinarie extortions, men are more incensed in respect of the wrong and violence, then with the principall, which is disbursed for the satisfaction of their Soueraigne. The subiect is much impouerished by this hard course, and yet the Prince reapes no benefit thereby; nay, when hee shall haue need to craue a new supply and aide from them, hee findes them more feeble and lesse able to relieue his wants. Rents increase by raising new impositions vpon occasions, by bettering the trade, by reducing forfeitures to the princes pleasure, by limiting all necessarie charges; and cutting off such as are superfluous. The field of raising new rents is exceeding large, yet the prince is bound to walke in it with all possible respect, so farre as it comportes the peoples grievance: hee must especially abstaine from imposing of heauie customes vpon such things as his subiects are enforced to send abroad, as Sicile doth graine, and the Realme of Naples wine and Silke. The like consideration is to be had of things brought in from foraine parts for the supply of other wants at home: for vpon

As vpon these two reasons experience and time hath grounded the ordinarie traffique that holdeth betwixt countries for their naturall necessities. Wherefore in these causes princes ought to haue a care that their reuenues may bee answered in a meane, rather than by excesse; for the more moderate customes are; the greater store of needfull things are brought home vnto our doores, in respect of the great gaine which marchants make by selling at the second hand; and for the like respect the greater store of superfluous things are transported by the subiects into foraine parts. By this meanes the rent is rayfed farre about the measure which a great imposition would yeeld: The people want no foraine commodities for their reliefe, and yet their purses are filled by the vent of superfluous things at home; so as they may be the better able both to satisfie their princes custome, and contribute also vpon such reasonable occasions as shall occur in policie: vpon other things which are rather brought in for wantonnesse and pleasure, than for necessarie vse, a more weightie imposition may bee layed, for the estate (which may well forbear these losse commodities) is not dammed thereby, if some, to satisfie their humors, will needs buy, it skilleth not though they pay somewhat deerer for their fantasies. Besides, some are discouraged sometimes with the great price, which otherwise would acquaint themselves too much with the pleasures which make men effeminate. Princes that seeke to increase their old rents, by raising of their wonted impositions, must be careful, that they doe it rather with a limitation of the customers commoditie and gaine, that leuies it, than with the peoples losse, that answers it: for a grievance in this kind were in effect as ill as any other imposition. There must be a care also taken, that a conuenient respite may be allowed the subiect for the payment of his taske. As for example, if the prince haue need of money in Summer, then to seise the subiects the Winter before; for they are apt to take the time of this delay for a kind fauour. This leuie of money must be put into the hands of ordinarie officers, and not to appoint any new to disquiet them, or to rife their wealth, vnder colour of seruice to the State; for such parts are most hateful vnto them. But, as I sayed before, a prince ought first to consider, whether it be possible by selling or ingaging some part of his reuenues, to supplie the vrgent occasions of his estate, before hee seeke to helpe himselfe by the purse and sweat of his subiects: for otherwise, as the wiser sort perceiue that, whatsoever they doe or say, they shall bee still forced to contribute to their superiour; that on the one side their old burthens are increased, and on the other, all meanes cut off, by which they might haue vent for their commodities; all traffique either ouerthrowen, or much decayed, by the which they were wont to releue their wants with foraine commodities, it is not possible but they will eagerly desire an alteration, and attempt it by all meanes possible. Touching this point of molesting the subiects with impositions as little as may be; it importeth much, that they be agreeable to the nature of the countrey where they liue; that the people may beare the burthen more easily; for from those places which yeeld nothing but men, princes may not demand money. England yeeldeth an example of this kind; for on that side which lyeth next to Scotland, they seise not their borderers. You your selfe may draw some money out of Spaine, Germanie, and Flanders, when occasion doth serue, but out of Italie both men and treasure. Moreover, when you impose any burthen, it is not amisse to set the rate in the beginning high, that the people may hold it as a fauour, when as, at their request, it is brought to some reasonable tearmes. They may be eased also, by admitting their excuses which they make in respect of time, and giuing eare with patience to that which they are able to alledge for some tollerations; you must alwayes haue a care to leaue them satisfied in some sort, at the least to comfort them with kind words; and make them capable of the just cause that moued you. You must lay before them the times, the reasons, and the occasions which inforce this course, providing alwayes, that all gracious dealing may be thought to proceed from your selfe; and whatsoever is offensive, sharpe or odious, referre it to your officers. You must moreover haue an especiall care, that all profits so dearly purchased with the peoples groanes, be brought to your owne hands, and not employed on distributed to the priuar vse of persons that are put in trust to gather it vnder you. It importeth also your estate very much (decreit soine) to keepe credit with the marchant, which will alwayes succeed happily; so long

long as you assigne vnto them conuenient commodities, in consideration of their bonds, G  
and maintaine them euer in securitie, especially with the state of Germanie you must take  
this course, for the holding them thus ingaged in your estates and realmes, by reason of  
their interest and bonds, without erecting of any sorts, which they detest much. You  
may no lesse assure your selfe of that Estate which is of great importance in Italie, than  
the French king held the Florentines tied vnto him by the trade of Lions, as wee haue  
found by plaine experience. Now seeing it is not possible that a prince of many estates  
and countries (should alone be able to gouerne them all, nor any one of them (all things  
considered) it is requisite that this defect be supplied by the meanes of ministers and  
deputies, that may helpe to support so great a burthen: Vherupon it followes of necessitie, H  
that to chuse such as be worthie and sufficient in all respects, is a matter which doth much  
import the State; wherefore I will speake vnto at large of this matter, to the end you  
should not want a rule to know them, and imploy them in the seruice of the State. I  
would haue you consider, that the properties belonging to worthie ministers are these:  
First and principally, wisdome and vnderstanding how to manage their affaires that are  
committed to their charge; secondly, loue to their superiour; and lastly, vertue in them-  
selues: to the end that by wisdome they may haue knowledge, and by vertue dispositi-  
on to execute the trust: for otherwise, either through ignorance they shall not know, or  
by frowardnesse refuse, or through malice grudge, to discharge their duties. These are  
the qualities without the which the prince cannot relye vpon their worth, nor the peo- I  
ple be pleased with their actions. But as there is great difficultie both in finding out and  
observing such, so experience doth teach, that all princes which haue been serued by men  
of such sufficiencie in these degrees, haue ruled happily, with great contentment to their  
subiects, and eternall glory to themselves, notwithstanding that they haue themselves bin  
somewhat dissolute: for what made the name of the Emperor *Iulianus* immortal, besides  
his profound knowledge, but the great worth of his counsellors & ministers, both in peace  
and war; for by their helpe in both seasons he effected great matters. Doubtlesse it is an  
argument of great wisdome in a prince, when as nature hath not enabled him in the first  
kind of perfection, which is, out of his owne sufficiencie to rule the State, yet at the least  
to marshall himselfe in the second ranke, which is, of such as imploy men in their seruice K  
that are capable, for thus they draw the quintessence of many pregnant wits to their own  
vse, and grow to vnderstand more than a number that know by themselves: as foure eyes  
must needs see more than two, by the course of nature. But wee may hold that prince vn-  
fortunat, which resteth in a third proportion, being neither able of himselfe, nor willing  
to giue eare to others that are more sufficient. A prince can neuer want meanes to reple-  
nish his owne Court with men fit for his seruice, if he will be carefull to seeke them out  
where they are, esteeme them, and acknowledge their defects, by good effects. Let him  
rather make the first motion, and not deprive himselfe by daintinesse of a worthie seruant:  
for that prince is rather proud than politicke, who perswadeth himselfe, for that his  
treasures are greater than other mens, therefore euerie man should creepe before they L  
call, especially the wise and vertuous, who many times carrie minds as haucie as  
princes, and in that respect desire not to submit their liberties to the will of any  
man, preferring the freedom of a meane fortune, before the golden fetters of a prince  
that either knowes them not, or regards them not. The reason is, for that wisdome  
and vertue are in themselves a kind of superiouritie, or rather the verie true superiouritie it  
selfe, for that we see that Empires, treasure, fortunes, fauours, and naturall ornaments, are  
subiect to corruption and change, by alteration of time, or accidents, as it pleaseth God  
to dispose: But the riches of the mind, such as wisdome and vertue are, can neuer be di-  
uided from the partie that possesseth them. The minds of honest men are much estran-  
ged, when they find how little their superiors esteeme them, preferring a wicked and lewd M  
person before a loyall heart, a flatterer before a faithfull minister, a man puffed vp with  
vnderfered fauours, before him that seeketh to purchase grace by desert, an idle drone  
before a painefull officer. Those princes erre exceedingly, which want iudgement to  
conceiue, that vertue cannot bee valued, that it deserueth more than any one can  
giue: that all fauours which a prince bestoweth vpon worthie seruants, are both honou-  
rable

A rable and profitable, and that a prince cannot imploy his treasure with greater gaine by  
interest in any trade, than by rewarding such as are both vertuous and politike. No-  
thing can bee made more plaine, nothing can be found more necessarie; considering  
how impossible it is, that any prince should either winne great honour, or achieue  
great matters, without able ministers. Beware you erre not in this point, but seeke  
for worthie seruants, and retaine them in your seruice with all honour and preferment,  
setting this downe for a Maxime, That in a matter of importance a resolute and wise  
Counsellor shall stand you more in stead with his sound aduice and iudgement, than  
your legions of souldiers with their armes, or whole mountaines of treasure in your  
cofers.

B Doe not beleue, for that a prince is wise and vigilant himselfe, he therefore needs  
not any able ministers; nay, you may obserue, that the greatest princes of the world haue  
always sought to draw vnto them the greatest number of rare men. Who was euer  
attended on by a greater number of this qualitie, than *Cesar*? whom I hold to haue  
bene the greatest prince that to this day, both in peace and warre, hath either ru-  
led ouer prouinces, or commaunded armies. It seemeth rather, that these propor-  
tions and qualities are linked together with an indissoluble knot, that when the  
prince is valiant and wise, so are his officer, when the prince is faint-hearted, so are  
his ministers.

C If we allow a grounded excellencie in the prince, it is to be presumed, that the same  
can neuer brooke an insufficiencie in those that attend on him, whereas the weakenesse  
of the princes iudgement cannot be capable of his seruants excellencie. From hence  
our common prouerbe taketh his first originall; Like will to like: Equals are most apt  
to content in loue; and hee that will ghesse probably of the disposition of a stranger,  
whom hee knoweth not, must consider with whom hee keepeth companie. Consider  
of this poynt of imployment and election with an especiall care (my most deere  
sonne) and herein it shall be sufficient for you to imitate and follow me, your father, a-  
longe, who during the course of my life haue induoured to haue about me men of great-  
est esteeme, both for counsell and execution. To the care which is to bee had in respect  
D of them, for their vertue, wisdome, integritie, and loue, I would haue you also  
for your owne part bee carefull to imploy such persons in the affaires of Italie, as are  
best acquainted with their humors, and are most futable to the conditions of that  
State; providing that they may bee thoroughly instructed in those points, without re-  
spect of any priuate interest, or speciall loue or bond to any. The like course I would  
haue you take in Spaine, and your other Estates, especially in chusing the leaders of  
your armies; for vndoubtedly the fitnessse of your ministers for those places which they  
hold, is a matter of verie great importance in all actions of gouernement. We read  
of *Hanibal*, That he was most fortunate at land, yet verie vnhappie in all actions be-  
longing to the sea. And how many doe wee find in generall experience, which are  
E exceeding fit for the nature of one people, and vnfit for another. Sometimes wee meet  
with persons absolutely wise, and that carrie themselves with great commendations in  
all places, and at all times, and vpon all occasions that are incident to their charge; but  
wee find them rare: of others that are onely fit for speciall affaires there is no great plen-  
tie in the world, and therefore they must bee imployed in that facultie wherein they  
are held most sufficient to serue: for it is a matter of no small importance, to make  
choyce of such a minister to any end, as is found most excellent in his owne pro-  
fession.

Make your speciall choyce out of diuers ages, and diuersitie of gifts, for so shall  
you bee sure to light on those that are most fit. Bee carefull that vnder your most  
F trustie and most sufficient Counsellors, some may bee trayned and instructed for the  
seruice, when their date is at an end, least otherwise the fortune of your great gouernment  
seeme to be bounded within the terme of their continuance; for priuat persons haue  
their periods, but policies in States well gouerned should be perpetuall. Let the Romans  
serue for an example in this case, who to preuent the danger that might grow by com-  
mitting the burthen of direction to one onely man, assigned by way of succession (in case  
he

he should perish that had the chiefe command) sundrie gouernors vnto euerie armie. In any case beware you do not lay your most important causes in a time of danger, vpon the shoulders of such persons as were neuer made acquainted with affaires of equall weight: When any such occasion doth happen, your safest course is, alwaies to preferre the judgement of your eldest counsellors, who speake out of experience.

Aim not at honor in the choice of your counsellors; respect those of a middle age, where gifts are answerable: for as the yonger sort is commonly euer credulous and bold, so others that are neuer called vntill their later daies, are suspitious, incredulous, irrefolute, and commonly leaue the world before they can be made fit for their calling: but they that haue made prooue of their sufficiencie for the space of many yerres, and vpon verie dangerous occasions, waxing white headed with the toile of seruice, and the cares of gouernement, ought euer to be reuerenced and respected, as a necessary wrett to turne the jarring strings of disagreeing humors at a counsell board, to perfect harmonic. I would also haue you in this point of imitating the militarie discipline of Rome, to make a medley of your counsell, betwixt wise old men, and yong men of great hope: for such a speare, like vnto that of the Pithagorians, consisting of so many sundrie parts, as treble, meane, & base, will yeeld that sweet consent which is to be wished in all policie. By this meane princes shall not need to make their musicke of one string, they need not build vpon one hope, nor addit selfeluces to one certaine qualitie: for many times among those that are young of yerres, we find persons old of vnderstanding, and among aged men, counsellors that haue Greene heads, and flourish both in wit and fortitude. In this case, such young men are accounted old, and such old esteemed yong: The middle sort are to be marshalled on either side, as their conditions and qualities incline to one or other, more or lesse; for ministers ought not to be respected for their yerres onely, but for their judgements, manners, and conditions in the execution of their charges. And yet, besides these ordinarie objects, according to the age and qualitie of euerie one, seeke also to haue knowledge of their natures and priuat affections: for it is not sufficient for a generall that conducteth an armie through any country, to haue a generall Idea of the country in his mind: but it is requisite he should haue a particular knowledge of the country it selfe, whether it abound with water & other necessarie prouisions, or be in want, which first of all causeth a dearth, and then ruine. A prince must euer presuppose, that although the quicke conceit of some ripe heads, makes them soone to take instruction of a new charge, recommended by superiors, and to grow fit for the managing thereof, the greater part notwithstanding is for a time vncapable, and during that time may commit disorders, and offend the subiects in their customes, priuiledges, and rights: which, seeme they neuer so sleight, either in respect of themselves, or of any other accidents of lesse account, yet must they needs be valued according to the rate which they had in generall opinion, and the great disturbance which is bred by want of obseruation; for small spatckles may kindle a great fire, if they be not quencht in due time, with moderation.

Now that you may the better know who are the wise and worthie ministers, that deserue imploiment in your estate, you must vnderstand, that true wisdom may be gotten by foure meanes especially: The first is, by experience of occurrents in the world; wherefore it is said, That they which practise much, must needs learne much: And this kind of wisdom our auncestors exemplified in their owne kings, the Greekes especially in *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*: who by varietie of matters put into their hands, and by occasion of that which by their accidents and consultations they generally vnderstand, may easily grow wise, and learne (as the proverbe faith) at the charges of other men. The second meane is, by the instruction of histories; for thus they come to knowledge both of actions and reasons, in times past; they marke their applications and effects, and thereby setting downe rules vnto themselves, for the direction of their owne affairs, not onely purchase honor and reputation by their knowledge, but wax great by the toile of other men. Of this kind we may find paternes both in *Solon* and *Socrates*. The third course is, by traueling into diuers countries, and by obseruing the diuersitie of lawes and policies: for this particular collection of foraine wisdom, may be sensibly applied to particular occasions of their owne. And this kind of wisdom is ascribed vnto *Vlisses* by Antiquitie. The fourth

meanes

A meanes to attaine vnto it, is, by long life: for although a man should learne but one good lesson euerie yere, yet time, at length, would make him generally wise. *Neslor* may stand in this degree for a faire president, of whom it is plainly said, that he vnderstood very much for that he had liued very long. And I cannot see how a young man may be capable of any of the other three first kinds of wisdom, both for that he cannot in a short time gaine so great experience, as is necessarie to this effect; and moreover, youth wanteth that well seasoned consideration that is requisite: neither are a few yerres sufficient for men to traue, well, and to obserue that which breedeth judgement. Lastly in respect of the defect and want of time, he cannot draw a true picture of that apprehension which old age hath gathered. I denie not, but by the meanes of some prudent ministers & counsellors, a young prince may attaine to all foure kinds at once, if he retaine about him a conuenient number of men, wise in their degrees, and not onely vse their counsell in his great affaires, but with all regard follow it.

Wherefore there ought to be great regard had in the choice of these men, especially to chuse wise men, which by way of instruction and historie, can conceiue, especially with any small experience of the affairs of the world, and the benefit of their many yerres, which is the most secure, and least deceitfull mixture of these kinds of wisdom, that can be limited; saying that those persons which are best furnished with all these kinds, ought to be preferred before all others. The wisdom of ministers, ought to be referred to the same two times we haue formerly spoken of, of peace and warre, whereunto all the considerations, forecast, and prouisions of a prince, ought to be directed.

The goodnesse of ministers and officers, which is the second part that is required in them, may be judged of by the good name which they do carrie, and by their good behaviours. A man is said to do well foure waies, by chance, by cunning, by the beginning of the habit it selfe, and after that by vsage and practise, if it be fully perfected. Good workes done by chance, or to a cunning end, are distinguished from those that are done at the first beginning of the habit, for that they neuer spring from any vertuous intention, as the other do, though both may be indifferently accompanied with good effects. And for that the secrets of the mind are hard to be discovered by the judgement of man, for that God alone doth see the inward part of our hearts: wherefore men do greatly erre in making vse of them, being impossible to attaine to a perfect knowledge of those persons, but by a continuall obseruation of their actions with speciall care. In the first kind, which is of things done well by chance, it is not possible there should be any good intention, for that the patient neuer thinks of that he hath in hand. Much lesse in the second, where all is directed to a cunning end, for that malice bears the sway. The third and fourth degrees, where men either begin a vertuous habit, or haue attained it, the intent is alwaies good; yet the effects and operations of the third doe not alwaies fall out so happily as of the fourth: for the third proceeds sometimes from a sence not fully sedled, nor thoroughly corrected by the restraint of reason, & raines of vertue, which onely ruleth their intents, and accompanieth their actions, else there should be more difference betwixt the members of this diuision. They that by cunning will seeme vertuous, in respect of endlessse feare least their ill meaning should be brought to light, standing in the mid way to the marke which is common to all men, like a bow drawne from the other extreame, they are heauie, melancholie, and full of doubts, vpon euerie rumor of the vulgar sort, they cast false shadowes of suspicion, linger in mistrust, and affright themselves with fancies: their daies are troublesome, their nights vnquiet, their cares infinit, and therefore our Saviour might boldly say, *He parietes fesses*. But they that are sincerely and intirely vertuous, relying onely vpon their bountie and worth, liue in continuall peace, with content of mind, and without all feare of oppression. It resteth in the will and power of the prince himselfe, to encourage faithfull ministers to shew their loue and dutie to their superiours, either by binding them by rewards and fauours, or by contenting them with honour and authoritie, or by setting them with such commodities and pleasures as they most affect, or by setting their inclinations to deserue well, in offering occasions whereby they make prooue of their fidelities: For as it is most proper for mans nature, to proceed with courage where they find their seruice thankfully rewarded vpon iust cause, so princes are apt to trust vpon

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upon due triall of their ministers integritie. But the way to make them constant and sure against all assaults, is, to tye them, not with any single bond, but with all these together, if it be possible. Let no prince thinke, that it is more safe, in consultation touching his affaires of Estate, to trust domesticals, and such as are most deere vnto him for other ordinarie causes, but lesse able to aduise, before others that bee farther off, so as they bee more fit, onely of feare to seeme more vnthankfull to the first, and deprive them of their due: for the end will be, that by this opinion hee shall preferre men of no worth nor vnderstanding, before others that are more sufficient and necessarie; which is the most absurd and sencelesse error which hee can commit, touching this point of election of ministers. I would haue all other considerations of riches, fauour, and all other gifts of fortune, yeeld in your esteeme to vertue and worthinesse: for where a prince finds qualities agreeable, it is his part to thinke how to enrich and aduance them; for the meaner their estates are whom the prince shall raise to high degrees, the greater shall their bond appeare, and the more sincere and firme their duties and affections. In rewarding your seruants good deserts, I would wish you to endeavour as much as you may to gratifie them according to your desires, and to haue an eye to their owne ends: for some seeke ease onely, and abundance of commodities belonging to this life; others hunt after honour and authoritie; and some couet satisfaction in other kinds, according to their seuerall humors, or as such fauours either are indeed, or at the least are held by them most suitable to their conditions and qualities: without respect of these affections of men, a prince should often loose the thanks which bountie expects: for many desire rather to fast than to be crammed against appetite. Among other rules it shal not be amisse to note, that nothing bindeth loue more firmly, than when a prince bestowes a benefite out of his owne free choice, without the instance or soliciting of any fauorer. The first we must ascribe to the fauour of our Soueraigne alone; the second we may diuide betwene the prince that giueth, and the friend that moueth it. Some haue commended and allowed a distrust and disagreement betwene ministers of State, as if it were the best meane to acquaint a prince with the truth: but this course was neuer pleasing to my humor, neither could I euer find how so bad a cause as discord, could euer produce any commendable effects in a princes seruice. A kind of emulation is not amisse, so as it tend onely to incite honourable minds to shew themselves more worthie of the princes fauour, to deserue better in his seruice, and to be fit for a better place when time shall serue, as we read of two of *Cæsars* Corporals: but in no wise let it grow to malice or dislike; for the prince may neuer shew more fauour to one than to another, as it falleth out sometimes, for that it will not be possible alwayes to keepe the ballance euen, but the partie which receiueth lesse is tormented with ialousie, fretted inwardly with spight, blinded with disdain, and all, in the end, turneth to the prejudice of the princes seruice, and the publicke action.

Among these, and out of these, ought the prince to make choice of a sufficient number to serue him in the place of counsell, and imploy the rest in other seruices belonging to the State: for being guided by their aduice & counsell, he can hardly erre, but may rather rest assured, that his worthie acts shal purchase honor & immortalitie to his name; wherefore strue to abound in these rather than in any other treasure whatsoeuer: and feare not least facilitie, in being led and directed by the aduice of worthie men, should rob you of the honor which belongeth to your rare deserts; for that the chiefest commendation is not ascribed vnto him that either giueth counsel, or hath charge to execute, but vnto the prince, vpon whose resolution all depends, and who out of his judgement and discretion, assignes to euery man that part for which he is most fit, in his owne opinion: for although there may be aptnesse in the timber, yet to make choice of the best for building, and imploy it to the best vse, shewes the skill of a good workman. Besides, if the prince, out of a jealous and suspicious humor, be mistrustfull in this point, how easie a matter is it at all times, vpon diuers colours and pretences, to change, alter, or deferre his resolution, so as whatsoeuer they inuent shalbe ascribed to his own perfection. A prince can neuer want occasions to sound their opinions, and to make profit of their deep judgements, without imparting the secret of his purposes to any one of them.

My meaning was to discourse with you about this point of chusing able ministers, at large,

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A large, for that, in my opinion, the weight of this subject required no lesse: wherefore I repeat it againe, That a prince can neuer become great, nor maintaine his greatnesse, without the seruice and assistance of sufficient counsellors & officers: And therefore (my most deere sonne) I require you carefully to open both your eyes and eares in this respect, and to be diligent in searching out the qualities of men, for your better instruction: All offices, administrations, and gouernments, which are giuen for a short limited time, are most secure from those suspitions & jealousies which long continuance in office and authoritie doth breed; being impossible, in so short a space, to make parties, or to procure followers. And although this course be not alwayes free from those dangers and discommodities, which are incident to gouernors, who either want experience, or acquaintance with state; yet a moderate exchange ought, in my conceit, to be preferred before a perpetuities: for the people (be the gouernors neuer so religious and just) feelee a kind of safetie at the least, and as well in this point as in others, delight, in change; vsing the same as a counterpoise to that irksome loathsome which groweth out of the continuall vse of any one thing without alteration.

Let your maner in giuing audience to suitors be easie, liberal, and ordinarie, whereby not only the subject is pleased with the same, reputing this access as a restorative, for that it giueth them opportunitie to ease their grieuances by their superiors fauour: but on the other side it maketh the prince more wise, when euery day by this means he cometh to the knowledge of new accidents, new impressions, & new opinions. The prince also cometh to vnderstand all the affairs, humors, passions, and plots of his own subjects, and their interest, which is, as I said before, one kind of wisdom. To this end therefore, and for a thousand other good effects, a prince ought to visit all his estates often, but in such sort, as many progresses and extraordinary charges which belongs vnto them, may not be burthen some to his subjects, and a blemish to his owne authoritie: for things that are accounted excellent, if they be made common, they loose a great part of their estimation in the eyes of the world. If their progresses be seldom, in like maner, they giue some suspicion of neglect, and carelesse regard of the peoples good; they giue encouragement to deputies and magistrates, to follow their own humors: and moreover, they make their subjects despaire of all hope of refuge to the princes presence, and of recourse to the same in time of necessitie: for, as I said before, this is a meane to ease the subject, and to curbe the magistrat. In giuing audience, let your care be to send euery man away with some satisfaction, or at the least with good liking of your affabilitie. Heare such as offer you petitions with patience, and answer them with compassion. Prouide alwaies, that the power of those that are most mightie ouersway not the right of them that are miserable; haue no respect of persons, but looke only to the justice of the cause. If any man appeare before you in a rightfull matter, who is otherwise ill spoken of, regard not at that time his conuersation, but his complaint, not what he is in life, but what he speaketh. Now to the end the parties which haue recourse vnto you, appealing from your officers, or charging them with corruption, may be more thoroughly conuincd by due prooffe, and more easily induced of themselves to confesse their faults, stretch out your hand as farre as in honor you may, in granting them new Iudges, or Commissioners, who together with other ordinarie officers, will be more carefull to carrie themselves vprightly in such offices as are assigned to their cares. The way to plant a firme resolution in your officers, to deserue well, is, to reward them bountifully that haue shewed their worth: for by this meane, by the discharge of his duties in a meane place, he will endeavour to be held worthie of an office of more esteeme: notwithstanding there is great reason why the prince, vpon these occasions, should haue due respect to the credit and honour of his officers, and to vse such moderation in this kind, as without wrong to the plaintifes, their reputations may be tendered. Examining weightie causes with deliberation, but be carefull to giue quick dispatch to matters of small moment, especially if they concerne persons that are in miserie. Vse the like expedition in matters concerning poore men, orphans, dowers, churches, education, maintenance, charges left, tutorship, debts, and such like charitable causes, of which you are in conscience bound to haue an especial care, and to protect them in necessitie. That here can neuer prosper where such causes are neglected, for that God which makes no difference

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rence of persons, but assureth vs, That he will alwaies haue one eare open to the sorrowfull complaints of simple soules which suffer wrong, will punish kings and magistrats for their contempt euen of their Christian subiects. I would exemplifie this danger by some speciall example of Gods iustice in my time: but the verie ground of charitie set downe in a word or two, may serue, and for the rest I leaue you to the tendernesse of your owne conscience, and the counsel of your Confessor. The like course must be taken with tradesmen, artificers, marchants, and husbandmen; for these kind of people can neuer follow the court, nor without ruine to their estates, spend their goods, labour and time about suits: for it were better to be speedily dispatcht with some losse, than to be tired with a world of Proctors, Aduocates, and Notaries, in hope of getting all; considering how much the losse of time, in regard of their trade, importeth them. Whatsoever may be ended at one hearing by your selfe, dispatch: what you are not able of your selfe to rid, recommend it by way of tables and memorials in other affaires. It shall not be amisse, for quicke dispatch of causes, to assigne to euery officer his particular taske; for otherwise it were not possible for one man to run through all. In case of necessitie the prince may commit his office, for his owne ease, to his faithfull ministers, in imitation of the knife which in old time was v-sed in the sacrifice at Delphos: for there was such a fashion deuised for the reliefe of poore men, which could not long attend without great losse, as one man alone was able by the helpe of its many parts, to serue all the priests. In criminall causes, where there is question of life and death, and other capitall punishment, proceed benignely with seueritie, and seuerely with benignitie, according to the state and qualitie of the cause. Applie your senses to the circumstances of the person, time, and place, the manner, and such like considerations. Be content to imitate the rule of *Lesbos* in this case, which was apt to bend according to the obliquitie of the subiect vnto which it was applied by art: So must princes follow occasions, if they will rule with commendation. This is not to make difference of persons touching the right it selfe, but to iudge of right with wisdom and discretion, according to the sundrie indifferences that are aptly offered; proceeding notwithstanding, where we find the like respects in all degrees concur with like consideration: for the people are not grieved with setting downe any resolution, how grievous fouler it may seeme, but diuersitie of punishments for one and the selfsame fault, where no certaine reason can be found of the diuersitie. If any conceiues this counsel to be in any sort repugnant to this Maxime, That all lawes should be equall, inflexible, vnchangeable, &c. hee must be answered, That it is onely vnderstood of the dead letter of the law which as it euer speaketh and resolueth in one manner, so ought it in respect of it selfe, to be indifferently interpreted and executed: But there is another reason of the liuing law, which is the prince and his ministers, especially touching Commissions which bee receiued from him: for they ought to execute the dead letter of the law with such respect and moderation as hath bene mentioned before, so as they bend it with equitie, but breake it not with wilfulness: Wherefore there is a certaine power giuen vnto the prince about the lawes, and by the rule of conscience which is imprinted in the heart of him or them that are set vnder him, the cause is qualified according to the reason of the circumstance; for rigor is not alwayes right: neither may we say, that they rule best, which vrge the letter without respect to the reasons; that rather follow the words of a text which is mute, than the due consideration of a quicke interpretation, which is more sensible. Provided alwayes for the preservation of Maiestie, and maintenance of lawes. That howsoever it may please a prince out of his owne conceit to dispose, in oueruling any matter, with respect either of the person or time, augmenting or abating the reward of any good desert, or punishing of any fault, the same be not drawne to consequence, or enforced as a precedent to those that shall liue after him. They that gouerne know better how to moderate these cases, than the lawyers that plead; and many things are incident to politicke direction, which neuer come within the compasse of an ordinarie Aduocate. Contenti- on betwixt husbands and wiues, masters and seruants, parents and their children, neigh- bours, kinsmen, friends, and such like, conjoynd in the strait linke of ordinarie officers, ought rather to be ended by a friendlie arbitrator, with spare of charges which belong to suits, than by a seuerer iudge, who decideth all things by extremitie. The best course for a prince

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A prince is to censure causes by due circumstances without partialitie, and that the diffi-  
rence which shall appeare betwixt his moderation and the written law, may rather seeme  
to arise out of a right in equitie, than an error in affection. I would haue all the courts of  
justice offered rather in compassion than rigor or cruelty, vnlesse there be a notable exam-  
ple to be made for the terror to the multitude. In all kinds of rewards be bountifull aboue  
the common course, and alwayes chuse rather to leaue a light offender (whose crimes are  
not manifest) unpunished, than to condemn an innocent, or to leaue a peece of seruice  
vnrwarded, at the least with fauourable words, with praise and cause of hope, vntill time  
and opportunitie may yeeld a more ample satisfaction. Be carefull that compassion & fa-  
cilitie in remitting punishments, be tempered with such a reasonable meane, as is neither  
to encourage men to offend, nor giue occasion of many errors which grow by too much leni-  
tie. Let it suffice, that your subiects liue vnder you with industrie, and as becommeth men  
without giuing scandall or ill example to the world. Proceed not to that kind of curiositie  
which makes many rulers to inquire & search what men doe in the most priuat and secret  
places of their houses: this humor is many waies offense, for both it breedeth trouble to  
the prince, and oftentimes great harme to the party, without desert. Though some be not  
absolutely chaste, yet so they be found wary in auoiding all cause of scandall & manifest of-  
fense, the prince hath reason to refferre the judgement of the secrets of mens hearts vnto  
God, and the correction of secret sins to his diuine Maiestie: for where our eyes can no  
way pierce, there is no reason that our hands should execute. Keepe one eare alwayes o-  
pen for the aduerser parties beware of softning your judgement, especially in causes of justice  
easeth her of her burthen. In those occasions a moderation shold be had in such regard, as  
neither the subiect be induced by too great facility to attempt any practise of vnlawfull ac-  
tion for the furtherance of his intent, nor discouraged by too great rigour for expecting  
reason at your hands; for both extremities are dangerous. Whilst that you are in choler,  
or haue made your selfe a prey to any other passion, or respect of priuat interest, be verie  
carefull neuer to giue sentence, or at the least not to put the same in present execution, least  
afterwards appeales be made vnto your selfe from such vnjust sentences and executions;  
by the parties that are wronged, when you are come vnto your selfe. You may read in hi-  
stories, of a poore woman that appealed from king *Philip*, being transported with passion,  
to the same king *Philip*, qualified with a due consideration: and of the penance which was  
injoynd by *S. Ambrose* to *Theodosius*, after the massacre of *Theffalonica*.

Touching the orders of your familie and Court, I haue discoursed with you at other  
times, out of which you may draw rules for the direction of those affaires: be alwayes  
mindfull that your guards be entertained about your person, according to the wonted man-  
ner, rather to set forth the maiestie of gouernment, than in respect of danger of your life  
for euident necessitie. Touching the wearing of your apparel, there is no doubt but princely  
garments, fit for your estate at certaine times, doe both grace your person, and strike a  
kind of awe into the peoples hearts: Notwithstanding to fute your selfe ordinarily more  
plainly, & according to that fashion which is most generall, doth win great loue, as I haue  
observed by mine owne experience: for nothing pleaseth the subiect more, than to note  
sometimes a carelesse contempt of those outward complements, in which some princes set  
their princelie felicitie. The like consideration must be had touching your diet, and other  
necessarie things belonging to your person and your Court, with a carefull regard, that  
neither hatted be purchased by excess, nor contempt by too great equalitie.

To the time of peace likewise belong diuers kinds of workes worthe of a princes care,  
which draw the subiects eyes to admiration, and his heart to thankfulness. In this  
degree we marshall whatsoever princes either build or repaire for the peoples good, as  
adornning cities, amending highways, repaying bridges, making riuers nauigable, char-  
ges in bringing waters, in repairing of churches, hospitals, guild-halls, publike places, and  
towne walls, taking order for the reformation of abuses in religion, Vniuersities, Col-  
ledges, and iudiciall places, in limiting the fees of Counsellors, excluding auarice from  
courts of conscience, and corruption of magistrats in the bringing vp of orphans, marriage  
of poore maids, and redemption of prisoners. Blessed is the heart that thinketh on those

things, and the hand that putteth them in execution; for by this meanes the subiect shall not onely be prouided for in the common course of life, but the pleasures and commodities of persons, places, and conditions, settled in happinesse: Yet in these cases also care must be taken, that the people be not ouer burthened; for it is all one to them, whether oppression creepe in by this or any other meanes, which they cannot remedie, and where the people themselves are vrged to an extraordinarie charge, they hold not the prince to be an author, but an executioner. To the time of peace also belong many considerations, prouisions, & forecasts, concerning war, to the end that whatsoever accident happens, the prince be not taken altogether vnprouided on a sudden, or driven to seeke shelter when the storme is imminent. But to auoid confusion about these times, I must warne you, for a conclusion in this point, that as an honorable peace is the end of war, so must your peace be gouerned by such great discretion & diligent foresight, as the war may also be secure to the state when it happens. I come now (my most deere sonne) to discourse with you of some points belonging to the time of war, whereon it standeth you in hand to thinke aduisedly, as wel in consideration of your present estate, as also for the increase thereof, whensoever just occasion shalbe offered. To these ends of preservation and enlargement by way of counsell and aduice in time of peace, and of armes in time of war, a prince ought wholly to addresse himselfe, and neither spare paine, diligence, nor danger, in any enterprise, that enable him to attaine them happily. A prince ought to be more heedful to looke into the accidents & occurrences of war, than peace; for that war aboundeth more with vnexpected actions, with disorders not foreseene, and when they happen, for the most part, are irrecoverable: A gaine, for that war is lesse restrained by the curbe of ciuile lawes and officers than peace, depending commonly vpon the will of him that is most powerful, as most commonly it is kindled by a greedie desire of one to raigne about the rest, and is afterwards maintained by the feare of a necessarie defence: both which affections are so forcible in the mind, as they will rather constraîne you to make the satisfaction of your will the object, than to looke into the means whereby you may compasse it. These cares and preparations for war, are most necessarie for princes & potentates, whose vnquiet estates are often troubled by foreine enemies, who lay plots to annoy them. These and such restless neighbors giue euery day just occasion to be offended by them. This is your case, who being seated betwixt the power of the Turk, & the jealousie of Christian potentates, could not designe a matter of any great effect, though you gaue your selfe to rest. But let not this scruple greatly trouble you, for that discontinuance of professing armes, wil in time do you more harme, than the maintenance of your reputation by them can any way trouble you. Experience doth teach, that all men feare to incense an enemy who hath his armes readie drawne to strike. Besides, as men wax old with time, so states are weakened with sloth, and in effect consumed by the canker of idlenesse, whilst that others that cōtend with martial enemies, are not onely maintained in health, but augmented daily more & more in force and vigor, as mans bodie is by exercise. Vpon the laying downe of armes, & discharge of troups, the subiects grow wanton, and wild at home, finding so great a part of their wonted burthen eased: and this we daily see, that hauing bin long accustomed to this pleasing ease, you shall hardly bring them again in awe, to haue the patience to endure your impositions, & their former franknesse and readinesse to supplie your necessities. On the other side, the multitude of souldiers tainted with the libertie of ambition and other humors of camp, wil hardly frame themselves to lead an honest sober life at home, which hath often bin the cause of tumults & vprores in monarchies. Besides, I cannot see how a prince that ruleth many estates, can euer settle any resolution to liue in peace, in respect of their ambition & greedinesse that are about him, their emulation and jealousie that are equal to him, and their feare and suspicion that are vnder him: For they that are of the first sort dispose themselves to giue occasion of offence, out of a desire to subuert the estates of other men; the second, to settle their own fortunes; and the third, to prevent oppressions & injuries: wherefore it is wel said in our prouerb, that he which cannot take hard measure at the hands of other men, must keep them low that are most apt to offer it. It is therefore necessary for a prince, especially being possessed of so many estates as you are at this time, to dispose your selfe effectually to a care of such things as belong to warre, whereof hauing fit occasion

A to discourse at this present with you, & taking my beginning from the chiefe parts thereof, I say, That this care standeth chiefly vpon arms, forts, and garrisons, vpon order for prouisions to be made for them, knowledge of the qualitie and conditions of States, & of the people that inhabit them. The care of an armie consisteth in the setting downe of a certaine and conuenient number, and in giuing good orders and directions for their manner of fight. The number must be such as will suffice for any braue attempt their Leader will vndertake. The rate will fall out fitly, if no error be committed either in too much or too little; for too little will not serue, and excesse is euer a cause of confusion. Opinions haue differed exceedingly concerning this point, but the best and most expert agree, That an armie consisting of 30000 foot, and 4000 horse, is sufficient for the execution of any worthy enterprise. The reasons that are brought for prooffe hereof are many, & of great force; for this proportion is reasonable, neither superfluous, nor wanting. According to this proportion an armie may be better disciplined, it may be better entertained with pay, and supplied with victuals and all other things necessarie. It is more easily repaired after some great losse, either by sicknesse, or any other accident, and it may be better employed and maintained in all places. The people that receiue them find more ease in their charges. A prince may better stand vpon his gard with such a force, and a victorie gotten by a reasonable number is more honourable. To conclude, it is in all respects most agreeable to the manner of service in our age, as they can best iudge that haue often had prooffe thereof by their owne experience. Whereas huge armies are, we see few come to fight, and therefore a lesse number might serue the turne, as it did the Romans in their warres in many countries, when as they brought multitudes of men: As it serued *Alexander* in ouerrunning *Asia*, and might, perhaps, haue serued *Hanibal* against the great forces of Rome, if either he had receiued due supplie from home in due time, or could haue made the souldiers which he was driuen to leaue in other countries, as resolute as his owne, which was not possible. The Romans during the state of the commonweale, afterwards the Emperours, and the Turks at this day brings greater forces to field. To which presidents many answers may be giuen, especially, That this both was and is done rather for a kind of glory, to extend their forces ouer all, than for any other need of helpe in war: for an armie so proportioned, as I haue said, is sufficient of it selfe for any notable attempt, as may be proued by many effectual reasons: for hardly shall you find a place whereas a greater number than I haue mentioned, can be put in battel, by reason of impediments which grow by ditches, riuers, lakes, mountains, woods, & such like, whereas a reasonable armie may escape them by the conduct of a discret General. This proportion is to be kept exactly by such princes as resolute and are euer inforced to stand vpon their gard, & keep their forces in a readinesse, whether their occasion be offensiue or defensiue: for by this meane they shall be able to beare out the charge, and dispose at all times of their companies, as aduantage shall be offered. The Turks policie is worthy to be imitated in this point, who notwithstanding his great numbers, hath drawne the resolution & glory of his forces to his Ianizaries alone, which are a certaine number, and more easie to be satisfied. These standing fast, the rest are kept in order by that means, whereas otherwise it were very difficult to content all the companies. In the same respect *Cesar* gaue most honor to the tenth legion, but with another kind of moderation & respect to the rest than the Turke vseth. Some thinke, that in respect of many occasions to diminish the prefixed number, either by drawing some into garrisons, or by employing them otherwise, or by some accidents that may fall out, an army should consist of a greater number of sufficient men: but to one that hath the perfect skill of warre, this number doubtlesse may suffice, so as the companies that are withdrawn for other seruices be instantly supplied: for thus shall the number & the armie be the same, as the tenth legion was euer one and the same, notwithstanding accidents. Neither would I haue you to perswade your self, that by often changing armies wax weak, but rather, if supplie be quickly made, more gallant & more courageous: for thus we reape the benefit of those forward & resolute men, which being newly come, are far more ready to hazard their liues, for that they know not what the danger means, nor haue not the consideration & stay which time brings: on the other side the valor of old souldiers is more thoroughly refined by experience. By this meanes also the readie wayes are opened, to recompence and honour those that

defense well, and for correction and infamie for such as deserue otherwise. These meanes G  
are most expedient for the maintenance of armies in the field, and there is no doubt but  
every one of those that are valiant and tried, will exceed ten that want experience in any  
enterprise. Next to the proportion of the number, I could wish you to be prouident in  
setting downe good rules for the campe, which ought chiefly to be grounded vpon con-  
science, in obseruing those things which belong to religion, and leading an vpright & ho-  
nest life. Next to this you must dispose your souldiers minds to dutifull obedience, and  
due respect, not onely to their Generall, but to their commanders. The best meanes to  
ground this respectiue awe, is by encouraging with hope, & rewarding vpon good deserts  
such persons as are chiefly noted for their forwardnesse, and disgracing others that are o-  
therwise affected. The first attempt of mutinie must be presently corrected; for the re-  
membrance of sharpe punishment will sticke longer in a souldiers mind, than any earnest  
exhortation of a Generall. Out of these meanes of preparation springs a disposition in all  
men of valour, vertue, and obedience. Besides the ordinarie exercises of the campe, to  
keepe their minds from idlenesse, and their bodies from sloth, you must provide, that by  
parties made, and shadowes of true fight indeed, the profession of armes may grow fami-  
liar vnto the souldiers, and they made fit for any sudden attempt. Moreover, it is fit to dis-  
pose the minds of commanders, as well in campes as garrisons, to commaund with judge-  
ment, and to serue with discretion: In the souldiers likewise willingness to obey, and a  
readinesse to execute; the which may the more easily be effected, if order be taken that  
the captaines account the souldiers their companions, as *Cesar* called them *Commilitones*  
in this respect, and take an especiall care of them in all things that belong to their profit,  
reputation, and loue. And souldiers for their part, the more courteously their Leaders in-  
treat them, the more humbly they ought to obey their commands. An armie being thus  
provided for, in that which concerneth the proportion and discipline, you must employ  
your care effectually in setting downe good orders touching fights; for without great care  
you may not hope for any prosperous successe in martiall affaires, nor presume of any vi-  
ctorie. I know that circumstances alter rules sometimes in all professions, and in those  
most of all; notwithstanding *Maximes* grounded vpon reasons and experience, will make  
a man more apt to take his best aduantage. Surely it would seeme a labour worthie of so  
great a prince as you shalbe, to vse all possible diligence to find out a better way than that  
which is vsed among the Christians of our time, whereby an armie may be often releued,  
and come to trie the fortune of the fight: so as the first ranke being forced to retire, it may  
not fall vpon the second, nor the second vpon the third; but that they which are behind  
aduancing to releue the first, being tired, & forced to recoile, may performe that seruice  
without disorder, in such sort as the first may no way hinder them: for although the first  
be enforced to retire, yet the other that are fresh, making vp the bodie, by stepping into  
their places, may come to handie strokes with their enemies. Herein consisted the chiefe  
perfection of the Roman discipline, and hereof, among my notes, you may find many  
strange conceits, for that I had an earnest intent, if time and leasure would haue giuen me  
leauie, to haue set downe some plot, and made this ground one of the chiefe labours in re-  
spect of warre with the Turkish Infidels. But in respect of my continuall affairs, and being  
euer turmoiled with endlesse businesse, I could neuer effect what I intended, nor applie  
my mind intirely to this singular inuention. It may be that God hath reserued the credit  
of this stratagem to you, wherein you may be somewhat assisted by that brieue collection  
which I haue made for memorie. Surely it is a great disorder, and a foule discredit to the  
Leaders of our time, that all the force and power of a mightie armie should consist vpon  
three or foure of the first ranks of the battell. This error groweth from the defect of our  
rules in the marshalling of our battels and squadrons in a direct line, euery man in particu-  
lar, and all the ranks in generall, standing one directly behind another: for in a direct line  
it is not possible to giue the first any meanes to retire, but they must disorder them that  
follow. Wherefore for an introduction to a better methode than hath been hitherto pra-  
ctised, it shal not be amisse to put those three bodies into which an army is diuided, name-  
ly, the forward, battell, and reeward, into three squadrons, so placed one to anothers side,  
as they may meet together in forme of a triangle.

The

A The first Squadron must represent the point, the other two the sides, for being thus dis-  
ioyned & disseuered by art, it is an easie matter to bring forward the second to fight with  
out disturbance to the first, and the third without trouble to the other two: Thus coming  
to succede their fellows side long in continual fight against their enemies, another aduan-  
tage wil arise, which is, they shall trie the fortune of the field thrice in one encounter. I doe  
assure my selfe, that from this beginning men may proceed to a more perfect knowledge  
how the squadrons themselues being also diuided into lesser squadrons might one retain  
another by the same proportion. A man may aime at such a mysterie by orderly degrees,  
for the matter being so intangled, as experience doth teach, it were no more possible to  
bring this than any other art at the first inuention, to perfection in an instant.

B It is the labour of a beare to licke mishapen fruit to fashion, and of a Lyon to  
bring militarie rules to certaintie. The want which men may iustly find in direction  
of an army at this day, proceedeth farther yet, for they put the best and most resolute  
souldiers in the formost ranks, who being forced to giue backe, they cause all the rest  
by their example to doe the like, as if it were lawfull for them to imitate their actions  
and thoughts. In some sort they may be excused in their imaginations, yet wee see that  
from this error doth commonly grow the ruines of all Companies. The Romanes were  
farre more discreet concerning this point of marshalling their men, for the first front was  
made verie strong with yong men of great force, whom they called but a third  
C part of their old and best souldiers were mingled with this head-strong youth, both to  
defend them, & to temper the. The second Squadron, to the which they gaue the title *Pri-  
marij*, consisted of two parts of old soldiers only & a third of yong. The third was ancient old  
soldiers called *Triarij*. By this means neither the second depended of the first which were  
yong for the most part, nor the third of the second in which were also some yong. Besides,  
the first incoûter was alwaies very furious by the forwardnes of yong spirits, who the lesse  
they knew of danger in this kind, the more resolute they were and aduenturous: experi-  
ence doth teach that to withstand the furie of a fight, we cannot make our head better  
than of yong men, so as they may be tempered with a third part of old; the second shall  
be better gouerned, and the third more furnished with valour, Iudgement and considera-  
tion. Such ought the distribution of our forces to bee in this age. Wherefore let no man  
D presume to prefer any before this discipline of Rome; for it is verie likely that they which  
with such prosperous and long continuance of time made the onely true profession of  
armes, marshalled their forces in this manner, would euer haue forsaken it, if there had  
not beene some speciall cause; and therefore we may rest assured that they had reason on  
their side; for prooue whereof I note that when soeuer those *Phalanges* came to ioine  
with the forces of Rome, being ordered as we haue said, they neuer sped happily. The  
reason will appeare plainly by comparing both disciplines, for the Greekes by mar-  
shalling the best men in the formost Squadron, had a meaning to put valour and resolutio  
into the rest which could not be expected generally of all the companies, the greater part  
E being a multitude void of experience, & guided onely by their sence: whereas the Romanes  
had as well regard to preparation of minds, so as it was not hard to bring those that were  
guided by sence to execute things with good consideration: wherefore it was sufficient  
that onely bodies of men were assigned ouer to the corporall whome *Scipio* left with *Ph-  
phax*, the better to braue the foot of Carthage, for albeit at the first they were lightly e-  
steemed by the enemy, yet by a course of good discipline, they became afterwards the  
meanes whereby the Romanes conquered. Euery man is able to consider with him  
selfe to what great vse this forcing of bodies by good order was, and how much it  
was esteemed at the first. It were fruitlesse to say that those rules can hardly bee now ob-  
serued with any hope of good successe, for that artillerie is crept into our warres;  
F for if those squadrons had in those daies, and would haue (in case artillerie were not  
in vse) an aduantage ouer our men, considering that this aide is common to both sides,  
it followeth that the perfections of those squadrons remaine in the same aduantage which  
it had and should haue without artillerie. Besides it is euident to sence that those  
collateral Squadrons, are not in halfe the danger of great shot, that ours bee, which are  
ranged this day by a direct line: for a volley of shot comming from the head of one  
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battel to another, scoureth throug al the ranks. Let vs ad the deceitful vse of late artillery and chiefly to offend the bodies of men in field. But for that the final shot may be made to play with great aduantage, where those squadrons are close, & other rules of that Romane discipline carefully obserued, you shall seeke out particular instructions among my notes: And moreouer what fit considerations may be vsed in the choise of commanders to an armie, what moderation should be obserued in causing the common souldiers to depend vpon their Generall, & other commanders put in trust by him; besides other means for the setting of your best securitie.

I will now passe vnto other things which come into my mind to aduise you touching the carriage of your selfe in this time of warre: but by the way I must once againe put you in minde with great earnestnesse, that this care of finding out the best way of marshalling your forces in the field, ought in reason to bee one of the chiefest that you must embrace, as well for occurrents of warre, as to make your name immortall among all nations. Your fleets at sea ought in like maner to haue their particular respects, touching which there feldom chanceth any cause of innovation. The chiefest cares, that all necessarie employments that belong to Nauies, be alwaies in readinesse: That the vessels be rigged, augmented, and employed euer in some seruice for the state, so far as is conuenient with securitie. Aboue all things settle those affaires in such a certaine course, as your gallies and other shipping may bee properly belonging to your selfe, or to the state, and not to your captaines, officers, or other priuate men, for hauing reposed the whole weight of your fortune and reputation vpon the safegard of those vessels, they will not easily or willingly be brought to hazard them where the smallest daunger shall appeare. The charge of getting ships of price into their hands, together with the difficulty of repairing and supplying them in case they should miscarrie by any mischance, doth make men so fearefull of the worst, as oftentimes a publike opportunitie is lost, while priuate respects are tended. By taking of this order you shall bring all men to depend vpon your selfe, and you shall neuer need to depend vpon any: I speake not of the large allowance which will be made by officers, when they serue themselves for their owne commoditie. Cause your forces to be viewed and surueyed, & their munition to be reuiued & repaired: where you find the rate superfluous, abate, where too scant, augment it. Auid extremities in any wise, either of too much or too little; discretion must be the measure of these considerations. Be carefull alwaies to furnish your places of strength, with sufficient gouernours and trustie garrisons. Let your number rather offend in excesse than want, for of both there is lesse danger in an ouer-plus, both for that the onely valour and resolution of the souldiers hath often supplied the weaknesse of the place, in respect whereof the Romans euer trusted more to the courage of their men, than to the strength of the place; as also in respect of those that fall sicke and die, or runne to the other side, or are cut off by any other means, so as the whole number is neuer scene to fight at one instant: fortifie your selfe with sure forces against the enemy, with your tents pitched, trusting rather to forts raised in the field, than to the situation of townes. On the other side when you beginne to quarrell and inuade, you must rather assaile your enemies by the help of forts, and sconces, built of purpose to annoy him, than seeke to win his places of strength, with losse of time, and an intollerable charge. This course is secure and certaine, as the other is deceitfull and dangerous: whereof you shall find further profes among my notes for memorie.

Touching the maner of erecting forts with speed and little charge, and the best meanes to settle a wauering estate, the best way is to marke aduisedly the whole position and situation of the place, and to fashion out of it the frame that shall be fit; applie your industrie to the plot of nature, with such certaine reasons and vndoubted rules, as both the whole may answere to the parts, and the parts vnto the whole in due proportion and workmanship. Thus must you proceed from one estate vnto another respectiuelly, standing alwaies thus far resolute touching the rules of fortification. That although no place can be impregnable, yet it shall bee sufficient that ours be such as the enemy shall haue small hope to win them, either in respect of long time, or the great expence which such a labour will require, being threatned by many misfortunes & disadvantages.

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A tages. The prouisions of war consist in victuals, artillery, munition, supplies and coine, which altogether in effect import no more than an abilitie to mainteine continually so great a force of trained men, as out of the same an armie (when great need requireth) may be drawne by the Soueraigne, or forces sufficient in all respects for the vses aboue mentioned. Hereupon followeth, that a prince, who either resolueth or is inforced to stand vpon his owne defence, must think vpon a kind of warre with which he may be able to rule both the charge and weight that goes with it. Wherefore I had a meaning to set downe a certaine order in my armies, which might be sufficient to bring this to passe, but I could neuer find any fit opportunitie to put it in execution. My intent was first to leuy a gallant army of Flemings, Spaniards, and Italians intermixt; being thus assembled, I meant to keep them euer in one estate, either in warre against the Turke, or some Christian Prince, which I could not auoid without great danger, or great dishonour: Then I did thinke it good to capitulate with this armie, that all booties of great matters belonging to the publicke state, as artillery, munition and such like things, being gotten either by the sacke of Townes or spoile of the Countrie, should be properly referred to the princes chamber, the rest left vnto the souldiers. Notwithstanding I resolved to bind the Souldier to sel & deliuer vnto the Princes officers at a reasonable price set downe, all victualles, garments, household-stuffe and other goods pertaining to their necessarie vses or their commodities. These things I would haue kept in store vntill the Souldier should haue need of them againe, with some conuenient profit vnto my selfe. By this prouision both Prince and Souldiers should be supplied, but the souldier most: for besides the comfort of receiuing ready money at all times for that they get, they shall be also sure of all necessarie things at an easie price. If we compare it with their losse, who buy all things from the Merchant, or the stranger who still followeth the campe, it ought not to offend the Souldier, that his Prince should draw some little portion to his owne releefe of that vnmeasurable gaine which otherwise would be diuided among cormorants. I thought moreover that it would proue profitable to the souldier, and safe for the Prince, if a certain officer were appointed in the campe, into whose hands the souldiers (being imployed in any dangerous seruice) might confidently commit their money or the pillage of best price with full assurance: that in case it chanced to them otherwise than well, all should be deliuered to their heires or to such persons as they would appoint; imitating in this point those captaines which to be the better assured of their souldiers, take vp money of the officers in presse to pay the companies. Caesar vsed the same policie, and thereby was free from all feare, either of the officers, whose credit he had by this means ingaged, or of the souldiers whose pay was alwaies ready. Besides other obligations, a reasonable gain might be afforded after so much in the hundred by the yere vnto the soldiers, who being assured of a sure place where to leaue their armor or their stocke vpon any dangerous employment, & that their contracts and directions touching those things shall be faithfully performed, whatsoeuer happen vnto themselves, they will hold it for a greater aduantage to leaue their substance in a trustie hand, rather than to carrie it about with them. If any chance to die without heires in blood, or limitation, in warre, who should succeed him; the goods may iustly be assigned to the Princes chamber, as wee see by the ciuil Law, the prince inheriteth their estates that die without any certaine heires. It may be ialousie, (which the baser sort is euer apt to conceiue of the princes policie, to enrich himselfe) may discourage some, supposing vnder euerie bast to find a secret hooke, vntill that experience hath cleared the clouds of this false imagination, wherefore the way to breake this ice, is to appoint a certaine number of the chiefest of the campe, whome we may most boldly trust, to beginne this order, and to bring in their shares; for who is either so suspitious or foolish, be he either priuar souldier, captaine, or Colonell, that had rather carrie all his goods about him, in continual hazard both of enemies and boores vpon euerie sinister accident, than leaue it in safety, and with some aduantage to themselves, or to their heires who may recover it. It may be said that prouision for the carriage of these things will be chargeable, but that may be holpen by another meanes, if the souldier out of the gaine and interest of his goods laied downe in trust, be bound to answere it, for that the goods doe still remaine his owne, and the charge is satisfied with ouer-plus. Touching these carriages, you shall find a modell and memorie

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memoriall among my notes, for the priuate souldier is greatly eased by this new inuention, hauing nothing to care for but his armes and himselfe, so as the whole campe in generall should be more light: besides the greatest part of the treasure and goods of value belonging to the campe should rest euer in the princes hand, so as he might vse them for the furtherance of his attempts in warre, as wee see the proofe of things left by like trust in the hands of merchants. Thus by the money which shall remain in the princes hands, by their decaie without heires, either by descent or disposition of will, of such as were the right owners of the same, and by the gaine which doth accrue vnto the prince by selling victuals and other implements at the second hand (but yet to the souldiers ease, in respect of that which he should pay vnto the merchant or victualler for the like, the prince may make himselfe more able to maintein a mightie armie long, as you shall discover more particularly by my notes. But as I haue said before it is expedient that with this the provision of valiant souldiers able leaders, and good orders doe concur, although the vulgar sort doe accompt money to bee the sinewes of all warre. I haue oftentimes had cause to iudge of this comparison, and therefore may be the better beleued in setting downe a difference: It is a strength where other parts more needfull are cleare, but a fillic sinew where the chiefe members are disordered. Allow me those abilities and politike provisions in a princes armie with perfection, whereof I spake before, and no doubt but the warre will maintaine it selfe: for we cannot find that a wortheie Generall and leader of a good and well directed armie, euer wanted courage to beginne, or meanes to maintaine the warre, as well with pay by meanes of pillage and such other gaine, as with victuals euen out of the enemies countrie. Besides, a prince may alwaies keepe his troupes in heart, by putting them in hope of honour, profit and all kinds of reward, when time doth serue, although provision for the present bee scant, so as they know the princes ability and fortune to bee sufficient to performe his promises. Then may the Prince, imitating the Romans, repose greater trust in souldiers that are both valiant and well affected to his gouernement, then either in deepe trenches, or places strongly fortified: I meane, such a Prince as either hath a will or is enforced against his will to hold his sword alwaies in his hand, and to looke for hard measure. If all the charges of warre should bee drawne out of a princes coffers, it were not possible it should continue long. To prevent this inconuenience, it seemeth good to some, to haue the warre made to a profitable end, but it is not verie easie as I thinke to giue an instance of this aduice, considering experience doth teach, that by offensive warre the countrie is ruined, the people spoiled, and the prince impouerished, and in a defensive warre, of what qualitie soeuer the gaine be, men may not expect that it should answere the charge that doth grow thereby. Imagine that this inconuenience may bee eased by good counsell, and applying batterie to the chiefe places onely, which either by their wealth, or the releefe which others bring in by their meanes, may yeeld satisfaction and recompence for any charge, without being forced otherwise to fight in vaine, or for the opening of a passage which is already giuen you, into the enemies state: yet it cannot bee denied but for many other respects, and in sundrie other cases, the warre, which without such a kind of releefe is no way tolerable, by meanes thereof is made secure and free from all dangers and disorder of any moment.

Now for that supplies are necessarie for the maintenance of a continuall armie in one and the selfe same estate, I thinke it verie requisite for the seruice of your campe, that throughout all your realmes and estates, the which in your choise are fittest to set out men, a particular muster bee taken, and a Register precisely kept of all the youth that are able to beare armes, so as it may bee done without offence to the people, or incensing the hautie hearts with rage and malice against their Soueraigne. As I said before, your tried Souldiers must bee kept in practise, least their spirits grow dull and their bodies vnable by sloth and discontinuance, so would I wish those young souldiers were trained by sufficient leaders, that they may be the better able to serue when they are called for. In this generall muster especiall choise ought to bee made of such men as by nature are giuen to the warres, and apt of their disposition.

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A sition, that are in good estate to liue, and especially that haue families, for of such a man may looke for better proofe, and relie more on, for that they haue somewhat to lose at home, they esteeme their reputation, and feare shame and punishment more, the which they that haue lands and goods to answere for their good behauiour, cannot so easily auoid as they that haue nothing: Besides they are encouraged by a respect of bloud to a care of their owne houfes. These persons may in no wise be drawne out of families, that haue but one man in them, or so few, as the pressing of one man may indanger the whole familie for want of food, but you must presse them where they may be spared without danger, and encourage them besides with the hope of credit, and commoditie to bee gotten by their merits in the campe, for otherwise wee see that being brought with discontentment to the field, their deserts proue according. Thanks be giuen to God, you are soueraigne ouer many great realmes and great estates, in which you may raise such martiall troupes without offence, as they may not onely bee sufficient to defend, but to offend others if you liue in vnion of good correspondencie, with your friends and kinsmen of the house of Austria: by this agreement you shall settle your owne power, and become a comfort and support to those that loue you, and a terror to such as enuie you: On the other side assure your selfe that discord among neere allies, will blemish your authoritie, put heart into your enemies, to make designs against your greatnesse, and so distemper your friends, as they shall not be able to resolute which way to bend their affections. Standing thus vnited, you shall haue great opportunitie (besides the Italian & Spanish forces) to dispose of the Germanes, as your need shall require, the which is a martiall and a verie honorable nation. I know that this mixture doth oftentimes cause disorders in a campe: but yet by one that knoweth how to temper this light discord with a moderate emulation, they may be employed to most excellent and rare effects, in respect of the great difficultie and almost impossibilitie that euer they should ioine or agree together in offensive mutinies, distractions and disobedience of any kind. I cannot forbear to report vpon this iust occasion what I haue often aduised you of before, that you respect with all due regard your cousin the king of Bohemia, to the greatnesse and inestimable value of whose mind, the greatest empires are too narrow bounds; and doubtlesse vpon euerie fit occasion, you shall see effects answerable to this conceit which the world hath of his worthinesse. Beleue this confidently, that there is more good to bee expected from the loue which springeth from consanguinitie (although that sometimes causes of vnkindnesse may arise, than from the fairest shewes and greatest professions of good will that can be made by any stranger. Now for that all offences and vnkindnesse are most bitter, growing among persons that are neere in bloud, if they be not quenched in due time: to prevent a greater inconuenience, cut off all iust occasions on your side, setting downe this lesson for a rule, that it is an art more wortheie commendation to yeeld in some sort to those that are allyed, to continue their affection, than to end quarrels & vnkindnesse with other persons, by inforcing them to yeeld to our authority.

B But to conclude my counsell touching the care, which must bee taken of this trained youth, is, that it may alwaies serue as a Spring to supply the armie: for the better pleasing of their humors, and winning of their loues, it shall be fit to priuledge them with a libertie to weare weapons, especially on those daies that are appointed for their exercises, and to make the best shew they are able of their forwardnesse. I would also haue them graced with some speciall fauour, as occasion serues; and exempted from all seruile burthens in Countries. Then would I wish you wholly to direct your care to a due consideration of your estate in general, and of the countries in particular vnder you: Look vpon their condition, situation and qualitie, consider both of their abundance and wants, and of sufficient meanes to liue, as water, wood and graine, that supplie being made from other places that haue greater store, all loue and kindnesse may be entertained among people that are subiect to one Soueraigne power. Though policie did not prescribe this care, yet christianity would challenge it. Cause plots to be drawn of al their greatest riuers, mountains, streits & passages, that by repairing vnto your map vpon any accident, that shall happen, you may dispose of things with greater certainty. Be careful not onely to know the dispositions & humors of the (which is very necessary for great princes) but also their alliances and



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and factions, whereby you shall be alwaies able both to bridle their vndutifull affections, and to prevent their practises, if they breake out into extremities. The balance of authority is in your hands, all credit comes from your selfe, & therefore gouern the scales with some moderation, so as that side may be heauiest which is best affected to your party. Provide against all dangers, & serue your tum by all such opportunities, as may further your intention. If any countrie doth liue in danger of an enemy, that doth frontier vpon them, secure them in such sort by captains, officers, & garrisons, as they may be freed from feare of al wrong. To be short, I would haue you cast vp an euen reckoning, & make a iust accept of their inclinations, their power, their wants, their store, their agreement, their diuisions, their alliances, their habits, their customs, their affections, their dependances, their affinity, their comodities, & their discōmodities, that by easing one & charging another, you may turn al things to your best content. Then wil it be time to turn your eye to the like consideration of their accompt. In this point you must resolue with ripe iudgement and great care, making fit proportions by comparing sundry circumstances of persons, places, times, natures, customs, neighbours, officers, adherents, and other accidents, as are incident to so strong a knot of ciuill policie. These things being vnderstood and wisely pondred by him that hath the helme in hand, there is no doubt but he may euer march vpon a firme ground in any enterprise he takes in hāds for in knowing our own & our enemies strength, in weighing circumstances with an equall hand, & being able to apply the best aduantages, that wisdom & experience can find, to profitable vses, consisteth both the hope & hap of victorie. I know that diuers courses must be taken according to the diuers qualities of the nation, & the situation of the countrie. Touching the first, whether it be peopled, or scant of men, armed or naked, valiant or cowardlie, pleased or discontented. Touching the second, whether it be full of mountaines, valleyes, plaines, woods or riuers, whether it abound with victuals and al other commodities that are fit for war, or is barren or beggerly. Aboue all things be sure you neuer be drawn into quarrels, with any mighty potentate for the reliefe of such as rather burthen than ease, indanger than helpe your estate, which else may turn to your great disaduantage. Besides these rules, I wold prescribe a nūber more of like effect, the which long experience (the mother of true wisdom) hath imprinted in my heart, which other men pethaps which go more by ayme than by art make small accompt of. War ought alwaies to be vnderaken vpon a iust quarrel, and directed to no other end than to a safe & honorable peace which cannot be purchased without wars. In war he that spendeth most in accompt, spendeth least in want; doubt of this opinion who list, my selfe can warrant it. It is not good to enter into a quarrel without forecast, how to make it good, but after it is once begun, there is neither dalliance nor delay without danger. To him that hath best skill & vnderstanding how to manage war, it will maintein it selfe, so as good order may be taken from the first beginnings, and the prooffe of euerie peece of counsell that experience maketh good, may serue for sound direction in other things that happen afterwards. Let prouision of all things be made in the best kind, & euer with an ouerplus, for in that which is left can be little losse, & although there were, yet there is no proportion betwixt it and the dangers that may grow in weakening braue attempts with scarcitie. Let al your proceedings & inuentiōs tend to victory, for that is the final end of the art of war, to which men attaine with seasonable prouisiōs, discreet orders, & wise gouernment. In the beginning wisdom, diligence, & warines is required, courage in the pursuit, & a constant resolution vnto the end: you must euer giue the first assault, rather then attend vntil you be set vpon: And although your fortune shold be so bad as to be preuented in this course, yet must you seek by al meanes to diuert that force by the great aduantage that is gotten by making warre vpon some other princes countrie, or doing some good peece of seruice to stay the frowns of fortune. Repose not the only staie & hope of your martiall proceedings cyther vpon your companies of horse by land, or your fleet by sea, for they are things without fence or reason; & we see that at sea the greater number preuaileth cōmonly, besides the deceits & vncertainty of the sea. But touching these instructions thus scattered and other considerations to bee obserued in the whole course of war, I wil refer you to my noates which wil giue no smal light, how to demean your self vpon all occasion, the which (considering your present estate) are likely to happen.

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A I will now speake first of the warre against the Turke, as that which I hold to bee of greatest importance, most certaine, and most dangerous, as well in respect of your profession and faith, which ought to bee preferred by a Prince of your religion and conscience before all other ends, as also the Turke is the mightiest enemy, that either at this day you haue, or are like to haue. You may assure your selfe that he is a certaine enemy, not only through the malice which he beareth to your self and faith, but by the grounds of his owne politike, or rather tyrannous estate, which presse him to bee alwaies readie and in armes to withstand all attempts. It is hard for him to worke any great effects in Hungary, as well in respect of the long course of the riuier of Danow, and of the champagne country, as of the situation of Vienna, and the neighbourhood of Germanie. In other places likewise his next neighbours are either mightie or troublesome, and such as in processe of time may bee more easily brought vnder than at this instant, standing alwaies with their swords drawne to defend their liberties: They are not like vnto the Sophie, whose deepe wisdom and great valour makes his forces to bee feared more than the greatnesse of his owne estate: But God knoweth whether his next successours will be able to supply the want that is found in his fortune. In other places the borders are not all inhabited, for they lie waste most commonly vpon the greatest parts of the dominions and realmes that are possessed by this tyrannie for these respects: And for his foueraigntie vpon the sea side, besides the discord and diuision which is among the Christian princes of our age, there is no doubt but hee shall be drawne to turne his whole forces vpon the Ilands, and your estates in Italie. It is not probable to thinke that hee will breake with the Venetians before hee breake with you, for doublelesse hee will imagine, that in warring against Venice, your forces will come in to aide: but beginning first with you, it may be hee will hope that the Venetians will remaine reuters. One reason may be giuen in this respect, which is, their discontinuance from all exercise of armes for so many yeres: Another, for that commonweales consisting either of popularitie or peeres, in respect of the long life which they presume to be most certaine in their estates, and their hope of preferment from degrees of good to better, which is euer greene, do euer trust more in the aduantage of time, and such accidents as may fall out in the changes and alterations of the world, than in anie warre that is attempted by great Potentates, and will either not at all take armes, or so late, as they had done better, not to haue meddled. Moreouer, hauing already fastned their tallons in his sides, and put a sharpe bitte into his mouth, by the possession of the Ilands of Cipresse and Candie, it is likely they will stand long vpon their gard, before they will hazard themselves to offend or defend any man. Adde hereunto that the estate of Venice standing wholly vpon merchandize, they can not forbear the trafficke they haue in the Turkes Dominions: Now wee see that the Turke is by little and little growne proud, hauing multiplied your daungers by the greatnesse of his power, which is now so aduanced to the toppe of Fortunes wheele, as wee may rather hope that it will breake with its owne burthen, or that it may be weakened by policie, or warre, than looke for an ouerthrow by some miracle from heauen, or by the power of Christendome, for as men are sinfull, so God is iust.

No doubt but the Turkish Empire hath a period, but in Gods fore-knowledge, not in mans fore-cast, and therefore vntill wee chaunge the course of our euill liues, wee striue in vaine to moderate the plagues of his deferred indignation. I know many haue bene of the mind, and are yet at this day, that it is impossible for anie Potentate in Christendome, to set downe any course by his owne force to keepe vnder this aspiring miscreant. And therefore by a generall league and combination of all princes this worke must be effected. Notwithstanding, when I consider by the light of long experience what poore effects haue issued from this deuice, and what fraude doth often lurke amongst such consorts, I am of opinion that you should wholly relie vpon your owne strength: and before the attempting of anie famous enterprise, examine what your owne estates are able to performe, and then those which your neighbours and allies haue promised. I haue found, and you haue reason to remember how the French king

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carried himselfe concerning these occasions vpon a causelesse ieaousie, and a priuate spleene: men will haue humours whilest they mannage the affaires of this world: your wisest course is to provide that they may not preiudice you. The way will be more easie by conferring the good will and affection of your allies of the house of Austria alone. But for the full accomplishment hereof with commendable effects, you must resolve according to the proper and true meanes, which are, wisdom and infallible conclusions out of the grounds of long experience.

The first point is to consider aduisedly what kind of warre may most auail you, to defend, offend, peruert, or diuert. Touching a defensiu warre, my opinion was alwayes to haue it absolutely excluded, for what is it else but a laying of our selues open to a manifest consumption of strength from time to time, not without great hazard of the whole in a short space, or by long delays, as things fall out, and with despaire of any satisfaction or restitution. This kind of warre hath bene generally held by all men of experience that made profession of armes, to be the most vnprofitable and most dangerous of all the rest: but whenas men are inforced thereunto by necessitie. An offensive warre which reason perswadeth to be made against him in Greece, both in respect of our inferioritie by sea, and for many other reasons which concur, I hold it very hard and in a manner impossible to be brought to any good effect, seeing that diuersions are so easie and commodious vnto him: for as it is impossible to make preparation for such a warre, without discouerie, great charge and losse of time, so the Turke will plainly foresee our designs, and frustrate our executions. The warre which wee call preuentiu ought to be esteemed the more fitte, for that the multitude of souldiers which the Turke carrieth alwayes with him to maintaine his owne designs, and to frustrate our purposes, is infinite. The course of diuersion can auayle as little, presupposing that offence goe before which I haue specified: whereupon I may conclude, that none of these simple kindes are for your good: I might proceed and discourse particularly, and according to their severall termes and differences touching euerie one of these; but by the strengthening of this discourse with sundrie other reasons of importancie that concur, it will appeare that out of the conclusions of these severall kindes, there ariseth a mixt kind of warre, most fit for your occasions: for seeing there is no remedy but you must haue warre against the Turke as I said before, since wee can neither make a warre meere offensive for the reasons I haue set downe, nor ought once to thinke of a preuention without ports, wee must presuppose that such a warre may be defensive in act, but offensive in proesse, yet simply neither offensive nor defensive, according vnto the speciall rules and notes of both in simple termes.

Let this warre thus tempered goe forward with a wise care to diuert, and so by little and little it will take a safe course to preuent; and in the end prooue meere offensive to the enemy. But before I come to exemplifie this paterne, and set downe my plot, I must put you once againe in mind, that in making warre against the Turke, you must relye more vpon stratagems and the Art of warre, than in multitudes of men, watching all opportunities, his troubles and incumbrances in other warres, his losses and ruines by them, the partialities which fall out oftentimes betwixt the successours of the State, and the diuisions amongst themselves: All these things may induce a better knowledge how to make our partie strong, but aboue all things bind vpon Gods fauour. But for that this fauour ought to be procured, partly by such meanes on our side, as are incident to the discretion of reasonable men, you must vnderstand, that nothing can be more expedient for you, than agreement and intelligence with your friends of the house of Austria, as on the other side proportionally it standeth them in hand, for the better effecting of any enterprise, to be firmly vnited vnto you, and to acquaint you with their purposes. These things provided for, you may easily come to the knowledge of the true course which it behoueth you to holde in maintaining this kind of warre: for if by any fit occasion which shall be offered, the Turke being either engaged in other warres, or his estate declining at home, you shall see reason to beginne the

A the quatrell, and to preuent his resolution. You may doe it best towards Hungarie, making your vncle now designed Emperour, acquainted with your intent, keeping the warre out of the champane Countries, and farre from the riuer of Danow, whereof the Turke standeth in great neede, in regard of his carriages for such an armie: Besides, forcing him to passe by places which are not fit for his great troupes of horse and multitudes of foote, there is no doubt but you may hope for a verie happie end of your designs. But in case not any one of these occasions be offered, yet you may procure one by your owne discretion, making the yeere, wherein he maketh his preparation to serue your turne, by temporizing warily and frustrating his designs by delays and shifts, according to the circumstances and aduantages which shall be offered.

The next yeere when either hee doth not, or pethappes can not so speedily aduance, or arme his troupes as hee desireth, in respect of the great provisions hee is inforced to make, then would I haue you to aduance, and to fortifie that part of the Countrey which you haue gotten before that hee can be readie to impeach your courses vpon the frontiers, and defend it with the like resolution. Again, vse the matter in such sort, as when hee begins to casiere his companies, and to retire his forces, you may be ready to renew the warre, and thereby force him to make a new defence. By this meanes you shall inforce him to continue his great armie still in pay, which hee is not able to indure, or else to bring such meane forces to field as hee may be easily dealt withall, and by consequence change the manner of his warre, which were no meane step to an honorable victorie, for thereupon setting downe a new and discreet course for direction, you may presume of a most fortunate successe. Wherefore you haue reason both to graunt and offer all kinds of aid, both of men and money, I meane to the King of the Romanes, who shall fitly serue your turne, to keepe the ballance euen, till you finde a fitter opportunitie. And for that wee know, that vpon anie worthy peece of seruice the Turkish forces are verie apt to shrinke, for that they relye wholly vpon their strength, being also apparent that this blow must be rather giuen by stratageme than by force, it shall not be amisse to touch those meanes which are likely to aduance our purposes: you must be very carefull to drawe them into streit places, where the warre for want of carriages and other necessarie provisions may proue D verie cumbersome, as both I haue specified before, and experience hath taught in the warres of Albania. Again hee must be encountered with so strong an armie of foot, as it may be able to withstand his troupes of horsemen. Which in respect they are for the most part vnarmed, might be easily effected. It is a point of especiall consideration also to put forth a squadron of choice men to entertaine the Ianisaries in fight, from the beginning vnto the end of the battell, leauing in like manner conuenient forces to incounter the rest of his armie: for whereas the manner of the Turkish discipline is alwayes to reserve the valour of the Ianisaries for the last supplie and recourse to victorie, when the rest of the armie shall see that they haue bene charged from the beginning of the fight, they will, no doubt, be much troubled with this alteration, E and the Ianisaries themselves amazed and disordered with a stratageme vnlooked for. It cannot be objected, that this deuice will serue but once, for in truth it will force them to forsake that course for euer, when they shall see their policie preuented, by which they haue many times preuayled against the enemy. It cannot be denied but by meanes of this provision *Haniball* more than once defeated the Romane Legions, and the Romanes themselves vsing the like stratageme against the Latines, in the verie bowelles of their owne estate during the time of their dissensions and warre, obtained victorie. Aboue all things bend your care to stirre the people to rebellion against their Gouvernours, by good vsage, exemption &c. This may be brought F to passe more speedily, by removing camps, and erecting forts in the Countrey, both for defence and offence, than by places inhabited, as you may find set out at large in my Memorialles: I haue there set downe the meanes to make them speedily, and with small charge, the true reason by which they may be brought to good effect, and the way to hemme in, to cut off, and to subdue securely with good provisions, the

forces of any great estate, with very few of them; as we find that *Cesar* himselfe dwelt in France, by the report of his Commentaries. The least beginning of good successe, will presently draw downe the Turke, to make warre against them, where you shall bee best prouided to incounter him: for it standeth him in hand to be ialous (as hee is) of that reputation in armes, and opinion of superiortie about all princes, which hee hath hitherto held, for feare of disorders and reuolts, which euerie little declining of his fortune might cause in his mightie estate, by reason of the discontent wherein the people lye in respect of his tyrannous gouernement.

You haue likewise to consider of your warres with the crowne of Fraunce, the which are of great consequence in respect of the solide and vnited forces of that realme, and the coniunction and league which they may easily continue with other Potentates of Christendome, and chiefly with the princes and states of Italie, for the ialousie wherein they lye of our greatnesse. But besides that point whereof I warned you before, speaking of the danger that is in leagues, and the small effect that comes of them, you haue besides this one secure and sound prouision in readinesse at all times for your further comfort in this verie case of France, that so often as you shall assault that king within his owne dominions, which is not hard to doe, considering in what manner his realme is enuironed on euery side, you shall be sure to draw him backe, and so diuert him both from Italie, and from other enterprises. Surely the French king warreth in Italie to his great aduantage, as well in respect of the peoples disposition to innovations, as of the great gaine he sometimes makes by one only attempt, in comparison of his small expences: we should haue scene the prooffe not many yeares since, if the French could haue made vse of that aduantage which they held at Cerisoles, or at the taking of Cassal, after the great overthrow which immediately after the reuolt of Siena the Turkish fleetere gaue to ours in the Sicilian sea. Besides, the Italians are so much grieued, being curbed by Milan, Naples, and Sicile, as they are glad of any oportunitie to weaken our suspected forces, and doe willingly offer themselves to any one that will promise to ease them of their burthen, and to set them free, not foreseeing that the French, if they were once masters of the like forts within the body of the state, would be as much, or more offensive to their liberties.

The warre of Piedmont will make the French king wearie in a short time, if you inducetur to fight hand to hand as they do: for by a custome which they haue long obserued, to leaue no enimie behind, you shall verie easily bring this to passe, if you hold some strong towne well fortified against their force, proceeding there from hand to hand as you find occasion: If they diminish or abate their armie, increase yours, so as you may be able to take some place of importance, which being weake you may fortifie. Thus by the helpe of places, and of so great an estate on your backe, you may make warre in winter. And to these ends if you be prouoked by occasion, I had once resolved for their speedie riddance and dispatch to cut off their passage out of France to Turin, raising two or three forts betwixt Turin and the Alpes: for when they shall be forced to maintaine a mightie garrison, and their prouisions on this side the Alpes cut off, it would be hard for them to furnish themselves with sufficient store of victuals and munition out of their owne countrey. In assaulting the French King at home, there are two kinde of warre which promise prosperous successe: the one is by the commodity which you haue to draw your forces sooner together, and to enter into the heart of his Countrey, where you shall find abundance of victuals and other things to maintaine a sufficient army. Before the French king come into the field, I would haue you seeke to make waie for your selfe, and so to aduance, enlarging your owne course, and cutting off your enemies best oportunities by forts built in the Countrey, as I aduised you before speaking of your warres against the Turke, which course *Cesar* himselfe obserued, when he made warre in that country. Sometimes oportunitie may be given either by the declining of the aduerser partie vpon some braue attempt of yours, or by your good successe and their misfortunes. Whereupon you may so preuaile as afterwards you may lay plots to compass that which is not yet conquered. Diuisions may happen in the countrey, and a thousand other accidents, especially in this age, when as loue and charitie so decay, whereby an enterprife begunne

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A with iudgement, may be greatly furthered; wile men must not disdain to goe forwards by insensible degrees, for so goeth the Summe about the world; for it is impossible that a kingdome of such strength, and at vnion within it selfe, should bee at one instant swallowed vp by anie foreine enimie. But if the least part which is one, bee drawne from them, and added to a stronger part than their owne, the oddes will grow within a while to be so great, as they that find the want will smart for it. Surely, if I had vnderstood the reason from the first beginning of my proceedings against Fraunce, which I haue learned since by long experience, and the consequence of manie braue attempts which I haue made against this realme, vndoubtedly I would haue brought some rare effects to passe: But it may bee that God hath reserued that for your greater glorie. One onelie difficultie is to bee thought on in this case, which is, that the French may sooner enter into Italie by certaine months, considering the season of the yeere, and forwardnesse of the Countrey, than wee can enter into Fraunce: But this aduantage must be prevented by another stratageme: for as soone as you find that the King hath entred into his charge, and made his prouisions, deuise to trouble him in Fraunce with so sufficient an armie, as hee may bee constrained to increase his forces on that side; and so giue ouer all other intended enterprises. It is needlesse to set downe anie other rules for your proceeding in this course, so long as you are Lord of the Lowe Countries, and firmly vnited to your friends and allies in Germanie. Against this mischiefe I find two certaine remedies, the one by entertaining the French King in Italie, and assaulting him in France, at one instant: The other in making shew to be readie, and to set forward in so good time, as hee shall haue other matters to thinke on than his attempts against Italie. You shall easily attaine to your desired end, in proceeding after this manner, as well in respect of the ialousie which the King in his absence hath of that estate, as to auoid the daunger that may follow, if hee leaue his frontire townes behind his backe enuironed both with forts and troups, as *Cesar* dealt at Marseilles, making warre against *Africanus* and *Petrens*. By this meanes smaller forces may serue your turne, and all the brauerie and terrour which the French intended in their coming forward, shall turne to your aduantage; and hauing an other armie ready to aduance, you shall be master of the passages and force him to abandon that garrison which hee left enuironed with your forces vpon the frontire.

D The other way to inuade France, is to set vpon the frontires, and then goe forwards; but this requireth too long time, and serueth rather to diuert the French Kings course from Italie, than to feede our hope with gaining by the match, in respect of the little likelihood to winne anie great townes vpon the frontires, for the French king is mightie, and will come armed to rescue rather than leaue it in daunger: Besides, the winning of a towne by batterie, requireth a long time, and a wanton charge. It is verie true that the difficultie may be recompensed in some sort, by making choice of such places as import the cause wholly, or in the greatest part; but of all these waies the first hath most valour, and is most likely to prooue successfull. I remember well, that when I assaulted Fraunce towards Landerley, my intent was to haue entred into the bowells of that

E Reake, before the coming of the Suissers, but after that I had made some staie about the winning of certaine townes vpon the frontire, the facilitie that I found in preuailling against the first that were attempted by my forces, made mee to change my mind, and to ingage my selfe there, with an assured hope that I might with the like successe go through with the rest, before the King should be strong enough to march: but being staied there longer than I either thought or expected, the King had oportunitie to make himselfe stronger with ease, to defend himselfe with greater securitie, and to constrain mee by force to retire, and to yeelde to an agreement which was then made rather (to tell you plaine) to colour my retreat, than for anie good effect that followed.

F Now if in making warre against France you should preuaile in your attempt, to the which (for that it were against the skill of Armes) I can not beleue you will be euer drawne without great likelihood of victorie; you must labour effectually to bring it to that point: Pursue your aduantage in such sort as I haue said, for by this meanes the king being forced for the most part to supplie his wants from countries farther off, before hee shall be ready with new forces, you may come vpon him with a fresh enterprife: But if the

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worst should happen vnto you, (which God forbid) you shall alwaies haue leisure to repaire your strength, and so much the more freely, both for danger and all other inconueniencies, if you can put off the hazard nere to the point of winter, so as the credit which he getteth in that action may not further his affaires in Italie: To these ends a gallant armie consisting of a reasonable number, shall auaille you more than huge multitudes. And against France also you may greatly strengthen your estate, by maintaining a continuall number of foot, to match their ordinarie troupes of horse, as you shall find it set downe more plainly in my Reports, with full consideration of all accidents, augmenting your proportion against the Turke, according to the rate wherein he exceeds the French king and others, princes of Europe, in force. It standeth neither with your iudgement nor skill, in any of these cases which I haue set downe, to giue your first onser vpon anie place which requireth long time, great forces, & excessive charge before it can be won, vnlesse you be first sure of some secret intelligence within the towne, or priuie to some great defect or want which pincheth them, whether it be of men, munition, leaders, victuals, and such like necessarie things which they can not forbear; or haue some certaine knowledge of the vnsettled humors of the people, or of some chiefe magistrates, or of diuision within the bodie of the state it selfe, so as you may assure your selfe before the cardes be dealt, to win the great rest by setting it vp.

These occasions ought not at anie time to be neglected, vnlesse you meane to abandon the due consideration of the Art of Warre, for otherwise the enemy gaineth too much time for the preparing of his forces, and brings his desires to passe; whereas on the other side, it is hard to maintaine an armie long with victualles and other prouisions at a siege without making some roome at the first for the passage of his conuoyes. I remember well that I once vndertook an enterprise against Prouence in France, my Rendezvous was at Marfeilles, which was the cause that my hopes were made frustrate, and my charges lost, and withall, my retreat was exceeding dangerous: And which is worst of all, the eyes of Francis the French King were opened by this meanes, so as hee plainly discovered the dangers of his realme, and forthwith sought to settle himselfe at Turin, and to make his residence in Piedmont where the French did afterwards make warre to their best aduantage, discouraging the ready meanes of diuerting all attempts on that side against France, besides the credite which they got by the action with the States of Italie.

If they had knowne (as I haue said) how to vie this prosperous successe to their best aduantage, I doubt not but they had often put all the estates you holde thereabouts in danger: Seeke therefore alwayes to assault the French King in his owne Realme, and to preuent his first attempts, for otherwise you cannot when you will ridde your hands of him, by making a diuersion from Italie, if hee may be suffered to put in his foote, for then the difficultie of repairing your armie with supplies of Spaniards, considering the situation will be verie great, wherein all consisteth, for they being defeated by anie mischance, it giues great encouragement to the States of Italie, to laie new plottes, especially the Venetians whom euery little blast doth easily awake. Persuade not your selfe that your dearest friends in Italie, seeing your power decline, will euer adhere to your misfortunes with the hazard of their owne estates, but rather secretly reconcile themselues to him that hath the vpper hand, and follow the Victors good fortune. I would not wish you to applye your whole care about the recouerie of Siena, which will be hardly effected, I graunt the Duke of Florence hath bene jealous to that State, considering his opportunity to annoy them, both by neere neighbourhood, and the power of his authoritie: This plot if it might take effect, will bee a notable president to all States, and make them warie how to intermeddle against your power: And which importeth your cause most of all, you shall by this meanes cut off all intelligence betwene the French Kings forces, and the States of Italie, who finding the French settled within the heart of their Countrey, will be more apt to ioyne with them in friendship, and reliee vpon their strength, rather than when they see them farre off in Piedmont; and much lesse if they can bee drawne on this side the Alpes, whereas their fauour cannot bee commodious, nor their displeasure dangerous. It shall also much a-

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A uaille in your dealing with the Crowne of France, to bee fully informed of the humors and affections of all such persons as are in greatest fauour with the King, or that stand for the best offices; thrust your hand secretly into all their competitions, and drawe the strongest partie vnto you with all the Art you can: for neuer can the Theater of publique Actions afford more fauourable shewes in your behalfe, than when it shall bee moued vnder hand with inuisible deuises. If euer Fortune fauour you so much, as that either by alliance, or anie other kind of agreement, you shall bee able to remooue the French out of Piedmont, wincke at all other things. Doe the best you can where-by the Realme may bee induced to desist from armes; so shall you bee secured from tumults and many other kindes of crosses, which are more dangerous, and not knowne to euery man; if afterwards anie occasion be offered of doing your selfe good, forbear not to lay holde of it. Thus shall you euer be most secure concerning causes which belong to Italie. This is the ground vpon which in the end it behoueth you to settle the strongest sinews of your foreine power, and therefore haue alwayes an eye vnto it with an aduised consideration.

The reason is not all one for the French to bee now put out of Piedmont, and as if they had neuer held it, for in the opinion of the world it will be more disgrace vnto them, than the winning thereof before did yeeld them profit. Wherefore in all your capitulations and agreements let your eye leuell directly at this end, and your plottes of policie aime alwayes at this marke. For belecue me son, and I assure you out of my long experience, that Piedmont alone will benefit you more, than if on that side which lies next vnto Flaunders, you had bereft him of the third part of his owne kingdome. Seeing then wee are entred so farre into the State of Italie, and engaged in the highest mysterie of State, wee must proceed a little farther in this politique discourse. I will tell you once againe, that by the life of this one arterie the pulse of all your great power doth beate. This waie your eyes must bee euer bent and open to all opportunities: First I would haue you vse all deuotion and curtesie to the holie father, and the apostolike Seas; I would wish you to bee verie kind to the members of the same, as the Cardinales, Bishoppes, Prelates and other of the Clergie belonging to the Court of Rome. Be euer readie for the defence of them and the Catholike profession. In all elections of Popes, D see that you labour not by anie vnchristian, vnlawfull, and indirect meanes to preferre anie of those Cardinales that are your especiall friends: Striue not to make one rather than an other, so as all Competitors bee wortheie of the place, for in these sacred actions the holie Ghost doth worke: And it is better to submit our likings to the prouidence of God, which turneth all things to the best, as wee may vnderstand by that which is recorded of Mathias in the Text, than to follow humours or respect particulars.

There is no question but anie of them may bee wonne by due respect, and admit they should become strange, yet after you haue sought to reconcile your selfe into their fauours by such meanes as are prescribed you by the holie Ghost, hauing your territories included in the midst of theiur Countrey, you can neuer want the choice of manie meanes belonging to the world; by which for your last refuge, when there is no other meanes, you may insinuate your selfe more easily into their good opinions: I meane either by alliance with their chiefe friends abroad; or bestowing pensions and sundrie curtesies vpon such persons of the Clergie as they most affect at home, with a thousand such like complements, as may pleasure them daily, without anie hinderance to princes of your qualitie. This is the waie to make the Pope your friend, though at the first hee were elected by a faction of Cardinales which depend not on your affection, for hardly shall you find anie hawke so haggard but hee will prey vpon all apt aduantages: F Hereof you must haue an especiall care, the end whereof is the general good of Christendome, rather than anie respect of your owne priuate interest; though manie perhaps doe not so much regard those bonds which ought to moue them simply to make a Pope, as they doe the profit when a Pope is made to their purpose.

The territories of the Church lie (as we may say) in the very heart of Italie, but so inuironed with yours, as they may serue for a garland: if Siena were once recouered, they should

should then be compassed in on all sides with your forces: So as the way which you shall take, according to the rule set downe before, shall be made more easie by your diligence, and the fauours which you meane to bestow: shall more readily bring forth those good fruits which you desire among them. So long as goodly men are preferred to that Sea, there is no doubt but charitie, religion, & care to keep the seamlessse coat of Christ vntrent, will moue them both to tender and deserue your loue: If men delighted more with worldlie honours should hold those places (which God forbid) yet would they be alwaies glad to make a friend of one who they are not able to incounter with hospitalitie, besides his deuotion to the popes theselues. The curtesies which you may likewise vse to the cardinals your speciall friends, wil much fortifie this warie & discreet consideration. Apply your care first time to time to win many friends among the cardinals, as well old as yong, the which may be easily effected, in giuing the preferments & such dignities as they desire. The like course I would haue you hold with the Bishops & other prelates of that Court: but haue a care to deale most bountifullly with such persons as are most inward with his Holines.

Above all things ground your selfe vpon the conscience and equity of your demands, in dealing with the cardinals & other friends; but in cases that require grace and fauour, see that you rely vpon the bountie of the Pope himselfe, lest you be deceiued of your expectation. Sticke not to afford all commodities out of your estates to the court of Rome, with a bountifull and a willing heart, & if necessity inforce you to breake with the Pope, yet vse the matter with such temperance and warinesse; as the world may rightly vnderstand the reason: and acknowledge that the cause of this stratageme grew not from your desert, but that you were inforced thereunto for your owne safetie: Religion is the bond of loue, and therefore nothing is more contrarie to hope and expectation of good successe, than to leaue an ill opinion in the minds of men of your affection towards those that hold the place and credite of Gods ministers.

In matters pertaining to accõpts in general, conforme your selfe at all times with obedience & humblenes to the certen & infallible determination of his Holines, & howsoeuer causes of vnkindnes may arise, yet let the world see your religiõ is vnchangeable. Touching the Venetians you may easily take order, if you find it good for your selfe to continue in the league with the, being (as I said before) so disposed to rely wholly vpon time as they wil wander between these vaine & idle expectations, suffering theselues willingly to be drawn on from day to day, & consuming still with a soft fire of ambition till at length they become a prey to some martial power without any great difficulty. Moreover the Turke, hauing shut the from Corfu, wil soone bereaue the of Cipres & Candie, & restrain them much: And considering that the trade of Venice standeth wholie vpon merchandise, you may neuer vndertake anie enterprise vpon hope of their assistance, especially against the Turk, if it be not at such time as they are very lowe, and you in great prosperitie; and yet euen then also it might be thought that ielosie & feare of your good fortune wil work more in their suspitious conceits, than any other due consideration, or respect whatsoeuer. Experience hath taught that these mean conceits, whose humor is to apprehend more than anie can containe, lose more by emulation than they get by policie; but whensoeuer you haue cause to break league with them, assault them first, & with all celeritie, for as they do lie in wait to worke vpon the first aduantage that their neighbors miseries doe afford, so states which haue often had prooffe of this strange inclination, look warily to their attempts, & hold no stricter league with the than stands with their owne necessities. If then you shall begin to plie the lustily before they can haue leisure to combine with other states, or make prouision for war, a matter so long neglected by their sloath, as it will appeare they haue quite forgotten their first alphabet; & as in popular estates fear breedeth infinit confusions, so may you make your profit of their ignorance. If this be doubted of, you can desire no plainer prooffe, than their want as well of carriages, as of policie in letting slippe so many braue occasions as these late yeeres haue offred. It seemes that they presume out of their sloathfull humor to maintaine their dignitie by certaine quiet ordinances, and sober institutions made by their gowne men: & herein fortune hath bin more fauorable to them, but yet it may be said without offence or error, that common weales so qualified, doe neither know nor vnderstand in what sort to vse their power to their best benefit.

This

A This weaknes being found, in setting first vpon their estate, I do assure my selfe, that with that sodaine alteration, and many other troubles and disorders that will ensue, you may bring some great enterprise to passe, before they be awaked from sleepe, or resoluẽd among themselves what to spend, or whom to relie vpon, what Leaders to imploy, or haue reuiued their old discipline or manner of making warre so many yeeres neglected in their gouernement. Their couetous desires to cut off all cause of charge in time of peace, their ignorance in training men that may be fit to serue when need requires, their want of leaders in the bodie of their owne estate that may withstand the violence of any mightie potentate, that maketh head against their force, will alwayes giue aduantage to your policie, in taking the first start of them: you may boldly imagine that by this means you shall inforce them to their owne defence, whereas if you giue them leisure to beginne the warre, and to assault you first in the realme of Naples, they might doe great harme, in respect of their kind vsage towards them, and their ciuill gouernment which is yet fresh in memorie. If you find no likelihood that they will fall to their defence, inforce them what you may, and seeke to preuent their purposes by meanes of diuision in some good sort, for herein consisteth the greatest aduantage of your actions. I must now let you vnderstand that in seeking to assault them first, your greatest care must be by all means possible to thrust into the verie centre of the State, for hauing forced them to put garrisons into all the strong places which they hold, it is not possible they should bee able at the same time to keepe the field. In the meane time you cannot but find some great want in one or other of their forts, either of leaders, garrisons, prouisions, or payes; you may find out the struiuing humors that are set a worke by faction in generall, or of persons discontented in particular. In any one place that your fortune shall be to take, vse your happy beginning as an extreme to further good, and leaue a president and encouragement to others, by your princely dealing with those, so as they may more easily bee brought to yeeld vpon reasonable conditions and honourable offers made to Burgers, Leaders, souldiers &c. with other meanes which circumstances, time and place shall present to your discreet consideration. If you be once master of the field whatsoeuer is not strong will remaine at your deuotion, or they shall be inforced to come to field, where they can not long continue their garrisons being provided: for hereupon a battell must ensue, which in respect of their long discontinuance of armes, and want of knowledge & experience of the seruice of these times, will be greatly to their disaduantage, and disgrace, so as they may be diuerted first from the realme of Naples, which is one of their best hopes, when they may approach without opposition.

Be carefull also that no other prince in Italie grow too potent, although he seeme to depend wholly vpon your crowne; for in this case you must be no lesse careful to contain those which make shew to be your friends within reasonable bounds, than to keep downe your enemies; holding it for an infallible ground, that they which make profession to follow you, and are most forward in your seruice, would be the first (vpon the least disaduantage and declining of your fortune, and hope to better their owne) that would turne vnto the other side. But as the many diuisions and factions in Italie doe make the labour hard, to keepe that which you now hold, as sometimes it happened betwixt the States of Greece and the Romans, you must euer presuppose this principle, that the Estates of Italie desire about all things to see a Duke settled at Milan, and a King at Naples; to this end tend all their practises, for that is a meanes to weaken your incroching power, and withall to free themselves from forreine seruitude: The reasons are, for that with petie princes they may treat at all times vpon euen hand, with you they promise faire in ielosie, and perseuere in dissimulation. Againe, a Duke of Milan, or a King of Naples, which had no more estates than that alone to build on, would feare and hope with them, and euer tie himselfe to them in a firme league of friendship, against forreine forces for his owne securitie, which is the strongest bond.

But with you they neither dare enter into league, lest thereby you should grow more strong, nor warre, lest with an ouer-match you should weigh downe their policie. Besides, a doore well kept is a defence for all that liue vnder one rooffe, and in one familie. The Venetians about all wish for this, because they might haue great choice in setting



1555

setting downe their plottes, and more helpe at their need. The Pope hath also bene asapt as others to combine and practise to this end: but your best remedie against this humour will be to take aduantage of the diuisions and factions which happen daily among themselves, and to maintaine by continuall action, your reputation in armes, holding good intelligence in euerie state, appointing able and sufficient ministers to attend the Pope; by fishing with a golden hooke where the streames are troubled. As for Italie you need not feare anie daunger, if you can deuise to keepe them from combining craftily within themselves, and especially with the French King on that side the Alpes, which is not hard to doe, for him that standeth euer watchfully vpon his gard, and hath in his head discretion to see, and in his hands meanes to preuent their purposes. The safest course as I haue aduised you before, is to nippe off the first buddes of ambition before they ripen to your preiudice, or feed to the hazard of your gouernement.

These briefe notes (my deare sonne) I thought good to leaue with you, as certaine grounds and principles, whereunto you may resort for resolution of doubts as occasion shall be offered. I am not ignorant that many circumstances may change the rules, but yet the reason of them well obserued will direct you, in what fort to deale, howsoeuer fresh occasions may inforce you somewhat to digresse and varie from my former obseruations. Touching the manner in particular of fashioning your policie, both in time of peace and warre to the best vse, with extraordinarie plots for the performance of greater actions, rather sensibly conceiued in my head vpon likely grounds, than warranted by certaine prooffe during the time of my flourishing in the world, I referre you to the compleate discourse which shall euer witnesse both my loue to you, and my trauell for your happinesse. For a conclusion of this point, I charge you by the interest which by nature I may claime, and by the duteie which by the lawe of God you owe me, that in all enterprises you set the rule of conscience before your eyes, and what stratagems and policies soeuer you vse to attaine vnto your desires, yet let the ground and end be iustifiable in his sight who weigheth all things, not by humane passion, but by his most holie ordinance.

Be kind in naturall affection to all the branches of your honourable house: Continue league and friendship with your ancient allies: Preuent the first beginning of your enemies attempts: Beware of sugred words, where reason maketh you to suspect ill deeds: Be sure of sound aduertisements from cuerie state: Be iust at home, and bountifull abroad: so shall your end be futable to your entrie, and both to that vnfaired with which your fathers loue affordeth you. I will neuer cease to pray for your good successe: in you it resteth to proceed in such a courie as praise may sound your purposes.

### D. Philip the second of that name, and 23.

*King of Castille &c.*

1556

Among other aduertisements which the emperour had giuen vnto the king D. Philip his sonne, he had exhorted him much to make a peace with the French, and to keepe it; Mary Queene of England did also affect it, being desirous to haue him by her to haue some issue: whereupon they entred into treatie, and there was a truce concluded for 5 yeeres, by the which it was agreed that euerie one should remaine in possession of that he held. By this truce which was both profitable and honourable for the French, *Ottauio Farnese* duke of Parma returned into fauour with king Philip. But soone after the Pope falling in quarrel with the king of Spaine, touching the *Colonna's* whom he had excommunicated, and deprived of their goods, as rebells to the Church, hauing made his nephew *John Caraffe* duke of Paliano, & giuen vnto his son, but yet an infant, the castle of Caui, belonging to *Marc Anthonie Colonne*, with the title of Marquesse; the D. of Alba viceroy of Naples, hauing commandement from his master to presse the restitution of the *Colonna's* to their possessions, had protested that he would do it by force, who (hearing that the *Caraffes* did fortifie Paliano, vpon the confines of the realme of Naples) sent the erle of Santalento to the *Caraffes*, exhorting them that they would not attempt a thing so preiudiciall to his Maiestie, and that they should doe all good offices to pacifie the Pope, and to

19  
Truce betwixt  
the French and  
Spaniards for  
five yeeres.

Breach betwixt  
Pope Paul the  
fourth, and the  
king of Spaine.

A take away the occasions of these tumults, seeing that they might expect more from the King of Spaines bountie, by quietnesse, than from their vnle, by such dangerous and not durable Innouations, which could not produce any thing but warre and ruine. The Earle complained also in the Duke of Albas behalfe, that his Holinesse had vsed all them sowerly that were friends to the Emperour, and to the King of Spaine, and that hee daily gaue new occasions to thinke, that his heart was estranged from them, for that to wrong the fauorites, friends, and dependants of the house of Austria, without respect of anie, was a signe of much hatred which was borne them; and small accompt that was made of them: besides arming and leuying new troupes daily, the which were sent vnto diuerse places of the frontire, and finally causing a fort to bee built vpon the confines of the realme of Naples, and employing men therein, that were suspected to the house of Austria, did shew plainly that hee had done them wrong, or meant to wrong them, and then defend it by force. But this was against the quiet of Christendome, seeking to ouerthrow the hope of a generall peace, which with great toyle was lately grounded vpon a truce: and to receiue into Rome, not only the enemies of his King, but open rebelles, was nothing else but to approue their treacherie, and to haue an intent to vse their counsell or seruice to preiudice his Maiesty, seeing they were so familiar, in his Court. The which hee should beleue hee could not long endure, beeing of so generous a mind, and of so great power as hee needed not to feare anie man; and if hee had endured vntil that time, it was onely in respect of the holie Sea, desiring peace about all things, whereunto the Pope should bee more inclined than he, in regard of his dignitie and charge.

The Pope answered pertinently to euerie one of these points, shewing that it was not fit for anie man, much lesse for a Catholike King, or his ministers to seeke (vpon anie colour whatsoeuer) to hinder the Popes authoritie ouer his subiects, that he might not take knowledge of their offences and punish them, for the respect hee should beare to anie Potentate: and that hee (although that the King of Naples were feudatarie to that Sea) tooke no care for that which was doone in that kingdome, much lesse should hee with such vehemencie seeke an accompt in Rome of the Popes actions, who was a free and absolute Lord: But touching that which was spoken of armes and soldiers, it was neither in that citie nor anie where else, a preparation to warre, but for the safetie and defence of his person and State, seeing that hee had cause to feare secret treason, and that which they could not doe by poison, they would seeke to effect by the sword, and they that could not deprive him of his life, would with ignominie spoile him of his estate, hauing before his eyes the example of *Clement* the seuenth by his too great trust. And as hee could not altogether blame his Maiesties royall conceptions, so hee could not excuse the malice of some of his followers, who haue thought therein to please him, whom hee also blamed, for entertaining anie hard conceit in the Kings mind, causing him to suspect his Holinesse actions and his nephews, so as happily he had commaunded him to send some troupes vnto the frontires of the territories of the Church, vnder *Bernardin* of Mendoza, and that they had made other demonstrations nothing conformable to the peace, which the Duke seemed to desire, according to the intent of the King his master. Touching enemies and rebelles which hee saied he had receiued into Rome, hee answered, that hee might well know, that that Citie had bene alwayes a common Countreie, wherewith the King should not be grieved: Besides, the Duke of Alua, who made all this noyse, should consider how much the Pope of Rome was reuerenced and respected by him, seeing that hee had receiued and fauoured *Marc Anthonie Colonna*, who had bene excommunicated by him, with all those that should receiue or assist him. And as for the Kings well taking of it, it was well knowne, and of what power hee was, seeing that hauing scarce taken in hand the gouernement of his Realmes, hee would haue soueraigne Princes respect his Maiesties fauorites, the which hee entertained in other mens estates: But notwithstanding hee did hope that God would fauour the iust cause, and that beeing forced to take some other resolution, hee trusted to find them that would helpe the oppressed.

1556  
Earle of Santalento at  
Rome to treat  
at accord.

Duke of Alba  
complaines of  
the Popes actions.

Answer made  
by the Pope to  
the duke of Al-  
bas complaint.

1556

Truce broken  
betwixt France  
and Spaine.Cardinall Car-  
raffa legate in  
France.Duke of Guise  
sent into Italie.John de Luna  
sies into France.Charles resignes  
the empire to  
his brother.

But after this they fell to open armes: the Pope apprehending the preparations which were made by the Spaniards in the realme of Naples, had recourse vnto the French King, and to the forces of Fraunce, the ancient refuge of Popes oppressed. This was an occasion to breake the truce, and to bring Fraunce and Spaine againe to armes. There had been a league made by the procurement of the cardinall of Lorraine (before the conclusion of the truce) betwixt the Pope, *Henrie* the French king, and the Duke *Ferrara*, whereof the Duke should be generall in Italie, in qualitie of the Kings lieutenant. Cardinall *Carraffa* the Popes Nuntio was sent into France for Legat, who brought a sword vnto the king, in signification of warre, at whose instance there were three thousand foot appoynted to bee sent to Rome, whereof part were speedily imbar- ked in those gallies which brought this Legate to Marseilles. The Pope hee stood vp- on his gard, entertained captaines, and gaue commissions to leuie men, causing the pla- ces about Rome to be fortified. The duke of Alba seeing the French king engaged in this quarrell, entred in hostile manner into the territories of the Church, where hee tooke many places, and brought his army neere to the gates of Rome, which made the Pope to importune the French King for succours. Afterwards hee tooke the towne of Ostia, and the castle; the which had wonderfully amazed the Romans, if *Peter Stroffy* had not bene, who since his defeat, being no friend to the Spaniards, had liued in Rome, and had accompanied Cardinall *Carraffa* into Fraunce, and returned with him to Rome by the kings commaundement, who imployed himselfe wholly for the *Carraffes* who had all the authoritie, wherefore hee was verie pleasing vnto them. By his industrie and va- lour, Ostia with some other places were recovered from the Spaniards.

The king desirous to releue the Pope, sent *Francis* of Lorraine Duke of Guise into I- talie, as the Popes souldier, with whom, and with the Duke of Ferrara hee had made certain conuentions, for the entertainment and safetie of the armie, consisting of twelue thousand foot, French, Suisses, and Grisons, and two thousand horse, with the which he passed the Alpes in the heart of winter.

About this time *D. John de Luna* was in Flaunders, who (as wee haue said) had been called thither touching *Fernand Gonzague*: hee seeing himselfe very seuerely handled by the Kings ministers in that businesse, seeking a strict accompt of him of the munition of the castle of Milan, being accused to haue imployed it to his owne priuate vse, hee re- solved to flie from Brussels, who comming into Fraunce, was graciously receiued by the Christian king, and an honourable pension given him for his maintenance. Hee wrote from thence to his sonne *Diego*, that hee should deliuer the castle of Milan (where he remained in his fathers place) to whomsoever his king should commit it, and that nei- ther hee nor his brethren should euer swaue from his seruice. And so it was deliuered by way of prouision to *Alonso Pescioni*, by order from the catholike King, and afterwards to *Alonso Figueroa*, who was sent Castellan thither, fearing the danger.

The Emperour *Charles* having the last yeare made a resignation of all his realmes and dominions, shewing a rare President of his fatherlie loue, and of a wise and temperat mind, hee resolved also to write vnto his brother touching the gouernement of the Em- pire, and leaving the gouernement of his states more free vnto his sonne, retire himselfe, and spend the remainder of his life in a free and quiet contemplation. Wherefore on the seventh day of September this yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and sixe he sent do- ctor *Salas* into Germany to his brother *Ferdinand* with a resignation of the gouernement of the empire with the Crowne, Scepter, and other Ornaments; pretending, that be- ing vnable to vndergoe that burthen, by reason of his age, and the infirmities which did afflict him extraordinarily, hee perswaded the Electors to confirme the said *Ferdinand* in his place, being yonger, stronger, and more apt to beare the burthen of such an empire, to whom there was giue by the prouidence of God, for a naturall enemy the Turk, who was mighty & alwaies watchful, the which was now most to be feared, for that he heard he was making a great preparation for war. He did write particularly to euery one of the electors touching that busines, & a very familiar letter vnto his brother, recommending his son vn- to him, that he would direct and assist him in all occasions, with his counsel & help. On the 14 day of the moneth he went from Gaand into Zeland, his ships attending him at Fleissingue

Lib.28.

*Fleissingue*, but for that the wind was contrary, hee was forced to staie many daies at Zuyt- bourg a village betwixt Fleissingue and Middelbourg, which turning faire, hauing taken his leaue of his sonne, and giuen him his blessing, and imbraced all the Princes and Noble- men, hee tooke shipping with his two sisters *Mary* widow to *Lewis* King of Hongary, and *Leonora* first widow of Portugal, and then of France, who would needs accompany him in this voiage.

He came in a eleuen daies to the coast of Spaine, and landed at Laredo in Biscay, where before that he receiued any of those Noblemen that came to doe their duties to him, hee kneeled downe, and gaue God thanks, for that in the last yeeres of his life, hee had suffred him to come and die in that country, which had alwaies bene most deere vnto him, and by whose meanes he knew he was come to the hight of that honour and greatnesse: And then imbracing those Noblemen and Grandos of Spaine very louingly, hee past by Bour- gos to Vailledolit, whereas his Nephew Don *Carlo* was, to whom he gaue many good in- structions, putting him chiefly in mind of religion and Iustice, where resting some daies, and leaving his sisters there, that he might haue no let to attend the life which hee had pro- pounded, he retired himselfe to the Monastery of Saint Iust of the Order of Saint Ierosme dela Vera, neere to Placentia, a desert place, in the Prouince of Estremadura. Here, with foure seruants onely to serue him in his necessity, hee past his life in continuall contempla- tion, giuing great almes and doing other good deeds of charity, for the which hee had re- ceived a hundred thousand ducats yeerely out of his great possessions. Pope *Paul* the fourth hearing of his resignation, was much troubled, thinking that the Emperour could not doe it, seeing it was necessary, that beeing desirous to leaue off that degree, whereunto hee had bene aduanced by the Popes authority, hee should resigne it into the Popes hands; whose office it then was to write vnto the Electors to provide one that were worthy of that dignity, who was to obtaine the ordinary confirmation from him, wherein *Ferdinand* afterwards found some difficulty.

Queene *Leonora* being in Castille shee had a great desire to see the Infanta, *D. Maria* of Portugall her daughter, who remained at Lisbone, wherein there was some difficulty vp- on the point of honour and conuenience, whether the mother should goe into Portugal, or the daughter into Castille, so as the Emperour was forced to write somewhat sharply vn- to the king *D. John*. In the end the daughter came to see the mother in the city of Badajos, which was the last time of their meeting.

The king of Algier with the helpe of an army at sea of Turkes, of two and forty gallies, and many Moores at land, did much annoy the coast of Afrike, and in the end came to O- ran thinking to take that towne from the Spaniards. Being incamped there the seventh day of August, and viewed it where they might plant their battery, they beganne to cast vp trenches about the wall, planting some peecks to batter the castle of Alchaizer, but it was very indiscreetly done, for they lay open both to the attillery of the fort, and to that of the port Tremisene, so as very many of them were slaine. Whereupon they were forced to make new rampars, and to find out a better seat for their lodgings, the which were on e- uery side discovered, their army being great, for besides 12000. Turkes, there was an infi- nite number of Moores, both horse and foote. They staied there some daies before they resolved to batter it, for that they could not find a conuenient place, but that they should be wonderfully annoyed by the ordnance from the fort, which standing high discovered the country round about, and shot into their trenches. In the meane time the beseege- falld forth dayly to skirmish, and carried away the honour in a manner alwaies: and al- though there were not about two thousand souldiers in the whole garrison, which were diuided in Mersalcabir, the castle Alchaizer and the towne, yet the Earle of Alcaudete the Gouernor sent them continually forth to annoy the enemy. But the Moores resolving in the end to batter it, and come to an assault, on the fifteenth day of August they beganne to batter the castle in two places, where they themselves receiued the greatest losse, for be- sides many others, all their gunners were slaine, so vnskillfully they had planted their bat- terie, so as at night they withdrew it, knowing that all their endeavors were vaine. The next day the Turkes began to retire towards the sea with dishonor, making all possible speed to get into their gallies, which lay at Sorzet, and the Moores on horse-backe sauing them.

1556  
Charles the  
fifth passeth in-  
to Spaine to a  
solitary life.Interview be-  
twixt the mo-  
ther and the  
daughter.Oran beseege-  
d and valiantly  
defended.Turkes and  
Moores fle  
from Oran.

1556

themselves by flight. The reason why they received no more losse by the Spaniards in their retreat, was for that they heard thereof late, when as most of them had recovered their galleys, or were fled away on horse-backe.

There was some slaughter made of the Moores that were footmen, but the greatest part of them were pardoned, for that being of the country, the Spaniards would incense them as little as might bee, notwithstanding that they were treacherous and of no faith. The Earle tooke some of their baggage which the enemies had left behind them for hast, with one peece of Ordnance, and if they had had three or foure hundred launces to follow then suddenly, few of the Turkes had escaped, for that they were all in a confusion, and most of them without armes. This sodaine retreat of the Turkes at the enterprise of Oran, eased the Catholike Kings army of much toyle, hauing beene many daies doubtful, whether they should goe and releue this towne, or carry the Spaniards into the Realme of Naples, to the Duke of Alua.

1557

After all the broiles in Italy, betwixt the Pope and the King of Spaine, and the taking and retaking of many townes, in the end both parties seemed to incline vnto a peace. The Pope being a man of a small discours and ignorant of his owne affaires, fearing to be abandoned by his foraine forces, which hee could not entertaine but with great charges, which his means would hardly supply, suffering himselfe to be gouerned by men which deceived him, and applied all to their owne priuate posits, with supreme authority, men of no faith, and which had many practises; hee therefore yeilded to their persuations which did mediate a peace betwixt him and the King of Spaine, amongst which were the Duke of Florence and the Venetians, desirous to diuert this warre, which could bring nothing but spoiles and ruines. The Duke of Guise lying neere to Rome had newes of the battaile of Saint Quentin lost by the French; wherefore hee perswaded the Pope to take some course for himselfe for that hee should bee forced to returne with his army or the greatest part thereof into France, to succour that Realme, which he saw in apparent danger.

Pope yeilds to  
treat of a  
peace.

King of Spaine  
desirous of  
peace with the  
Pope.

King Philip did in like manner write vnto the Venetians, shewing how weake the Popes hopes were growne, yet he offered all honourable conditions of peace to his Holinesse, referring the composition to the Iudgement of their common-weale, if the Pope and Viceroy should disagree: Hee did also send commaundement to the Duke of Alba, that hee should procure a peace with all conditions; and so as his friends and seruants might not bee oppressed, hee should accept any accord from the Pope, with whom hee meant not to bee any more in disgrace, and that hee desired no greater fruites of the victory which hee had newly gotten, than to be at peace with his Holinesse. The Duke was then ready to inuest Paliano, but the Cardinall of Santafiora continuing to negotiate this peace, had often sent Alexander Placidi his Secretary vnto the Viceroy, to let him vnderstand, that the Pope at the intreaty of many Cardinalls, had yeilded to a peace, and sent him these conditions.

That the Pope was well pleased to receiue Philip king of Spaine, and the Duke of Alba into fauour, pardoning all the iniuries they had done vnto the Church, so as the Duke with all his troupes did within tenne daies depart out of the territories of the Church leauing the townes and forts taken in that warre free vnto the Pope: and that hee in like manner would cause the Duke of Guise to depart for France within tenne daies. The Duke of Alba although he knew the king his Masters mind, and were himselfe desirous of peace, yet would he make vse of the occasion, and haue it with all aduantages: And therefore hee answered the Cardinall, that those propositions were to be propounded to men that were vanquished, and not to victors: But if the Pope would haue peace with the king of Spaine, he should accuse his owne iniustice, for spoyling the Colonnes, and his error hauing imprisoned so many of his Maiesties vassalls and seruants; making warre against him, and calling in the French to preiudice his states, for the which hee should craue pardon: a proposition which shewed rather the pride of that Nation, than the mind of the Prince, to whom it was no small blemish.

The Caraffi seeing the present danger, & doubting the vast designs of the Spaniard in this great prosperity, according to the which they doe commonly guide their passions, either insolent

Duke of Alua  
answers touch-  
ing a peace.

1557

A insolent or dejected, they perswaded the Pope to retire into Fraunce, or to some other place of safetie, leauing garrisons of Frenchmen in all the forts belonging to the Church, to kindle such a fire in Italie, as neither the Spaniards nor their partisans should euer bee able to quench. But the Pope who naturally did not loue strangers, and had receiued small seruice from the French, reiected it as a desperate Councell, yet being resolu'd rather to imbrace any partie than yeilding to the Viceroy's propositions, to do a thing contrarie to his mind and dignity.

At such time as they treated of this accord, the Viceroy (the more to terrifie the Pope) began to aduance with his armie towards Rome, with an intent to giue an assault to the Citie, and then retyre, yet it was giuen out that hee had a meaning to take it, but his designe was made frustrate by the vigilancie of the Caraffi. The duke hauing relation from Palazzo and Moschera (two of his Captaines, whom he had sent in the night to view the citie) that giuing a sudden assault towards Port Maior, with the helpe of some peeces of artillerie, it might bee easily forced, hee remoued with the armie, and staid at Colonna, where the sixe and twentieth day of August at night, hee caused his armie to march in this order. The light Horsemen were in the foreward, hee made a great Squadron of all the Spanissh foot, which serued for the battell, and the Dutch had the rereward, and on their flanks they had other troupes of horse. And for that they were in some doubt of the French which were at Tiouli, they sent some troupes of horse and foot on the right hand to stay the enemy, if they should haue any notice of their enterprise. Hee then sent about three hundred before with ladders, and other instruments to climbe vp, and to breake open gates if need were, that being brought by some neere way neere vnto Port Maior, they might giue a sudden assault, and being seconded by some horse which were neere them, they might enter the Citie, and keepe a port vntill that the rest of the armie arriued.

Duke of Alua  
goes to assault  
Rome.

The order was that they should present themselves vnto the wall about the seuenth houre of the night, but there falling a small continuall raine, the waies were so broken, as being constrained to take a longer course, it was breake of day before they arriued, so as being discovered by some of the Countymen, they aduertised them of the citie, which made them retyre speedily, leauing their ladders against the walles, and many cloakes wherewith they had couered themselves from the raine, yea, and some armes, but the slackenesse of the enemy in the pursuit was the cause that there were not about fise and twentie or thirtie taken.

Cardinall Caraffi had intelligence by the Secretary Placidi, when he came from the viceroy, that the armie began to rise; whereupon hee doubted they would assault Rome, or Tiouli, and take the French vnprovided, so as hee gaue them warning ouer night, and hee himselfe (not making it knowne to the Romanes, in whom he had no great confidence) wach all night with the duke, and was in armes, doubling the sentinels wher as they most doubted the enemy. Ascanio de la Corne, who commanded the horse that went to second the 300 foot, seeing the lights about the wall, and the gards in a readines, held the enterprise to be discovered. And to confirme this opinion, foure light horsemen went forth carelie to get some bootie, they thinking by reason of the darkenesse of the night, the number to be greater, and that they had laied an ambush, whereupon they retired.

The duke of Alba comming neere vnto Rome, and seeing his men had not done any thing, thought that they stood readie within to receiue them. And for that he vnderstood by certaine spies, that Stroffy had led foure hundred Horse and twelue companies of Gascons the euening before out of Tiouli, it confirmed him in his beleefe, that they were entered into Rome, hauing notice of the Spaniards comming, wherupon he caused the armie to retire to Colonna from whence it came: without doubt if hee had but attempted it, Rome had beene taken and sackt. The citie was so ill garded, as a lesser armie would haue forced it, for that the Romanes were enemies to the Caraffi, for the wrongs they thought they had receiued of them, and of the foul-diers that were within the citie; of the which the Gascons did not spare their goods

Rome in danger  
to be sackt.

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nor

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nor honors, & the Gemmans, enemies to the Pope, spoiled the church & altars. The Pope considering of these things, & lamenting the miseries of the time, being forced to countenance and not to punish those wretches, who called themselves defenders in name, but in effect were destroyers of that miserable citie, beganne to bee fully resolved to peace, and the rather for that hee did visibly see the danger wherein hee was, being certified that the Citizens of Rome had resolved, that if the duke of Alba returned, they would send to capitulate with him, and open him the gates vpon honest conditions.

The duke of Guise, and *Peter Stroffy* entred into Rome after this tumult, who talking with the Pope, aduised him to accommodate himselfe vnto the time, as wise-men doe commonly. They laied before him the vnfortunate losse of the French king, whereby there was no hope of any greater succours, and that hee should remaine without a Generall, for that hee was to returne speedily into Fraunce, which would bee no small prejudice vnto him, for that his Nephewes, who were to gouernethe warre, were of small experience, neither would they belecue them that vnderstood more in that art, but intreated them ill, keeping backe their entertainment, so as seeing his holinesse without money, and without Captaines, they did not thinke the warre could continue long: wherefore they counsellled him to make the speediest and best accord he could with the king of Spaine. The Pope gaue an attentive care to the free speeches of these Noblemen, and resolved to make an end of the peoples miseries, wherefore he called the embassadour of Venice vnto him, intreating him to goe and informe that Senate of the estate of things, and to exhort them in his name to make some good accord with the imperials.

After manie treaties, in the end a Peace was concluded by the Cardinals of Santafiori and Vitelli; and afterwards by *Caraffa* and the duke of Alba, who met together at Cavi. And so by either of them hauing full authoritie from the Pope, and the king of Spaine, the following accord was published the 14 day of September.

Peace betwixt  
the Pope and  
the king of  
Spaine.

1 That the Pope should receiue from the duke of Alba in the name of the king of Spaine, the submissions that were necessarie to obtaine pardon from his Holinesse, but afterwards the Catholike king should send a man expressly to that end. And so his Holinesse should receiue the king into fauour, as an obedient Sonne, admitting him to all the graces of the holy church, like vnto other Christian Princes.

2 That the Pope should renounce the league contracted with the French king, and remaine a Neuter, louing them both equally, as his Sonnes.

3 That his Maiestie should cause the townes and Cities demanteled, which had bene taken and held since the beginning of the warre, to bee restored, if they did in any sort belong vnto the Apostolike see.

4 That the ordinance taken on either part in that warre should bee restored.

5 That his Holinesse and his Maiestie should forgiue all offences that had bene done them, and remit all spirituall and temporall punishments, graunting them a generall pardon, with restitution of their honors, dignities, faculties, and iurisdictions, whereof they had bene deprived, in regard of that warre. From the which were excepted *Marc Antonio Colonna*, *Ascanio de la Corgna*, and other rebels, the Popes vassals, who should remaine in the same censure and disgrace, during the Popes pleasure.

6 That *Paliano* should bee deliuered into the hands of *John Bernardino Carbone*, sonne to the Popes Cousin, but faithfull to both parties, deliuering the fort as it was at that time: and that the said *Carbone* should sweare fealtie to the pope and king of Spaine, and to obserue the articles concluded betwixt the Cardinall *Caraffa*, and the duke of Alba, hee hauing the gard of *Paliano*, with eight hundred foot, which should bee paid equally by the Pope and king.

Besides these there were (as some write) other secret articles concluded betwixt *Caraffa* and the duke of Alba, concerning *Paliano* and that duke.

During these broiles betwixt the Pope and the king of Spaine, the warre was violent vpon the frontiers of Artois & Picardie: where the duke of Sauoy being general for the king of Spain, entred with an armie of 40000 men, hee besieged *S. Quentin*, defeated and

*S. Quentin taken.*

A and tooke the Constable which came for to relieue it, and then tooke the towne: after which the duke of Guise was called home out of Italie. 1557

The duke of Sauoy hauing taken *Castelet*, and some other places in Picardie, dissolved his armie: after which the French king hauing raised a great armie commanded by the duke of Guise, hee tooke *Calis*, *Guines*, and all the land of *Oye*, from the English in the heart of winter. Soone after the Marshall of *Termes* went with an armie into Flaunders, where hauing taken *Bergues* and *Dunkerke*, and besieged *Grauelin*, hee was charged by the earle of *Egmont*, his armie defeated, and hee himselfe taken. After which rout the French king leuied new forces, and came and camped about *Amiens*: And king *Philip* on the other side being nothing inferior in forces, lodged neere vnto *Dourlans*. Whilst that these two mightie armies which lay so neere one vnto another, held all the world in expectation of some bloudie battell, God inspired the hearts of these two great Princes with a desire to quench this warre without effusion of blood, and to preferre an accord before a doubtful victorie: wherefore their Deputies being assembled in the Abbaie of *Cercampe* vpon the Marches of Artois, hauing propounded certaine Articles, a peace was more easily concluded at *Castell Cambresis*, vpon the newes of the death of *Marie* queene of England. The conditions were:

*Calis taken.*

1558

*Marshall of  
Termes defeated.*

*Peace betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.*

1 That king *Philip* being a widower, should marrie *Elizabeth* eldest daughter to king *Henric*.

2 That *Marguerite* of Fraunce the kings Sister, should bee giuen in marriage to *Emanuel Philibert* duke of Sauoy, and that in consideration thereof, all his country, townes, Castles and iurisdictions of Sauoy and Piedmont should bee restored, except the townis of *Turin*, *Quier*, *Pignerol*, *Chiuas*, and *Villanoua* of *Ast*, which should continue three yeares in the French kings hands, and that in the meane time the king of Spain should retaine *Ast* and *Vercell*.

3 That all the Townes and forts which had bene taken in these last warres, should bee restored on either part, whether they did belong to those kings, or to others which had followed their parties, and namely the Island of *Corfica* to the Genouois, *Montferat* to the duke of Mantoua, and the towne and castle of *Bouillon* to the bishop of *Leege*.

4 That they of the house of *Longueuille* should bee put in possession of the countie of *Saint Paul*, and the king *D. Philip* of the countie of *Charalois*, the Soueraigntie referred: but there was no mention made of the *Siennois*.

5 That the two kings should doe their best endeouours to entertaine the peace of Christendome, and should procure the continuance and ending of the generall council begun at *Trent*.

This yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, queene *Leonora* sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, died in Februarie, at *Talaberuela* three leagues from *Badajos* shee was first wife to *Emanuel* king of Portugall, and then to *Francis* the French king, shee was honoured with a royall funerall pompe: And in September following, the emperour *Charles* ended all his toiles, and past to a better life in the monasterie of *Saint Iust*, where hee had remained two yeares: his bodie was left there to bee afterwards buried in the monasterie of *Saint Laurence*, which king *Philip* his sonne did since build with great charge and state, in remembrance of the victorie gotten against the French, and the taking of the Constable on *Saint Laurence* day, the tenth of August. Hee left an immortall fame of his valour, more than any of his predecessors had done in many hundred yeares before, for that in him all those vertues might be seene, which are to bee desired in one, that should gouerne his people wisely, and command armes and manage warre iudiciously: He was verie religious and pitifull to the poore, wherein he seemed rather prodigal than liberal: In his eating, drinking & apparel he was very temperate & modest, so as he might wel be a president to any priuat man, as well as to great princes, in the practise of that vertue: He had a care of justice, to haue it duly administered, although the continual wars wherein he was afflicted made him to endure many defects: Hee not only spake the language of euery nation

*Death of Queen  
Leonora.*

21

*Death of the  
Emperour  
Charles the fift.*

*Praises of the  
Emperour  
Charles.*

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on where hee commaunded in Europe, but also those that were not vnder his gouernment, for hee spake the French and Sclauon tongues readily. In other things hee was not learned, but eloquent, shewing great grauitie in his speech. It seemed that his good fortune did strue with vertue to saue him: Hee was prompt in execution, and constant against any apparent danger, little esteeming death. Hee was so accustomed to the toyles of warre, that vntill hee grew aged, it seemed no trouble vnto him. Hee liued eight and fiftie yeares sixe moneths and sixe and twentie daies, his funerals were celebrated with great pompe throughout all the cities of his realme, yea, throughout Christendome, euerie one seeming both in publicke in and in priuate, to be partakers of this generall losse.

In December after, king *Philip* his Sonne caused his funerall to be made at Bruskills with great state and pompe, where all his most glorious enterprises were represented. Spaine this yeare besides the losse of two such great Princes, was not a little annoyed by the Turkes army, which going from Prouence, landed some men in the Island of Minorca, beyond the port of Maone, and there, after some difficultie and losse, they tooke Cittadella, where there were not aboute fise hundred men to defend it, of whome there were aboute foure hundred slaine, the Turkes disdainig that they were forced to batter it, and to giue some assaults before they could take it. And so valour which is wont to be admired and respected of the ennemie, did now cause a contrarie effect in the hearts of these barbarous and cruell men, and hauing spoyled the towne and the whole island, they returned with many prisoners into Prouence.

Armie of Turke  
in Minorca.

Death of D. John  
the third king of  
Portugal.

22 A little before the emperours death, D. *John* the third of that name king of Portugall, died at Lisbon, to the great griefe of his subiects, by reason of the infancie wherein hee left D. *Sebastian*, the heire of the Crowne. Hee was a stately and beautifull Prince, and of haucie enterprife, hee continued the Nauigation of the Indies, with great happinesse and reputation, and made the name of Christ to be knowne to many barbarous nations. Hee made many leagues with the Potentates of the East and South to abate the Turkes power, yea with *Tamas* king of Persia, to whome hee gaue succours of men, artillerie, and all other munition for warre, teaching him and his people to warre after the discipline vsed in Europe, that they might annoy the Turke: yet he was blamed, that to spare money, he had caused many forts in Africke to be rased which the kings his predecessors had won with great charge and losse of men. Norwithstanding, he left manie monuments and marks of his pietie, according to those times: for in fauor of him, the Pope made Miranda Portalegra & Leira, bishopricks, and the citie of Eborā an archbishoprick; he reformed many Abbaies, taking away the superfluous reuenues of the rich, and giuing them to the poore: Hee made an vniuersity at Coimbra, increased the citie of Lisbon much, the which is the greatest and best peopled of all Spaine, and by the persuation of the Clergie received the Inquisition into Portugal, being vntill that time reiecte by his Predecessors, by reason of the abuse: Hee was a verie great fauourer of the Iesuites: and dyed in Iune, in the Palace of Riuiere, in the fise and fiftieth yeare of his age: hee was interred at Belem.

1559  
Caspille.

Mariage of  
king Philip  
with Elizabeth  
of France.

King *Philip* being at Gand, hee sent *William* of Nassau Prince of Orange, and D. *Fernando Aluarez* of Toledo, duke of Alba (who had left Italie and his charge to the duke of Seffe being sent in his place) into France, to sweare and confirme the articles of the peace in his name: and the duke of Alba had an especiall commission, to make the matrimoniall promise of the king of Spaine to *Elizabeth* of France, according to the accord, and to solemnize this act, as it is vsual for great Princes that are absent. This was celebrated at Paris in Iulie one thousand fise hundred fiftie and nine, but the feasts and ioy of this marriage prooued momefull for thark. *Henry* was hurt with the splinter of a lance, and died as you may read at large in the Historie of France. Before his death he wold haue the marriage of his Sister *Marguerit* with the duke of Sauoy consummated, which was a great content to that poore prince dispossest of his state, who feared much that the kings death which was vndoubtfull

1559

A full, would be a great crosse vnto him. King *Philip* (after the consummation of his marriage, by the duke of Alba) sent *Ruy Gomez de Sylua* vnto his queene, with a rich diamond, valued by some at eightie thousand crownes, by others, at an hundred and fiftie thousand, with order, that she should prepare her selfe to goe into Spaine the next yeare. And hee finding himselfe freed from troubles, and hauing disposed of the affaires of the Netherlands, appointed gouernours for euerie prouince, and ouer them *Marguerite* of Austris, his sister, duchesse of Parma, he tooke shipping at Flessingue, in September, and arriued at Laredo in Biscaie, verie happily: for he was no sooner landed, but there did rise so violent a storme, and such contrarie winds to that navigation, as, had hee bene at sea, he had bene in verie great danger, or, had he bene in Flanders, he could not haue parted in six monethes. They persuated him, that his presence in Spaine was verie necessarie, for that by their acquaintance with the English and Germans, many of the Court, and other Spaniards which had followed the warres, seasoned with *Luthers* opinions, had spred them there: to root out the which the Iudges of the Inquisition sayd, that they were too weake, the king being absent.

King Philip re-  
turns into Spain

23 Being arriued, it was his chiefe care to haue a strict search made for them that had any ill conceit of the Romish religion, and to haue them rigorously punished: so as that yeare there were two hideous spectacles presented, one at Vailledolit, and another at Seule, of people of diuers conditions, sexes, and ages, condemned to be burnt aliuie; among which there were some of noble families. Some sayd, it was a secret plot betwixt the two kings of France and Spaine, at the conclusion of the peace, for hee of France had begun the like persecutions within his owne realme, and with his owne officers first. The Archbishop of Toledo, the chiefe Prelate in Spaine, was much suspected to decline from the Romish Church, wherefore he was put in prison, and his rents sequestred.

Persecutions in  
Spaine for religion.

This yeare the Roman Sea was voyd, by the death of Pope *Paul* the fourth, being fourescore and three yeares old; before his death being duely informed of the villanies of cardinall *Caraffa* and his brethren, being his nephewes, hee banished them out of Rome, and deprived them of all their dignities and offices. The cardinall lost his place of Legat at Bolonia, the duke of Paliano the command of the armes and of the gallies of the Church, and the marquisse of Montabello, the gard which hee had of the Popes person, and of the palace. This Pope was succeeded by *John Ange de Medici*, a Milanois, and was called *Pius* the fourth: at his first comming to the Sea he caused cardinall *Caraffa* to be put in prison, and strangled there, and the duke of Paliano, the earle of Alife, and other of his predecessors kinsmen, to be beheaded, being convicted of many crimes. He did intimate the Councell of Trent, which had bene left off since the yeare 1552, but it began not vntill the yeare 1562.

Death of Pope  
Paul the fourth

During the warres of Europe, Asia and Africke had not bene at peace; for that famous pyrat *Dragut* hauing gotten the island of Gerbe from *Solyman* that was lord thereof, whom he caused to be hanged at Tripoli, giuing the place to another lord, for a tribute of six thousand crownes, and yet soone after hee deprived him: but those people, notable to endure his tyrannie, tooke armes against him, and sought to make a new lord. Tripoli had also bene taken eight yeares before by *Dragut*, from the knights of Saint *John*, who to reuenge that disgrace, sought to recouer it this yeare. The people of Spaine desired nothing more, than to keepe vnder the Moores and pyrats of Africke, who being neere vnto them, may easily trouble their navigation, and annoy the Southern coasts: Wherefore it was not difficult for *John Valette*, a French man, great Master of Malta, to persuaue the Catholike king, and the Councell of Spaine, to send an armie to the conquest of Tripoli, from whence *Dragut* and other pyrats did daily annoy the Spaniards. *Dragut* was much hated, not onely of the Christians, but also of the Moores, ouer whom hee vsed most cruell tyrannie, seeking by treacherie, or by open force, to kill the chiefe Commanders, and to make himselfe lord of their States: Among which the king of Garuano was the chiefe, from whom hee had taken a great part of his estate: and for that he was of great force, hee was reuerenced among his people,



Tripoli besieged  
by the Christi-  
ans.

ple, almost like a Pope among the Christians; wherefore it seemed hee might helpe G much in this enterprife, against this famous pyrat, if (as hee had made offer) he would shew himselfe fauourable. *Valette* being encouraged by his offers, hee began to treat with the duke of Medina Celi, then Viceroy of Sicile, and afterwards in the Court of Spaine, by the Commaunder *Guimaraes*, his embassadour. At the first there was some difficultie, the king being in warre against France, but a peace concluded, hee resolved to attempt the enterprife of Tripoli, sending *Guimaraes* with his resolution, and letters of Commission to them that should haue the execution thereof. Hee carried letters to prince *Doria*, That hee should with all speed make ready the armie, being now mid Iune; who being verie old, and vnable to beare armes, gaue the charge thereof to H *John Andrew Doria*, being his lieutenant, writing vnto him into Sicile. The duke of Sessa had commission in the State of Milan, to make ready two thousand Spaniards for that seruice: and *Aluaro de Sandy* to go thither in person with the footmen that were vnder his charge within the realme, and with the two thousand Spaniards. The Viceroy of Naples had order to send two thousand Spaniards of the regiments of that realme; and the Viceroy of Sicile had the title of Generall in this action.

*Guimaraes* hauing performed all these Commissions, in the end hee came to Mefina, the seuenteenth day of Iulie. Euerie man was carefull to execute his Commission, and the great Master, to whom the king had giuen the chiefe care to manage this enterprife with discretion, and to asist it both with his counsell and force, laboured by all meanes to get the armie forth, that they might performe some worthie action before Autumne: But they had so many crosses, as the nauie could not possibly get out of the port of Saragosse in Sicile, before the first day of December. There were leuiued for this enterprife by *Sandy* in the State of Milan, besides those men aboue mentioned, two thousand five hundred Italians, all old souldiers, and three Companies of Germans, which had remained there since the last warre, commaunded by *Stephen Leopardi*: and so all these souldiers were sent to Genoua to imbarke, where they had many difficulties, and the Spaniards mutined, so as *Sandy* and *Lorenzo Figueroa* had some difficultie to pacifie them with foure payes: then putting them into certaine ships, the fift of October they went to Mefina. K

Of the two thousand Spaniards out of the realme of Naples, the Viceroy would giue but five hundred, hee fearing to leaue that coast without a good gard, for that the Turkes armie, being fourescore sayles, was then at Velona; breeding a doubt in the Christians, where this tempest would fall: But in effect it was by *Solyman* to keepe our men from the enterprife of Barbarie; for that the great Master hauing some monethes before sent two foists into Africke, to discover, one of them was taken by *Dragut*, whereby he vnderstood the Catholike kings preparations, and his designs: so as hauing but five hundred men in Tripoli, hee suddenly hyred to the number of two thousand Turkes and Moores; writing thereof to Constantinople, whereupon hee resolved to send forth this fleet. Moreover, there were leuiued within the realme twelve Companies of Italians. In Sicile also there were twelve Companies, among the which, as in those of Naples, there were many banished men, who were fierce and warlike, but verie mutinous. L

All these men, being aboue thirteene thousand, were commaunded by valiant captaines: *John Andrew Gonzaga*, sonne to *Fernando*, was Colonell of the Italian foot leuiued in the State of Milan, and Marshall of the campe to all the Italians that went in that action: *Luigi Osorio* was master of the campe to the Spaniards of Sicile: *Bernard Aldana* was master of the ordnance, whereof they carried great store, both for field and batterie: *Peter Velasques* was Commissarie generall of the armie, and the Commaunder *Charles Iesters*, was Colonell of five hundred harquebusiers, sent by the great Master, beside foure hundred valiant knights in the gallies, of that Order. There were in Sicile of gallies, three from the Church, whereof the charge was giuen by the Colledge of cardinals (the Sea being voyd) vnto *Flaminio* of Anguillara, thirteenth of *John Andrew Doria*, payed by the king, seuen of the realme of Naples, gouerned

Numbers of Christian Armie going to Tripoli.

A ned by *Sancio Licua*, tenn of Sicile, commaunded by *Berlingbery Requesens*, foure from the duke of Florence, vnder *Nicholas Gentile*, five of the Order of Malta, and one galliot, five of *Anthony Doria*, commaunded by his sonne *Scipione*, two of *Bandinello Sule*. To these were added two galliots of the duke of Medina Celi, the Generall, one of *Lewis Osorio*, and one of *Frederic Staues*: so as they were in all foure and fiftie, besides eight and twentie great ships, of the which *John Andrew Gonzaga* was Generall; two galleons, one of Malta, the other of Cicala, with five and thirtie brigantines and frigates: so as they reckoned in all an hundred and nineteene yessels. They carried great store of munition for the warre, and victuals to feed 30000 men foure monethes.

B There was some difficultie to imbarke the Spaniards of Sicile, mutined, for that there were many monethes pay due vnto them; but *Fernando de Sylva*, marquisse of Fauara, being left lieutenant by the duke, satisfied them with two monethes pay. Going from Mefina to Saragosse, in October, they stayed there many daies, by reason of the contrarie winds. Their long stay there did much prejudice them, for it not only bred a sicknesse among them, whereof there died aboue two thousand, but also many fled away, especially of the Sicilians. The first of December the gallies parted from Saragosse, with great hope of a prosperous voyage, the ships sayling towards Cap passero, being towards night, with an intent to goe to Secci di Palo; who hauing left the ships behind, and a contrarie wind blowing in the morning, they were forced to returne againe into C Saragosse. The gallies fearing if the contrarie windes should grow great, it would breed them great danger in this long voyage, being much before the ships, they resolved to get to Malta. Here the gallies, with the Generall in them, and other men of account, were honourably entertained by the great Master, for some dayes, the winds being still contrarie to their intended voyage. It was then resolved, that two and twentie gallies should returne into Sicile, to bring the ships to Malta; most of which arrived after some difficultie: Five of them stayed vntill the fift of Ianuarie, and three vnto the twelfth, among which was the galleon of Cicala, which running to Cap passero, was there spoyled by the Sicilian souldiers that were in her, who killing their commaunders, fled away. The like happened vnto a ship which carried Sicilians also, of the which *Vincenzo Castagnola* was captaine, who was not slaine by them, but verie cruelly intreated. Some dayes before there arrived seuen Companies of Spaniards, sent in three ships by the Viceroy of Naples, to fill vp his number of two thousand, according to the kings commaundement. There came in like manner a galleon with many refreshings from Sicile, and great store of munition.

They were haunted still with that infectious sicknesse in Malta, whereof many dyed, giuing in the beginning apparent signes of the vnfortunate successe of this armie. Thus the secret judgements of God doe often make mens counsels and resolutions vaine, the which in regard of the cause are held good, but are not approved by his diuine prouidence; it may be to confound the wisdom of men, but without doubt for our offences.

E In the yere 1560 *Isabella*, or *Elizabeth* queene of Spaine, was conducted into Spaine, to the king *D. Philip* her husband, being accompanied by *Anthony* of Bourbon, king of Nauarre, with other lords and ladies: she was receiued at Roncevaux by the cardinal *D. Francis* of Mendosa, bishop of Burgos, *D. Inigo Lopez* of Mendosa, duke of the Infantazgo, and many others, who conducted her to Guadalajara, where the marriage was celebrated. At that time *D. Gabriel de la Cueva* was Viceroy of Nauarre, in the place of *D. Bertrand* his father, deceased, who gaue the new queene a stately reception passing by Pampelone. The same yere the prince *D. Charles*, sonne to king *Philip*, was sworn, and acknowledged to be true successor in the realmes of Castille, Nauarre, Arragon, &c. after the accustomed manner of Spaine.

F But to the returne to the warre of Barbarie. The Catholike kings nauie stayed many dayes at Malta, by reason of the contrarie windes; so as in the beginning of the yere the Generall (although he were perswaded by the great Master to stay vntill the weather were better settled) commaunded the armie to imbarke, and about the middest of Februarie he came to the island of Gerbe; where hauing discovered two ships of Alexandria,

1560  
Queene of  
Spaine condu-  
cted into Spaine

1560

Alexandria, laden with marchandise, lying within the chanell, they tooke and spoyled them: but they vsed no diligence to take two vessels that went with oares, which lay more within, the which afterwards were no small hurt vnto them. *Dragut* was there with seuen hundred Turkes and Moores, on horsebacke, and three thousand foot, being then in quarell with the Xec, or lord of the island, who also had good numbers of Arabians and Moores, and expecting aid from the Christians, was continually in armes against his enemies.

Christians army  
at Gerbe.

*Dr. gut* held that part of the island which was towards the chanell, hauing kept those two vessels readie to send vnto Constantinople, or to flie away, if necessitie forced him, hauing no hope to escape on the other side, whereas the Xec lay with his forces, especially if all the Christians armie were landed, whereof a part went to land, to fetch fresh water, being led by *Aluaro de Sandy*; where skirmishing nine houres together, during their watering, they receiued no great losse, and slue many enemies: In the retreat *Aluaro* was shot in the flanke, yet could they not possibly take any one prisoner, to be informed of the state of things: which was afterwards thought to haue stayed the victorie, and to haue ruined their enterprife, when as, by the taking of the two galliots, *Dragut* could not possibly haue escaped, after which the taking of Tripoli had bene casie, neither should hee haue had meanes to send to Constantinople, to aduertise them of the state of things in Barbarie, and to procure an armie. It was knowne afterwards, that there was great store of money and jewels, which *Dragut* sent by *Pluccialy* the pyrat, vnto the Bassa of the port, to procure succours from the great Turke: so as if they had taken and burnt them, they had obtained a happie victorie; the which was not done, partly through the negligence of them that commaunded, and partly by the great diligence of the enemy, who would not haue the Christians know what past in the island, for that there was not any creature living found in the two ships, all being fled to land. In the morning before day the Christians parted with their armie, neither could they put any to land in a fregate, to discover the state of the island, the Moores were so careful to defend the shore.

Occasion of a  
victorie lost by  
the Christians.

Christians slain  
by the Turkes  
in watering.

Two dayes after there came eight gallies to Gerbe, the which had stayed at Malta for some prouision, where landing vnadvisedly to water, they were charged by the Turkes, who slue an hundred and fiftie good fouldiers, and tooke some prisoners, among which was capitaine *Pedro Vermudez*: and of the chiefe of them that were slaine, were foure Spaniards, *Adrian Garzia*, *Alphonso de Guzman*, *Pedro Vianega del Rio*, and *Francisco Mercado*: which disorder did much trouble the Generall, being now at Secco di Palo with the whole armie; and they were all much discontented, to heare afterwards, that a fregate of the knights of Malta, passing neere vnto Gerbe, had bene told by two Renegadoes, that *Dragut* was there, and that *Pluccialy* was gone with two galliots to Constantinople: And, which was worse, the armie was forced to stay some dayes at Secco di Palo, by reason of contrarie windes, being an hundred and fiftie miles from Tripoli, where drinking fresh water digged in those sands, but of a pestiferous qualitie, it brought a pestilent infirmite into the armie, whereof many dyed. In the end a South-east wind arising, it did hinder their course to Tripoli, and staying there infinit numbers dyed, through the corruption of the ayre and water, this pestilent disease increasing daily, hauing wasted a great part of their munition, and broken the Admirals ship by the mariners negligence, hauing also lost two smaller ships laden with victuals, at Chercheny, they had not many men in the armie for this enterprife, expecting footmen from Naples and Sicile, and the Galeon of Cicala, two galliots, and some ships, which had bene kept backe by contrarie windes. Wherefore they resolved to returne, and to land at Gerbe, where they arriued the two and twentieth day of March, and on the seuen and twentieth *Aluaro de Sandy*, Marshall generall of the campe, landed with their men, and some field peeces, to lodge in good order, neere vnto certaine wells of fresh water, two miles from the castle, towards the West. At their landing *Aluaro*s nephew died of a pestilent fever, carrying his name; a young man of great hope: he was much lamented by him, and the whole armie.

Christians army  
land at Gerbe.

Ha-

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Hauing at night made three squadrons of all his men they lodged neere. *Sandy* not thinking it fit to goe vnto the wells, for that hee found by many coniectures that the Moores had receiued them as enemies, wherefore it would bee dangerous, if lodging late, they should bee charged by the enemy. At night the Xec sent two men with a sayned Embassage, intreating the Generall to goe to Tripoli, for that hee had bene receiued quietly by his subjects, who would take it ill if the Christians should remaine in that Island; but in effect they came to discover the campe. They were entertained vntill the morning, and then an answer was giuen them, that they had landed at Gerbe finding the winds contrary to goe to Tripoli, but yet they had done it willingly to put the Xec in possession of the Island, before they went to Tripoli, which they intended afterwards. They therefore desired to see him well settled, to buy refreshings with their money, take water, and as soone as the windes were faire, goe for Tripoli. In the morning hauing put all their men in battaile, they marched towards the wells, being sixe miles off, the souldiers hauing indured much that night for want of water, hauing not brought any out of the gallies, so as they marched with great thirst, *Sandy* being careful least at their arriual, disordering themselves hauing a great desire to drinke they should bee charged by the Moores, and receiue some great losse. They marched in three squadrons: in the forward went the great Commander, with the knights and souldiers of Malta, and with the Germanes and French, which were not in all about two thousand.

*Andrew Gonzaga* commanded the battaile, consisting of three thousand Italians, and in the reere-ward were three thousand and siue hundred Spaniards: And of either side they were couered with a wing of three hundred shot, leauing in the midst a conuenient space for the baggage. But if they came to a battaile, one of these wings was to ioyne with the forward, and the other with the battaile; hauing marched a while, they were staied at a certaine bogge, by a field peece: *Sandy* with the shot which were towards the shore, aduanced to recover the wells, which hee found had bene spoiled by the Moores, and filled with stones and sand, so as hee was forced to send for Pioners with tooles to cleanse them: neither did the Moores yet shew themselves, being an apparent signe that they had an intent to charge them in their lodging, so as they marched in good order, forbidding any man to disband vpon paine of death. Then they met with foure Moores of Authority sent from the Xec, with a designe to view the army, but with an excuse of a friuolous Embassage, where they were entertained with good words, whilst that the army aduanced toward the wells, and then were dismist with a generous answer from the Generall: That seeing the Xec could not come vnto him, being staied by his people, that hee should rest satisfied, and that hee would soone bee with him in his castle, reiecting their proposition, that the Duke should aduance with foure horses onely, as the Xec had done, that they might parle together. Yet for all this the Moores, who lay two miles off, couered with a little hill, did not moue, seeing the order of the Christians army to bee verie firme, wherefore they did forbear vntill they lodged, imagining that hauing endured much thirst that day and the night before, they would in their lodging fall into a confusion with a desire of drinke. Which did not follow by *Aluaro de Sandy*s great care who caused them still to keepe their ranks: Notwithstanding that Colonel *Spinola* hauing too eagerly aduanced to entertaine a great skirmish, was in great daunger with some Harguebuziers that were with him. But the Marshall foreseeing this danger, had sent capitaine *George Ruiz* with two hundred Harguebuziers of Sicile behind certaine walles to fauour their retreat. The Moores attempted also to breake the ranks of the Christians in other places, with great courage and readinesse, but with little losse that day, onely capitaine *Ruiz* being hurt in the shoulder with a lance, died within few daies after.

The skirmish ended two houres before night, and the Christians lodged, hauing caused the wells to be clenfed during the skirmish.

The day following they fortified their lodging against the enemy, and the gallies were sent for to furnish themselves with water; but three daies after they went forth in battaile, to goe and fight with the enemy, which did not succeed, for the Moores with their Xec,

Order of the  
Christians army  
at Gerbe.

1560

Xec, did often intreat the Generall to receiue them for vanquished, offering to bee subiects to the King of Spaine. Having first taken hostages, *Michel* of Baraona a Colonel was sent with two companies of Spaniards to take possession of the castle, and the next day the Generall entred, with the chiefe of the army, the Moores shewing themselves very obsequious, bringing abundance of victuals vnto the campe. The Arabians Mahamidi were also paid with their Xec, who had faithfully kept the passage of the bridge, as they had beene appointed at Secco di Palo. They afterwards held a Councell, how they might keepe that Island at the kings deuotion, the which they held to bee verie necessa-  
 rie, for by that meanes they should take a retreat from the Turkes and Moores which did robbe vpon those seas, and withall they should secure Sicile, Sardinia, Malta and other places, and to that end they should build a fort, making vse of the castle to keepe their victuals and munition, and for some wells: besides hauing their materials neere, with other commodities for the speedy doing it.

Fort built in  
the Island of  
Gerbe.

On the seuenteenth of March the army began to lodge about the castle, where they had appointed to build a fort, *Antonio Conste* being Ingenger, assisted by *Bernardo Aldano* and *Sanchio de Liema*, within two daies after the worke beganne, it being diuided amongst the Nations after this manner. Being to make foure Bulwarkes, the charge of one was giuen to *Andrew Gonzaga*, and to the Italians, an other to the great Commander, and to them of that order, the third to *Andrew Doria*, and them of the gallies, the Generall reseruing the fourth for himselfe, so as within few daies it was put in defence. But neither the ayre nor the water were healthfull for them that were not accustomed vnto it, so as many died daily, and more fell sicke, which was a lamentable spectacle. There was an hospitall provided, and the bishop of Majorca who was also gouernour, did what hee could to preferue the souldiers. They had newes that they prepared an army at Constantinople; and the great Master of Malta doubting some danger called home the great Commander with his Gallies and men, the which parted from Gerbe the eight of Aprill, leauing the charge of supplying that Bulwark to *Pedro Vryea*, for that they made great hast to leaue it defensible, the Duke resoluing to imbarke, being verie carefull to furnish it, although that all things did not succeed according to his desire. The king of Caruano came to visit him, and there past great kindnesse betwixt them, but the Xec would by no means meet him, yet hee came once halfe a mile out of the castle to treat with him, being accompanied with a great number of Moores. The Generall was earnest to haue store of victuals brought from the ships vnto the campe, but they that were interested seemed to haue small care of the publike good. There were two thousand foot Italians, Spaniards and Dutch appointed for the gard of this fort, with fifty horse vnder the Colonel *Michel* of Baraona. There was order giuen to haue the Xec take the oth, who should aduance the armes of Spaine. And then hee resolued to part with the army in the beginning of May, but hee was staied vpon some controuersie growne betwixt the Christians and the Moores, vpon a light occasion; but it was wisely pacified, and some that had most offended punished.

Xec swears  
obedience and  
tribute to the  
King of Spaine.

The same of the army increasing, and the solemnitie performed the fifth of May, a mile from the campe, in the presence of *Monreal* the Generals Secretary, and some of his gentlemen, the Xec did swear vpon the Alcaron to bee faithfull to the king of Spaine, to pay euery yeere sixe thousand crownes, foure Estriges, foure Lanerets, foure Falcons, and one Camell, and in like manner the Moores, that were with him did swear vassalage and fealtie vnto him. Then order was giuen to imbarke the army, wherein they were verie slacke and negligent, vntill that there came a message from the Great Master to the Generall, assuring him that the Turkes gallies being foure score and siue had parted from Gozo on the eight day of that month at night, with an intent as hee did coniecture to relieue Tripoly, and then to seeke out the Christians army, hearing that it was vnsumished of souldiers, and out of order. Then euery man desired to bee at sea, so as the confusion was great, and their opinion diuers, but most concurred to go presently to sea.

The Generall went to *Iohn Andrew Doria* being not well recovered of a great Infirmity, to resolue of all things, leauing a charge with *Aluaro* to haue his men readie, so as returning at night he might not stay; *Doria* being resolued to put to sea, and hauing giuen order

1560

A order to the ships to follow him, he left a gallie called the *Contesse*, for the duke to imbarke in, being light, and well furnished with slaues, thas all things being ordered, hee might goe and joyne with the armie. The Generall would not omit any dutie that night, being before the twelfth day, but hauing giuen good instructions to the gouernour of the fort, he spake with great efficacie to the souldiers which remained, assuring them, That the armie at sea being in that accident in greater daunger than the fort, it was fit he should be where the perill was most apparent, entertaining them after this manner vntill the day began to breake, when as he with *Sandy* came vnto the fregate which should carrie them to the gallie that was gouerned by the Commander *Guimerano*. But hee made  
 B a signe vnto him with his hand, that hee should retire to land, for that the Turkes armie began to appeare, with an intent to charge the Christians. After *Doria's* resolutions to get out of those shelles, there arose a contrarie wind, which did hinder him: so as the Turkes Generall hauing cast anchor but sixteene miles from Gerbe, the night before, hauing sent *Cara Mustafa* gouernour of Mitelen and *Vduccialy* to discouer, he vnderstood in what confusion the Christians were; being readie to depart, hee then resolued to set vpon them at the breake of day: with which resolution hee came on with a prosperous wind, when as *Scipion* going forth with a squadron of gallies for the gard, hee was so suddenly surprisid by the Turkes, as hee had no time to aduertise the armie: so as euerie man being amazed by this sudden accident, they had no other care  
 C but how to flie, but it was done with that confusion which a sudden feare of an ineuitable daunger doth vially bring. *Iohn Andrew Doria* distrusting his Admirall gallie, for that it was old and heauie, hee resolued to draw neere to land, being forced to recover the fort in a barke, being a mile off: the gallie was presently abandoned, and left in the slaues hands, who being at libertie, carried it to the enemy. It was a miserable spectacle to see that mightie armie scattered in an instant; some one way some another. There were seuen gallies which fought to saue themselves in the channell of Gerbe, where most of the men leaping into the water; although they were farre from land, sought to saue their liues by swimming; so as all the shore was full of men.

24  
Armie of Chris-  
tians miserably  
lost at Gerbe.

D The Marshall *Sandy* ranne thither with a great troupe of shot and pikes, to defend them that came to land, for that the Moores, being treacherous and inconstant, had presently changed their minds, and slue and spoyled as many as came vnto their hands. The Generall to auoyd this other mischiefe, sent word vnto the Xec, by the king of Caruano, and the Infant of Tunis, That hee should forbid his Moores to annoy the Christians, putting him in mind of his faith formerly giuen. But they prepared to flie also, fearing the Turkes, pretending, that they went to gather together some Arabians Mahamidy, with the which they would retume, and fauour the Christians; wishing them not to trust the Moores of the island, who were not well affected to them. That morning there were nineteene gallies fell into the enemies hands, with the Admirall, the rest saued themselves in diuers places, by flight, the which was attributed to the courage and good counsell of the Commander *Anthony Maldonato*. The great Master had called home his gallies to Malta, as hath beene sayed, to provide for the daungers of that island; but afterwards hee sent backe three, vnder the command of *Maldonato*, who in this confusion going to sea, was followed by many gallies, relying vpon the skill of this knight, the which succeded happily. The duke and *Sandy* stayed vpon the shore, to defend those poore wretches which came from the gallies, from the Moores, giuing them clothes and armes, which were prepared for them that should defend the fort.

The same day they held a Councell vnder a tent, where were the Generals *Iohn Andrew Doria*, *D. Aluaro de Sandy*, and the Commander *Guimerano*. *Doria* said, That it was necessarie for them to depart speedily, whilest that the enemy was busie in giuing chase to the gallies, which he meant to doe in a fregate, carrying them to Malta, or into Sicile, to gather together the disperfed gallies, and to arme others, to make head against the Turkes armie, if hee should seeke to annoy any place of the kings. *Sandy* did counsell

the duke to goe to attend his chiefe charge of Sicile, the which was now in great danger, and if he did it not he should faile much of his duetie: but for his part, he would remaine in Gerbe, being thereunto bound both by the duetie of his charge; and the seruice he ought vnto his king, seeing there remained about three thousand, besides the appointed garrison, some of which escaped from the gallies, and some were neuer imbar- ked, being sicke, and not fit for the warre, and yet they were to be respected as Christi- ans; besides, there being many which had followed him in the action, it was not fit hee should seeke his owne safetie, and abandon them.

These with other his reasons were allowed of, and it was resolved; they should depart that euening about Sunne set, in nine fregates, some other knights and officers follow- ing them: but a contrarie wind stayed them that night. But the next day there, hap- pened another disgrace: for the Generall meaning to keepe the Turkes from the shore, whilest they pursued the gallies that retired into the chanell, hee caused the artillerie of the fort to bee mounted; among which was a Culuerin, which being overcharged, brake; and slue some that were neere vnto the Generall. The losse was exceeding great in those gallies that were taken; not onely of the vessels, and of many souldiers that were in them, but also for that there were many men of account slaine, or taken prisoners: among which were *Flaminio* of Anguillara, Generall of the Popes gallies, *Sancio de Leus*, Generall of them of Naples, *Berlingheri* of Requesens, of those of Sicile, the bishop of Majorca, *Gaston de la Cerde*, the Generall sonne, with others. But at the Turkes returne from the chase of the gallies, they prepared to fight with the ships which were full of souldiers, being five and twentie; all which they tooke with- out any difficultie. Some write, there were aboue 3000 men taken in the ships & gallies, and drowned, seeking to flie to land. The Viceroy of Sicile, and *John Andrew Doria*, elca- ped, and came to Malta, and from thence to Sicile, hauing first given order, that a fre- gate of aduice should bee sent to them that were in the fort at Gerbe, of their safetie, and that the Commaunder *Guimerano* was sent into Spaine, to informe the king of this accident, and to intreat him to send *D. Bernardin de Mendoza*, Generall of the gallies of Spaine in Sicile, to ioyne with such as were escaped, and to make the bodie of an armie, whereby they might succour the besieged at Gerbe. They of the fort were verie joy- full of these newes; and *Sandy*, who was made Generall by the duke, confirmed them with many good reasons, that they should vndoubtedly expect it, omitting no paines to fortifie the place.

*Pialy* Bassa, who was Generall of the armie, resolving to take the fort, did write to *Dracut* (who, a litle before the Christians had come the second time to Gerbe, was gone with all his horsemen to Tripoli, to defend it) That he should send, or come with all the forces he had, to besiege Gerbe, sending him also prouision of victuals, and munition for that enterprife. The Bassa landed his souldiers, and began to fortifie his lodging neere vnto the wells where the Christians had camped. *Sandy* did not thinke it conuenient to make often sallies, hauing no great store of good men, and too many that were vnprofitable, which was his greatest trouble, hauing neither victuals nor water sufficient for a long siege. But he resolved to draw it in length, for many respects, hoping that they should be releued, it importing his Maiestie much, not onely for the losse of the fort, but also of so many good souldiers, and capitaines of qualitie, which were there exposed to apparent danger. The Bassa hauing all the garrison souldiers of Barbarie, with other necessaries, made his approaches neere vnto the fort, where they were daily in skirmish, about cer- taine wells, where the Christians kept a gard without the fort, but in the end they tooke them from the besieged. The Turkes prest them with their trenches, and prepared a great batterrie against the fort; but their greatest miserie was, that by the losse of their wells, and the great heat in those Southern countries, many bega to die of thirst, hauing but little wa- ter which they had reserved in vessels; for the water which they drew out of the wels was so salt, as it did cause thirst, and not quench it. *Sandy* seeing how much it did import to be thus kept within the fort, and to be deprived of water, he resolved to make a great sal- lie, and to chase the enemy from their trenches; the which had bene successful, if the

Turkes campe  
about the fort  
at Gerbe.

wells left by the  
Christians at  
Gerbe.

souldi-

A souldiers had kept the order prescribed them. There were forth six hundred Italians, and as many Spaniards, all harquebussiers, with an hundred Germans, pikes, who falling forth by two ports, should come and ioyne together, cloy the ordnance, and kill all that should resist, expressly forbidding them to fall to the spoyle. These were others also stood readie to succour where they should require. At the break of day they went forth, killing many of the enemies, with which charge *Dracut* himselfe was hurt: they cloyed three peeces of ordnance, took some Ensignes, and were masters of the tren- ches: but forgetting the order, was given them, some being too bold, aduanced so farre, as they could not be rescued by their companions, and some too greedie, fell to spoyle; B whereby they were in such disorder, as the Turkes embracing the occasion, turned head, and charged them, striking such a terror into them, as they basely fled. There were ma- ny men of worth died fighting valiantly, among the which were the earle *Gabieno Angui- sola*, capitaine *Carlo d'Aro*, and some others. The Turkes pursued them that fled euen vnto the fort, where the artillerie from the bulwarkes made a great slaughter of them. But the want of water, through the losse of their wells, was of such importance for the be- sieged, as without doubt it was the cause of all their miseries, and in the end of the losse of the fort. They were forced to make their bread with salt water, their victuals were ve- riefalt, being prouision taken out of the ships, the season of the yeare in that climat was exceeding hot, their toyle great, and continuall, so as their thirst increased as their water C decreased. Those poore wretches, to sie the occasions of great thirst, eat litle, so as they grew so weake, as they could not endure the insupportable toyle of warre, but di- ed without remedie. Many seeing that they must die of thirst, fled to the enemy, and although they knew well, that they went to a perpetuall slaueerie, yet they ranne when they had any opportunitie, to giue themselves vnto the enemy for drinke, and to no other end.

They had not much water remaining in their cisternes, and that which they digged within the fort was salt, like vnto the sea water: whereupon a Sicilian, called *Sebastian du Polere*, offered to draw a good quantitie daily by Alambick, and to make it fresh: *Sandy* promised him a great recompence for this inuention, and caused the Germanes to make D eighreene Alambicks, hauing no more matter to worke with; but they could not draw aboue five and thirtie barrells a day out of their wells, which was a small prouision for so many thousands of thirstie persons. The salt water being distilled, was so sweet, as tempering it with the well water, it made a pleasant mixture: so mingling the water of the wells, the distilled water, and that of the cisternes, together, the Generall di- uided it among the souldiers, giuing a double portion to them that carried armes. The diuision of this drinke was verie strange, whereof the gouernour of the fort had the chiefe care, being a matter of great importance, and therefore it was distributed in a place where there was a good gard, whereas the souldiers past in order, hauing a sponge hanging at a line, the which being put into a tub of water, he tooke it and sucked E as much as was allowed him.

The Turkes continued their workes, and had aduanced their trenches euen vnto the fort, and the souldiers ran daily vnto them, yea they who had the charge not to suffer o- thers to run away, were the first that went themselves; and some were so villanous, as they had plotted to set fire on the powder, and to blow vp all. Some affirme that there were fif- teene hundred which had fled to the enemy, whereof there were many souldiers of known valour, and some nobly borne, but not nobly minded, selling bodie and soule to sit the want of drinke. The Turkes fought to win the fort by mines, batterrie, and assaults; and the besieged repulst them valiantly. In the end of Iune *D. Alvaro de Sandy* hauing viewed the prouisions carefully, and finding that they had no wood for six dayes, which was F most necessarie to distill their water, and that they had not sufficient of cistene water left, to serue the souldiers three dayes, they being aboue a thousand, seeing matters redu- ced to that extremitie, he called the capitaines and chiefe officers to counsell, hauing first appointed that the souldiers should haue double allowance both of meat and fresh wa- ter alone, with some litle wine which had bene reserved for them that were wounded.

Iiiii ij

He

Thirst encreased  
of in the fort of  
Gerbe.

Salt water  
made fresh by  
Alambicke.

Resolution of  
Aluaro de San-  
dy for their last  
refuge.

He spake vnto them at night, letting them see to what estate they were brought, and repeating in what manner they had defended themselves with judgement and valour, against the violence of their enemies; and that seeing themselves now vanquished rather by hunger and thirst than by armes, he knew not a more honourable resolution, than to put that generous course in practise, which in most desperate cases hath giuen a glorious victorie to braue and resolute souldiers. They therefore concluded that night to make a gallant sallie, and to charge the enemies, who least dreamt of it. In the morning, two houres before day, there went forth at the port towards the sea, six captaines with three hundred men, being chosen out of all the nations, and hee himselfe followed with the chiefe of all his men, leauing some behind to gard the fort: of those that he led hee commanded some to remaine in the reeward, with certaine captaines, and to kill all them that should disband. He commanded the foreward to goe directly to the Bassa and *Dragut*'s tents, he himselfe chusing to assaile the great tent, where there was a great corps de gard. With this order they sallied forth with great resolution, some marching towards the Generals tent, and some towards the other: They past three trenches valiantly, to come vnto the tents, and *Sandy* defeated the corps de gard, where making a great slaughter, he put all into confusion: but hee found himselfe suddenly abandoned by his men, meaning to aduance, not any one remaining with him but *Marotto*, the Sergeant Major, and captaine *Peruccio* of Nizza, of the which *Marotto* was soone after wounded and taken prisoner, and yet he fighting still with the enemies, being followed by *Peruccio*, who had offered to conduct him to the gallies, in the end hee freed himselfe, and recouered a gallie, whereas hee neither found victuals nor clothes, being all wet: wherefore he sent a messenger vnto the fort, to will *Iohn d'Alarcone*, the Treasurer, to send him clothes, and some prouision for the souldiers of the gallies, with some oares, to the end they might conduct him, by the chanell, into the fort, exhorting all them that were yet remaining to defend it safely.

The newes of their Generals life was some comfort to the captaines and souldiers, but they began presently to despaire of all helpe, but by some accord with the enemy, hauing water but for two dayes drinke. There were many Christians dyed in this sallie, but most men of command, the rest being either fled vnto the enemy, or gotten vnto the fort. The Treasurer *Alarcone* went vnto *Sandy* with prouision, and yet they could not part that day, the gallies being battered continually by the Turkes artillerie. They within the fort were so full of confusion, as they knew not what to resolve, and although there were some captaines which did encourage them to attend the Generalls returne, yet the feare of the greater part was such, as they forced the rest to yeeld, to another resolution; and they had alreadie set vp a flag on *Spinolas* bulwarke, in token of a parley: whereunto the Turkes made answer with the like signe. Whereupon three captaines with an Ensigne went vnto the campe: but the Turkes seeing no flag of truce set vp in the gallies, as well as in the fort, *Pialy* commanded that they should assaile them both by land and sea. *Sandy* being surprised with this v unexpected furie, he with captaine *Clement* disposed the souldiers as well as they could for their defence, finding in them a great willingness and resolution: but seeing afterwards that they made no shew of hostilitie in the fort, and that the Moores, Turkes, and Christians seemed to bee vnited, they also sought to escape, so many flying away, as *Sandy* had not about thirtie men remaining with him; at which time *Dromex Ares*, a renegado of Genoua, captaine of the Bassas Admirall, came vnto the gallies prow, who spake vnto *Aluaro* in Italian: My lord, you can no longer defend your selfe, fall not therefore into the hands of these base people, but yeeld your selfe, and chuse a better partie: I will not yeeld my selfe to thee: nor to any other, answered *Sandy*, but I will goe with thee, if thou wilt promise to bring me vnto the Bassa: The renegado promised him, and receiuing him into a litle boat, being ouer laden, it sunke, and they were wet. Being then conducted to the Bassas tent, hee receiued him with honour, and discoursed much with him touching his defence: but he refusing to accept of any offer vnworthie the name of a Christian knight, was conducted to Constantinople, and presented to the great Turke.

D. Aluaro de  
Sandy taken  
prisoner by the  
Turkes.

*Sandy*

*Sandy* seeing the captaines which went forth to capitulate; he blamed them, foretelling them, that they should not haue any thing obserued, as it fell out: for hauing agreed, That all the officers should come forth freely, with five and twentie souldiers in a companie, they were most of them put to the sword, and the rest taken prisoners, onely they had libertie which went forth to capitulate. The fort was spoyle, but the gaine was small. The Generall *Pialy* hauing stayed there eight dayes with his deer, he went and made a stately entrie at Tripoli; then returning home, he was forced by contrarie winds to stay in a port of Sicile neere to Sarragosse: where some Turkes, going to water, they receiued much losse by the horsemen which garded the coast.

Fort at Gerbe  
taken by the  
Turkes.

The next day *Lewis Sahamedra* went vnto the Bassa with a safeconduct, touching the ransom of prisoners, lamenting much the miserie of those noblemen he found there, and wondering at the smiling countenance wherewith *Sandy* entertained him, who shewed himselfe like one that was neuer altered by the crosses or smiles of fortune. The Bassa gaue him good hope of ransom; but the wind growing faire in the morning, he weighed anchor, and went on his voyage: Comming to Constantinople, he entred in great triumph, causing the prisoners to be carried to his house: In which *Aluaro de Sandy* shewed againe his generous mind; for some shewing him a bathing house, a place appointed for many slaues, he refused to enter into it, letting the Bassa vnderstand, That it was no fit lodging for him: and the Turke (not without wonder at the greatnesse of his mind) commended, that he should haue chambers appointed for him. They were all presented with great solemnitie before the great Turke, who stood behind a window to see them, they all refusing to accept any visiting conditions, that were offered them by the great men of the port. *Sandy* was carried to the tower of Mamero, whereas those prisoners which once enter, doe neuer, or seldome, come forth. *Sancho de Licus Berlingheri*, and others, were sent to the tower of Pera.

Pialy Bassa en-  
ters Constanti-  
nople in tri-  
umph.

After this great losse, new miseries pursued some of them that escaped: for *D. Lewis Oforio*, and the vicont of *Cigale*, being come into Sicile, hauing bought a Turkish gallie which had bene taken from *Pluccialy* the pyrat, a renegado of Calabria, it was taken from them by the Viceroy, in the port of Messina: Whereat these two captaines being much moued, they meant to passe into Spaine, to complaine vnto the king, going in two of their vessels; but they were set vpon by a gallie and two Turkish foists, and taken almost without any resistance. *Cigale* was led to Constantinople, with *Scipio* his sonne: the father dyed there, and the sonne denied Iesus Christ, from whom came that famous *Cigale*, who was a Bassa in our time. The Commaunder *Guimerano* hauing the reputation of a great mariner, was made Generall of the gallies of Sicile; but at his first going forth with seven gallies, hee was incountried by *Dragut*, neere vnto the island of Lipari, hauing eleuen gallies well armed, who tooke him with his seven gallies, and led him away. Among the prisoners was the bishop of Cattanea, of the house of *Caccioli*.

1561

In the king of Spaines countries of the Netherlands, they of the reformed religion increasing mightily, notwithstanding the rigorous Edicts which had bene made by the Emperour, the Council of Spaine thought it fit to bring in the Inquisition to suppress them, appointing certaine Inquisitors of the Faith, who should haue a care that no forbidden bookes should bee read, nor kept in their houses, and that no man should dispute against the Romish religion. But the king hauing promised, That hee would not charge his subiects with such an intollerable yoke as the Inquisition was, and the Inquisitors finding that they could not by any meanes put it in practise, they sought to bring it in by a couert meanes, vnder colour of making new bishops in the country; to effect the which cardinal *Granuelle* sent doctor *Sonnus* to Rome, as you may read more at large in the Historie of the Netherlands.

New bishops in  
the Netherlands

This year 1561 the king of Spaine made great instance at Rome, to haue libertie from the Pope, to dispose of some of the renthes of the Clergie of Spaine, which amounting to a great summe yearly, he meant to applie to the good of Christendome, and especially of his realmes of Spaine, arming a great number of gallies more than had bin accustomed to defend those coasts, being continually annoyed with multitudes of pirats, who had their

King of Spaine  
sought to pre-  
pare a great  
fleet with the  
revenues of the  
clergie.



1561

their retreats in the ports of Barbarie: And as many of the noblemen of Spaine shewed themselves readie to contribute out of their owne reuenues, to so good and necessarie a worke, so the Pope did not refuse to gratifie the king, but stayed his resolution, for that he would not displease the Prelates of Spaine, who did not seeme verie willing to beare this burthen; and the Pope desired more at that time than any other (when as they sought to draw the Councell againe together) not to giue them any great distast.

1562

The warre beginning to grow hot in France, for matters of religion, the Protestants being in armes, after the massacre of Vassy, the French king craued aid from the Pope and king of Spaine, who were verie willing to giue him the best succours they could. The Pope, on the sudden, could not send him aboue two thousand foot, and two hundred harquebusiers on horsebacke, vnder *Fabritio Serbelloni*, his nephew, Generall of his forces at Auignon: who finding himselfe too weake for them of the Religion that were in that countrey, demanded new succours, and had two companies of lances sent him: but the Catholike king offered to send tenne thousand foot, and 3000 horse, of the which the French accepted 3000 Spaniards, and 3000 Italians; but they came late, after the battell of Dreux.

King of Spaine  
sends succours  
into France.

D. Carlo prince  
of Spaine grie-  
uously sicke.

The prince D. Carlo, sonne to the king of Spaine, appointed the sole heire of so many realmes, playing at Alcala de Henares with some young yowthes, his play-fellowes, hee fell vnfortunatly downe the stayes in the palace, where they stood playing: in which fall hee was so hurt in the head, as the Physicians dispaired of his life. In this mournfull accident the king referred his fatherly affection to the will of God, writing into all his realmes, That they should with their deuout prayers procure the princes long life, if it were for the glorie of his diuine Maiestie, and the good of his subiects. Some write, that hee was strangely cured by the bodie of Saint *Diego*, who dyed some hundred yeares before, a religious man of the Order of Saint *Francis*; the which the king caused to bee brought into the princes presence. This bodie was kept in a shrine of yron, which *Henrie* the fourth of that name, king of Castille, had caused to bee made, and layed in a chappell built in honour of him. This shrine being brought and opened in the kings presence, they found, with great admiration, that the bodie was nothing corrupted, nor a haire diminished, but breathing forth a sweet saour; where causing the princes bodie, halfe dead, to be layed vpon it, he began presently to amend, and within few dayes after recouered his perfect health. But euery man hath free libertie to beleuee it, if he please.

This yeare, besides the kings priuat sorrow for the dangerous sicknesse of his sonne, hee had a publicke discontent for the losse of some gallies, neere vnto the port of Herradura. D. *Bernardin* of Mendosa, some call him *John*, was Admirall of the fleet of Spaine, who was readie with two and thirtie gallies, well furnished, to make an attempt against the Moores; but they were surprised with a cruell storme, and in the end three were swallowed vp in the sea, of the which the Admirall was one, where *Mendosa* was; and the rest were driuen into the neere harbours verie much shaken: of the three there was not any living creature saued, and of the rest there dyed verie many: so as some write, they lost two thousand persons, others five thousand. The which, with their former losse at Gerbe, was verie grievous to the house of *Mendosa*: for the same yeare *Indico*, brother to this *Mendosa* the Admirall, sailing from Genoua towards Spaine in a gallie, it was so tost with contrarie winds, as the mariners not able to help themselves, they were swallowed vp; so as *Mendosa*'s bodie could neuer be found, yet the bodie of the gallie, and of the rest that were dead, were recouered.

Bernardin, or  
John de Men-  
dosa drowned  
with some  
gallies.

1563  
Council of  
Trent.

The Prelats being assembled againe together this yeare 1563, they began to persecute their sessions, and it ended in December, hauing continued almost eightene yeares, but with many interruptions, nor without the protestations of many princes and Christian States, of some pretended nullities, as well in the manner of their proceeding, as in the substance of their decrees. But among all the questions, that of Precedence betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, was vrged by their embassadours with great vehemencie; and in the end it was sent by the Fathers to Rome, to be decided by the Pope, and the Consistorie.

These

1563

A These two great Princes hauing both at the Countsell and in Rome, where they attended a definitiue sentence, their partisans that were affected, and others which discoursed without passion, many pertinent reasons were produced on both sides, both by word of mouth, and by writing: whereof for that it concerns this subiect, I will make a brieue repetition.

The Spaniards said, that take it how they would, were it for temporall or spiritual matters, Spaine was of greater dignitie than Fraunce, and that it was in a manner iudged by law, custome, and the opinions and authoritie of the most learned, that the kings of Spaine should haue the prerogatiue for their excellencie and nobilitie, and for their merits to mankind, and especially to the Church of Rome. Antiquitie (said they) in these matters imports much, whereof Spaine retaines the vndoubted markes: for since the first peopling of the earth, the name of Spaine hath beene famous to the world, and preferred in that nation since the time of great *Hercules Oron*, or his next descendants which haue raigned there, and hath neuer beene extinguished, whereas the name of the French is new.

26  
Controversie  
betwixt the  
French and  
Spaniards for  
precedencie.

Markes of the  
antiquitie of  
Spaine.

The Spaniards by the consent of all men, are descended from *Tubal* one of *Iaphets* children, which his posteritie hath called *Tuball*, of whome the mountaine *Iubalda*, called by Geographers *Idubeda*, retaines the name: But the Celtes and Gaules to whome the French haue succeeded, or (to doe them more honour) with whom they are in a manner incorporated, haue their beginning from one *Samoteus*, who according to *Berosus* was the younger Sonne of *Tubal*. The situation of Spaine adts to her dignity, it holding the first place in the Geographicall maps: but if the greatnesse of the countrey giues power to kings, and that they are valued thereby, who knowes not but that Spaine is much greater than France, whereof the kings of Spaine doe yet hold a good part in Soueraigntie? It is, vnquestionable, that euer since there were kings of Spaine, their dominions haue beene larger then those of France: it is apparent in the raigne of the Spanish Gothes, who did not onely hold at one time Spaine bounded by the Spanish seas, and the Pyrene mountains, but also the countrey of Languedoc, vnto the river of Rhosne, and that which is now of the realme of France beyond Garonne, and moreouer in Afrik a great part of the countrie: The greatnesse of the empire of the king of Spaine at this day is different, who holding the best part of Europe, with many places in Afrik vpon the Mediterranean sea haue discovered a fourth part of the world, vnknowne to the ancients, and thereby enriched the rest with temporall commodities, as it hath done that new world with spiritual blessings, causing those barbarous nations to bee instructed in the knowledge of God. To which new regions the monarchies of the ancients cannot bee compared in greatnesse; much lesse the empire of Fraunce at any season. And to increase their greatnesse, wee may adde vnto these reuenues the rights which they haue gotten to the empire of Constantinople, not onely as successors to the earls of Flanders, but by contracts made with the *Paleologues*, expelled by the Turks, & in like maner to Ierusalem, which euery one holds to be, the chiefe in dignitie among al the Christian realmes. The gifts of nature are also verie considerable, where there is any question of the preheminance of realms and countries; wherein Spain excels France without contradiction: for there is no Region in the world more temperate than Spaine, nor better indowed by nature, be it in fertillitie of the land, in bountie of the fruits, or in any commoditie it doth produce, and as for the men, they are a fine both of body and mind, industrious, warlike, and fit to commaund, as the world hath found by experience. Spaine hath bene alwaies knowne to be a nurserie of good souldiers, and the mother of great Captaines, and wee need not doubt, but that *Hannibal* (who made the Romans to sweat and tremble) if hee had any magnanimitie and courage, hee retained it from the instruction and breeding hee had in Spaine in his youth. Spaine hath in former

Tubal father to  
the Spaniards.

Situation of  
Spaine.

Greatnesse of  
the king of  
Spaines domi-  
ons.

Right of the  
kings of Spaine.

Fertillitie of the  
land of Spaine.

Emperors and  
Popes, Spani-  
ards.

Nobilitie of the  
kings of Spaine.

F times giuen vnto Rome a *Traian*, an *Adrian*, two *Theodosius*, all emperours, valiant and tryumphant, with many holy and learned Popes, guiders of the church, among the which *Damasus* was great and admirable. As for the Nobilitie of the kings of Spaine which raigne at this day, it is incomparable, for they be successours to the kings of the Gothes, and allyed to them in blood, and as it were graft iuto the stockes of the famous families of the *Balses* and *Hamales*. But to draw their Genealogie neerer and more personally,

Authors

1563

Authors agree that they descend from the Merouingians and Carouingians, the founders of the estate of the French, whereby it followes that they haue right vnto the realme of France, so as they cannot be taxed of fraud when as they shall seeke to settle themselves there to aduance their monarchie. If you consider their prowesse and victories, wee haue no need to go beyond our owne age: for the emperor *Charles* the first king of Spaine, hath alone wonne more famous victories, than all the other princes of Europe. The French are witnesses to their costs, and that mightie and fearefull Germane Nation, which hee subdued in lesse than tenne moneths, and brought all the Princes, Towns and states of the Germane empire vnder his obedience: he repulsed the Ottomans forces both by Sea and land, and conquered the realme of Tunes in Afrik. But it is verie remarkable, that notwithstanding any warre which Spaine hath endured since it was freed from the Romane yoke, being invaded by the Gothes, Moores, Arabians, and other nations, yet the Spaniards haue alwaies preserved their libertie, and retained their manners, their language, and their religion, and haue drawne others vnto it, with whome humane changes haue made them to liue and conuerse. Seeing then by antiquitie, nobilitie, largenesse of dominions, power, victories, generous actions, and finally by all that may purchase greatnesse and temporall dignitie to nations and their kings, Spaine is to bee preferred before all; it followes, that the first place is due to the kings of Spaine before all other Christian kings, and by consequence before him of France. But for that the question of this precedence hath bene mooued in a generall Councell and disputed before the Pope and the sacred Senate, it is no lesse requisite to set down the testimonies which Spaine and her kings haue of the spirituall fauour of God in his Catholike Church, wherein they shall bee found to exceed in graces, and spirituall gifts, the kings of France, and all other kings, and their realmes, as also in deuotion and merits to the Popes, and to the Sea of Rome, the onely iudge of this controuerse. It is certaine that Iesus Christ hauing finished the worke of mans redemption, and ascended into heauen, Spaine among all other Pagan nations was first aduertised of this great benefit; as also by signes and wonderfull prodigies, shee had the first feeling of this comming and birth: for the Spaniards had first of all this credit to see the Apostles personally among them, and to heare the Gospell preached by them, and to beleue, the which is confirmed by many graue and faithfull authours, and by the ancient and vndoubted traditions of the churches of Spain, saying that *S. James* had been sent by the Apostles to the Spaniards, had preached among them, and made many disciples, who returning to Ierusalem, had led some with them, who assisted at the third General Councell, (whereof mention is made in the fifteenth of the Acts of the Apostles) and had their voices there, this holy Apostle being president: who hauing bene put to death by *Herod Agrippa*, and his bodie cast vnto the dogs, it was gathered vp by the said disciples, and transported miraculously into Spaine: and by their peaching infinit families had bene conuerted, where afterwards many receiued the Crowne of martyrdom, whose memorie is famous in the church: the authoritie whereof commends euery man to beleue that the virgin *Mary* being liuing, appeared to *Saint James* in the Citie of Saragosse before hee parted from Spaine, exhorting him to cause that church to be built, which is there dedicated to her, which is the most ancient of the Countie, and it was not long before the Princes of the Apostles, *S. Peter* & *S. Paul* came into Spaine, where with an incredible zeale in a manner all the people were conuerted, vnto the Asturias; wherof *Torquatus* the Asturian, was one of the first to giue testimony of their constancie in the faith, for the which he was executed at Rome. The Prelates of Spain, were at the first councels, especially at the first at Nice, wheras *Osius* that famous bishop of Cordoua signed the decrees thercof, before *Nicasius* bishop of Gaule: The church of Rome is beholding to this *Osius* a Spaniard, for the donation made vnto it by the emperor *Constantin*, who had bene instructed by him in the catholike faith. After this sacred general councell, there were many others held in Spain, of the which that of *Illiberi* in Granado is famous, wheras *Helene* the emperors mother was with her grand child *Constantin*. But since there haue bin frequent Councells in that nation, namely in Toledo, during the Goths raigne, where the kings did assist, & shewed themselves ready to execute their decrees. There is no contradiction, but the

Spaine first instructed in the Gospell.

Virgin Mary seene in Spaine.

Councells in Spaine.

1563

A but the kings of Spaine were made Christians before them of France: the memorie of king *Ricardo* is and shall for euer be honourable, who chased Arianisme out of Spaine, & did persecute heretikes, of which Catholike Princes the kings of Spaine which raigne at this day are true successors, for that they suffer any one within their dominions to speake against the holie Catholike Apostolik and Romish church. To maintain the which without blemish vpon earth, there is nothing like in all the Christian government to the inquisition of Spaine, exceeding in holie feruencie and profitable rigour all the inquisitions of other kingdomes and estates. These the lawes and constitutions of Popes are receiued, reuerenced and practised, the which are not in France, whereas the Canon law is abrogated, and whereas they haue often rebuffed Popes and Councells, censuring their decrees, which are irreprehensible, vnder color of certain pretended liberties of the French church wherof their kings make themselves protectors to the prejudice of the sea of Rome. The first princes which opposed themselves against the spoiles of the Moores invading Spain, abandoned by the defeat & death of king *Roderike* the last of the Gothes, haue been holy & wel beloued of God, wherof there are most autentik signs in many places. To *D. Garcia Ximenes* first king of Sobrarbre, the deliuerer of Spain, was giuen fro heauen for his arms a red crosse vpo a green tree in a field argēt. *D. Inigo Arista* one of his successors, by the like fauor received a crosse argēt in a field Azure. Many miracles are reported to haue hapned at the Christenings of kings of Spain: Some of the haue cured the kings euil, & many haue expelled diuels. In the citie of Lebn, is kept a holy standard brought from heauen by *S. Siffidorus*, one of the Patrons & protectors of Spain, in the which there is painted a bishop on horseback, holding in one hand a crosse, & in the other a sword, vnder which the kings and catholike princes of Spain fighting against the Moores, haue obtained many victories. By the constancy of the kings of Spaine, especially of them of Castille, who haue neuer varied in religion, since king *Ricardo* aboue mentioned, they haue had the honor to root the Moores out of Spaine, & to cleanse the countie of those blaspheming Iewes. In acknowledgement of which graces, they haue alwaies freely giuen the first fruits of the conquests and glorious victories which they haue obtained against Infidels to Popes and churches, building more goodly abbies, Cathedrall churches, Monasteries and Colledges, than any countie in the world, and giuing them large indowments, wherof that of Toledo is a strange president, for the archbishop hath about 300000 ducats of yearly rent, besides that which concerns the church & chapter, & the rich dignities & Prebends, the reuenues of which archbishoprick exceede the ordinarie of many kings. In Spain, the Ieronimitans haue had their beginning, with the order *de la merced*, of the redemption of captiues, & many other orders of holy knights, which haue been a terror to the Moores and Infidels. But aboue al, the Iesuits are a worthie brood of Spaine, courageous defenders, & aduācers of the Catholik Apostolik and Romish religion cherished by the kings of Spaine, in fauor of the holy Sea, and continually entertained by them, & sent into all the parts of the world, to make war with their spiritual armes, whilst that they did valiantly, with their

*Ricardo a Catholike king*

Inquisition of Spaine.

Kings of Spaine Saints. Armes from heauen.

Church of Toledo.

Iesuits first bred in Spaine

Name of Catholike.

Preiudice done to the kings of France by the Councells

Against these reasons the French and their partisans maintained, that the French king should haue the precedence, not only for that they had been long in possession, but also by right, hauing wel deserved it, and for many reasons answering those which the Spaniards had objected. The ambassadors of France complained much that the fathers of the Councell had done wrōg vnto their king, in admitting of this action, although they had surceased, and

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Testimonies of  
the prehe-  
minences of the  
kings of France

and would not decide in the which they should have rejected, having also allowed them of Spaine to sit along our ranke, by way of provision, untill that the Pope and the Consistorie of Rome had determined, calling thereby in question the precedence of the kings of France, over all other Christian kings, the which had beene for many yeares practised, & confirmed by the Iudgement of Popes, and the testimony of the most famous Lawyers, and ancient writers. For, *Saint Gregory*, the Pope saith, that the king of France doth as much exceed all other kings as a Royaltie doth a privat man. *Pope Stephen* the third saith, that the French nation shines above all others. *Baldus* doth maintaine, that the kings of France carrie the crowne of liberty & glory above all other kings; That they are as the day star in the middest of a cloud coming from the South, which cannot be darkened. That the banners of France march first, over the which no other king can pretend any advantage of honor. *Boniface* of Vitalianis an Italian, *Auditor de Rotæ*, *Sniderus* a Greeke author, & many others have left in writing, that whē they named a king simply, it was meant by him of France. Besides, the ranks of Christian kings is seen in the Registers of the court of Rome; and in those which they call provincials in all the Cathedral churches, in which the king of France precedes, & they of England & Spain are set after. That it was unworthy after these holie & learned iudgements, to bring it again in questiō; & they held it, for an insupportable iniurie to the kings of France, who in effect are not subject to the Popes iudgement, nor to any other iurisdiction in this matter, nor in any thing that concerns the rights, preheminen-ces & prerogatives of their crown, which they were to maintain by the means which God had given them: whereupon they made a sharpe inuectiue in open Councel against the Pope, by reason of some former opinions he had declared at Rome; yea they did taxe him bitterly, for that he did challenge vnto himself all power about the Councel, suffering nothing to be determined but what had bin allowed by him at Rome: That he shewed himselfe too vnthankful & ynjust to France and to her kings, who had alwaies bin benefactors to the holy Sea, seeking to put them from their lawfull rank, and cruel to all Christian people, in that he rejected the iust demands of all Catholike princes which was, a necessarie reformation of the maners of the Clergie, & of that which was corrupted in the discipline of the Church, & especially of the abuses of the court of Rome. That instead of bread of health, he gave Scorpions, sowing discord betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, vnder colour of these importune precedencies, tending to cause a pernicious warre in Christendome: wherefore they said, that reseruing the reuerence that was due to the holy Sea of Rome, wherein France and her king meant to continue, they could not acknowledge *Pius* 4 for a common Father, nor true Pope, but for an vnlawfull vsurper of that dignitie; they protested nullity of the acts and decrees of the Councell, which were but repetitions of that which *Pius* had set down; declaring that they had comandement from the king their master to retire, with all the Prelates of France, least by their presence they should seeme to allow of his attempts against the dignities of the kings of France, the priuiledges of their crowne, and the liberties of the French Church.

People an in-  
corruptible  
Iudge.

People com-  
bended under  
the Gaules.

The Partisans of the French nation both at Rome and at Trent discoursed at large both by word & writing: seeking to satisfie the curious multitud (which it may be is the most in-corrupted iudge in such cōtrouersies.) And for that the Spaniards wold bring their nation from *Tubal*, one of the neere descendents of *Noah*, they to pay them with the like money, laied for a foundation of the antiquitie of the French Nation, that the Gaules and the French were one nation, and one people, issued from *Gomer*, grand-child to *Noah*, and that this nation of the Gaules did extend from the riuier Tanais, vnto the Western & Atlantik Ocean, in which circuit at this day is contained Spain, France, Germany, Polonia, Russia, with the Gottike & British Ilands; and these people were generally called *Gommerians* & *Gaules*, a name taken from their progenitor, *Gomer*, who was also surnamed *Gal*, which signifies escaped from the waters, that is to say, the Deluge. But since to distinguish their groups & members, as they dispersed theselues, they took other names, as of *Galates*, *Albins*, *Theutōs*, *Germās*, *Cimmeriās*, *Cimbres*, *Cicabrians* french &c. drawn frō their aduētures or the situatiō of the regions where they lodged, or frō the princes & captaines which did lead the: yet the name of Gaules hath bin alwaies retained by them which haue held the country on this side, or on the west part of the riuier of Rhin, for a perpetual marke of their antiquity,

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A antiquitie, taken as is said, from the deluge, that all the foresaid people were in old time of the same maners, that is to say, free, open, warlike and conquereous; courteous to their friends, fierce to their enemies, vsing for a long time one language, taken at the diuision of *Babell*, which was the Teutonick, more pure at that time than it hath beene since, by reason of the mixture of nations: And thereupon the Gaules which dwelt on this side, and the Germans or Teutons, which remained on that side the Rhin called Brethren: That the inhabitants of Spaine at this day could not attaine to this antiquitie, although they say they are descended from *Tubal* the brother of *Gomer*, for *Gomer Gal* was the eldest of *Japheths* children, as they are set downe in the holy Scripture, and *Tubal* was the fifth, who made another branch, the which came but late into Spaine, hauing taken another way. That one *Iberius* issuing from him, had giuen the name to Iberia Asiatika, which at this day is the Countrie of the Georgians, from whence out of doubt the Iberians Spaniards are come; but long after the Deluge: And that on the other side some wandring troups came into Spaine vnder the conduct of one *Sepherad*, whose descent the Rabins bring also from *Gomer*, of whom there is no other record, but that hauing crost Asike, which was held by the posteritie of *Cain*, hee had entred by the strait into Spaine; and that he had called that continent by his name *Sepheride*, turned since into *Speride*, and in the end into *Hesperide*.

Iberians Spani-  
ards.

C Morgouer (said they) that the names of these two stemmes or fathers of nations are verie considerable in this question of antiquitie and nobilitie, being most certaine, that in all the names of these first men, there was something mysteriall and propheticall, which gaue a note vnto posteritie. But the word *Gomer* signifies a man perfect and finished, and *Tubal* signifies seed, which begins to spring. There is an honourable mention made of *Gomer*, and his descendents in all authors, as giuen to religion and sciences: And if wee shall beleuee *Berosus*, as wee haue him at this day, and drawe the Gaules from one *Samotheus* brother to *Gomer*, hee commends him to haue beene the wisest man of his time: whereas there is no worthy mention of *Tubal*, to ground nobilitie on. When as the Scripture speakes of the children of *Tubal*, it puts them in the ranks of D mercers, pedlers, & horse courfers, frequenting the Tyrians saires & markets. The Spaniards themselues say that *Tubal* and his people were first seated in Iberia Asiatika, from whence they without doubt came, which haue peopled the greatest part of Spaine, who were therefore called by the Greekes and Latins Iberians, which is the true and most ancient name which we find of that region of Europe, which wee call Spaine, which name was brought from Asia. Before this transmigration of the Spaniards or Iberians out of Asia into Europe, the Gaules, who were also called Celtes, had run beyond the Pyrenees, and being as it were in possession of Spaine, did this honour to the Iberians that were new come, to giue them passage through Gaule, and a dwelling beyond the mountains: and although that afterwards growing insolent against their benefactors, there grew contention and warre betwixt them, yet they were reconciled, and thence comes the name of Celiberians, a people famous in the war, with whom the Romanes had to do in Spaine, the which were long subject to Princes and Captaines, Gaules and Celtes, whereof the name of *Brigus* one of their ancient kings (which word is of the ancient Gaule) makes mention: and the names of Celtriques and Callaiques or Galliques haue beene for many ages preferred among the people of Spain, whereas now the Countries of Portugal, and Galicia are, for assured testimonies that the Celtes and Gaules had been seated in Spaine before that euer the Iberians Asiatikes had set footing there. As for the name of France or French, which their nation carries now, they were agreed that it was new, but with all they maintained that it was most honourable, for France signifies fierce and valiant, free from all seruitude, active, noble, and an honest man; and for that they had giuen it to the nation of the Gaules, not conquered by them, but rather freed from the tyrannie of the Romanes, and of the barbarous nations which did spoile it, it did nothing derogate from the antiquitie and nobilitie thereof, nor to the fraternitie which they haue alwaies had with the Gaules, seeing that both these names are still in vse, and common to the Nation, that of Gaule and Gaulois being much vsed in solemne acts both spirituall and ciuill.

Ezechiel 27.

Name of Spaine  
come out of Asia

Name of France  
or French.

It

It is certaine that Gaules is as it were the generall name, and French a particular, so as the Spaniards in the search of Antiquities cannot find any other, but that the French being somewhat dispersed from the bodie of the Gaules, by the violence of the Romanes, who prest them; and to whom they would not yield but by extremitie, were in the end whited againe vnder one. Crivine; whereas by their vertuethey erected a realme in Gaule, of the French familie of the *Merovingiens*: And they may read in Histories that the Romanes possiding Gaule, found alwaies them of that nation, dwelling vpon the banks of Rhin and Meuse; whereas now bee the Provinces of *Cleues*, *Juliers*, *Gueldres*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, and the neighbour Countries, knowne to all Authors by the name of *Sicambrians*, who were hard to maninge, alwaies contending for their libertie, vntill they had freed themselves from the yoke and tyrannie of the Romanes, which *Sicambrians* of the Rhin did afterwards take the name of *Frances* or *French*; and haue imparted it to others: So as wee may by good proofes conclude, that when as in the time of the emperor *Valentinian*, the *Sicambrians* French erected a realme in Gaule, that they were no new people, but of the same nation, whereof a number became more eminent than the rest, not for any desire to rule over them, but in hatred of the Romanes tyranny, and to repulse the *Bourgongnians*, *Gothes*, and other barbarous Nations, which spoiled the Countrie, and held their brethren in seruitude.

Having freed them, and ioyning all in one bodie, they erected this French monarchy, which hath exceeded all others in dignitie and valour, adding to the name of Gaule that of *France*, in honour and remembrance of their deliuerers, who held the Scepter and Soueraignie as due vnto them; but the *Belges*, *Celtes*, *French*, *Acquitaines*, and finally all the Gaules made the bodie of the estate, vnder one common bond of ciuill libertie, one honouring another by mutuall courtiesies, for as the Gaules had reuerenced the French armes which had freed them from seruitude and oppression, so the French for their part, had receiued with honour the ciuilitie, lawes, and religion of the Gaules, & made an equalitie of free right betwixt them.

The Spaniards haue no memorie to brag on, for as *Pharamond* made warre in the lower part of Gaule *Belgique*, Spaine was then a prey, and torne in peeces by diuers cruell and barbarous nations, hauing neither feare nor courage to resist them. The *Gothes* beganne to shew themselves on this side the *Alpes*, and to frame a royall estate in Gaule, making their seat at *Tolousa*, but they held it not long, for the French sent them soone beyond the *Pyrenées*, to contend with the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, & *Sueues*, who had already wholly subdued Spaine, and hauing diuided it among them, fell to iarre about their portions, at the coming of this *Gothike* nation, who had no cōformitie nor acquaintance with the Spaniards, as the *Sicambrians* had with the Gaules, but was a meer stranger & anemie, seeking nothing but spoile. The Spaniards hauing beene conquered by the *Gothes* from the Romanes, and the aboue named nations, they fell out of one seruitude into another, which continued about one hundred and twentie yeares; and their condition was very miserable from *Wallia* the Arrian king vnto *Ricaredo* the Christian: for all that time was a meere conquest full of desolations and ruines, without any forme of good gouernment, whilest that the raigne of the French Gaules was settled in pietie and justice, and did prosper in armes, subduing the *Bourgongnians*, forcing the remainder of the *Gothes* which were on this side the *Pyrenée* mountains, to goe to their companions in Spaine, and rooting out the rest of the Romanes in Gaule. *Ricaredo* and some other kings following him held some better order in their gouernments, and made lawes grounded vpon naturall equitie & justice, the which are at this day in price: There past some raigins in this nation, in the which the princes being made Christians, did willingly take counsell in spirituall things, of the Clergie in national counsels which were often held, and namely at *Toledo*.

In like maner the Clergie did reuerence the royall authority, and did freely receiue fit orders for their estate, in temporal things: & we must confesse that whilest this harmony lasted, the Spaniards & their affairs did prosper: but when their Counsels were conuerted into assemblies of the states (where also the Clergie would euer haue most authoritie) when as instead of treating of the doctrine of Iesus Christ, and the due dispensation

*Sicambrians  
are French people  
of Gaule.*

*Spaine a prey  
to the Barbarians.*

*Abuse of Counsels  
in Spaine.*

A of his heavenly blessings among Christians, studying to refute errors with knowledge and charitie, and to reclaim the manners and affections of men, to the rule of true Iustice. By holie Constitutions they did handlow with contention the preheminences of Prelats in their diocesses and iurisdiccions, disposed of the estate of Kings houses, of the honours and offices thereof, and of the gard of their persons, reconciled quarrelles among great men, and dealt in other such worldly affaires, all vnder the authoritie of Counsells, whereby all was corrupted, euery man forgetting his ranke, in the end they found proud and obstinate Kings in that State, who in disdain of the impertinencie and exccesse of such pastors (and for their cause of religion it selfe) abandoned themselves to all vice and impietie, so as God to punish them gaue way to the *Moores* and *Arabians*, who entred into Spaine, and made such a spoile, as both Clergie and Laie men, King and Subiects, Noblemen and Clownes, finally all degrees smarted many yeeres. That from these lamentable calamities the defenders of the Spaniards preheminance and of their kings, seeke I know not by what Art to draw glorie, saying with ostentation, that their nation hath alwaies preferred (among the *Gothes* and *Sarazins* which haue ruled ouer them) their Language, Religion, and Libertie: wherein they shew themselves verie vaine; for as for their libertie, the Histories shew the contrarie, neither had they kept their religion pure: And as for their language, they of the French partie said, that the Spaniards had vrged it to no purpose, yea if they would consider it well, they should find, that it gaue them no grace, but did rather blemish them. If they will say, that in

C Spaine they neither speake the *Gothike*, *Arabic*, nor *Africane* tongues, they must also adde that they speake not *Spanish* there. The French doe freely confesse that the true Languages of the Gaules and French are not much vsed now in *France*. Doe wee not know that either of them spake the *Roman* tongue in those daies? for hauing beene long subiect to the Empire of *Rome*, they were forced to learne the tongue, and to vse it by an expresse Lawe, as all other people did, which were subdued by this proud Nation.

This *Roman* tongue was retained both by the Spaniards and French to this day, yet mingled and corrupted by other tongues: but there is one notable difference, which giues the aduantages to the French, which is, that although they haue some words and tearmes remaining of the *Roman* tongue, yet haue they very few that are merely strange, but are of the old *Sicambrian*, *German* and *Teuton* tongues, which is the common language of the French, and of all the auncient Gaules, whereas that which the Spaniards vse at this day, consists of the *Roman*, *Gothike*, *Arabic*, *Moorish*, and *African* tongues, a perpetuall note (vnlesse they change it) that they haue serued the *Gothes*, *Moores*, *Arabians*, and *Africans*; the which is yet fresh: And therefore it appeeres that the Gaules being deliuered from the *Roman* yoke, by the French their Country men, hauing made one body, and one people, haue since preferred their language better and more generously than the Spaniards: and (which doth more import) increasing still in power, dignitie and good gouernement, they haue alwayes maintained their estate and libertie, keeping any other nations from supplanting them either in al or in part, were hee Christian or Infidell, and therein they doe much exceed the Spaniards, who haue suffered themselves to be controlled by the Infidell *Moores* about 800 yeeres.

And whereas they thinke to extoll Spaine by reason of her situation, about all the regions of Europe, for that say they, it represents the head in the Geographical Maps: they answered, that it was a fruitolous induction, grounded vpon the speculation of children and idle persons. That in truth Spaine makes a chiefe part of Europe, but that proues not that it is the best part. If in the description of Authors it be set before France, that giues it no preheminance: for by this reason *Ireland* should be preferred before *Italy* and Spaine it selfe, for that *Ptolomie* and other Cosmographers after him set it first in their geographical descriptions.

And for that there was no contradiction but to the greatest Princes greatest honours are due, they were agreed vpon this point: But the French said, that the honourable greatnesse which consists in dignitie must not be measured by the greatnesse of his dominions, nor the multitude of his subiects, as the Spaniards would doe. That seeing they did confesse that the Realme of *Ierusalem*, which did neuer equall the fourth part of

K k k k k

Spaine,

*Moores the  
 scourge of Gods  
 iustice.*

*Vanities of the  
 Spaniards.*

*Argument ta-  
ken from the  
situation of Spaine  
vaine.*

1563.

Dignitie and  
greatness of  
Spain: wherein  
it consists.

The Spaniards  
Empire is a  
charge to it self.

Spain hurtfull  
to all Christen-  
dome.

French always  
benefactors to  
the Spaniards.

Spain, should be preferred before all Christian realmes if it were standing, they shew plainly that this greatnesse which gives preheminance, doth not consist in quantitie of ground, but by pietie and iustice, by the valor & vertue of kings, and of their subiects, & by their bounty, they and their estates increase in reputation: In all which it is very apparent that France hath the better. But discoursing of this greatnes which consists in quantitie, they said that the number of realmes which they reckon within the continent of Spaine, is a vanitie and euident signe of the weakenes of that nation and of their shame; witnessing that Spaine hath bene dismembred into many parts, which hath not hapned in France, since it was a realme, in the which they might haue made a dosen better realmes than those of Arragon, Granado, Gallicia, and the Castilles, being reduced to their ancient limits, the other foreine estates, where they commaund, are no profitable accessaries to Spaine, as Sicilie, Naples, Sardynia, the Netherlands, nor the Indies: These members lie too farre off, and doe more trouble than aduance their kings affaires. Let the Spaniards then heape together all the realmes, duchies and counties which are of the iurisdiction of Spaine in Europe, and let them adde thereunto Peru, and new Spaine, and for an increase let them bring their pretended rights to the Empire of Constantinople, and to the realme of Ierusalem, France will alwayes ballance all this euen as a small bullet of gold; and will equall in weight a greater masse of other mettall. This greatnesse, said they, of that Spanish Empire, is too new to be esteemed, and too yong to presume to goe before Fraunce; the which is venerable for his lustie age, and hath maintained her Crowne about 1200 yeeres, with so great honor, as it were follie to repeat the attempts of her feudataries and vassals, the which shee hath happily calmed and quenched. This Spanish pride, glorious but of late, is too delicate to stand of it selfe, the which time will discover. This arrogant presumption is like vnto the gourd, which being growne in few nights, aduanced it selfe before the Pine tree which had indured many a sharpe winter, but it withered away with the first wind, the Pine standing firme and immouable.

But as for the commodities which the Spaniards say that the greatnesse of their kings Empire brings to the rest of Christendome, they answered, that it was quite contrarie, & that there was no nation in Christendome but complained of the wrongs & injuries they receiued from Spaine, neither was there any one pleased with any good was brought thence, vpon which teames France stood. The commodities, said they, which people receiue one from another, proceed either from meere liberalitie, or by way of commerce and traffike, or else casually, and as it were by reflection of that which a nation doth for it selfe, which notwithstanding redounds to the profit of their neighbors. They know not in France, what the Spanish liberalitie is proceeding from charitie. The commerce and traffike which these two nations haue together, doe without doubt incommode France, and cause a dearth of visualls and other commodities, besides it doth daily withdraw the labouring people & Artisans (which are said to be the riches of a country, being inticed with the Indian gold) which hath course in Spaine. And it were difficult to find a president of any deed or enterprise of the Spaniards, which hath turned to the profit or ease of the French. But what benefits and good offices haue not the Spaniards receiued of the French nation? since the time of the Gothes raigne in Spaine, these people being alwayes in the pawes of some tyrant, the French were forced to goe and deliuer them. Vpon this occasion King Dagobert passed the Pyrenes, chased *Suintilla*, a disordered and cruell man, from the royall throne, and settled *Sizebut* a good prince. *Lewis* 8, and his son *S. Lewis*, to the end they might not diuert the weak kings of Spaine from their warres against the Moores, they did charitably dissemble the wrongs, and the affront which (said they) was done vnto them by *D. Berenguela*, wife to *D. Alphonso* 9 king of Leon, when as she seized vpon the realme of Castille, the inheritance of her eldest siter *D. Blaunch* mother of *S. Lewis*, causing her son *D. Ferdinand* to be inuested, the French being busied in greater affaires. They will say, they haue made warre against the Sarazins, the vsurpers of Spaine, when they threatened to invade Fraunce, and the other regions of Europe; That they haue staied them with their owne forces, and in the end expelled them: It is their custome to bragge, but they cannot giue the lie to so many worthe Authors of all nations, and to their owne Annales which shew the contrarie. The French are not so malicious

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A litious to deny that the Spaniards haue not caried themselves valiantly in many incounters against the Moores, holding their country and houses, but to say that they alone had subdued them, that were not fit. Let them for euer thanke the French, who haue giuen them the means: Let them acknowledge, that to attaine vnto their deliuerie, the French made the way, and brought the ladder, mounting with them, yea before them: where vnto they had neuer attained without the French. Did not *Charles Martel* prince and gouernor of the French defeat the barbarous Africans, when as being masters of all Spaine, they passed the Pyrenes, presuming to deuoure France? Euery man knowes that in two memorable victories, which he obtained against them, the one in Touraine, the other in Languedoc, he slew about 400000, by which routs they were so weakened, as the petie Kings of Spaine, who had begunne to lay the weake foundations of the realmes of Ouiedo, Leon, Arragon, and Nauarre, in the mountaines, had some leifure to fortifie themselves. The same *Martel*, did not he keepe the country of Cattelogne with the forces of France, whereof he made a bulwarke against the Sarazins of Saragosse, Valencia, & those that were lodged in the neere countrie of Nauarre? They would gladly deface the memorie of so many painfull voyages and worthy exploits done for them by the French during the raignes of *Charlemaine* and his sonne *Lewis*, who did so long keep the Moores on this side the riuer of Ebro, that the Asturians and Castillans might on their side aduance against the Barbarians, for that it may be they would blush at the report of these things whereof we cannot speake but to their great dishonour. They should remember, & can not dissemble it, that *D. Alphonso* 2 of that name king of Leon and Ouiedo, surnamed the Chast, for that (although he were married) he would not haue any children, seeming to haue a desire to recompence *Charles* the great for so many good offices which hee had receiued, inuited him to come into Spaine, vpon a voluntary promise, that he would cause him to be acknowledged by his subiects, for the lawfull successor of his estates: then hauing lightly changed his opinion by the perswasion of his courtiers, hee did forget both Gods honor and his owne, making a league without any scruple with the Moores: whom hee did arme against the French, being vpon the way, for that said the Spaniards they would not subiect themselves to a stranger. This was the cause that the French armie receiued a notable rout in their retreat. The French being incensed at this bad vsage, beganne to neglect the affaires of Spaine for a time, which gaue meanes to the Moores to increase their power, and to settle themselves for many yeeres, God letting them know by this seuer and long punishment, how much he was displeased with their treacherie & ingratitude, the which shewed a manifest contempt of religion: Notwithstanding the French did not forbear to succour the Spaniards many times at their great neede. Read the Annales of Spaine, you shal find, that King *D. Alphonso* the first of that name in Castille, and the 6 of Leon (it is he which took Toledo from the Moores, and vnitd it to Castille) was vertuously assisted by great troups of French, led by the Earles *Raymond* of Burgundie, *Henry* of Bezanfon, and *Raymond* of Toloufa, who purchased him the surname of Braue, by reason of many goodlie victories, obtained against the Moores attributed to this king, although that most were done by the French, and their commanders, to whom he was not vnthankfull. For in requitall of their vertues, he married all three to his owne daughters. *Raymond* of Bourgundie left vnto his sonne *D. Alphonso* *Raymond* the Royall scepter of Castille, by the right of his wife *D. Pyrraca*: and *Henrie* of Bezanfon was the stemme of the royall house of Portugall. The same Spanish Histories make mention, that at the siege of Saragosse, in the yeere of our Lord 1118, being held by the Moores, *D. Alphonso* the seuenth, who called himselfe Emperour of Spaine, for that he held all the Christian Realmes in that country, had in his armie the earles *William* of Poitiers, *Rotron* of Perche, with them of Cominges and Bigorre, the vicount of Lauedan, the bishop of Lescar, with many other French noblemen and knights, by whose valour the citie was taken, & made the chiefe of Arragon, and many routs giuen vnto the Infidelles. It was not by the sole forces of the Spaniards, although they were all vnited, that the famous battell of Muradal was won: it were too great ingratitude, or senselesse malice, not to acknowledge it, the which their owne Writers doe witnesse, that in the army of king *D. Alphonso* the fourth of that name in Castille, there were about 100000 straggers, & most French:

Treacherie and  
ingratitude of  
the Spaniards  
to the French.

Generositie of  
the French to  
the Spaniards.

Kkkkk ij

and



Interprists of  
the French for  
the publike good  
of Christendome

and in like maner at the battell of Salado, at the siege of Algezires, and such like actions, it is most certaine that the Kings of Fraunce, and they of Nauarre, who then came from the French, neither spared men, nor treasure, no not their persons, witnesse Philip of Euxreux king of Nauarre, who died at Seuille or Xeres. They did confesse that the Spaniards predecessours had fought valiantly against the Moores, according to their means, but it was for themselves, and their owne priuate commodities, and to return into their houses, the which did not much concerne the profit of other christian people. Whereas the French without any priuate designe, moued with the only zeale of religion at the simple persuation of Popes, and at such time as they did assist the Spaniards, haue enterprized most holy and difficult warres, against all the forces of the East, drawing vpon them the warrelike nations of the Turks, Arabians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and others of Mahumets sect, from whom they took the city of Ierusalem, all Palestina, and Syria towards the sea, erecting a realme there, which they held and defended valiantly, to the good of all Christendome, wherein the Spaniards cannot say that they gaue any aide; and yet they intitle themselves Kings of Ierusalem, and aspire to the Empire of Constantinople, which estates haue cost Fraunce so much bloud, so as they haue no reason to quit their rights, beeing grounded vpon a donation and inuestiture of the Empire of Constantinople, made by Pope Leo the tenth to King Francis the first, and to his successors, when these Potentates had enteruieu at Bolonia.

Discomm. tries  
by the discor-  
de of the west  
Indies.

Experience doth teach vs daily, to what vse the forces and treasure of the Kings of Spaine are employed, and of what import they be to the state of Christendome. The nauigation of the west Indies, and the possession of those great and vast desarts seeme verie honourable and fruitfull vnto them, and they make great ostentation of the gold, siluer, and pearle that comes from thence. These things, which are not worthe to be put in the ranke of things to be wished for by vertuous men, seeme to giue content, and to bring some ease to this common life, the which we passed more sincerely, and it may bee more commodiously before the discouerie of these countries. In one respect they are verie auaileable for the Spaniards and their kings; for they are as it were sinkes and common sewers, to draine away and confine all their banished men, bad husbands, bankrupts, infamous persons, and finally all men that are hurtfull to their other subiects, for with such men the west Indies are for the most part peopled. Moreover, it is certaine, and it doth plainly appeere to those that consider things rightly, that all other regions and states of Europe, yea and Spaine it selfe are hurt in many respects: for since the plentie of Indian gold, all things are more deere and impaired. By this metall which passeth currently with the armes of Spaine, Inuention and Industrie are made dull and sleepeie, and thereby Truth and Honestie are corrupted. By this Indian gold, the Kings of Spaine, who were wont to entertaine friendship with other Potentates their neighbours, are now growne full of contentions. They entertaine many souldiers, and make continuall leuies, beeing neuer without quarrells, so as they and their subiects are in continuall troubles; as it happens alwayes to those, who to afflict others, loose their owne quiet and rest. By this gold the Kings of Spaine presumed to haue away made to a monarchie in Europe, and haue engaged themselves in vnecessary warres vpon diuers pretexts, which haue kept backe the Christians forces, whilst that the Turke got Hungarie, and made other lamentable breaches into Christendome; and by this holie or cursed gold, Charles the fift Emperour or King of Spaine, made warre against the Germans, vnder colour of religion, though the true cause was to force them to suffer the Empire to be hereditarie in his house. Hee vanquished them, but not without the aide of other Germans, corrupted with his gold, hee triumphed ouer all the princes, estates, and townes of the Empire, and thought hee had attained to the height of happinesse; but behold Henrie the second the French king, staies him suddenly, with the valour of his Armes, accompanied with iustice, and maketh him desist; hearing that the French army approached neere vnto the Rhine: the Germans receiued this good turne at that time of the French their friends, neighbours, and brethren, to recouer their libertie and the dignitie of the Empire. A worthe and fresh example, to shew that Fraunce precedes Spaine in qualities which giue splendor and dignitie to Kings: that is, in valour accompanied with iustice, and in a charitable

Germany freed  
frā seruitude by  
the French.

A protectio of the oppressed: & that true riches consist in sufficiēt, which is always found in France. But who could forbear to smile, to heare the scorching aire, & the drie & barren ground of Spaine preferred before the milde and temperate climate of Fraunce, whereas the Spaniards seek reliefe in all their necessities, as euery man knowes: what good comparison can be made of the men and fruits which Spain produceth with them of France? whereas so many religious, actiue and ready wits are bred, such goodlie and nimble bodies, so curteous and pleasing in behauior, of such inuincible courages in all great and difficult enterprises? whereas so many great captaines were borne, who planted colonies throughout all the world: a nation which hath made the Turke to tremble, hearing only the name of Franc or French, which hath furnished so many Popes & soueraigne pastors to the Church, and so perfect, as the Spaniards cannot compare with them, be it in regard of their vertue or number: which hath produced so many great emperors, fathers of nations, & amplifiers of the Christian religion, sons to so many noble kings, & of so great antiquitie, as no others can attaine vnto it. Let the kings of Spaine glorie of the families of the *Balibes* and *Hamales* reigning among the Gothes, itall nations, which haue brought nothing but miseries and ruines into Europe, where in the end they themselves haue bin ruined and exinct, but that the Spaniards would now make them liue againe amongst them: But that they are defended by issue male, frō the Merovingians or Carlouingians as some of their feede chroniclers suggest, & they themselves vant, ther is not any but they that speak it, & their profes are very obscure & vain, and subiect to many inuented fables.

C The princes of the familie of Austria, from whence the kings of Spaine at this day are descended, are issued (as the French said) from the earles of Habsbourg, the which Earle-dome was a verie small thing in that part of Germany, which is now called Ergow, amōg the Suiffes in the yeere 1272. This place of Habsbourg, wherof they intituled themselves earles, is now a ruinous castle, & hath often changed master. As some report, it was one *Rapat* or *Ratboth* which layd the first foundations, as also of the Abbey of Murre, where they find some charters, from the which they haue drawne their genealogie since this *Rapat* vnto *Racul* or *Rodolphus* the fift of that name among those Earles, who was chosen emperour of the Romans, at such time as there was a great schisme among the Germans; & they found that this house had bin first brought into credit by a bishop of Strausbourg, brother or neere kinsman to the said *Rapat*. They also shewed by the testimony of some writers, that this *Rodolphus* Earle of Habsbourg was so poore, as he was forced for a time to serue as steward to *Ottocaire* the titularie king of Bohemia, and that afterwards ayming at the commodities of the Church, he did insinuate himselfe into the fauor of an archbishop of Mentz, whom he did accompany in a voyage which he made to Rome, and was so gracious with him, as at their return, finding the princes of Germany strangely diuided into factions, for the imperiall dignitie which had bin void about 25 yeeres, this archbishop caused *Rodolphus* to be chosen K. of Romans, by his credit which was great, and by means of the princes contentions, who would not yield one vnto another, & by the same fauour he was easily confirmed by pope Gregory 10, who was then at Lion, at a generall Council. *Rodolphus* hauing attained to this dignitie, employed himselfe happily to pacifie the quarrels of Germany: and as he was politike, he neglected no occasion to aduance his owne affaires, manning his good fortune in such sort, as he caused the duchies of Austria, Sueuia, Stiria, and Carinthia to fall into his house, with the realme of Bohemia for a season, and the Landgrauiat of Alsacia, with other lands and fees of the Empire, the which fell void during the said troubles, most of the which haue remaind to his posteritie. So by these vnexpected euents, and contrary to all mens expectations this house of Habsbourg grew famous, as God doth sometimes raise the poore, and make of a Sheepheard a King, when he pleaseth. There was some light (saied they) vnto that time of the house and familie of Austria, issued without contradiction from the estates of Habsbourg, but whereas Writers seeke to draw their auncestors from the Princes of Austracia, of the French race of *Merone*; It is a meer vanitie & rashnes for the, to wander through the desarts of these turbulent times, where there is no path, nor way to lead them to the knowledge of such auncient beginnings. For the ground whereof, they suppose one *Siegebert*, (who it may be neuer was) frō whom they would draw the families of the Erles of Habsbourg,

Beginning of  
the Kings of  
Spaine issued  
from the house  
of Austria.

bourg and others: and they say that he was sonne to *Theodebert* king of Austrasia, he that was dispossessed of his estate, and slaine at the instigation of *Queene Brunhild*, by *Theoderic* king of Burgondie, (he being grandmother to these 2 princes. That *Theodebert* and all his sonnes being slaine, except *Sigebert*, who having escaped the massacre, was sent into high Burgondie, beyond Mount Lura, where he begat sonnes and daughters, and that his issue was dispersed into diuers families of Germanie: but the French maintained that this pretended *Sigebert* was fained and fabulous, as doth appeare by the best French writers, who say that *Brunhild* her selfe slue all the sonnes of *Theodebert*, casting her selfe a little one, being in his swathing cloths, against the stone, whose name was *Mcrouce*, *Theoderic* his other grandchild being also poisoned by her, & she punished by *Clotaire* king of France, hauing also rooted out the vnlawfull race of *Theoderic*, he vnitied the realmes of Austrasia & Burgondie to his crowne: afterwards hee gaue Austrasia with the title of a realme to his son *Dagobert*, who comming to that of France, inuested his sonne *Sigebert*, who dying king of Austrasia, left one onely sonne called *Dagobert* in the garde of *Grimoald* Maior of his palace, who sent his Pupil into Scotland, where hee caused him to bee made a monke, and soone after died, and then hee caused his owne sonne *Hildebert* to be crowned king. But the French to reuenge this disloyaltie, brought an armie against him, slew *Hildebert*, and carried the father to Paris, where hee died in prison. Since which Austrasia and Burgundy were governed by Maiors of the Palace or Viceroyes, vnto *Pepin*, who was crowned King of Fraunce, by reason of the idlenesse of *Childeric* the last king of the race of the Merouingians, not by fraud nor violent vsurpation, and much lesse through the fauour, approbation, or counsell of any Pope, as some say, but by the election & consent of the princes and estates of France, and therefore with a more iust title (if there be any comparison) than that by the which the kings of Spaine doe now hold the realme of Nauarre: for it is a fundamentall right which neuer dies among the French, to haue libertie to choose their kings (provided alwayes that they goe not out of the masculine line of the bloodroyall) in case of some great incapacitie, or for some other important accident, which concerns the publike good, and preferuation of that crowne & state: which nation among other good humours cannot endure a strangers commaund, no not of their owne princes, when they seeke hatefull alliances elsewhere, and that contemning the honors and sweetnes of their owne country, they affect the manners and fashions of strangers: whereof *Charles* of France duke of Lorraine made trial, after the decease of king *Lewis* the 5 his nephew, before whom *Hugh Capet* was preferred, being also a prince of the blood, but not so neere: whom the French reiected, for that he was wholely giuen to the fashions of the Germans, which are much more tollerable to the French than those of the Spaniards, who seek at this day to pretend a right vnder fained genealogies, to quarrell for the crowne of France, it opportunitie serue: whereupon they did conclude, that if their auncesters could not indure a prince of France Germanized, they should hardly euer accommodate themselves with princes of the German race, but Spaniolized, yea transformed into meere Spaniards, both by nature and education, if they should prooue directly that the house of Austria come from the Earles of Habsbourg, were descended from the Merouingians and that pretended *Sigebert*. They added moreover, that if the historians of the house of Austria could prooue, that their fained *Sigebert* had bene in the world, and could trace out his posteritie directly to *Philip* King of Spaine now reigning, yet could they not make it appeare, that either he or *Theodebert* his father were capable of the crowne of France, by reason of the vncertainty of their blood, for that queen *Brunhild* reported that *Theodebert* was a supposed childe, and that hee was not brother to *Theoderic*, nor son to king *Childeric* of the blood of France. Moreover, they demanded of these curious searchers of the rights of the house of Austria, where these princes descending from the pretended *Sigebert* were hidden, whenas the scepter of the French was transferred into the familie of *Charles Martell* to *Pepin*, and then to *Hugh Capet*: why did they not shew themselves then, or at the least make some solemn protestation to preserue their pretensions & rights to the crown of France, if they thought they had any. For they might haue done it safely, especially since that they of Habsbourg came vnto the empire and were growne mighty: but it is strange that neuer any prince of that race opened his

A mouth, nor imploied any Chronicler to colour this imaginarie title, no not the emperor *Charles 5*, who wanted no ambition, seeking to lay hold of it by force only, and the right of conquests. D. *Philip* his son is the first of his family that talks of this antient Merouingian nobilitie, & hath begun to cause instructions to be drawne to entertain his greedie desire to deuour France, imploing also with the like designe the alliances made by them of his race with the blood of France, by mariages, thinking thereby to maintain in the house of Spaine some hereditary pretensions to the realm of France, if he had no other support. The which in good termes of Law is called, to slaunder or to cauill, which is when one contends for that which is notorious: for euery man knows that the realm of France is no inheritance, but a succession of the males, by reason of the blood, and that it respects not the women, being contrary to the inueterate custome of the French. Thus the French and their partisans refrained the Antiquity & the Nobilitie of the kings of Spaine, & brought them to the house of Habsbourg in Germanie, saying notwithstanding that they of Habsbourg and Austria haue great reason to commend the alliances contracted by mariages with the house of France: for if they haue drawne any lustre from the Germane empire in *Rodolphus* the first, and other Emperours of their familie, they haue made it perfect by the mariages which some of them haue contracted with the Princeesses of the blood of France: witnesse the Emperor *Maximilian*, who hauing married the heire of Burgondie, had so great lands and possessions by her, besides the companie of a noble ladie, as he made a waite thereby for *Philip* his son, and his descendants to attaine vnto their greatnes.

C But comming now to the chiefe points, which should be decided in this question propounded in a generall Councell, which are, the pietie and religion of people & their princes; and their duties and merits to the church of God, and to his ministers. The Spaniards (said they of the French partie) tell wonders and miracles vpon the relation of their Writers, and their Spanish traditions: That if God hath giuen preheminance in these things to their nation, it ought to be allowed and confirmed among men, yea in ecclesiasticall assemblies. They bragge that they first saw and heard the chiefe Apostles in their country, and that they had beleueed the Gospel before all other Gentiles. Hereof they giue no better prooue than the French might doe, if they should say that these great lights *S. James*, *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul* going into Spaine had passed through Gaule, going by land rather than by sea, desiring to profite more, as it is likely, according to their duties and commissions, and that in passing they had preached and made Churches. That by this probable reason the Gauls had bene instructed before the Spaniards, and had seene the Apostles first. As for the Apostles disciples, it is most certaine that Gaule did see the first, & the most renowned, according to good Authors, the which was *Crescentius* disciple to *S. Paul*: and if we shal beleue traditions, *Lazarus*, who was raised from death by our Sauior, came & preached at Marfeille, *Nathaniel* in Berry, & *Denis Arcopagita* at Paris. There haue bin counells in Gaule since the time of pope *Victor*, about 180 yeres after our sauior *I. Iesus Christ*, whereas that great doctor *Irenaeus*, gouernor then of the church of Lion, did preside. And there is an Epistle yet extant written before that time by the Martires of Viennia vpon Rhosne, & from the of Liö, to comfort them of Galacia & Phrigia in Asia, during the persecutions of the Emperor *Commodus*. As for the Councell Elibertin (that is Eliberris) that neither the time nor the place where it was held are not verie well quoted by them that haue written, and it is probable that it was not in Spaine, but rather at the foote of the Pyrenean mountaines, vpon the strait of Gaule, where there was also an other good towne of the same name, reduced to a village in the time of *Constantine* the Great: the which was called in regard of the portion which hee had giuen to *Constantine* his eldest sonne, in the which Gaule and Spaine was comprehended, to which two great provinces this place confining was commodious: but admit (said they) it had bin held in Spaine, it would no more aduance the Spaniards cause, thā the counells of Arles that of the French, assembled in a maner at the same time, to compound the controuersies of the Bishops of Afrike, by the authority imperial of *Constantine* the great, in whose empire & long before, Gaule was full of goodly churches, at Arles, Viennia, Lion, Autun, Treues, Angers, Poitiers, in Berry, Auvergne & elsewhere, which were furnished with learned & catholike Pastors, famous by the writings of the learned that were neere that age, the which are come

Counells in  
Gaule.

1563

Kings christened  
in France be-  
fore them in  
Spaine.

Heresies in  
Spaine.

Marriages pre-  
sane of the kings  
of Spaine.

Churches of  
Spaine gover-  
ned by French  
Prelates.

Riches of the  
clergie of France

vnto vs, and that Synodes were as frequent then and some ages after in Gaule, and more then in Spaine, but they were all nationall, or called vpon some priuate subiects, where if they beleue that the kings, Gothes, comming into Spaine did assist, we may beleue that the kings of France haue done the like in their country. But to maintaine as the Spaniards doe, that the kings of the Gothes reigning in Spaine, were Christians and Catholikes before them of France, there is no ground, vnlesse they will say, that the Arrians were Catholikes and Christians: with which vice all the Gothish kings in Spaine were infected vnto Ricaredo, who was conuerted by the catholike Doctores, among which was Nigith of Narbona, and hee abiured Arrian heresie, at the third Councell of Toledo in the yeere 589, a whole age after the conuersion of Clovis king of France to the true Christian faith; in the which the kings of France, and the French in generall haue always persisted, vnlesse they will impute to the whole nation the priuate blemishes of some, which will be found trifies in regard of those which haue bene raised in Spaine, for the which it hath bin often troubled, as by the heresie of Basilius & Martialis mentioned in S. Cyprians epistles, wherof the one was bishop of Legio Gemina, & the other of Emerita, & that of Priscilian a Spaniard, which was condemned at the councell of Burdeaux, and him selfe with other his confederats executed at Mentz: and in like maner by that of Felix: the which shews that heresies haue been lesse countenanced in Gaule than in Spaine.

But leauing these old things, seeing that prioritie of time doth not carrie it, being said, That in the kingdome of heauen the first are many times found last; it is requisite to know, how both Spaine and France haue governed themselves for matter of beleefe and godlie works during these later raignes. It were not fitting for the French to contend of the holines of the kings of Spaine, who did rise first after the inuasion of the Moores; nor to dispute if their Armes came from heauen, whether S. Isidores standard be true or a fiction, nor in like maner the graces and gifts which they maintaine to haue been in some of their princes, to cure diseases, and to cast out diuelles. For by the same grounds they beleue that Charlemaigne & Lewis 9, kings of France, are Saints, and their feasts are celebrated by the Church, that the flowers de Luce of gold, with the holic oyle are gifts from heauen, and that it is most apparent the Kings of France cure the Kings Euill, which things the French would not haue any man call in question. Wherefore let them be allowed of eyther part without prejudice to their rank: but (said the French) the Spaniards should shew themselves hollow hearted, if they should deny that they had not been often retained in the true doctrine, and instructed in the exercises of Christian religion by the Prelats, and Doctours which France hath sent them from time to time, whilst that the nobilitie of Spaine, and their Kings also, defiled themselves with the too familiar conuersation of the Moores, when they were not in armes, alying themselves vnto them by marriages, as D. Alphonso 5 of Leon did, who without scruple gaue his sister D. Theresa in mariage to Abdala the Moore king of Toledo: and another Alphonso 6, of that name at Leon, and 3 of Castille married Caida a Moore. They will not make any doubt, that by the diligence of D. Bernard Archb. of Toledo a French man borne, and other clergy men of the famenation which did assist him, the exercises of the Romish seruices was brought into that Church, instead of the Musarabic, which they had vsed in Spaine vnto the yeare 1086. Wherefore the exercise was called Gallican. And they must confesse, that for want of worthy men to gouerne the churches of Spaine, the said D. Bernard was constrained to furnish his bishopriks of Braga, Ozma, Siguenza, S. James, Segouia, Palenza, Valencia, Zamorra & others, with Prelats which he had brought from France, in his returne from Rome. And that another Bernard of Agen succeeded him in the archbishopricke of Toledo: all learned and holic pastors, and so reputed in their owne Annales.

The kings of Spaine haue built store of monasteries and churches, & do entertain many orders of religions, wherof the heads be in Spaine, & haue giuen the first fruits of their victories to popes as to Christs vicars. The French contradicted it not, seeing by the effect that the prelats & clergy men of Spain are very rich: but wil they say that they are poore in France, whereas they finde by a true computation, that of twelue parts of the lands they hold seuen, and receiue the reuenews, besides the tithes, the deuotion of good men, and other casualties? And as for the heads of religious orders, it is well knowne that the

chiefe

1564

A chiefe and most auncient are in France much honoured, and that the kings of France, and other princes of that nation, haue not onely giuen the first fruits of their victories to Popes, but they haue giuen them whole realmes.

Whereas the Spaniards brag that by the discouerie of the west Indies, they haue increased the number of Christians, and gotten a new world vnto the church: The French confesse, that doublelesse this designe in the beginning was royall, and that the respect wee owe vnto princes, and Christian charitie doth bind euerie man to beleue, that such was the intention of the catholike kings D. Ferdinand and D. Isabella, whenas they first gaue meanes to Christopher Columbus to vndertake this voyage: but they maintained that there were neuer Commissions worse executed, nor more maliciously diuerted than those by the Spaniards which haue bene sent since to the Indies, and that in all their gouernement there is not any shew of good zeale nor of true religion. If they will say, there are many religious men of all Orders, and especially Iesuites, well entertained, they replied, there were many reapers, seeking haruest to feed them, reaping where they had not sown: That so many religious men went not thither daily to instruct the Indians, but to gather the fat of the earth. That it was well knowne there were few naturall Indians left at the west Indies, and that the Spaniards, as well souldiers, as farmers, and officers of the mines, had slaine and murdered them by millions, and did seeke to root out the race of them, vsing them like brute beasts, and causing them to burst vnder the burden of an insupportable labor, in searching into the bowells of the earth to find gold, & into the depths of the sea to draw forth pearles. It is not the way to increase the number of Christians, and to get a new world vnto the Church, to captiuate so many poore soules so tyrannously, and to take away their liues without reason, against all humanitie, by such cruell, vile and miserable seruices. That these things were not spoken at random, nor inuented; for the cruelties vsed vpon these poore Indians, had bene verified by good informations made by the commaundement of the Emperor Charles the fift, vpon the complaints which had bene made by certaine good religious men, who were eie witnesses of those insolencies, but yet there followed no great reformation: Finally, that great number which liue there in religious habits, vnder a colour of deuotion, be at leisure enough, hauing no cure of soules, wherewith Spaine and other countries of that iurisdiction on this side the seas, are overcharged, and cannot well entertaine them without the west Indies; and that is the chiefe mark of religion which they can shew in regard of those Indies. For it is neither pietie nor charitie which drawes them thither, it is couetousnesse and an insatiable greedines of gold, which entertaines this nauigation; and without doubt this traffike will cease, the memorie of those places, and the name of Iesus Christ will be forgotten, if others than the Spaniards do not raise it, as soone as their mines be dried vp, as they are in some places, and therefore abandoned.

As for the Inquisition which is an other great trophie of the Spaniards reputation with the Church and Christendome, for that (say they) it keeps both great and small in obedience: whereunto the French answered, that it is hatefull to the best Catholikes, & to all men of honour in Spaine, by the report of those which haue frequented that countrey; for that it is iniurious vnto them, and by extreme rigour doth seeme to note them with infamie, making the world beleue, that they are not Christians, but by a seruite constraint. Besides, the abuses which are daily committed, to fill the treasorie, & to enrich the Inquisitors, and their ministers & spies, by fines and confiscations, procured vpon fained & supposed crimes, make it vnprofitable in it chiefe duty, which is to maintaine the puritie of doctrine, & holines of maners; and therefore this Inquisition practised after the maner of Spaine, is abominable to euerie honest man. That many haue held this bridle necessary in former ages in Spaine, where there was a great medley of nations, & of diuers religions, which made many to beleue what they thought good of the diuinitie, yea vnto our fathers times: in the which (as it is related in the historie of the wars which were in Italie during the raigne of D. Ferdinand the fift, and of the emperor Charles his graundchilde) many of the Spaniards which were slaine in any encounters or battelles, being stripped, were found circumcised: but it may bee the nation beeing now somewhat settled and resolu'd in the religion of Iesus Christ, it seemed high time to moderate this

sharpe

Excesss of the  
Spaniards at  
the Indies.

Inquisition of  
Spaine iniurious  
and abusive.

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sharpe rigour of the Inquisition of Spaine, and that it should be practised with more charity and modestie, if it had no other end, but the glorie of God, and the health of mens soules. That in France the vse is more free and sincere, to edifie mens soules, and nor to ruine them, and that the French had no need of such spurres, for there was no nation that did more willingly obey the Sea of Rome. The kings of Fraunce haue alwayes shewed themselves most deuout; they reuerence the Popes and their authoritie: the holie Decrees and Constitutions of lawfull Councells, are in great recommendation with them, reseruing the dignitie of their estate and crowne, which bindes them to be protectors of their clergie, & of the immunities & liberties of the French church. It is an article of their duty, office, & roial charge. These are old rights without dispute, wherat the sea of Rome was neuer offended, but when as it hath bin held by some, who forgetting all fatherly duty towards France, would adhere too much to the passions of their enemies: yet notwithstanding the kings of France haue bin alwayes ready defenders of the church of Rome, & benefactors and deliuerers of Popes, and their sole and safest refuge in all afflictions. And therefore they do rightly carry the surname of Most Christian, since the time of king *Clovis*, yea of the eldest son of the catholike church, the which can not be disputed but by inconsiderate rashnes, nor suppress but by ignorance or malice. That the Spaniards did not defend his Holines predecessors from the insolencies of the six gouernors, lieutenants to the emperors of Constantinople in Italie: nor from the violences of the Kings of Lombardy. It is not by any benefit of the kings of Spaine, that they are lords of the citie of Rome, & that they enioy so great a country, and so many faire townes. That they are not the forces of Spaine which haue chased the Sarazins out of Sicile and Calabria. That the goodlie realms of Naples & Sicile are not come vnto the church by the bounty of the kings of Spaine: but the French made them these rich presents, and haue maintained the in it. That it was a princessse of the blood of France, which gaue vnto the popes that which they hold in Prouence: That Spaniards hands are more accustomed to ransom Popes & cardinals, and to spoile, burne & destroy the patrimony of *S. Peter*. Finally, the church of Rome must acknowledge all her bountie vpon earth to come from the French nation, and from their kings, & ground vpon these new & vndoubted titles, the rights & possessions of her lands and seignories, & not colour them with a donation from *Constantine*, nor fro the fauour of such a mediator as *Osius* bishop of Cordoua might be, the which haue no ground but vpon Spanish reports which are not autentike. By these benefits, by the continuall obedience, & by the ready succors so often tried, the dignity and preheminance of the crowne of France should be maintained at Rome, in the Councell, & in all places, so much the more iustly & necessarily, for that by long acquaintance, it hath bin made as it were essentiall & substantiall with the Popes dignitie, so as for the support thereof, they haue no need but of the crown of France, to resist the attempts of her bad children, which are frequent & dangerous. Moreouer, if they should presume to put the kings of Fraunce from their ranke, it could not be done but very difficultly, & by a forgetfull & very hatefull ingratitude, which doth not besit the holie Sea, & could not in their opinions fall into the Popes thought, who did then preside. Concluding, that for the best and most wholesome expedient for Christendome, he should containe himselfe in his pastoral office, which is, to iudge of causes concerning the faith, religion & the discipline of the church, & to abstain (specially during the general assembly) to enter into knowledge of a controuersie, which is meely temporal, in the which soueraigne princes doe not willingly acknowledge any other Iudge but their owne swords, & so leaving euery one in his possession, to admonish the king of Spaine, to giue peace vnto the Church, and not to trouble the Councell, nor the publike peace.

Rule of Most Christian.

Office of Popes wherein it consisteth.

Question of precedence vnae. gided at Rome.

Thus did the French maintaine the precedence of their king, with their naturall freedom and vehemencie against the pretensions of the Spaniards & their partisans: but the Pope to whom this controuersie was sent, would not take vpon him to iudge it, but left it vndecided, as it is at this day, which made the impatient spirits of the Spaniards to pursue this question, & to maintaine their pretended rights of priority, by writing, wherof there are great volumes printed, with priuiledge from their kings, which the French doe not trouble themselves to answer.

The

A The yeare following 1564 the Acts of the Councell were confirmed by the Pope at Rome, in the open Consistorie of Cardinales, yea against the aduice of some fathers, who held this confirmation to be needlesse, and all Christian princes were commaunded to cause the Decrees thereof to be published and obserued. At these last Sessions of the Councell, *D. Claudio Ferdinand* of *Quignones* Earle of Luna, was embassador for the king of Spaine, to whom by reason of this difference there was a place appointed apart, out of ranke, by prouision and without prejudice.

This yeare *D. Iohn de Benauides* marshall of Nauarre died, and at the same time there died also *D. Francis* of Nauarre, Bishop of Valentia, who was brother to *D. Pedro* of Nauarre, the last marshall of the bloud royall descended from *D. Lyonell*. The interest to this Realme remained in *Queene Ioane* of Albret, widow to *Anthony* of Bourbon, by whom she had two children, *Henry* and *Katherine*: In the meane time there were Viceroyes or Lieutenants for the King of Spaine to gouerne it, and about that time *D. Gabriell de la Cueva* left the gouernement of Nauarre, to the Licentiat *D. Michel Ruis* of Otalora, Regent or President of the Iustice in that Countrie, and passed into Italy to gouerne the state of Milan, but *D. Alphonso* of Cordoua and *Velasco* Earle of Alcaudete, who had bene gouernor of Oran, and had defended against the Turkes which held Alger and the Moores, was sent thither for viceroy, where at the end of 3 months he died, yet hee caused an assemblie of the estates to be held at Tuddele, where it was concluded to make an Vniuersitie in that towne, that the Nauarrois might haue meanes to studie, and not goe out of the Country. After the Earles death *D. Joseph* of Gueuara came to gouerne the Realme of Nauarre. And in the yeare 1565 *D. Lewis* last earle of Lerin of the house of Beaumont, and Constable of Nauarre died, leauing one onely daughter and heire called *D. Brianda de Beaumont*, who was married to *D. Diego de Toledo*, sonne to *D. Ferdinand Aluarez de Toledo* duke of Alba; who in her right was Earle of Lerin, and Constable of Nauarre. *D. Ieronima* of Nauarre, widow to the marshall of Benauides, being married againe to *D. Martin* of Cordoua and *Velasco*, brother to the Earle of Alcaudete, she brought him the title of Marquesse of Cortes, and the estate of Marshall of Nauarre.

Nauarre.

Vniuersitie at Tuddele in Nauarre.

The Pope hauing delayed, during the Councell, to satisfie the king of Spaines demand, touching a subvention from his Clergie toward the maintenance of his war, the king sent *Lewis d Auila* great Commander of Alcantara to Rome, to sollicite the dispatch of this supplie from the Clergie, towards his preparation, which was graunted to be 400 thousand ducats yearly for five yeares onely, giuing him hope, that if they might see a good effects, they would continue to assist him. And the king hearing in what estate they stood for matters of religion in Fraunce and Flanders, fearing some alteration also in the state of Milan, he caused this embassadour to demand leaue of his Holines, that he might with more seueritie restraine the curiosity of his subiects, & their liberty in matters of faith, the which he might do, bringing the Inquisition into those prouinces, according to the custome of Spaine. And for that he had seen what an alteration it had caused some yeeres before in the realme of Naples, and that being a remedy of great violence it could be easily applied, he sought to attemp it first in the state of Milan, for that he doubted that as the Netherlands being so much altered, would make some great resistance, so in like he did hope, that when they should see it plared in the duchie with good effect, they would be moued by their example. The Pope not onely seemed difficult to yeelde vnto this demand, but the whole colledge of Cardinales protested that it was a verie dangerous thing, not only for fear of some insurrection in the beginning, but also that in processe of time the ministers of the office might conuert their extraordinarie authoritie to their owne profit, so as not onely a bad conscience, but great wealth might bring anie man in danger both of life and honour. Notwithstanding at the kings great instance the Pope did gratifie his Maiestie, and presently the duke of Sesse gaue them of Milan to vnderstand how desirous the King and the Pope their countrymen were, to see that important busines of the faith firmly settled in that duchie. But the gouernor was not willingly heard by them, who seemed resolute not to subiect themselves to such a seruitude, saying that they would send embassadors both to the Pope & King, whereupon the duke of Sessa promised to write and dissuade his Maiestie, as he did.

Clergie of Spaine help the King with money.

Inquisition of Spaine attempted at Milan.

About

1563

Princes of Au-  
stris goe into  
Spaine.

About the end of this yeare there came two sonnes of *Maximilian* King of Romans into Italie, *Rodolphus* and *Ernestus* beeing much desired by their uncle in Spaine, that they might spend some yeares in that realme, and know the great men of his court, but above all to be bred up with prince *Charles*, who did trouble his father, for that hauing much wit, hee could hardly be gouerned: some saying, that this froward disposition, grew by reason of the hurt hee had in his head. These two Princes beeing called by the Catholike King, and sent willingly by the father for diuers respects, arriued in Decer ber (beeing accompanied by manie German Barons, and by the Cardinall of Augusta) in the state of Milan, being feasted in many places.

The King of Spaine hauing beene disquieted, for some alteration which had beene growing among the Moores, who since the taking of the realme of Granada, had liued dispersed in those countries, and were suspected to haue intelligence with the Moores of Afrike and with the Turkes, and that they practised some notable rebellion: wherefore it was thought fit to disarme them, and to forbid them to haue anie, vpon grievous penalties, yea they that were become Christians of that race, shewing themselves not to be found in the Faith, retaining much of their first breeding. About the same time news came vnto the King, that *Dragut* had beene seene at Sea with some thirtie gallies and galeots, in the which hee had many souldiers with twentie peeces of batterie, whilst on the other side the King of Alger went by land with tenne thousand foot Moores, and some Turkes, and Renegados to besiege Oran, the which they brought to great extremitie for want of victuals, so as they could not haue held out many dayes when as the kings fleet arriued to succour them. The King hearing in what extremitie the besieged were, wrote first into Italie, and into all parts of his dominions, where there were anie gallies, that being presently furnished with victuals, men, and munition, they should come to Barcelone, where he meant to make his fleet vnder the command of *John Andrew Doria*, and then send it to succour Oran. *Doria* and the kings other ministers went from place to place to gather them together, the viceroy of Naples sent 25 gallies to Barcelone, vnder the conduct of *Sancho de Leyua*: *Doria* staying somewhat long, the King feared hee could not come in time to succour the besieged, and therefore hee gaue the charge vnto *D. Francisco Inigo de Mendoza*, (others write that it was *D. John de Cordona*.) *Doria* arriuing, was much discontented, who hauing satisfied the King with good reasons, went as a priuate man in this action, giuing the command of his gallies to his brother *Paganio*. There met in the port of Barcelone 34 gallies, and some of Spaine, that were repaired since the last shipwracke, so as in all they were about 40 which bent their course towards Afrike, whereat the Turkes and Moores were so amazed, as they presently vpon sight of them, set saile, and the armie at land fled to their houses, abandoning their artillerie and baggage very basely, so as in an instant they were freed from that great danger. Some write, that before the army arriued, they fed only vpon horses and asses, so as they must either haue starued, or yeeld vp a very important place. The Admirall pursued them in their flight, and took 25 galeots and 3 great Morisco ships, forcing the rest to cast their ordnance over-board, that they might be the lighter to sie; yet they threatened to return the next yeare with forces from the great Turke.

The catholike King had made great preparation of shipping to defend the coasts of his owne kingdoms from the inuasions and spoiles of Pirates, who hauing a retreat at *Pegnon de Velez*, might easily set vpon the shippes which passed from the strait of Gibraltar into diuers other parts. This rocke stands almost in the midst of the gulph of *Velez de la Gomera*, which was sometimes called *Bedis* or *Bilis*. And for that in former times Spaine was much annoyed thereby, for that from this rocke which is very high, and diuided by a small distance from the land, they discouered the shippes a farre off at Sea, comming from Spaine, so as the Pirats, who had their galleots and frigots ready below, went forth with advantage to meet them, fought with them, and spoiled them, King *Ferdinand* resolved to fortifie that place, to restraine those theues which retired into the port of *Velez*, whither he sent an army, where they built two castles vpon that rocke, putting into them sufficient men and ordnance to gard them: The which the King of Fez seeking afterwards to recouer from the Spaniards, they were repulsed with great losse, and

Oran besieged  
and well defend-  
ed.

*Pegnon de Velez* how situated.

1564

A and it was kept for the Spaniards, vntill that in the yeare one thousand six hundred and twentie, it was betrayed by a Spanish Souldier, who brought in the Moores to bee reuenged of his Captaine that had taken away his wife.

King *Philip* to recouer this place, being verie prejudicall to their nauigation, caused a fleet to be made readie of about one hundred and 30 saile, among the which there were about forty ships of burthen, Galleots, and lesser vessels, with one great Galeon of Portugal: There were eightie and seven gallies, that is, two and twenty of Spaine, eleuen of Naples, ten of Sicile, eight of Portugal, twelue of *Doria*, eight of *Floréce*, three of *Sauoy*, sixe of *Marc Antonio Colonna*, three of Malta, and foure of *Marco Centurioni*. There was in them about ten thousand Italians, Spaniards and Dutch, among the which were many Noblemen and Gentlemen voluntaries; the chiefe, besides the General *D. Garcia de Toledo*, were *Francisco Baredo*, who commanded the ships of Portugal, *Sancho de Leyua* those of Naples, the Lord of *Plombin* the duke of Florence galleyes, *John Andrew Doria* his owne, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, *Chiappin Vitelli* commander of the foot of Tuscaine, *Hanibal Altemps* with his Germans, *Fernando de Sylua* and others.

C They came not to the port of Malaga, which was appointed for the Rendez-vous, vntill the end of August, and then the army parted, meeting with the aides of Portugal: being all vnited together, they arriued neere vnto the port of *Velez*, where they had some trouble to vnship their ordnance and men: for the rest they had no great difficultie, for the Moores and Turkes fainted, when as they saw the artillerie (planted in two batteries) began to annoy them, the which would soone haue ruined that fort being but small, & therefore they studied rather how to fly than to defend themselves. So, in the night the greatest part of them escaped in barks; there remained about 25 who yeilded. The Moores came down in great troupes of Horse, and did skirmish with the Christians. The general *Toledo* hauing taken this place, furnished it with all things necessarie, & left a garrison in it of 800 Spaniards. After which they consulted if they should vndertake any thing else, this conquest seeming but smal in respect of the great charge; & they propounded that of Bugia, but considering that the season of the yere was far spent, being in the midst of Septem. & that their men had endured much at sea, especially the galley-slaues of Tuscaine, being vnacquainted with those seas, & the Germans who were much wasted, so as they held it not fit to ingage themselves in an action which would require time, whereupon they returned with their galleyes to winter, and *D. Garcia de Toledo* went to be Viceroy of Sicile.

King *Philip* remembring that the emperor *Charles* his father had sent *Ferdinand Magelanes* in the yere 1519, to discouer the Moluques and other Ilands thereabouts, some of which were more plainly discouered in the yere 1542, he gaue order this yeare to *D. Lewis de Velasco* viceroy of Mexico, to make ready a great fleet, with the which entring into the South sea, and sayling towards the west, he should discouer those places better, whereof they had yet but a generall knowledge, which they held were inhabited by good sensible men. But for that the preparation was long, and the charge great, they parted not till towards Christmasse. The fleet being commanded by *Velasco* sailed towards the Moluques, he had with him *Michel of Legaspo*, who by order from the king should be gouernour of the first place he should discouer & hold worthie to leaue a garrison and to plant a Colony there. They therefore found out *Tendaia* or *Tendain*, *Punel*, *Bohol* and *Pauligen*, all which foure in honor of the king were called *Philippine*: they also set footing in the Iland of *Luzon*, which is bigger than all the rest, being more towards the North, where the city of *Maniglia* is built, by the which the whole Iland is also called. It was not difficult for the Spaniards to become master of those places, for that they of China hauing abandoned the gouernement which they had enioyed, there was not any Lord, but they that had most power, did tyrannize ouer the weaker. They found the Countrie fertill, and abounding in many things necessarie for the vse of man; but it was a verie commodious dwelling for the great traffike of gold, silke, and other rich Merchandize, which they had with them of China, wherefore they planted diuers Colonies in a short space, finding the inhabitants inclined to ciuilitie, especially in the Iland of *Luzon*, and the citie of *Maniglia*, *Michel Lopes* of Legaspo, remained Gouernour of those places, where hee dyed twelue yeares after, with the title of *Adelantado*.

L1111

The

Armie sent against  
Pegnon de Velez.

Ilands of Philip  
pina discouered



1565

Malta besieged by the  
Turkes.

Description of  
Malta.

John de la Valette  
great master  
of Malta

Turkes army at  
Malta.

The king of Spain being aduertised of the great preparations the Turke made at Constantinople, to send a great fleet to Sea, gaue order for the fortifying of those places which were most in danger. But *Solyman's* intent was to attempt Malta, & it did behoue king *Philip* to defend & preserue it, for the interest of his neer estates of Naples & Sicile, this Iland lying verie comodiously to annoy them, if the Turkes should take it and keep it as he might easily do, by the care and diligence of the kings of Algier & of Tripoli, mightie Pirates, & his tributaries, who are alwaies in armes, & ready to furnish it vpon any sudden occasion; besides his own means which are great: whereof hee might make there a good staple, or store-houise for his warres against Europe.

The Iland of Malta is a great and spacious rock, about 60 miles in compasse, lying betwixt Sicile & Afrik, from the which it is about 50 leagues or 200 miles distant, & from Sicile 60 miles, or 15 leagues, accompting 4 miles for a good league: towards the North, it looks to Cap Passaro in Sicile, and on the South to the towne of Tripoli in Barbarie. This rock is couered some six foot thick with earth and no more: it doth yeeld excellent fruits, feed some cattel, brings hony & cotton which is the inhabitants wealth; it hath many ports & landings, which are reasonably safe for their ordinary trade, but not to receiue any great fleets. The names of the chiefe are Marfamuffet, Marfa Scala, Marfa Sirocco, Cala S. Georg, & Cala of S. Paul: Marfa in the Moors tog signifies a port, Cala is a shore or strand. The citie is almost in the midst of the Iland, carrying the name thereof, being inhabited by them of the countrie, but the aboad of the knights who are Lords thereof, is about the port of Marcamuffet towards Sicile, whereas the sea makes many small gulphs leauing tongues of earth or rock betwixt both, where they are lodged and well fortified. Vpon one of these points which made a passage to one of the gulphes, was built a fort called S. Herme, which kept that entrie, & defended the Maltois gallies which lodge within the gulph: right against it on the other side towards Sicile is the castel S. Ange, the which was strong & wel furnished, commanding towards the Sea: vnder it was the Borogh (where the knights were lodged, and there make their assemblies) wel walled and flanked, to the which is ioyned an other Castell called S. Michael. *John de la Valette* was at that time great master of the order, French by nation, a man of great courage & wisdom, who being well aduertised of the furious tempest that threatned him, made all prouisions necessarie in such a danger: he sent for all the knights of his order to come to Malta, he had recourse to all Christian Princes for aid; he caused the Borogh and other places of the Iland to be viewed and fortified; he bought armes, munition, victuals & al other things which hee held necessarie to defend a great seage. Wherein the Princes of Italy did assist him liberally, and the Viceroyes of Naples and Sicile, had commandement from the king of Spaine to aide him: especially *D. Garcia de Toledo* of Sicile had charge to keepe the gallies of Sicile and Naples in a readines, with whome should ioyn the gallies of Spaine, the Popes, the duke of Florences, those of Genoua, and the duke of Sauoy, and make a sufficient power to hinder that seage.

The reason which made the Turkes to vndertake this enterprife with so great preparation, was a surprize attempted by the great Master of Malta vpon the town of Malacoe in Morea, which the ancients called Epidaurum Limeria, but it succeeded not.

The 28 of May, in the yere 1565 this great armie of enemies came to the Iland of Malta, about the port of Marfa Sirocco, being in number 145 gallies, 8 Maones, which are vessels which do both saile and row, hauing 5 men to euerie oare, but they are not so big as the galleasses, many foists & galleots, with a number of ships and vessels to carrie artillerie, horses, victuals, powder & al prouision for war; with which *Dragut's* forces should ioine and the gallies of Algier, of *Vluccialy*, and of all the Pyrats in the Mediterranean sea, vpon the coasts of Afrik, Asia, the Ilands of the Archipelagus, and other places; all which were sent for to come & serue there vnder the great Turke banner, vpon great penalties for the that should faile. *Pialy* Bassa had the chief command at sea, it is he who chased the Christians from the Iland of Gerbe; and *Mustapha* Bassa was generall at land. At the arriual of this armie the great master had with him 500 knights of his order, men of resolution and experience, & 8000 soldiers, as wel of the Iland, as others leui'd in Italie, and some companies of Spaniards & French: whom he distributed into the citie, the castel of S. Ange, the forts

1565

A of S. Herme, & S. Michel, the Borogh & other places. *D. Garcia* being doubtful whether the Turke would set vpon Goulette by Tunis, sent a supply of 700 old soldiers, Spaniards, thither, besides the ordinarie garrison that was entertained. At the Turkes landing, which was somewhat difficult, for that the ports were small, & the banks of the Ilands steep, they were incoverted by some knights & soldiers, who slue many, but they retired soon, for their number was but small; hauing in this skirmish lost *Nicholas Delbene*, and two other valiant knights. But the Turkes landed at this first time 30000 fighting men, some Ianisaries, some Spachi, who serue comonly on horseback, but at that time they had bin imbarcked as footmen, hauing with the great store of ordnance for batterie, among which there were Basinies, whose bullets weied about 120 pound. At their landing they disarmed al their gallies, except some 60 which they kept for their gards, and came & lodged before the fort of S. Herme, by the aduice of *Pialy*, who desired to take the port of Marfamuffet, the which was covered with this fort, that he might lodge his gallies which lay dispersed in diuers parts of the Iland, for want of commodious ports, and therefore exposed to many dangers. The camp being lodged & fortified with a rampar, & a fort of earth which they suddenly cast vp, S. Herme and the other places were diligently viewed, the which cost many Turkes and Christians their liues: In the end there was a batterie plated against S. Herme, the which plaied furiously, & was often changed & renewed and many assaults giuen & valiantly defended. The commander *Broille* was within the place, but he was changed by reason of his age, & *Monferrat* an Arragonois substituted in his place: *Broille* had behaued himself valiantly, yet the Turkes had won a Ravelin which was without the fort, where they fortified, & filling the ditch which was betwixt both, they gaue rash and desperat assaults, not making any spare of their men. They cast the yards of their gallies vpon the breaches to serue the Assailants for bridges, they had deuises to couer their shot when they went to an assault, and they planted many ladders, but all was in vain for a time, for the defendants ouerthrew or burnt their engines, & repulst them with great slaughter, so as seeing how difficult it was to take this fort, they were doubtful whether they should leaue this place, and discharge their rage vpon the rest, into the which all the victuals, cattell and other commodities of the Iland were drawn, especially into the citie, which was not farre from the fort of S. Herme, where the inhabitants had fortified themselves with some troupes of horse & foot, which had bin giuen them for their gard, commanded by the knight *Mesquile* a Portugal, who made many sallies & attempts to diuert the Turkes, who for their part repulst them roughly into their town: for there was not a hamlet nor house thereabouts, where they had not planted a gard to stop their courses. Hauing spent many daies about the fort of S. Herme, *Dragut* arriues with a great troupe of Turkes, in 12 gallies & 3 galleasses, the which did much incourage the beseegers, for he was in great credit among them. He did not allow of their beginning to make war by the siege of this strong place, the conquest whereof would be long, & difficult, wishing they had first attempted the citie, where there was more hope & more spoile, but it was now too late said the Bassaes, wherefore the batterie against Saint Herme was renewed, & diuers new assaults giuen, the which were more obstinately obtained than before, with the losse of 4500 turkes, & *Dragut* himself was mortally wounded in the head with a stone which was driuen by a great shot, whereof he died soon after; which made the Turkes retire. There was also come vnto the camp *Aluc Ali*, whom we call *Vluccialy*, a renegado of Calabria, who afterwards was made king of Tripoli in the place of *Dragut*, a great soldier. During these attempts in the Iland of Malta, the great master foreseeing that in time he might be vauquished by the Turkes force, which increased daily by new supplies, & contrariwise their men decreased by their continuall assaults and skirmishes, so as in the end their number would grow verie small, he sent often to Messina, where they made slow preparatiō to relieue the, to acquaint *D. Garcia* with their estate, & in what danger they were to lose S. Herme, & afterwards the whole Iland, beseeching him to make haste, but he neither answered his request, nor the necessity which prest the, for *D. Garcia* besides that he was tedious & graue after the manner of Spaine, he esteemed himself too weak to make any attempt that might auail the besieged, saying that he must gather forces together consisting of many peeces, according to the time & will of the that did contribute, the which was true, wherefore the Turke hath a great aduantage ouer vs, hauing

1565

having alwaies a great nūber of vessels armed belonging to himself, having no need to beg or borrow them of any other, as we do, with great charge & losse of time, the which is verie preiudiciall in warre; whereas the Turke hath the assignat. ons of his treasure certaine which may not be diuerted: and in this war of Malta, he had an extraordinarie advantage, *Rofa Sultana* his best beloved, being dead a little before, he had left a great masse of treasure to be especially imploied in war against the Christians, for to helpe her soule. *D. Garcia* besides his naturall slownes was growne into a conceit, that it was good to suffer the Turke to waste & consume themselves in the Iland of Malta, about those places which he held to be strong and well furnished, and that hee should come time enough to assaile them, when they were weakened with hunger, which did already presse them, and with other discomforts which follow long sieges. This was to make war by discourse, but in the mean time he held his arms a crosse, which is against the rules. With much pressing & importunitie, he did hazard some gallies to put certain knights and fouldiers, which came late, into the borogh of Malta, the which attempting often, some entred, and others were many times forced to return from whence they came. He also sent to sea to cut off the victuals that went to the Turks army. The two commanders were not very sory for *Draguts* death, whom they hated deadly: wherefore to haue the honor to haue taken the fort of S. Herme without him, they doubled their batterie with 32 Canons, with the which they so ruined the fort as the defendants lay open, & then presently they gaue a generall assault both by land and Sea, the which was so cruell and bloudie, as they were forced to yeeld. Thus the fort of S. Herme was won by the Turkes, the which had cost the liues of 10000 of their men, & 20000 canon shot, in diuers batteries and assaults. All that were found liuing in it, were put to the sword, & among others, 30 valiant knights, who had bin refused by the Ianifaries to draw a ransom from them, but others comming in murdered them cruelly: they found 24 canons & culuerins within the place, with some remainder of munition, which they imploied against the other forts. This losse was greuous to the great Master, & to all those that were with him, their number being much decreased; for they had lost about 1500 of their best men, & among them many knights. Wherefore the rest being grown mercilesse, hearing what cruelties the Turkes had shewed to them of S. Herme, they resolved not to take any more to mercy, & so it was ordained by the great master, who had resolved to dy with all his company, but to sel their liues dearly vnto the enemy, despairing in a maner of all succours from Italie. But these desperate men were somewhat reuiued by the vnexpected coming of *Hen. Parisot* the great masters nephew, who brought him about 500 good soldiers, with some knights; they had bin 14 daies at sea, before they could find an oportunitie to recouer the Iland, the which they did in the end on the 29 of Iune, landing at a place called *Pietra Negra*, from whence they slipt without discouerie into the cite of Malta, and were from thence conducted with a conuoy to the Borough, & receiued there with great contentment & ioy. Some of this new supply were put into S. Michels fort, which they thought would be presently attempted. The losse of S. Herme being vnderstood in Sicile, many made offer to *D. Garcia* to hazard themselves to lead succours to Malta, through the Turks gards, the which could hardly be effected by sea; for hauing taken S. Herme they were masters of the entrie which went vnto the Bourg, vnder castel S. Ange. *Iohn Andrew Doria* was confident, that with ten gallies he wold land as many men as he could carry in some part of the Iland, & lead them himselfe into the Bourg: which *D. Garcia* would not suffer, for that hauing not any newes of the gallies of Spaine, (which was his best excuse in his dilations) he wold not hazard those he had, which were for the safetie of Sicile, & the realm of Naples. The Turks hauing clesed the ruins of the fort which they had won, they lodged 300 Ianifaries in it, & then they planted 60 canons in six seueral batteries at la Grotte, Corazsin, Mandrassé, at Santa Maria du Secours, at Santa Marguerita, & elsewhere, making so wonderful a thunder, as they were heard into Sicile beyond Messina, assailing the Bourg, and fort of S. Michael both together, by sea and land, but it pleased God so to strengthen the beseege, as they had alwaies the better against the Turks since the taking of Saint Herme, who in the end did not fight but with an obstinate despaire, battering the houses of the Bourg, more than to make a breach to enter: their powder began also to wast, for at their comming to this seege, they had lost a great

S. Herme taken  
by the Turkes.

Batteries made  
by the Turkes  
at Malta.

1565

A great ship at Sea, in the which were sixe thousand barrells of powder, with six hundred Ianifaries, and they had sent into the Leuant to haue new, with other things which they wanted. In the meane time *Hassenking* of Alger, son to *Banherauffe*, came vnto the campe with seuen great gallies, many foists and other vessels, carrying many Turkes and other good Souldiers, for whose welcome *Maistapha* seeking to doe some extraordinarie exploit against the fort of Saint Michael towards the sea, and against the Bourg by land, was repulst, and lost about fide and twenty hundred Turkes; some were drowned with their barks, and some were slaine with the canon and the sword: at which charge there dyed also about two hundred Christians, and many were hurt: yet the Turks faired not for all this, but increased their batterie against the fort and Bourg, ruining the flanks & courtines, and leauing the beseege almost naked to the shot of the canon, from whence notwithstanding they could not take any thing, although they did assaile them fiercely by all meanes and detiers, casting bridges made of their maine yards, ouer their ditch, & vpon their ruines, as they had done at Saint Herme, with many other inuentions, all which were ouerthrowen by the Christians, who couered themselves as well as they could, but they could not prevent the death of many of them: among others *Henric de la Vallette Parisot*, the great masters nephew was slaine: but there hapned an accident which did much fauour the beseege, the noise of the canon was so great, as they of the cite being some seuen miles off, heard it as easily as if it had bene nere them, which made them C resolute to sallie forth with all the men they had able to carrie armes, both horse and foot, and came and charged a gard of two thousand Turkes, which was set towards the Sea; the which cast forth so great a crie, as their companions which fought at the breaches being amazed, fearing that some great succours were arriued and came to compass them in, retired in disorder, leauing about fifteen hundred of their men dead vpon the place, and they of the cite had meanes to retire themselves before they were discouered. In the end newes came of the so much desired and so long expected succours, for *D. Garcia*, being aduertized that thirtie and seuen gallies were parted from Spaine, with fouldiers, to come and ioine with him in Sicile: hee resolved not to stay their comming, making his accompt that if they found him gone, they would stay in his place and assure Sicile and D Naples at all euents. Hee commaunded that all the Ships laden with Souldiers which attended in diuers ports of Italie, should come to Messina, which was the Rendez-vous for the whole army, which being met, the question was how they should lead these succours, wherein there appered many difficulties to men that were not aduenturous like vnto *D. Garcia* and his Spanish Councell. Hee had gathered together some twelue thousand good fouldiers, and fiftene hundred voluntaries of the nobilitie of Italie, who were desirous to shew themselves and to winne honor, but they wanted gallie slaues and mariners for such a number of vessels, whereof the Turkes had double the number: so as there was no meanes to assaile the enemies fleet at sea; and to land men in any part of the Island, to make the bodie of an armie, and to giue battell vnto the E Turkes, they feared also in this Councell to doe it vnseasonably, not knowing what forces the Bassaes had yet remaining, hauing vnderstood that, as well at their first landing, as afterwards by those that came from Barbarie, and the Pyrats which had ioyned with them, they had had vnder their enignes about fortie thousand men of *Mahumets* sect. They feared also they shold want victuals in a small, barren & ruinous Iland, and to carrie with them, there was also danger how to ebnuey it safely: and they fell into the difficultie to be forced to fight, hauing a conuoy, with disadvantage, against a greater number of enemies.

Being in these dangerous speculations, in the necessities of warre, which require speed and hazard, there was a Spaniard called *Andrew Salezar* presented himselfe, hee F was an old polittike capitaine, and could speake the Turkish language, who offered to goe as a spie into the enemies Campe at Malta, and to bring them certaine newes. Whereupon hee was sent with two gallies of Malta, which were then at Messina, who landed him in so commodious a place, as hee got into the Ctie without any encounter, where haning remained some time, he went disguised into the Turkes campe, & there liued among them some daies where he discouered the estate & necessities thereof, & then returned.

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returned in safetie to *D. Garcia*, to whome hee reported that there was a great amazement among the Turkes by reason of those succours, that the Souldiers were tyred with those troublesome seeges, and that there were many sickemen; that their numbers were not so great but tenne thousand fresh men might winne an honourable victorie, and that they kept guard onely by night; for the Basses fearing these succours, they caused euerie night two great Squadrons of gallies to goe about the Island, the which going from the port of *Marcaussiet*, one on the right hand, & the other on the left, they met on the backside thereof towards the west, and passing on made the round and came to the same port, where they remained, all the day after and stirred not. Vpon this report the fleet went forth, with an intent to land their men in the Island, and hauing recovered the citie, to march in battell against the Turkes. *John Andrew Doria* was sent before to giue aduice vnto the great master, but hauing contrarie winde the fleet was forced to put to Sea, and was driuen to the Island of *Fauignana*, about two hundred miles from *Malta*, and then it returned, toucht at *Sicile*, sailed towards *Goze*, and in the end came to the about mentioned place of *Pietra Negra*, whereas the men were landed, and in their landing they layed vpon euerie souldiers backe a bag of biscuit, weighing about fifty of our pounds, besides their armes, with sufficient shot and powder, and so they marcht in three battalions, two of Spaniards vnder *D. Aluaro de Sandy*, and one of Italians, vnder *Chiappin Vitelli*, and all vnder the Marshall generall of the field, *Ascanio de la Corne*, towards the Citie of *Malta*, where after two restings, they arriued, the Maltois going forth to meet them with horses, and cattell to ease them of the burthens which they did beare.

Succours come  
to the Island of  
Malta.

This done, *D. Garcia* returned into *Sicile*, and passing in view of the enemy, hee caused euerie one of his gallies to discharge three peeces, to busie the Turkes, that they should not goe to encounter the succours, or to diuert them from giuing an assault to *Saint Michaels fort*, if they continued; wherein doubtlesse hee erred, for if he had gone away and not giuen them this aduertisement, they had not made any hast to imbarke, and had undoubtedly bene surprisid, with great aduantage to the Christians, and the gain of their artillerie and baggage, the which they shipt presently vpon the discharge of *D. Garcia* canon. They had a will to retire, but it should haue bene after a generall assault, being resolu'd to giue it the same day they had this aduertisement, or the next. The Basses were in a manner resolu'd to fight with the succours, not thinking them to be so strong, but hauing sent five hundred of their men forth to skirmish with them, they were almost all slaine, and the rest of the armie fled to their gallies which they had drawne out of *Marcaussiet*, and other places, and ioyned together towards *Cale of Saint Paule* with such disorder, as many were drowned being prest by the Christians.

They retired towards the *Leuant*: where some said, that *D. Garcia* lost a goodly opportunity, for hauing furnished his Gallies with new Souldiers, & being come to *Siracusa*, he saw this Turkish armie retyre close together, & neuer followed them. His excuse was that he had not souldiers enough to fight with them, and therefore hee returned to *Malta* for his Spaniards, where hauing manned fiftie of his best gallies, hee directed his course after the Turkes armie, hoping it would diuide it selfe, and that hee might get some bootie, but he returned empty handed to *Messina*; sending shipping to transport the Italians and the rest of the Spaniards, which he had left at *Malta*, into their Countries, but some of them were cast away in a tempest. Thus *Malta* was deliuered in time, for they that defended it were reduced to extremitie by a great disorder which seemed to bee in the Councell of Spaine, so as the blame ought not to be attributed solely to *D. Garcia de Toledo*, if it had bin taken, for if he shewed himselfe slack, and of a small courage to succour the besieged, and if hee were not faithfull in the dispensation of the treasure, as some would accuse him, the irresolution of king *Philips* Councell, and the malice and crosses of his enemies in Court, did bring *Sicile*, *Naples*, and all *Italie* in danger of ruine if the Turkes had deprived him of this assured rampar. But God fortified the great Master, his knights and souldiers, and all the people of the Island, arming them with patience, courage, and constancie, for by human, reason they had bin all lost. They that did aduenture to come out of *Sicile*, & to enter into the *Bourg*, haue their share in the honor, neither are they that brought the succours to be excluded. The constancy of the great master, the resolution of *Parifot* his nephew, the

Retreat of the  
Turkes armie  
from Malta.

A the vndaunted courage of *Romegas*, the brauerie of *Bartagan*, a *Nauarrois*, *Monferrat*, *Miranda*, and others which defended the breaches, the willingness of *John Andrew Doria* to succour them, if they would haue suffered him, the resolution and good conduct of *Ascanio de la Corne*, of *D. Aluaro de Sandy*, of *Chauppin Vitelli*, and other capitaines of the succours, and their souldiers, are remarkable in this warre: the which continued foure monethes, from the middest of May to the middest of September, whereas three hundred and thirteene knights lost their liues honourably, 3600 souldiers, and about six thousand of the people, men, women, and children. The Turkes spent about fourescore thousand canon shot, and lost at the least thirtie thousand men. The great Master after the retreat of the remainder of their armie, gaue God thanks for this deliuerie, and in like manner the Princes and Estates which had assisted him; but he was not without great apprehension of the returne of the Barbarians, fearing hee should not be able to resist them, by this former experience: so as it was often propounded to abandon the island, and not seeke obstinately to repaire and keepe those lamentable ruines: for except the castle of *Saint Ange*, and the old citie, all the rest was reduced to powder. But in these difficulties their generous resolutions were comforted, encouraged, and assisted, as well by the Pope, the duke of Florence, and other Princes and States of *Italie*, as by the king of Spaine, who among other provisions appointed three thousand Pioners, which hee caused to bee leui'd in *Sicile* and *Naples*, to repaire the ruined forts, and also to begin the new citie which was already projected, and had bene traced out vpon that peece of ground, at the point whereof had bene the fort of *Saint Hermite*, and which diuides the port of *Marcaussiet* from that of the gallies of the religion. This new towne was called *Valette*, to be a memorie to posteritie of the vertue and valour of that great knight *John de la Valette*, who liued not long after his worthie exploits in the defence of this siege: to whom there succeeded *Peter de Monte*, who was Admirall of the Order, and had behaued himselfe valiantly.

Valette a new  
towne built in  
the island of  
Malta.

The gouernours of Prouinces, with the Nobilitie of the Netherlands, subiects to the king of Spaine, seeing the generall discontent of all men, tending to a lamentable confusion, they besought the duchesse of Parma, their Gouvernesse, to prevent these inconveniences, which grew from the crueltie of the Edicts and rigorous persecutions, from the new bishops, and feare of the Spanish Inquisition: Whereupon they resolu'd to send one into Spain, with ample instructions, to acquaint the king with all those inconveniences, and the apparent danger. The earle of Egmont had that charge, hee went into Spaine, he told the king, That mildnesse was the best meanes to prevent this mischief; and was sent backe with hope and promises conformable to his instructions; which gaue great content to the Netherlanders at his returne, but the effect proued contrarie, and their hope was turned into despair: For this yeare 1565, in December, the king signified his pleasure to the Gouvernesse, by his letters, what hee would haue obserued in the Low Countries, touching matters of religion. He commaunded, That all Edicts made by the Emperour his father, or himselfe, touching matters of religion, should bee duly executed: That the Inquisitors should bee fauoured in their charges, for the good of religion, it being his pleasure that the Inquisition should be put in practise: And lastly, That she should assist the bishops to haue the Councell of Trent settled: all which was contrarie to that which he had promised to the earle of Egmont, and to the expectation of the poore Netherlanders. And for that the Inquisition was the cause of so great troubles, and the shedding of much innocent blood, I haue thought it fitting the subject of our historie, to relate it somewhat particularly, as it is now practised in Spaine, and its beginning.

Earle of Eg-  
mont sent into  
Spaine.

F *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Isabella*, kings of Castille and Arragon, hauing wholly subdued the Moores and Sarafins of Spaine, and being assured of them, they suffered them to liue quietly vnder their obedience, paying a certaine tribute, liuing but a toying life for them that were of a free condition, but yet tollerable, seeing they were not questioned with for their religion. But as all things in this world are inconstant, and subiect to change, king *Ferdinand* was perswaded to chuse some men that might look into the superstitions and infidelities of these Moores, least in the end the Iewith and Mahometane religion

Beginning and  
progresse of the  
Inquisition.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

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ligion should suppress the Catholike: whereupon hee employed himselfe with great zeale to religion. Wherein he was so happie, as, in testimonie of his pietie, he was honoured by the Pope, as well for himselfe, as for his successors, kings of Spaine, with the title of Catholike, which *Gregorie* the third had in the year 1230 given vnto *Alphonso* king of Castille. Whereupon many of the Moores, Sarafins, Africanes, and Iewes, were either forced to confesse Christ, or to abandon the countrey: so as many thousands retired themselves into Africke, and other places. But they that desired rather to liue in Spaine with their wiues and children, did either willingly, or by constraint, quit their religion, and were baptised. But the Spaniards finding afterwards of what force the opinion of a diuinitie grauen in the hearts of men is, be it good or bad, true or false, and how hardly it is rooted out, they being bred vp in it from father to sonne, they did forbid the Iewes the exercise of their religion; and as they could not sincerely forget, nor leaue the said exercise, the Spaniard had recourse to persecutions (but with some forme of justice) to root them out: But king *Ferdinands* meaning was, to draw them to religion by instruction and doctrine, which should conuict them in their errors. And as the Order of *Saint Dominike* was then newly instituted, and they were called Iacobins, being then in credit for their pietie, sinceritie, learning, and zeale, before all other Monkes, Preachers, and Doctors, the charge of matters concerning conscience and religion, was committed to them. And although there were some forme of Inquisition before, yet was it confirmed by these Iacobins, who seeing that they could not conuert the Iewes neither by prayers, perswasions, nor preaching, they tooke the materiall sword in hand, to force them to the Christian religion; holding, That any thing which is practised (especially religion) although it be by force and constraint, turnes to a custome, which growing auncient by succession of time, is allowed by them that did not feele the first constraint and rigour. This sword which the Iacobins vsed then, and continues to this day in Spaine, was the cause that they said the Inquisition began in the time of *D. Ferdinand* king of Arragon, for that this manner of reclaiming them was more rigorous than the first, against the heretikes, whom they called Marans. Thus the Iacobins were the authors of the Inquisition, which the king allowed, and Pope *Sextus* confirmed. The king had reason to doe it, to root out the cursed doctrine of the Mahometans and Iewes, who committed great impieties in Spaine.

These Iacobins for the institution of the said Inquisition, were called defenders of the Christian religion. Their first Commissions extended but to Iewes and Mahometists, but since they extended their authoritie ouer all in generall, calling themselves Inquisitors of hereticks, to persecute all them that did not punctually obserue the orders of the Church of Rome. Whereby in the end they did purchase such hatred, as king *Ferdinand* was forced to set learned Clergie men in their places, who before had bene fauourers of this Inquisition. But least the Iacobins should take this deprivation ill, the king gave them authoritie to be present at the deliberations and judgements of the Inquisitors of the Faith: so as the examination of such as they call heretikes, is at this day taken by them. And although the said Inquisition were not so rigorously executed in those dayes, as it is now, yet in some parts of Spaine the Spaniards themselves would not receiue it, for the Estates of Arragon opposed themselves against it (yet reuerently) first by words and admonitions; but when he sought to force them, they fell to armes, and would by no meanes receiue it, the Estates considering that it would be prejudiciall to the liberties and priuiledges of the realme: so as they did not receiue it without great force and effusion of blood of either side, as appeared by the death of *M. Epile*, who being sent with commission from the king to settle it, was murdered in the Cathedrall church of Sarragoffe, the chiefe cite of the realme of Arragon.

Experience hath taught vs what men these Inquisitors bee, who by their wickednesse peruert all; against whom no lawes, priuiledges, statutes, nor customes of the countrey can preuaile; proceeding in all things against the accused according to their passions, be it right or wrong, by all cruell executions vnworthie of Christians, obseruing no ordinarie course of justice, but presuming to deale both with ciuile and criminall causes; citing sometimes before them men of grauitie and authoritie, noblemen and gentlemen, for

Iacobins first Inquisitors.

Iacobins loose the title of Inquisitors.

Inquisition resisted by the Arragonians.

Inquisitors what they be.

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A trifies, vnfit for children. When any one is accused, they send a Sergeant (whom they call a Familiar) to cite him to appeare personally before the holy office of the Inquisition; whereunto he must of necessitie obey. If he denies that wherewith he is charged, they suffer him to goe to his house, but one of their flies followes him, who obserues his countenance: if he finds by word or shew, that he hath any bad impressions, they declare it to the Inquisitors, who make a new Proces. When as the accused appearing at the day appointed confesseth freely, or by intricate examinations (to make him forget his first answers) they draw any thing from him, the accuser, or flye, is hidden behind the hangings, to heare if he confessed the truth. If he be a towne dweller, they send him home to his house, if he be a stranger, they send him to prison. Then they write vnto the curat or bishop of the diocese where the accused is resident, to the end (say they) they should not rashly lay hands vpon the sheep of a strange pastor, sending him word, that they haue one of his flocks in their prisons.

He that hath a dwelling house in the towne, being sent for againe, and committed to prison, they demand of him the keyes of his coffers and closet, to deliuer them to a publicke Notarie, who must take an inuentarie of all his mouables, writings, jewels, or what else is in his house: which inuentarie is deliuered into the hands of some rich neighbour, who keepes it vntill the end of the Proces, all the said goods being forfeited to the king, if the accused be condemned: for their custome is (although the sentence be not capital) to make a prey of his goods, declaring the accused to bee vnworthie to enjoy any of them. The accused being once in prison, the keeper searcheth him if he haue no knife, papers, or any other thing, stripping him to his verie shirt. Eight daies after the Inquisitors will the Gaoler to aduise the prisoner to demand audience: whereupon the poore man intreats him to aske it for him, the which, after much pressing, he promiserh, and in the end, after some delayes, doth it. Being come into the Auditorie, he intreats them to dispatch his Proces: then they admonish him to discharge his conscience, and to acknowledge his faults, promising him all fauour and mercie, so as he will conuert. If hee confesseth, he is not freed therefore, and if he doth not confesse, they send him backe to prison, and tell him that they will dispatch his Proces. It is in vaine for him to demand audience againe, neither will they tell him whereof he is accused, but he must diuine it, seeking to conuict him by his owne confession. Then they bring him againe before the Inquisitors, who tell him sharply, That if you will not otherwise discharge your conscience, you shall be deliuered into the Attorneys hands, who will intreat you after another maner, by torture. But when the craftie admonitions of the Inquisitors cannot shake his constancie, then they haue recourse to another practise. They cause a crosse and a booke which they call the Messall, to be brought, whereon they will haue the accused to sweare: if he refuseth, he is conuicted, if he sweares, they inquire first of his countrey, kinsmen, profession, companions, and other such like things, from the which they draw great arguments: but they that are well aduised will answer nothing, if they haue not first scene the informations whereof they are accused. In the end they giue it him in writing, to defend himselfe by his Aduocate, who undertakes his cause, after that his Proces is in question, according to the custome (the which is only to get money from the poore prisoner) on the third day after the Inquisitors send for the prisoner with his Aduocate; then they commaund him to speake the truth, seeing in that Auditorie they require nothing else: If he doth not confesse, then they send him backe to prison. In the end they acquaint him with the depositions, but doe not name the witnesses. But if any man will charge him with any thing, the prisoner, if he be well aduised, will inquire of the qualitie of the person which hath beneie heard against him: When as the prisoner can diuine of his accuser, and doth remember with whom he hath discoursed of religion, they grant a confrontation with him. They that are best aduised demand a copie of the conclusion, to make answer thereunto by writing: but if there be two witnesses, they judge to death, or otherwise: one witness alone is sufficient to put him to the racke.

The kings Attorneys is his aduerser partie, and the witnesses be his accusers. Two or three dayes after the prisoner hath bene called before the Iudges, his Aduocate comes and declares vnto him the chiefe points whereof he is accused, and doth propound vnto him the

Manner of the Inquisition proceeding.

the most pregnant reasons, and the testimonie of his accusers, to vnderstand if they bee true or not. He wils him to consider what the witnesses may be, to the end he may take exceptions against them; giuing him some daies of respite, to call to mind what his enemies may be, that haue witnessed against him; if he cannot coniecture who they be, he is conuicted, if he doth name any, they doe not tell him they be they, but his Aduocate doth secretly aduertise him, and they aske him before the Inquisitors, what he can reproach against them. When as the prisoner will iustifie himselfe, and can proue that he hath alwayes beene a friend to Churchmen, that he hath obserued all Popish ceremonies, that he hath frequented Masse, gone often to confession, honoured the crosse, and images, and that he is contrarie to that which his accusers haue depose (the which he must commonly doe within nine dayes) his cause is much bettered; but no justification will serue if he wants authenticke witnesses. Afterwards some Iacobine Friars, or Doctors of Diuinitie, examine him of his faith, interpreting his answers according to their owne fantasies. If he hath said well, in their opinions, they iudge him free, but not without losse and prejudice.

Proceeding to  
the torture.

When they haue sufficient matter, as they thinke, to condemne a prisoner to be extraordinarily rackt, they lead him into a caue through many doors, where he finds the iudge with his assistants set, being all masked with blacke cypers, the executioner presents himselfe in a caslocke of blacke linnen cloth (such as the Spaniards weare the Thursday before Easter, when they whip themselves) with a blacke hood ouer his head and face, hauing but two holes before his eyes; being thus attired to terrifie the prisoner, as if the diuell himselfe should torment him. Then doth the Iudge admonish him to tell the truth, protesting, that if otherwise any member of his be broken through torture, the fault shold lye vpon himselfe. Then they strip the poore prisoner naked, hauing nothing covered but his priuie parts. After which they make a signe vnto the executioner, what torture hee shall suffer, the which he is often put to, sometimes in one sort, sometimes in another, vntill that he confesse. If he continue constant, and confesse not any thing, they carrie him into a church, where there are Chirurgians, to put his joynts againe in their places, the which doth double his torments. The patient being in this miserable estate, they wil him to confesse, where if they find of what religion he is, confessing himselfe, there is a Notarie hidden, to write his confession; for they make him speake with a lowd voyce, the priest telling him, that he hath power to deliuer him out of the Inquisitors hands. Sometimes poore men, deceiued with these words, confesse things which make them punishable. Whereupon the Inquisitors giue it out, That this prisoner hath confest much, and accused some of his companions, although there be no such matter: wherewith some being terrified, come and accuse themselves, before they be called in question, to reconcile themselves to these Inquisitors.

Proceeding of  
the Inquisition  
to execution.

Two daies before that sentence is to be giuen, they send for the prisoners which are condemned to die, whom the Inquisitors command to declare vnto them all their goods mouable & immouable, and that they conceale not any thing: to the end that they that are in their houses be not taxed of theft, or that they themselves by the will of God do not fall dead to the ground, like to *Ananias & Saphira*, who fell down dead at the Apostles feet, for that they had concealed part of their goods. On the day of execution (the night before they that will being confessed) the officers of the Inquisition bring them in the morning, the *Sant benita*, which is a kind of mandillion, whereon are painted great heads of diuels, and on their heads they weare a miter of paper, whereon is painted a man sitting ouer a fire, which a diuell doth kindle, & torment him. When they lead him to execution the schoole boyes go before singing Lettanies. Those which are condemned to die, follow them with two Sergeants of the Inquisition, & some Monks and Iesuites, which exhort the people. The Chanons and priests of Cathedrall churches, abbots, priors, & other of the clergie, assist at these executions. The Aduocate fscall, & the Attumey generall, are on horseback, with one that carries the banner of the Inquisition displayed, being of crimson damask richly imbrodered, hauing on the one side the name & arms of the Pope which confirmed the Inquisition, & on the other the name and arms of D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, & on the top of the banner a siluer crosse gilt. The Fathers Inquisitors of the Faith, and all the officers

Pompe at an  
execution of the  
Inquisition.

A officers are there also on horsebacke. This troupe is followed by a great multitude of people, which come running in great troupes from farre, to see this feast, vnto the field, where there are two scaffolds made, one for the accused, the other for the Inquisitors; whereas one makes an oration in praise of the Inquisition, and condemnation of heresies: which being ended, they pronounce with a lowd voyce the sentences of these poore condemned men in order, beginning with them that haue the mildest sentence, and the easiest punishment. After the publication of these sentences, the Inquisitor Major sings the Collects of *Oremus* and *Quasumus*, for them that are conuerted, praying God to shew them mercie, and that they may perseuere in the Catholike Romish Faith vnto death.

B This done, all the Clergie sings *Miserere mei Deus*, &c. which ended, the Inquisitor Major sings certaine verses, and all the other singing men answer him in Musicke. Then the Inquisitor sings absolution, by the which the penitents are absolved from the sinne of heresie, but not from the pecuniarie fine, the which is executed without mercie, yea against all right and equitie. This absolution being giuen, the Inquisitors cause them to sweare vnto the people, That they will liue and die in the Faith, obedience, and religion of the Romish Church, and that they shall defend it and the Inquisitors against all men, hazzarding their bodies and goods against them that shall offer to resist them: and moreover, that they abjure all things contrarie to the doctrine, institution, and ceremonies of their Church; and will defend with all their power the said holy office, with all the officers or Sergeants, calling them all to witnesse, for assurance of the oath which hee had taken.

C If there be any Churchman among these conuerts, which hath deserued lesse punishment than death, he is degraded onely by words: but if hee be condemned to dye, then they degrade him as followeth. First they put on him his priests habit, as if he were to say Masse, whereof he is presently disrobed, the bishop (being in his Episcopall robes) vling certaine ceremonies vpon euerie peece they take from him, with words directly contrarie to those which they vse in giuing the order of priesthood: then they scrape the ends of his fingers, his lips, and his shauen crowne, with a peece of glasse, or a rasor, to take away the oyle wherewith he was annoynted at his consecration. These ceremonies are publicly done in the view of all the world. When the sentences are pronounced, D and the priest degraded, the temporall officer receiue them that should die, according to the judgement of the Inquisitors, and brings them to the place of execution, hauing Iacobines, Iesuites, or others crying in their eares, to diuert them from the Faith which they haue confessed: but when as the Inquisitors vnderstand, that they are not truly penitent, they deliuer them into the hands of the secular power, beseeching them to intreat them mildly, and not to breake any member, nor to shed one drop of blood: and to the capital sentence they insert: *Seeing the paine we haue taken to conuert this man from his errors, is vaine, we deliuer him into the hands of the temporall magistrat, to be punished according vnto law and iustice, yet we intreat, in case that he acknowledge his errors, and turne, that they shew him mercie.* But the officer proceeds, and causeth them to be burnt aliue, being tied to

Degrading of  
a priest by the  
Inquisition.

E stakes. Such as are not condemned to die, are carried backe to prison, being constrained to looke vpon them that haue dyed constantly: but the next day they whip some through the streets, some are condemned to the gallies, some to perpetuall prison, or for a time, and others to carrie the *Sant-benita* during their liues, or for a season: but if any of them fall into a relapse, there is no more hope of mercie. And after this cruell maner the Inquisition of Spaine is practised.

30 This yeare there was an enteruiue betwixt *Charles* the French king, and D. *Isabella* his sister, queene of Spaine. This princeesse parting from Madrid, came by Arealo, Medina del Campo, and by Vaileadolid, to Burgos; in all which places she had sumptuous and stately entrees made her: then continuing her journey, shee entred into Nauarre by F Tudela, Valterre, Caparosa, Tafalla, and so to Pampelone; and passing from thence to Huerta, Araguil, and Alsalue, the last place of Nauarre, shee came into Guisufcoa, whereas the gentlemen and people did her all the honour they could; for shee found deputies well accompanied in nine seuerall places, to kisse her hand, and to make her those offers which subiects are accustomed to doe vnto their Queene. The Duke of Anjou, her brother, went to Hernant to meet with her, and passing by Saint

Hisperise of the  
Inquisition.

Enteruue be-  
twixt the  
French king &  
the queene of  
Spaine.



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Saint Sebastians, la Renterie, Ocarson, Yrum, and Vranfu, they came vnto the riuier which diuides France from Spaine, where there were boats prepared, into the which the queen mother came to receiue her, and led her vnto king Charles, who attended her on the other banke, at the end of the bridge. After their imbracings and complements, they went all towards Bayone, with a great traine of lords and ladies of both realmes. The queene mother and her three children marcht in one ranke, she holding the right hand, the queene of Spaine next her, the French king joyning to his sister, and the duke of Anjou on the left hand. She stayed at Bayone seenteene dayes, and at her returne the queene mother did accompanie her vnto the riuier, and the duke of Anjou vnto Segure. The cause of this enteruiue was knowne by many effects which followed: with whom the duke of Alba was sent, with full authoritie from his master. This princeesse of France hath left vnto king Philip her husband two daughters, D. Isabella, and D. Catharina. The Spanish histories say, that she was brought in bed of her eldest daughter on the twelfth of August 1566, in the royall palace of Segouia, who was named D. Isabella Clara Eugenia; and was baptised by the bishop of Rossano, the Popes Nuntio, by reason of a contention growne betwixt the Archbishop of S. James, and the bishop of Segouia; the Archbishop saying, That hee ought to Christen the kings child, being chiefe chaplaine of the kings house, and that all that concerned the Spiritualltie in the kings palace, belonged to his charge, the bishop on the other side maintained, That this act belonged vnto him, for that it was done in his diocesse.

D. Garcia de Toledo in disgrace.

31 There were great complaints made in the Court of Castille, against D. Garcia de Toledo, Viceroy of Sicile, where he had many enemies which taxed him of arrogancie, malicious negligence, and neglect of all good occasions, yea he was accused to haue retained three hundred thousand crownes, which were sent him for the war of Malta, and the last prouision thereof, and that he had suffered the remainder of the Turkish armie to escape, who fled in disorder (said his ill willers) whom he might easily haue defeated. He fought to purge himselfe of these imputations by his friends, and sent Alphonso Ruiz, Secretarie of State for that realme, expressly out of Sicile; but his disgrace increasing, he was forced to come in person. He was there discharged by the king, and sent home to his house, being deprived of all his offices and estates. D. Iohn de Austria was made Generall at sea, and the marquisse of Pescara Viceroy of Sicile.

THE

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## THE 29 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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Towards the end of the last yere Pope Pius the fourth died, in whose place was chosen Frier Michael Gislerti, of the Order of S. Dominicke, cardinall Alexandrino, and he was called Pius the fifth. He had bene bred vp in diuers charges of the Inquisition, and therefore he sought to aduance it being come to this dignitie. The people of Rome knowing him to be of a sower and seure disposition, were somewhat troubled at his election: which being reported vnto him, We hope in God, said he, so to behaue our selfe, as they will bee more grieved to heare of our death, than they are now at our creation. But the king of Spaine rejoyced much at this election, commending the authours thereof. He did obserue him with great reuerence, commanding all his ministers with whom the Pope was to treat, not to oppose themselves against his Holinesse just demands. And this yere Bartholmew Camoiano, Archbishop of Toledo, being called in question by the Inquisition of Spaine, for misbeliefe, requiring to be judged at Rome, as his Holinesse should determine, he being not well satisfied with his Spanish judges, the king wold not refuse him to the lord of Camoiano, who was sent vnto him to that end, notwithstanding that it was against the priuiledges of the Inquisition in that realme: wherein the cardinall Sanxisio being sent the yere before by the Pope, to judge the cause, could not preuaile, the Spaniards seeking to maintain their iurisdiction, and to determine it absolutely. Norwithstanding the Archbishops person was granted to Camoiano, who was caried prisoner to Rome, with his Proces which had bene begun there.

1566  
Election of  
Pope Pius 5.

Archbishop of  
Toledo demands  
in question by  
the Inquisition.

M m m m m

Pope

1566

Caraffas pro-  
cess reviewed.

Pope *Pius* the fift hauing beene made cardinall by *Paul* the fourth, a *Caraffe*, in requitall of this fauour, being aduanced to the Papacie, he caused the proces of cardinall *Caraffe*, and others of that house, which had beene executed by his predeceffors commandement, to be reuiued, restoring the familie of the *Caraffas* to their honor and fame.

The Pope persisting in his accustomed rigour against them that did seeme to decline from the obedience of the Church of Rome, did not faile, after his assumption, to admonish all Christian princes to obserue the decrees of the Council of Trent, and did quicken the diligence of Inquisitors in all places: But he had no need to reiterate his commandements in that point in Spain, where they had for a long time vsed hard persecution against them whom they called Lutherans, whom king *Philip* was prest to root out in other places of his obedience, especially in the Low Countries, and to publish this Councell, which was ended so fauourably for him, as it was rather called the king of Spaines Councell than a generall.

Causes of ha-  
red b' twixt  
the Spaniards  
and Flemings.

Between the Spaniards and the nobilitie of the Netherlands, yea betwixt these nations there reigned an inueterat hatred, since the Infancie of *Charles* their king, which grew as well by the diuersitie of manners, as by occasions which sprang from charges in Court, being alwayes accompanied with enuie, and many times with attempts of courtiers one against another, abusing the fauour of their princes: For the Flemings had been in great credit with the Emperour, and had made their profit of the commodities of Spaine, yea against the lawes of the countrey, during his raigne: And at this time in the Court of king *Philip* his sonne, the Spaniards had the aduantage, and were in most credit. From this spring grew the priuat dislikes betwixt the duke of Alba, and other noblemen of Spaine, and the earle of Egmont, prince of Orange, and other great men who had the chiefe governments and charges in those hereditarie countries of king *Philip*. Of whom they thought they might well be reuenged (as reuenge is sweet and pleasant to men of that sort) by reason of the publication of the Council of Trent, and the obseruation thereof, and of the Edicts which they called Placards, which the Emperour had made in regard of religion, containing many articles of extreame rigour, in imitation of the Inquisition of Spaine, whereof notwithstanding at the instance of the Estates of the Countrey, he did moderate much of the rigour, and, giuing ouer the government, he did admonish *D. Philip* his sonne, to intreat his subiects living vnder diuers climats, according to their naturall humors; letting him vnderstand, that it might be auerit was necessarie for Spaniards, but that the Netherlands must be gouerned with a certaine familiaritie and mildnesse. Against this good and wholesome aduice king *Philip* had other counsell as soone as he came into Spaine, being animated as well by them of his Councell that were about him, as by *Anthony Perrenot*, cardinall of Arras, who concurred with the king and them in that point, to settle a soueraigne absolute power ouer that nation, and to take their priuiledges from them: whereof they had made some triall by the creation of new bishops, without the consent of the Estates. Wherein he found great opposition, as we haue formerly shewed, and as you may read at large in the Netherland Historie, to the which this subiect doth more properly belong.

Resolution in  
Spaine touching  
the gouernment  
of the Low  
Countries.Charles prince  
of Spaine un-  
pleasing to his  
father.

Most of the provinces of the Netherlands being in combustion, it was bruted, That the king of Spaine would goe in person thither, carrying peace and mildnesse with him: but the chiefe of them that fauoured religion, were soone aduertised of a contrarie resolution taken in the kings Councell, which was, That the king would not come among them, but that the duke of Alba should be sent with a great armie, to enter the countrey in hostile manner, as you shall heare in the following yeare. King *Philip* was doubtfull indeed, whether he should goe in person into the Netherlands, but he knew not well to whom to leaue the gouernement of Spaine, in his absence, being due to *D. Charles* his sonne, whom he trusted not: for whether it were for want of vnderstanding, as the brute was, or that he had too much, as hee presumed, his father had conceiued a bad opinion of him, which some of his Counsellours did feed, for that it seemed vnto them, that this young prince, both in his words and actions, did come them, or at the least did not esteeme them, as they desired. Aboue all, the Inquisitors were no friends vnto him, as you shall heare.

2 Whilest

1566  
Tumult made  
in Spaine by the  
Moors of Gra-  
nado.

2 Whilest they consulted in the king of Spaines Councell, how to punish the Netherlanders, the Moores of Granado were called in question, being pursued by the Clergie, and accused of many crimes, especially of secret impietie, as retaining in their hearts the precepts of the law of *Mahomet*, & hauing their exercises secretly in their houses, although that publicly they aduowed themselves to be Christians, went to Masse, and to other offices and ceremonies in the parishes where they dwelt. Their spleene was chiefly against the inhabitants of the Albaizin, which is a quarter within the citie of Granado, being then peopled with a great number of families of that nation, who were rich and well accommodated; being people which imploied their time in the trade of marchandise, in making of silkes, and in many gainfull trades: and among them there were some knights, professing nobilitie and armes. Moreover, in other towns, and in the countrey and mountaines of Granado, and thereabouts, there were aboue an hundred thousand other families of Moores of diuers conditions, some rich, but most labourers and shepheards, living vnder the protection of lords which enjoyed the castles, fees, and seigniories, to whom they paid rents & dueties, as subiects, descending from them that remained in the countrey since the realme of Granado had beene conquered by the kings *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Isabella*, who had promised in capitulating with the last king of the Moores, That they and their successors might remaine there with all assurance and libertie, and not be forced in their religion, obseruing the lawes in generall, and paying the rights and tributes to the king, like to his other subiects, yet the same kings breaking their promise by the perswasion of some Prelats, they would force them to be baptised, and receiue instruction in religion, by reason whereof they fell againe to warre against them that dwelt in Alpuxarra, a mountaine countrey, rough, and of hard access, joyning vnto the sea, the which after many hard encounters, with diuers euents on either side, was ended by another composition: by the which it was concluded, That they that would be Christians should remaine in the countrey, and the rest should passe into Barbarie, whom they should furnish with shipping for their passage. They that remained were called *Madejares*, and they that passed were tearmed Moores Andaluzes, by the inhabitants of the provinces depending vpon the realmes of Fez and Marroc, whither they retired themselves. Norwithstanding, D. howsoever the Moores which remained in Spaine behaued themselves, they were still hated, and held to be vile and abiect persons by the Spaniards, who called them, in reproach, New Christians, and in stead of making them receiue the religion of Iesus Christ gently, they tormented them both in word and deed; which the magistrat could not remedie, or, it may be, would not: for the Clergie, who are exempt from answering before any ciuile magistrat, and haue their justice apart, being wonderfully fauoured in Spaine, were they that committed the greatest infolencies against them: yea these poore wretches were continually troubled to giue an account vnto the Inquisitors of their actions, and to vse all meanes possible to obtaine some rest of them that were ordinarily in the countrey: But their superiours, and the Prelats which were of the Councell at Court, gaue them no rest; so as since the time of *D. Ioane* the Emperours mother, queene proprietarie of Castille, Arragon, &c. and the Emperours raigne, there had many seuered Edicts beene made against them, and strange restraints in their conuersations and manner of living, whereof notwithstanding they had suspended the execution, at their humble suit, and protestation of their innocencies, purging themselves reasonably well of all the imputations wherewith they were by them charged.

Moors ill is-  
treated in  
Spaine.

At this time in the kings Court and Councell, all the old accusations against the Moores were reuiued, and to set an order to the content of the Inquisition, and the Prelats which pursued them, there had beene Commissioners deputed, which were *D. Diego d'Espinoza*, President of the Councell, who was afterwards made a cardinall, *D. Fernanado Aluarez de Toledo*, duke of Alba, *D. Anthony de Toledo*, Prior of the Order of *S. Iohn*, *D. Bernard de Borea*, Vicechauncellor of Arragon, the bishop of Origuella, *D. Pedro* of Defa, of the Councell of the generall Inquisition, the Licenciat *Mechaca*, and Doctor *Velasco*, Auditors, or Councillors. These hauing met, made an Edict containing many articles, wherof the chiefe were: That all Moores, new Christians, were commanded to leaue their

Commissioners  
appointed to  
order the  
Moors.Edict against  
the Moores  
Studiers.

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Arabike or Moorish tongue, and to vse the Spanish; and therefore they should send their children to schooles which should be erected for the vulgar Spanish tongue, and to the masters which should be appointed to teach them. That they should keep no books written in the Arabike tongue in their houses. That they with their wiues & children should be bound to assist at seruice in their parish churches, on Sundayes and other festiuall dayes celebrated by the Church. That on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, they should keepe their doores open in the day time, and to a certaine houre of the night, and suffer them to enter to see what they did. That they should keepe no other armes but their swords, and if any were suffered through fauour to haue any, they should be markt by the gournours. That all Moores, men and women, of what age and condition soeuer, should leaue their Moorish habits and attire, which they had been accustomed to vse, and attire themselves like other Spaniards. That they should leaue off the vse of bathes after their manner, and their Moorish daunces, which were vndecent, lasciuious, and scandalous to Christians. That the Moores residing in the Albaizin should not sic into the villages and iurisdiccions of other lords: for thereby the decrees of justice were made void. There were other articles contained in this Edict, confirming the former old ordinances made against them, or newly inuented, with rigorous penalties vpon euery one. This Edict being signed by the king, and put into forme, *D. Pedro de Deza* was dispatcht to be President of the Chaucerie of Granado, being injoynd to cause it to be executed from point to point, according to the forme and tenor thereof, without delay or fauour, not respecting the admonitions of any whatsoeuer. All the Commissioners were of this opinion, except the duke of Alba, who aduised them to proceed in the execution thereof article after article, after some pause, and not all at one instant. And soone after the duke parted to goe into Flanders, to gouerne there according to the seuer and injurious instructions which he carried with him, and those which he procured to be sent vnto him.

Scio taken by the Turke.

3 During these troubles in the West, the great Turke *Solyman* seised vpon the island of Scio. The Bassa *Mehemet*, vpon a priuat grudge hee had against the inhabitants of that island, thinking that by their helpe a slaue of his was fled, and had carried away a good summe of gold, hee perswaded *Solyman* to make it subiect, making his owne priuie respect an apparent reason; saying, That many slaues fled daily away by their fauour and aid; and besides, they were spies to obserue what was done at the port, and in those seas, giuing aduice to Christian princes, and especially to the king of Spaine, the chiefe of that nation being Genouois, and confederats with the said king. Moreouer, he pretended, That they ought two yeres tribute, often thousand ducats a yere, the which had happened by the fraud of their Agent, who kept in Constantinople. The Turke was not verie well provided that yere at sea, for his losse had bene verie great before Malta, whereas hee had not onely lost many men of commaund, and especially that famous pyrat *Dragut*, but also the best of his forces: And his gallies were so weakened, as he could hardly draw fourescore gallies with some galliots together: Yet for that hee would with the shew of a great fleet diuide his enemies forces, he yielded to *Mehemet's* perswasions, commaunding him to annoy the Christians where they might most conueniently, after the taking of Scio. This island lyes in the Archipelagus: it is almost an hundred miles in circuit: about two hundred yeares since it was taken by the Genouois, and giuen to the *Iustinians* their citizens, for their charges, who afterwards had the inuestiture from the *Paleologi*, paying a certaine rent, which was increased to tenne thousand ducats, by *Mahomet* the second, king of the Turkes. Thus they had liued at libertie vnto this time, without any annoyance, being gouerned in forme of a commonweale, the gentlemen hauing the chiefe command. *Pialy*, who was Generall of the fleet, directed his course thither, where he arriued on Easter day in the morning, and landed vnder a shew of friendship. Then with a practise he drew the gouernor of the towne aboard the Admirall, with 12 men which were euery yere chosen to be moderators of publike businesse: These being staid by him, the publike palace and the fort were presently seised on by the Turks, who carried away all the chiefe men, and appointed another forme of gouernment for them that did remaine, depending vpon the Turkes Empire. *Pialy* leauing that island, failed towards the Adriatique sea, which put the Venetians into a great ieaousie.

King

A The king of Spaine vnderstanding that there was no feare of Malta for that yere, hauing a great fleet & an armie readie, commanded they should attempt Alger. Wherefore they began to send certaine ships laden with souldiers, artillerie, and munition, towards Malaga, whilest that *Garcia de Toledo* prepared the gallies, to passe with all their power. It happened notwithstanding, that those ships were taken by certaine galliots of Alger, which kept those seas. This losse was of such importance, as it disappointed the resolution for Alger.

Losse received by the pyrats of Alger.

4 It had bene resolued the yere before in the Councell of Spaine, that the duke of Alba should go with an armie into the Low Countries. This Spring he was dispatcht away with an ample comission, or rather with an vnlimited authoritie, the which was pleasing vnto him, for the hatred he bare vnto the Netherlanders. As for his armie, there was commaundement giuen to the dukes of Alcala and Terranoua (the one being Viceroy of Naples, and the other of Sicile) to send into the duchie of Milan the old regiments of Spaniards which they had in those realmes, and in Sardinia: and commaundement was also giuen to *Gabriel de la Cueva*, duke of Albuquerque, gouernour of Milan, That hee should not only haue the regiment of Lombardie in a readinesse, but also the light horsemen, increasing their companies from fiftie to an hundred; and that *Lopes Zapata*, and *Sancio d' Auila*, should raise two more, besides two of harquebusiers on horsebacke, Spaniards, leuiued by *Pedro Montagna*, and *Gonsaluo Montero*. The king had also giuen order in Germanie, that *Alberico*, earle of Lodron, should raise a regiment of 12 companies of foot, and 300 in euery companie, according to the custome of that nation, & in the countie of Bourgondie there should be leuiued 300 lances, and 100 harquebusiers on horsebacke. *Francisco d' Ibarra* was victualer generall, and *D. Garcia de Toledo* had charge to transport in his gallies the said Spanish footmen, vnto the ports of Genoua, that they might be readie in Lombardie at the duke of Albas arriual. This order being taken in Spaine for the voyage of Flanders, and new souldiers (whom they call *Besognes*) being sent into Sicile and Naples, to supplie their places that should goe in that action, in the beginning of May the duke of Alba embarked at Carthage, in the gallies of *John Andrew Doria*, and of the duke of Florence: he carried with him seuteene companies of Spanish foot, to fill vp the garrisons of Lombardie, from whence he drew the old souldiers, making also choise of foure companies of these new souldiers, to lead with him into the Low Countries. He arriued late at Genoua, hauing bene troubled with a feuer vpon the way. He mustered his army betwixt Alexandria and Asti, where he found 8800 Spanish foot, and 1200 horse, Italians, Spaniards, and Albanefes: and the foot were thus diuided; of the regiment of Naples 3230 in 19 companies, vnder *Alphonso Villoa* their colonell; in the regiment of Sardinia (in the which the foure companies of *Besognes* were put) were 1720 men in ten companies, commaunded by *Gonsaluo de Bracamont*: the regiment of Sicile was of 1620 souldiers, in ten companies, vnder *Iulian Romero*; and that of Lombardie, being but 1200 foot, in ten companies, was commanded by *Sancio de Londogno*. There were seuen companies of horse, Spaniards, whereof fiue were lances, and two harquebusiers, three of Italians, and two of Albanefes, all light horsemen. Besides these troupes, and their capitaines, he led with him many men of knowne valour, to imploy them in this seruice, and to aduance them to charges as they should fall: among which were his base sonne called also *Fernando Aluarez*, who was a knight of Saint *John*, and Prior of a rich commaunderie, also *Chiappin Vitelli*, marquisse of Cetona, *Gabriel Serbelloni*, a knight also of Saint *John*, *Sancio d' Auila*, *Girolamo de Salinas*, *John* of Epuccia, and *Andrew de Salazar*, one of which foure last was Castellain of Pauia, the other of Portercole; the third of Piombino, and the last of Palermo. And besides these, hee led with him *Paciotto de Vrbino*, an excellent Enginer; hauing gotten him from the duke of Sauoy, whom hee then serued. Hee made his sonne *Fernando* Generall of the horse, *Vitelli* was Marshall of the field, and *Serbelloni* (besides the charge of the Artillerie) was made Counsellour at Warre. How hee entred into the countrey, and what his proceedings were, that Historie doth relate at large. After which they hauing certaine informations sent them in to Spaine, from the duke of Alba, and the aduice of the holy Inquisition taken therein, all the lay people of the said countries, both noblemen, gentlemen, townes and

Duke of Alba sent into Flanders.

Armie led by the duke of Alba into the Low countries.

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comminalties were by the kings sentence condemned as heretikes, or fauourers of heretikes, or in some other sort guiltie of high treason in the highest degree, without exception of estate, qualitie, condition, age, or sex; except some which were particularly named in the information, which made the inhabitants to flie into diuers other countries.

This yere, in May, there was great ioy and feasts in Spaine, and in all the kings dominions, for the birth of his second daughter, who was baptised, and called *Katherine*.

1568

Obiectio against  
the prince of  
Spaine.

But whilst the warre grew hot in the Low Countries, there happened a tragical accident in the royall house of Spaine. We haue before made mention how that *D. Charles* was in disgrace with the king his father: the cause (as the Spaniards say) was, for that he was viciously giuen, and that he spake ill of the present gouernment: that he had a meaning to attempt against the kings person, and to raigne in his place, hating him, for that he had often reprehended him, and threatened him, for his disordered courtes: or, if that succeeded not, that he would steale away, and flie secretly, with some of his confederats, into Italie, or somewhere else, and trie, by confusion and tumult, to depriue the king of his Estates. That he carried himselfe arrogantly, and incompatible to them that had the chiefe offices in Court, and that he disdained all those that were appointed to attend on him, yea hee would outrage and strike them. The Inquisitors expected no good from this prince, neither did the kings Councell, of the which those that were then most hated of him, were *D. Ruiz Gomes de Sylua*, a Portugal, the earle of *Feria*, and *D. Antonie de Toledo*. The king was aduertised by them of many particularities concerning the princes carriage, and entertained in dislike of him. By their counsell the king resolved to come from the Escoriall to Madrid, where the prince was, and to take him in his bed.

Enemies to the  
prince of Spaine

They came, and found the chamber doore so well barred, as they were forced to breake it open. The prince hearing the noise, leapt out of his bed, and seeing the king his father, hee was much troubled, beginning to crie out, What is the reason that you will kill me? The king willed him that he would pacifie himselfe, and that he should goe againe to his bed, telling him, that what he did was for his good. They seized on his sword, and some say that hee had a pistoll charged and bent: He complained, that they meant to bind him, as if he had beene madde. His chamber and clothes were searched,

6  
Imprisonment  
of the prince of  
Spaine.

and they left no instrument of yron, wherewith he might hurt himselfe: all his papers and writings were carried away, among the which there were found many copies of letters written to some princes, full of complaints of hard vsage which hee receiued from the king, whom he accused of crueltie and bad gouernement in his affaires, and it seemed hee did inuite them to assist him, by compassion, making great promises vnto them. His whole designe was also discovered by certaine remembrances which were found, being resolved to escape away in the gallies, which should passe into Italie, whereby they might easily see whom he loued, and whom he hated in Court, whom he trusted, and whom he would employ in his enterprises. Hee had beene seene some daies before, to discourse long and verie earnestly with *D. John* of Austria, Generall at sea; and it was thought, that having acquainted him with his designes, hee reuealed them vnto the king, which made him resolute to put him in gard. The earle of *Feria*, and *D. Ruiz Gomes*, had that charge, who watcht him carefully in their turnes; and hee was serued by two gentlemen, who carried no armes, and vpon the passages to his chamber there were guards, who would not suffer any other to goe vnto him. This continued some dayes: but the king who obserued all that hee spake, caused him afterwards to be put into a strong tower, giuing the whole charge and care of him to *D. Ruiz Gomes*: it was the same prison whereas king *Francis* had beene kept. There hee attempted many times to kill himselfe, as they said, and being preuented, hee forbore to eat any thing eight dayes together. The king aduertised all the noblemen, townes, and comminalties of Spaine, of this imprisonment, that they should not take it ill, letting them vnderstand, that it was for the good and quiet of them all, forbidding them all expressly, not to speake nor mediate for the prince. He imparted as much to the embassadours, and did write vnto their masters.

Designes of the  
prince discou-  
ered.

The emperor *Maximilian* being aduertised of this fact, imputed the cause to *D. John*, and

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A and was offended with him: for he meant to make the prince *D. Charles* his Son in law, & (if this accident had not happened) to haue consummated the marriage within few daies, as the fathers had concluded: & he was so much discontented, as hee would haue called home the Princes *Rodolphus* and earnest his Sonnes, who were bred vp in the Court of Spaine, but the king *D. Philip* would not suffer them to depart, but sought to pacifie the Emperour with reasons, either true or probable. But in the end he persuaded him that the cause was most vrgent and iust to assure himselfe of his Sonnes person, whome hee should loue and spare if it might be, hauing at that time no more Sonnes. Whatsoeuer was the true cause of the Sonnes detention by the father, being not well manifested from Spaine, the prince *D. Charles* the presumptiue heire of so many realmes, dyed in Iulie; some say he was poisoned, other s write that he was strangled by foure slaues: He was buried in the Monasterie of *S. Domini*ke, the royall at Madrid, whereas the king *D. Pedro* the cruel had beene interred. *Peter Mathew* in his French Historie, writing of the life and death of king *Philip* the second, he sets downe a formall proceeding of the father against his Sonne in this action: the which for that this subiect is so rare and memorable, I haue thought good also to insert.

Death of the  
Prince of Spaine

After the Princes restraint, as wee haue said the king (saith hee) propounded to his Councell of conscience, what punishment a kings son deserued, that had made leagues against his estates, and conspired against his fathers life, and whether hee might be called in question? His Councell laied two remedies before him, both iust and possible, the one of grace, and the other of lustice and punishment, shewing him the difference betwixt the mercie of a father, and the sinceritie of a king, saying, that if by his clemencie he did pardon them which loued him not, hee must of force pardon that creature which should be most deare vnto him. They desired him to imitate the emperour *Charlemaigne*, who imputed the first conspiracie of his Sonne *Pepin* against him, to the follies of youth, & for the second he confined him into a Monasterie, protesting that he was a father not a king, nor a iudge against his Sonne. The king answered that by the law of nature he loued his Son better than himselfe, but by the law of God the good and safetie of his subiects was to be preferred. Moreover hee demanded, if knowing the miseries which the impunitie of his Sonnes offences would breed, whether he might with a safe conscience pardon him, and not be guiltie of these miseries. Whereat his Diuines shrunke in their shoulders, and with teares in their eyes said, that the safetie and health of his subiects ought to be dearer vnto him than his sonnes, and that hee ought to pardon offences; but such crimes should be suppressed as abhominable monsters. Hereupon the king committed his Sonne to the censure of the Inquisitors, commanding them not to respect his authoritie, no more than the meanest within his kingdome; and to regard the qualitie of his Sonne, as if he were borne a king, making no distinction thereof with the partie accused, vntill they found that the excesse of his offence would no more admit of this consideration, remembering that they carried in their soules a liuelie image of the king, which had iudged Angels, and should without distinction iudge kings and the Sonnes of kings like vnto other men; referring all vnto their consciences, and discharging his owne.

Mathews upon  
the death of  
Prince Charles

The Inquisitors, for that he was charged to haue practised with *Castillon* Admirall of France, the prince of Orange, and other enemies of the Romish Religion, declared him an heretike, and for that hee had conspired against his fathers life, they condemned him to die. The king was his accuser, and the Inquisitors his iudges, but the sentence was signed by the king, which done, they presented many kinds of death in picture vnto the prince, to make choise of the easiest. In the end he demanded if there were no pitie in his father, to pardon him, no fauour in his Councell for a Prince of Spaine, nor any wisdome to excuse the follies of his youth when as they told him that his death was determined & could not be reuoked, and that all the fauour was in the choise of the easiest death, hee said that they might put him to what death they pleased: that there was no choise of any death, seeing that they could not giue him that which *Cesar* held to be the best. These words deliuered with passion, were followed with a thousand imprecations against his fortune, against the inhumanity of his father, and the crueltie of the Inquisition; repeating these words often: *O miserable Sonne, of a more miserable father.*

Iudgement of  
the inquisitors  
against the  
Prince of Spaine

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He had some daies giuen him to prepare himselfe for death. One morning foure slaues entred into his chamber, who awaking him, put him in mind of his last houre, and gaue him some time to prepare himselfe vnto God: He start vp suddenly and fled to the bed post; but two of them held his armes, and the third his feet, and the fourth strangled him with a cord of silk. Many hold that he died of letting blod, his feet being put in warm water. But *Campana* in the life of *Philip 2* writes, that being in prison he fel verie sick, by reason of his disordred diet, and drinking too much cold water, wherewith his stomack grew so weake as he could not digest any meat, which the Physicians could not helpe so as hee died (as he affirms) of this sicknes, verie religiously and penitenly, to the great griefe of the king & the whol state: & moreouer he writes, that the king being much perplexed for this great losse, retired himself into his chamber with two seruants, & wold not giue any audience, & then for many daies into the monasterie of *S. Ierome*, a mile without the town, sequestering himself of al affairs, writing only to princes & potentates, & causing his secretaries to write vnto all his realms & states of the death of his deare & only son. Thus writers discourse diuersly of the death of this Prince: the which I leaue to the iudicious Reader to beleue what he shall thinke most probable.

Death of the  
queen of Spain.

Within foure months after the death of the Prince *D. Carlo*, the Queene *D. Isabella* his mother in law died also, being broght in bed of her third child before her time, the Physicians hauing ignorantly caused her to take too much Phisick, fering some other infirmities; this was the brute of the court of Spain. But in France they had reason to think that the life of this princeesse was shortned like vnto that of *D. Charles*, by some notable malice, & by the same instruments. For they to whom *D. Isabella* did belong in bloud, had been verie carefull to auer the causes & maner of her death, but not so resolute to call it in question, as *Clouis* sons were to reuenge the iniurie done vnto their Sister in Spaine, where she also had bene married.

Turkett.

As for the Prince, it was verie comon in Spain, that the great hatred the king bare him, grew rather from the suggestions and reports of others, than from his own misdeeds, for by nature he was neither giuen to any odious vices, neither was he offso harsh and fower a disposition as commonly great men of that countie be. It is true, that *D. Charles* kept his grauitie to courtiers, that he shewed himself verie ambitious, & too desirous to manage affaires, and to be imploied; and was giuen to some kindes of pleasures. Such as would excuse him, said, that it was seemly and befitting his ranke to be graue, being the son of so great a king, sworn prince and acknowledged for successor to such rich and great estates, and also that it is the first lesson & most recommended instruction of fathers in Spaine, to their children, to shew themselves graue in their words & actions, & that it was a comendable thing especially in the that were of great houses. If he were ambitious & desirous of honor, they were affections incident to princes, & were so necessarie in them that were to gouerne people, as if any had not these motions in them, they were the lesse esteemed, both in Spain and elsewhere. If he desired to know & learne by practise how estates should be gouerned, and justice duly administred, that it is a thing wherein kings children should be bred from their youth, & practised therein all their liues, and that it is the nature of all men well bred, feeling the seeds of vertue in their minds, to aduance it by their actions; wherein all men know that vertue doth consist. And yet all these things commendable in other men, were blamed in Prince *Charles*, by them who (it may be) would not haue their misdemeanors discovered by the Infant of the house. As for worldlie pleasures, they be, said they, appetites which doe commonly accompany yong noble men, especially being bred vp in the idleness of court; vices which are tollerable in many of mean condition, & therefore were lesse strange in great men: but, said they, there was no better means to diuert this prince from delights which are superfluous and hurtfull, than to employ him betimes in the gouernment affaires; what greater bond, said they, had the king his father to his subiects, than to fashion his onely Sonne, (hee that should raigne after) to command wel, & to make him knowe both by reason and experience what the due tie of a king is, both to God and men, that they be not as dum Idols among their Councillers, hauing not iudgement to discern the good from the bad. The thing wherein the Prince was most to be blamed, was an inconsiderate rashnesse to attaine vnto his intentions, and could

Disposition of  
the prince D.  
Charles.

Ambition a  
vice of great  
men.

Vices common  
to yong Noble-  
men.

A could not obserue time nor fit occasions to make his pursuit. The which they thought proceeded onely from the heat of youth, which might easily haue been corrected by conuerfing with men of state, if hee had bene accompanied by some men of respect, wife, and willing to moderate these fumes which did rise through the heat of youth. And they complained that the meanes that might haue made *D. Charles* a vertuous Prince, were hindred by the practises of the kings bad Councillors, who also for his part had shewed himselfe too credulous, & in the end blind in that action, by some secret iudgement of God. These were the ordinarie reasons of temperate spirits, who thought affaires of state might well be managed, and not stray from pietie nor humanity. Adding, that admit the Prince *D. Charles* had bin found inflexible to all proofes of reason, so as hee had been held incapable to raigne, yet should they not haue taken away his life. That there were Monasteries in Spaine, whether they might haue sequestred him, and sought by the conuerfation of some good religious men, to draw him to a contempt of worldlie greatnesse which perishest, and to the contemplation of heavenly things, and the life to come: whereof both Spaine and other Countries could furnish the like examples.

considerations  
of the Councill  
of Spaine.

But the Councell of Spaine consisting of Clergie men and secular, did not like of these old maxims in matters of consequence, and especially they that had more particular knowledge of that which past in the kings house, did greatly apprehend what this triumphing crowne would come vnto, if king *Philip* dying, it should fall into the hands of such a man as *D. Charles* his Sonne was, whom they held to bee vnable to vndergoe so great a burthen; & there was great probability that this prince had both his bodie & his spirits, weakened since his fall at *Alcala* of *Henaes*, whether hee was gone to pay a vow after a long quarren ague, by which fall his braine was somewhat crazed, so as his iudgement did sometimes faile him, not being able to containe himself with the respect which he ought vnto the king, and to them that had the honour to be of his Councell.

D. Charles  
prince of Spaine  
vnable for so  
men.

Moreouer, whether it were by accident, or by some defect of nature, the facultie of generation was in a manner quenched in him, so as he was held vnable for women: the which did also import the state. All these things gaue a great apprehension to the chiefe of the kings Councell, being guided by worldlie wisdom; the which could not suggest a better expedient than to berid him, and to find out some fit meanes to effect it. It is certaine that the beginning of the kings hatred to his sonne, was through jealousie of state, taking an occasion for that the Prince seemed verie desirous to goe from Court, and to bee employed in forein expeditions, at the least to accompany them that were sent with charges, to the end, said he, that hee might learne. Whereupon they presently made *D. Charles* a monster of ambition, who would presently seaze vpon the Prouinces, and take away the kings crown & life to raigne: & yet on the other side they taxed him that he was dull and wanted iudgement, contradicting themselves, for such actions are not attempted by fooles and madmen: the which the king should haue duly considered; but nor doing it, hee did blemish his house with the most fatal misfortune that could happen vnto it, for hee did so readily receiue these suspitions, and did so graue them in his heart, as he detested his Son, & he neuer saw him, but he sent him away with sower vsage and threats: and that which did most trouble the Prince, some of the Councillors and mignons of court, presumed (in imitation of the father) to contemne him. He gaue them a great aduantage ouer him, for that when as the Marques of *Berghen* & the Lord of *Montigny* came to court, being sent fro the estates of the Low-countries, to present their petition vnto the king touching the breach of their priuiledges by the Cardinall of *Granuelle*, hee became a solicitor for the, being moued as hee said with the zeale of iustice, and hatred of ciuill wars, which hee foresaw and detested, blaming them openly which perswaded the king and his Councell thereunto, saying that they were practises of insatiable and cruel yultures, who would gorge themselves with the losse of the kings subiects.

Zeale inconfi-  
dent of the prince  
D. Charles.

By these free speeches vsed often when as they treated of the warre of *Flanders*, and against the Moores of *Granado*, whereas religion was made the pretext, at the pursuit & by authority of the Inquisition, *D. Charles* made himselfe odious to them that were the moouers, giuing them great meanes to confirme the king in the opinion wherewith they had seasoned him, that he sought all meanes to trouble the state, & to make himselfe pleasing



*Inquisitors  
show persun-  
s of Prince  
Charles.*

sing vnto the Netherlanders, that he might haue a refuge there, and by that means begin to make a breach in the Crowne of Spain, adding with all to season their imputations, that he was a fauourer of Heretikes, so as hee was sharply and disdainfully reprehended, and namely by the Inquisitors, the which did wonderfully incense him: so as being vanquished with impatience, and griefe, he presumed one day to enter boldly into the priuy Councell chamber, with admiration of all them that were there, but especially of the king, who did preside, for he feared to see or heare some impertinencie from his Sonne in that place where he neuer had access, nor was not then called. Hee demaunded of him with a seuerer countenance, what hee had to say, and what had moued him to come thither. It is said he, my Lord, to beseech you to giue me leaue to aske you one thing, and that it will please you to satisfie me before the lords that are here present.

*Virtuous  
admonition  
of a Son to  
a father.*

The king who feared to heare some importune curiositie, sought to dismiss him instantly, telling him that hee had other places to heare him, and that hee should retire for that time. But the prince insisted, saying that it was onely to know if he tooke him for his Sonne, and lawfull successour: what demands of a Sonne are yours? said the king; yea you are my sonne, and depart in the name of God. Seeing then, replied the Prince, that I am your sonne, and that by nature I shall one day succeed you in the gouernment of your realmes, I beseech you take it not in ill part, if in this honourable assemblie, I let you vnderstand that I haue not yet found that you haue thought of my future condition: for you bred me vp as a stranger, giuing me neither cause nor means to bee instructed in matters of gouernment, or justice, importing the good of your subiects, hauing not yet libertie, being of this age, to come where it is treated, nor to conuerse with such men as you employ, who rather seeke to estrange me; which giues me iust cause to complaine vnto you, and to beseech you my Lord to consider thereon, and to excuse mee: and then hee departed. Hee was then full two and twentie yeares old.

This action ministred matter of discourse to them of the Councell, whereas there was no good concluded for Prince Charles, for that the opinions of his enemies, which were the greatest number, swaied it, and the king continued in his conceit that his Sonne was a franticke young man, without iudgement, and that hee had an intent to invade some Countrie, to put all into Combustion, for which cause hee desired to be employed.

*Speech of the  
Prince to the  
Duke of Alba.*

The Prince not content to haue made this bad triall of his fathers inclination towards him, hee continued his course, hearing that the duke of Alba had beene appointed to goe to bee gouernour of the Low-Countries: for hauing sent for him, hee told him that hee desired nothing more than to goe from Court, intreating him instantly to assist him in so honourable and reasonable a desire, and to get leaue from the king that hee might goe with him, whome hee did reuerence as a great Commander in the warre, and one of the greatest statesmen in the world, in whose Schole he should thinke himselfe happie to take instruction.

The Duke vsing many complements, seemed also to desire it, saying that he could not receiue a greater honour than to commaund vnder him in that troublesome charge, where hee might assure himselfe of his humble seruice and assistance, yet hee gaue him some admonitions, knowing well how the king stood affected towards him: therewith hee was discontented. This being auided (for the Duke of Alba, what shew soeuer hee made, had no will to be troubled with such a Scholer) hee adrest himselfe a while after, to increase his miseries, to D. John of Austria his vncle, who it may bee had more ambition in his head than he, to whose designes which were great, those of the Prince D. Charles must needs bee preiudiciall, yet hee discouered himselfe freely vnto him, being Generall at Sea, saying, that hee would steale away, and passe with the Gallies into Italie, perswading D. John to assist him, but hee deceiued him; for hee presently aduertised the king, which made him to cause him to bee watcht, and his actions to bee obserued.

But behold, the Queene was engaged in these miseries: The prince in all his afflictions had often recourse vnto his mother in law, who being mild and courteous, willingly

*D. John de Austria  
contrarie  
to Prince  
Charles.*

lingly heare his complaints, did pittie him, comfort him, and sought by all meanes to reuue his hopes, perswading him to vanquish his passions, and to yeeld vnto the rigour and choler of the king his father, and to let time moderate them with patience, the which past not from the Queene without some free inuectiues, after the French maner, against them that were enemies to her and to the Prince, threatening one day to be reuenged on them that were authors of of her crosses, and namely against D. Ray Gomes, and a Confessor of the kings, who posselt him about all others, and were the chiefe practisers of these Tragedies. The which was reported vnto them, for they had spies euen in the Queenes Cabinet, by whom they were aduertised, and the king by them, of all the speeches which past betwixt the prince and her. They fearing that by the force of coningall loue, shee should put some consideration into the kings heart, by the which hee might bee moued to examine this businesse with iudgement, and that discouering their bad offices, hee should take reuenge, they resolved to presse the princes ruine, and to draw the Queene into the same hatred, that the king had conceiued against the prince his Sonne.

*Practisers of the  
court of Spaine.*

These men wrought so by their practised and coloured reports as they drew that heart already vlcered into a deadlie eia loue of his wife, flandering her with loosefnesse, adding that crime to the impression which they had giuen him, that she fauoured the princes designs, tending to open rebellion against God & the king. Moreover to omit no imposture which might serue to transport this king beyond the bounds of humanitie and reason, they let him vnderstand, that, by the reports of Phisitions and women attendants, vnto his Confessor, who made relation, and to whose words he gaue great credit, there appeared on the bodie of this Prince certaine markes and spots, which shewed an impuritie and corruption of the blood, which might infect the kings person, if hee did accompany with her, and so disperse it selfe into all the royall familie, which was to be auoided.

All which passions together, were of such force with the king, as he beleued the Inquisitors (without whose aduice there is nothing of importance done in Spaine) and others which were of that Councell, perswading him that it was lawfull & expedient to make away the prince his son, and the Queene his wife, and the child shee went with, which they held to be a son, but it proued a daughter, whereof they caused her to be deliuered with drinke. This Historie was thus reported to queene Catherine, dowager of France, mother to D. Isabella, by such as she had imploied to vnderstand the truth thereof, & by some which had serued the prince D. Charles when he was committed to prison, who retyring themselves into France, she would heare.

*Inquisitors  
chiefe of the  
Councell of  
Spaine.*

The suspicion the king had of the loyaltie of queene Isabell his wife, was not for the prince his Son, as many haue beleued: for he was (as wee haue said) insufficient for women. And although he would be idle in speech, and that there were found among his papers some notes of his owne hand touching that subiect, yet carnall pleasures were the least of his desires, and as for the Queene there was nothing more modest in Spain, by the report of Spaniards themselves, who haue written bookes. But it hath beene verified by credible informations, that her ill-willers which sought her ruin, made vse of the notable malice of a French gentlewoman, one of those which was suffered to stay with her, when as soone after her coming into the countrie, they did order her household, and limit her traine. They say that this vnworthie woman (for that the Queene had giuen away a place which was void to one of her companions, hauing promised it vnto her) to be reuenged of her Mistres, had giuen it out, that she had been indiscreetly and scandalously familiar with the Marquess of Poza, who according to the custome of Spain, termed himselfe seruant in shew to her that had bene preferred before her.

*Treacherie, a  
diueltish reuenge*

This coming to the kings eares, was easily beleued, for hee was already in some doubt, hee being informed by some wayward spirits, that this Marquess who was of the house of Rojas, being a gallant knight, did talke more familiarly vnto the queen than any other, & entertained her with pleasant discourtes, whereat shee did laugh after the maner of France, more freely than it seemed fit for their Spanish grauitie: This wound being now again toucht, the king sought an occasion to haue this Marquess apprehended, commanding him to keepe his house being in Madrid, where going one night

Death of the  
Marquesse of  
Poza.

night forth to visit his mother, and an vnkle of his that was a bishop, rettyring verielate home in a night-gowne and slippers, being accompanied by two pages which carried torches before him, he was set vpon by men vnknown, and slaine vpon the place. There were diuers opinions concerning this murther, but most thought it was done by the kings secret commandement, although hee seemed to bee much offended: For there being a great sum of money promised by proclamation to them that should discouer the authours and doers of this murther, there were many bills set vp in the Portugall tongue, declaring that it was the king himself which had caused the Marquesse of Poza to be slaine: challenging him, by way of mockerie, to pay the money which hee had promised, but they had not set to their names.

Hereupon there was great search made, and some Innocents taken, and so cruelly tortured as they died: being onely suspected for that they were Portugals. The Queene soone after the death of the Prince *D. Charles*, began to find herselfe ill, with accidents and apparent signes of poison, whereof notwithstanding shee did in no sort doubt, but tooke light remedies, as one that was with child, by the order of such as had bin accustomed to giue her phisick. The businesse proceeding slowly contrarie to that which they expected, the king hauing one night discoursed long with her touching her infirmities, hee told her plainly that she must take some strong purgation, and that his Phisitions (who by his commandement did looke vnto her) had told him that they despaired of her life, if shee tooke no other phisicke than that she vsed. But as shee tooke no delight to change her vsuall maner, nor to be phisicked by any other than her owne, trusting aboue all others in an Apothecarie of hers borne at Blois, she excused her selfe vpon her being with childe, saying that shee thought it was a Sonne, for that shee found herselfe otherwise disposed then she had bene, and that they must consider well thereon. But being much prest by the king, shee said vnto him that shee would doe what hee pleased, not thinking that what they intended was so readie.

Burearely the next day in the morning they brought her a drinke, a bole and tablets, all of one composition as they said, but so varied in form, to the end she might take that which was least distastfull vnto her. Shee tooke the poison, not distrusting any thing vntill she felt her selfe opprest with great pangs, which made her be deliuered of a daughter, that was some fiue moneths olde, after which shee had vomitings and strange voidings which quencht all the force and vigour that remained in her. Being neere her end, the king came to visit her in a mourning weed, seeming to be much afflicted; whome she comforted, and among other words, shee said vnto him, That shee reioyced that she was going to a quiet kingdome, not subiect to alteration, as worldlie states be, that shee did not craue pardon of him, knowing in her conscience that shee had neuer willingly offended him. Shee recommended her wiating women and some French officers, whome shee had not meanes to recompence for the seruices they had done her, and in the end of October, on Saint *Francis* eue she dyed, Christian like. She was lamented of all Spaine, where they did beleue that this Princesse was a Saint, she was assisted in her sicknesse for matters of conscience by the Cardinall of Espinosa, Inquisitor generall, *D. Bernard* of Fresueda bishop of Cuenca, the kings Confessor, Frier *Dominicke de Chaus*, another of the kings Confessors, who had also bene to the prince *D. Charles*, and others: She was interred in the Monasterie of las Descalsas built at Madrid by the Infanta *D. Joane*, Mother to *D. Sebastian* king of Portugall. The Gentlewoman which had slaundred her, and was the cause of her misfortune, was married in the Countrie, and died there: the lady of honour serued her daughter *D. Isabella Clara Eugenia*: the rest were sent backe into France, from whome they vnderstood these particularities.

A notable example of the praictises of Princes Courts, of the vanitie and instabilitie of worldlie greatnesse, and of the miseries wherein kings plunge themselves by suspitions and bad impressions lightly receiued, and especially how they stray dangerously from the dutie which they owe to God and nature, when they enterlace religion with their human policies to countenance their actions. Whilst the duke of Alua seeks to afflict the towns of the low countries by strange & intollerable impositions, exacting the tenth penny

Speech of the  
Queen *D. Isha-*  
bell dying to the  
king.

A penie of all marchandise that was sold, and the twentieth penie of euery mans estate. He began to quarrell with the Queene of England, pretending that shee had staied a great summe of money, which was sent by sea out of Spaine into the Lowe Countries, the which (said the Duke) did belong vnto the King of Spaine his master, whom she should intreat with all brotherly loue. Whereunto the Queene answered, that shee was duely informed, the said money did belong to certaine Merchants of Genoua, and hauing then occasion to vse it, shee would staie it for a time, and pay them reasonable interest. *Despes* Embassadour in England for the Catholike King, made great instance for this money, but he could get no other answer. Whereupon the Duke of Alba did presently arrest all the English merchants, with their shippes and goods that were at Antwerp, or within his gouernment. Whereupon all commerce was broken betwixt the king of Spaines subiects, and the English, who left the trade to Antwerp, and carried their goods to Hamborough. The Queene of England published a declaration of her proceeding in this businesse, complaining that the Duke of Alba had dealt vnjustly with her and her subiects; but all this could not procure any restitution for the English Merchants, who had letters of reprisall granted them against king *Philips* subiects, to recouer the losses which they had sustained by these arrests, both in Spaine and the Lowe Countries. The English Merchants became men of warre, and so many went to sea, some with a desire of gain, and others with hope to recouer what they had lost, as not a shippe could passe betwixt Spaine and the Lowe Countries, to the ruine of many poore men: whereof great complaints came to the Court of Spaine. The Duke of Alba seeing what a breach he had made betwixt those two States, to the prejudice of his masters subiects; seeking to repaire the error which he had committed, he sent *Christopher d'Assonville*, a Counsellor of Estate, to the Queene of England to reconcile this quarrell; but shee refused to heare him, vnlesse he came from the king his master, and had letters of credit, signed with his owne hand: but coming from the Duke of Alba, her Maiestie sent him to treat with her Councell; which hee hauing no warrant to doe, returned without audience. Yet shee let him vnderstand, that although shee found her selfe much wronged, shee would not take Armes vnlesse the Duke of Alba began. The like shee wrote to the king of Spaine, complaining of the Duke of Alba's presumption. Soone after, the Duke sent *Chapin Vitelli* Marquis of Cetone, with some others, to demand the money, and to free all arrests of either side, but they effected not any thing: whereupon the Duke sold all the English mens goods that were vnder arrest. These were the seeds of warre betwixt the two Princes, which continued vnto their deaths, to the ruine of many of their subiects, especially Spaniards and Portugals.

The Princes of Germanie hearing what cruelties and spoiles the duke of Alba and his Spaniards committed in the Lowe Countries, they prest the Emperour *Maximilian* to deale in those matters, betwixt the king and his subiects there; yea to take knowledge thereof as Emperour: saying, that without doubt the Prouinces which are beyond the riuier of *Escut*, towards the East, were of the Imperiall Iurisdiction; as those that are on this side were of the soueraignie of France. But the Emperour did not thinke it fit to vse his Imperiall authority, but prayers and intercessions. Whereupon he sent the Archduke *Charles* his brother into Spaine, vpon colour to aske the king of Spaines aduice for the mariage of his two daughters: and withall hee had giuen him ample instructions to treat with him touching the affaires of his Netherlands, and to intreat him by all faire meanes, to grant a generall pardon to his people there, and to call home the duke of Alba and his Spaniards, assuring him that in so doing, he should be obeyed: but if he did persist in that cruell persecution, they would be releued both with men and money from Germanie, the which he could not preuent.

The Archduke came to Genoua, where he imbarke in the duke of Sauoys gallies, and was receiued by the king of Spaine with great honour: his embassage was very pleasing touching that which concerned the mariages of his two neeces, for he found the king disposed to marrie the elder, the which had bin appointed for the vnfortunate Prince *D. Charles* his sonne. And as for the second, which the Emperour desired to match with the king of Portugall, who was yet very yong, hee had a promise from king *Philip* to employ himselfe

Nnnn

himselfe

Quarrell be-  
twixt the duke  
of Alba and  
the English.

Englishmen and  
their goods ar-  
rested in the  
Lowe Countries  
and Spaine.

Queen of Eng-  
land refuseth  
to heare the  
duke of Albas  
Embassadour.

Charles Arch-  
duke of Austria  
sent into Spaine

Treatise of  
mariage.

himselfe to haue the French king marrie her, although he had already demanded the other; and they were entered into treatie, by the means of the Cardinall of Guise and Espinosa. But as for the affaires of the Netherlands, the Archduke could not obaine any thing in fauor of them that were banished, nor of the poore prouinces afflicted. For making relation vnto him of the speeches held by the Princes Electors to the Emperor, and that they pretended he had a right of protection ouer those people, and that hee should make himselfe iudge of their quarrels, as depending of the Empire, it did much incense the king, who answered, that the Germanes were much deceived in their conceptions in that regard, and that he had sufficient right and power to shew that he was a soveraign Prince, and did not acknowledge any other superior on earth. He knew well that the duke of Alba had vsed some excessse, but he was wont to say, that he had rather loose all those Prouinces, with others, than to haue rebellious subiects, especially in matters which concerned religion.

Thus the Archduke was dismissed, hauing receiued a present of 100000 crownes, to helpe him to furnish his frontier places against the Turke, with many iewels of price. And he had commission when hee came into Germanie, to doe the ceremonies of their contracting, in his name, with his future Spouse. Returning by Italie he did visit his sisters and neeces, the duchesses of Ferrara, Florence, and Mantoua, and then he came vnto the Emperour, to giue him an account of his negotiation with king Philip, whom hee had left engaged in a warre against the Moores of Granado, almost as difficult as that of the Netherlands.

Wee haue formerly made mention of the discontentes of the Moorish nation, dwelling in the mountaines, plaines, and valleyes, and in some of the good townes in the countries of Granado and Murcia; which was by reason of the contempt they were in with the naturall Spaniards, whom they call old Christians: among whom they liued in continual vexation, especially by the Clergie, and officers of the Inquisition, and also by them of the Iustice, which was not equally distributed vnto them. But that whereof they most complained, was the kings Edict, whereof we haue made mention, tending to alter their manners, their apparell, and their language: whereof the President D. Pedro de Desas was appointed to see the execution, with the assistance of the Gouverneur Domingo Lope de Mendoza marquisse of Mondejar, and the aduice of the Auditors & Counsellors of the Chancery in the Parliament of Granado, and of the Archbishop if need were, wherein they found no small difficultie.

To begin therefore by gentleness, the President gaue charge to Alphonso de Horosco, Chanon of S. Sauior, which is a Collegiall Church in the quarter of Albayzin of the citie of Granado, beeing in a manner wholly inhabited by Moores, to persuaide them to receiue the Edict, yea to demand it themselves: but hauing imparted some copies vnto them, they rejected it, sending vnto the President and Gouverneur, George de Basca Proctor general of that nation, and Francis Nagues Muley a knight, one of the most auncient among them, to intreat them to deferre the publication of the Edict, vntill they had acquainted the king with their reasons, and the inconueniences that might growe by the execution thereof. But notwithstanding all their sayings and allegations, the Edict was proclaimed the first of Ianuarie, 1567; and to shew the diligence of officers, all the baths and hot-houses of the citie were instantly forbidden, and most of them beaten downe: yet they vsed some moderation, for that during the yeare 1567 there were not any penalties leuiued of them that did infringe it. In the meane time they sent their deputies to Court, where by the meanes of some noble men, they procured audience of the Councell; and there were some of opinion, that if they would haue the Edict stand in force, the execution should be suspended, as it beene in the time of the Emperour Charles, and of his mother. The Cardinall of Espinosa was of another opinion, and brought all the rest to concur with him; which was, that the Edict should be speedily executed in all points, and the penalties exacted vpon them that should not obey. There was among the new Christians, some that were descended of the blood of the auncient kings of the Moores, the which were honoured in Spaine, & well respected in Court; among which, D. Alphonso of Granado Venegas laboured by good perswasions to hinder this rash execution,

3  
Moores.  
Causes of the  
rebellion of the  
Moores of Granado.

Council of the  
Cardinall Espinosa.

A cution, but he was willed to desist, for such was the kings pleasure. So as all the Moores of the citie, townes and mountaines of Alpuxarra, of the boroughs and villages towards the Sea, were brought to despair, apprehending this strange alteration, euen in their language & habites, which perswaded them that they were thereby reduced into seruitude, and confusion of their houses and families: for this nation is verie curious to keep remembrances and registers of their families as by a tradition of their ancestors, after the manner of the Arabians and Iewes. And then began to appeare the distrust they had of them, all the Moores hauing beene commaunded by proclamation to keepe themselves within their dwellings and parishes, and for all them that were come out of the villages into the Albayzin to depart: the which was grievous vnto them, for that the inhabitants of that place being most Marchants and Artisans, they had need of many labourers and workmen for their ordinarie works, which they did usually draw out of the Countrey, and of their owne nation. They saw that the marquisse of Mondejar had leuiued 300 souldiers for the safetie (said he) of the towne, and to haue better assurance of the Moores residing there; if any one of them did owe any thing, he was presently subiect to arrest, and in like manner they that were cautious for any other, and by this means the prisons were full: The officers of iustice vnder colour of seeking for such as hauing no meanes to pay, were retired into the villages and mountains, they entered into the houses where they laid they were hidden, & committed many insolencies, yea they sought out old actions, for the which the Moores had compounded with their parties, and drew them into new suites. Finally, C as soone as they heard that this Edict was resolved in court, this nation was so basely respected by all the old Christians, both clergie and others, as euery man presumed to vex & oppress them, esteeming them no better than brut beasts; wherefore seeing themselves reduced to that miserable estate worse than if they had bin common slaues, & yet fearing worse, they concurred all in one mind to reuolt. Those of the Albayzin who had more to loose, incited the rest to begin, & they expected meanes from them of the Albayzin, and counsel how they should behaue themselves, for they were men of vnderstanding, ciuill, and better experienced in the world, than the inhabitants of the mountaines, whereas the force lay, but they needed counsel: yea there did ordinarily couerfe among them thieves, banished men, and such as were condemned by iustice, who desired nothing more than D to see some disordered sedition. There was a bold audacious Moore dwelling in the Albayzin, his name was Farrax Aben Farrax, a dicier by his trade, yet he said he was descended from the Abenxaraces sometimes famous knights among the Granadins. This man was as a trumpet to stirre vp the rest, he went & came to the mountaines, townes & villages where the Moores dwelt, & carried them aduice and aduertisements, how they should gouerne themselves in a generall reuolt, which was intended the 1. of Ianuarie 1568, the same day that the city of Granado had bin yeelded vp to the kings D. Ferdinand and D. Isabella, but being impatient to attend, he called before the time a troupe of thieves disguised after the Turkish manner, & made them to enter into the Albayzin by certain places where the walls were low & full of holes, on Christmas eue at night, when making a great noise, he awaked E them, shewing an ensigne displayed inuiting them to come with their armes into the street, for the time (said he) is come that we must shew our selues men of courage, for that there were a good number of Turks arrived in Alpuxarra, which were come to fauor them out of Barbarie. This alarme did trouble all the other quarters of the town, for that they were in ieioultie touching the execution of the Edict: for otherwise they had not bin moued, being no strange thing to heare a noise in the Albayzin, the Moores being accustomed to make all their sports with tumults. Notwithstanding all this, Farrax could not draw any one out of his house, they thinking he had been drunke, but they cried to him out of their windowes, that he should go sleep, and that they had nothing to do with his follies. This F troupe of thieves had walked vp and downe all the night, and no man durst goe & view them. In the end Farrax led them to the place from whence they came, and they were not followed: the next day it was said they were thieves that were come to spoile. There were some informations taken, and there was an order made that there should be gardes throughout the citie, whereunto the Moores should contribute. The suspicion increasing, and some insolencies being done to them of this nation, they came vnto the Presi-

Farrax Aben  
Farrax first mo-  
tine of sedition.

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dent, beseeching him not to suffer them to be outraged, protesting that they neuer had will nor thought to rebell, that there was no reason to intangle them with other mens crimes, with whom they had no intelligence, and for caution of the innocencie of the Inhabitants of the Albayzin they offered, if it pleased him, that 200 of the chiefe amongst them would yeeld themselves prisoners: the which being at the first refused, was afterwards accepted, when they had somewhat discovered that they were all conspired together, and that they had intelligence with the Turkes of Alger, by a packet which was surprised: where there was found a book and letters which discovered much of their practises.

Superstitions among the Moores.

Among these people there were certaine fantastike and frantike spirites, which dispersed certain prophecies among the people, which they said were old, by the which they had a deliuerer promised them, who should deliuer them from the oppressions of the Christians, the which indeed were great and intollerable, to men whom they made beleue were free, and that they enioyed the Lawes equally with others. This nation thus tired, superstitious by nature, and nothing instructed in the Christian religion, had a suddaine desire in this persecution to call backe *Mahomet*. and to abhorre the name of *Iesus Christ*, whereupon they fell into open rebellion against the King and his magistrates, and the first murders which they committed vpon the Christians, were certaine Clerks yong prebendaries, which came from Vlcarr in the Alpuxarra, to Granado, to passe the holydaies there, as they had vsually done euerie yeere, and passing by the villages, they made good cheere, vnder colour that they did belong to the Iustice. Of the which they dispatched some, and then they did set vpon a troupe of 50 souldiers of the garrison of Adra, who went also to Granado with the like insolencies, whom they slue in a manner all. The marquisse of Mondejar, who was gone to Court to aduertise the King of the estate of the affaires, returned with commaundement to suppress the rebellion by armes, and the gouernours, lords, knights, townes and comminalties thereabouts had charge to assist him. Wherefore hauing taken aduice of the magistrates of the royall Audience and others of the citie, and especially of the archbishop, hee prepared himselfe to set vpon them that were already risen in confusion, and without order; but there being among them the abouenamed *Farrax*, one *Daut*, and *Ferdinand of Cordona*, and *De Valor*, a knight of the Moores, who said that hee was of the royall race of *Aben Humega*, descending from the prophet *Atahomet*, they assembled at Bresnar in the Alpuxarra, to make election of a head, where after much contention, they did choose this *Ferdinand*, to whom hauing giuen the title of a King, he called himselfe *Muley Mahomet Aben Humega*. *Farrax*, who would gladly haue bene, and had in a manner promised it himselfe, could not attaine vnto it, but was content to be *Alguazil maior*, which is the second dignitie, like to that of Constable. This *Aben Humega* was verie wel known in the city of Granado for his vanitie and other vices, which decreased not in this great aduancement. If we consider wel (by the report of such as had seene this war) the number of them that had rebelled, the expectation that infinite others would rebell, being of the same mind, if they had well managed the meanes which they had gathered together, as of Churches and Christians houses which they spoiled, the neerenesse of the kings of Fez and Maroc, and of the Turkes of Alger, together with the bad agreement which was betwixt the gouernours and the royall Iustice of Granado, and the neighbour provinces, who contended without all reason, touching their manner of proceeding against these mutines, euerie one seeking to make vse of his office, and to fill his purse with so many goodly confiscations, & rich preies which fell daily. Without doubt there was matters in this warre sufficient to haue ouerthrowne the Crowne of Spaine, if it had bene managed by men of more discretion and iudgement than *Aben Humega*, and *Farrax Aben Farrax*.

Aben Humega made king of the Moores rebellers.

It is not to be imagined what insolencies they committed in the first furie of their raigne. They slew all Christians males about ten yerres old that they could get, especially clergie me, with all Iudges & officers of iustice; the womē & children they made slaues, they spoiled churches & fired them with most of the houses, yea their own: so as they made the boroughs & good villages inhabitable, & in a short time grew sauege, liuing among woods and rocks, where they made their retreats, being almost inaccessible, drawing their wiues

and

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A and children after them, and abandoning them vpon any difficultie or let, without any feeling of loue or charitie. He might teame himselfe happie among the Spaniards, who beeing surprized in his house by *Aben Humega* men, did meet with some Moore of his acquaintance: and truly there were some, though very few, who moued with compassion, did hazard their liues to saue Christians, from whom they had receiued some pleasure, the which is not strange among reasonable creatures, seeing it is often seene among brut beasts. *Farrax Aben Farrax* hauing had charge to gather together the gold, siluer, and moueable goods which had bene abandoned to the spoyle, to make a stocke for the warre, and to buie armes in Barbarie (whereof they had great want) he committed so many insolencies and thefts, as afterwards he was not employed in any businesse, neither durst he shew himselfe before king *Aben Humega*, who hauing past like a violent stream, or rather a lightning by Locrin, Lanjaron, Orgiba, Pugneyra, Ferreyra, lubiles, Vxcarr, and other places of the valley of Sierra Neuada, hee was confirmed king at Andarax, whereas he made *Aben Zigu* Alcaide or Capitaine, and *Michel de Roxas* his father in law his Treasurer generall, and *Hernando Caguer* one of his Lieutenants or Marshalls: it is hee who saued most of the Christians from slaughter, and spared their goods in this warre. This tumultuarie king seeing himselfe followed, hee threatned the citie of Almerie, hee made Salobregna to wauer, with other maritime places, whither the mountaines and the valleys stretch, and in like manner all that coast which is vpon the declining of Sierra Vermeja, vnto Gibraltar and Maruela, so as in lesse than fiftene daies this mischeife ran aboute sixtie leagues, and the law of *Atahomet* was openly profest among them. Then the Moores dwelling in the Albayzin at Granado were in extreme danger, there beeing a great garrison, and souldiers comming thither daily from all parts: and (that which moued the Granadins to choler and compassion) many men and women came naked thither, hauing escaped the cruell hands of the Moores, for in all places both champane and mountaines, the old and new Christians had their dwellings mingled, but the Moores were more in number, and stronger. The Moores about Salobregna contained themselves long, for that their feat was not strong, as within the mountaines, neither did they reuolt, but through the violence that was done them by the kings souldiers, and by his Lieutenants, who were most insolent and disobedient to their Commanders in all this warre.

Farrax Aben Farrax disappointed.

Salobregna and Motril are vpon the sea, where there growes much good wine, the riches of the inhabitants. In the citie of Almerie neere vnto them were aboute fixe hundred families of the Moores, who did not stirre, and were preserued by the Gouernour: notwithstanding that, one *Marc Ramir* a Moore, with some other indiscreet men thereabouts sought to murder him. The Lords of villages, who had no houses of strength, did wisely to retire themselves, for whersoeuer they were the weaker, they were set vpon and slaine: as it happened to *D. John Zapate*, who sought to make it good in the Church of Guejares de Fondon, where he was forced and burnt with 150. men.

The Marquisse of Mondejar, and he of Velez, raised either of them an armie, by order from the Councell, and invaded the Moores, one by Granado, and the other by Baza, the Marquisse of Zenete bending towards the sea to Almerie. These two Commanders neuer ioyned during all this warre, although they came neere together vpon the declining of the mountaines that were betwixt them, which were in a manner plaine towards the West, for they were of very different humors; *D. Lewis Fajardo* marquisse of Velez was proud, ambitious, impatient of all superioritie, and bloodie: and hee of Mondejar was milde and courteous, seeking rather to persuade, than to force the rebels: the marquisse of Velez was suddaine in his exploits, he of Mondejar was staied, and did not aduance without great deliberation, and therefore he was taxed to be slowe, and to regard his owne priuate interest, for that he was Lord of many places in those mountaines, and other parts of the countrie, which were vnpeopled by this warre, to the preiudice of his rights and reuenues. The first lodging his campe made beeing gone to field; was at Alendin, and from thence to Padul, which is the first borough of the valley of Lecrin, hauing with him the nobility and the troupes of Granado and Andalusia: he of Velez, that of Murcia, Baza, and the neighbour places. In the absence of the marquisse of Mondejar

Dispositions of the marquisse of Mondenar, & he of Velez, Generals against the Moores.

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the Earle of Teudille his sonne commaunded in Granado for martiall matters, beeing lodged in the Alhambra, the Castle and royall Palace there. At Dureal a league from Padul *Laurence d'Auila* was lodged with the bands of seuen. Townes of the iurisdiction of Granado, and *Gonsal d'Alcantara* with a company of horse, making as it were the forward. They were charged in the night by a multitude of Moores, whereof *Michel de Granado de Xaba* was the chief, thinking to disorder them, but the souldiers made it good, and repulsed their enemies, of whom there were two hundred slaine, whereat *Aben Humcia* was in such a rage for this bad successe, as hee had a desire to cut off *Xabas* head. These two marquesses were not sole Commanders of the warre in that Countrey, for cuerie Gouvernour or Capitaine of a place would make enterprises of his owne head, imparting nothing vnto them, nor attending their commaundements, for euery man aimed at spoile. *D. Garcia de Villaroel* gouernour of Almerie went to field to surprize a troupe of Moores, which were assembled at Benahaduz, and threatened to besiege Almerie, whom he disperfed, and slue many of them, among other *Brahen Casis* their capitaine. There was with *D. Garcia*, *D. Alphonso Habis de Vanegas* a Moore, of the blood of the auncient kings of Granado, who had bene solicited by the rebells to be their King, the which hee reiected, and persisted faithfully in the seruice of king *Philip*.

*Alphonso Habis de Vanegas a faithful Moore*

The marquesse of Mondejar passing on into Alpuxarra, tooke the pace of Tablado by force, a place of importance for the passage, being betwixt two mountaines, where hee built a bridge ouer a very deepe valley, the which being broken, or kept, they cannot go from the one to the other, but must fetch a compasse of foure great leagues. The gard of this bridge was committed to *Pedro d'Arroio* with certaine companies, and then the armie marched towards Origiba, the which was abandoned by the Moores being amazed. Many women and children were freed, and they that had defended the Tower of that place seuentene dayes, where the Moores had giuen diuerse assaults, and reduced them to great want of victuals. There was the like deliuey of prisoners with the gaine of some booty made at Poqueira, where *Aben Humcia* had lodged with a great number of Moors, but they durst not stay. There they had newes that the garrison which they had left at Tablado had been surprised and cut in peeces with their Capitaine, who was found yet panting amongst the dead, two daies after, whenas the marquesse recovered this passage againe, without the which they cannot come nor goe from the campe to Granado. *D. Alphonso de Reynoso* was left there to keepe a more carefull gard, and had expresse commaundement to staie the souldiers which retired with their bootie without leaue: The greatest disorder which hindered this warre, was the disobedience of the new leuiued souldiers to their Commanders, who longed still to be at home when they had gotten any spoile: and it was a hard matter to stay them, for they had no pay. The Moores in like manner were without discipline, being ignorant of warre, and nothing apt to armes, yea most of them were vnarmed, labourers, shepheards, and Artisans, who could cast stones, and handle slings well; their captaines were not much more skilfull in their charges and duties, but being once acquainted with the Turkes they recovered Crossebowes, and harquebuses, and did learne to vse them. Their greatest feare in Spaine was, that they should haue intelligence, with the Turkes of Alger, and the Moores of Barbarie their neighbours, the which they could not preuent. The marquesse of Mondejar pursuing *Aben Humcia*, hee brought his armie to Pitres de Ferreira, whereas *Ferdinand Caguer* made offer of an accord, and continued it vpon all occasions; for hee was the least desperate among all the Captaines of the Moores. At this place of Pitres, the Moores fought and slew many of the marquesses men, but they presently left the place, and retired to lubiles, whereas *Aben Humcia* committed great cruelties, euen vpon the Moores of that place, who did not sodainly satisfie his desire. There was an old castle which they had rampired, with an intent to make it a fort, and their store-house for the warre, and had carried most of their spoyles thither, the which notwithstanding they could not defend: for although the greatest part of their forces were there, yet they had not the hearts to fight, and being to dislodge, they were readie, beeing pursued, to kill a great number of Christians, prisoners, of all ages, women and children, whose husbands and fathers they had slaine before, but some that had more humanitie hindred it; their retreat was to Vercheul.

*Defeat and death of Pedro d'Arroio of the Moores.*

A cheul. This miserable troupe of women and children came and presented themselves before the Marquesse, hideous, leane, bare, and halfe naked, praising God with teares for his comming and their deliuerance. The Moores which kept the castle fledde also; where they found three hundred men, and a thousand and fise hundred women, who were in like manner set at libertie: but it was vnhappy for many, yea for most of those poore women; for the campe beeing lodged; hauing placed most of those women in a Church, and such as could not enter beeing laid before it for that night, it happened that a disorderd souldier comming about midnight among them, sought to take away a maiden to abuse her, who being staied and defended by the other women, one of them drew the souldiers sword and hurt him: this villaine leauing his hold, began to crie out to amnes, saying, that there were Moores disguised and armed among those women which had hurt him in that manner; whereupon they came running in disorder, and without any further inquirie, discharged their peeces vpon these poore creatures, so as in a manner all they that were before the Church, were either slaine or sore hurt, those within it were preferred by the shutting of the doores: in the meane time the captaines came, and caused the massacre to cease. The truth of this fact beeing knowne, the marquesse was very much grieved, and caused many of these murdering souldiers to be hanged; and then he sent the rest of the women and children with a conuoy to Granado, where they receiued them, and gaue them great almes. This pittifull spectacle increased their hatred against the Moores dwelling in the Albayzin, whom they distrusted much, for they were held to be ten thousand men able to beare armes; and therefore the Earle of Teudilla, to be better assured, lodged souldiers in their houses: whereof thinking to complain, they were sharply reprehended; so as they repented that they had not reuolted when as *Farrax* did sollicite them.

*Excesse of a disorderd souldier.*

*Moores of the Albayzin in great numbers.*

*Exploits of the marquesse of Velez.*

Whilest that the Marquesse of Mondejar employed himselfe vertuously, to chase the Moores and their king, who were in the mountaines and strong places of Alpuxarra, hee of Velez with such men as he had, gathered together in the territories of Valencia, Murcia, Baza, Lorca, and other neere places, entred into the realme of Granado, by Tauernas, hauing fise thousand foot and three hundred good horse, and came and charged a troupe of Moores, who had fortified themselves at Guccijs, vnder a diuellish capitaine called *Gorri*: who, in vewe of the marquesse campe, caused many Christian men to be beheaded, whom he had kept prisoners, to expose them as a spectacle to them that should come first to assaile him; and then he dislodged without fighting.

The Christian armie marching towards Filix to besiege it, they were preuented by *D. Garcia de Villaroel* gouernour of Almerie, who would haue the honour to free this place, presuming that the Moores which held it; would abandon it as soone as they should see him approach, thinking it to be the marquesse his forward: but he was deceived, for hee found them ready to make head against him, beeing many; wherefore he retired with all speed to the marquesse his campe, to whom hee made his excuse; and gaue him to vnderstand, that among these Moores, there were Turkes come out of Barbarie to succour them: and then he gaue him a conuoy to returne vnto Almerie, from whence he might not long bee absent. The marquesse passing on, found the Moores which were come forth in battell, to incounter them which came to discouer them, and beeing come to fight, they found they were not those whom they sought, and knowing that it was the marquesse of Velez, who was a resolute man, and was called among them, *Ybilis Arraezel Hadit*, that is to say, a deuill with an iron head, their courage was somewhat quailed, yet they did fight, and did rallie themselves thrice together, but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire to the mountaines, hauing lost about seauen hundred men, and among them some women, which had fought desperately, three captaines, *Fuley*, *Tezi*, and the sonne of *Porto Carrero de Xergal*, where two of his sisters, maidens, died also. On the marquesse de Velez side, there were both slaine and hurt, but they did not publish the number.

*Incounter at Filix.*

The fort of Filix by this retreat was wonne, where they found much good stuffe, gold, siluer, filkes, pearle, victualles, and a great number of women and children Moores;



Moore, whom they had abandopd, wherewith the souldiers being enrich, they disbanded by troups to carrie their booties to their houses; wherefore the Marqueffe was forced to retire to fortifie his armie. They of Guadix defeated a troupe of Moores at the same time at Deyre, most of which had come out of the Marquifate of Zenete: they slue 400 men, and tooke about 1000 women & children, with great spoiles. The chief of this enterprife was *Pedro Arias d'Avila*, and they said it was one of the best exploits of all this warre.

King *Aben Humeia* being pursued by the marqueffe of Mondejar, and was then at *Vxixar*, a place situated in the middelt of *Alpuxarra*, the which he had fortified as an assured retreat, and had about him 6000 men; yet at the approach of the marqueffe, this man who was neither valiant nor of any commaund, retired with his troups to *Palerne*. *Fernand el Cagner* continued still his practises of peace, so as he had conference with *Ierome d'Apont* and *Iohn Sanchez*: And *D. Alphonso de Granado Venega*, wrought uppon the marqueffe word and promise, as he drew *Aben Humeia* to a parle with him, but at the noise of some shot inconsiderately discharged, hee was so amazed, and fell into such distrust, as he fled away, neither was it possible to bring him backe againe; and in this perturbation he slew his father in law *Mibel de Roxas*, and caused some other chiefe Moores to be slaine, saying that they would haue betrayed him: he put away his wife, and swore that he would not leaue one of the familie of *Roxas* aliue, the which did purchase him many enemies, and he blemished his reputation more, when he abandoned the fort of *Palerne*, and all that hee had, retiring into the most desert places of the mountaines. The marqueffe being come to *Palerne*, he took the mother and sisters of the base king, with many other women of qualitie Moores, and set free a great number of Christians that were captiues, & from thence hee led his armie towards *Andarax*. That of the marqueffe of *Velez* being somewhat repaired, was then at *Ohanes*, neere vnto the other, where there were many Moores gathered together, whom hee did fight withall, and disperst: and it was thought that the two armies should haue ioyned, and that the marqueffe of *Velez* should haue bene sole commaunder, whereunto hee did aspire, and the souldiers desired it, but either of them went his course. The marqueffe of *Mondejar* returned to *Vxixar*. One of the goodliest booties of this warre, fell into the hands of *D. Garcia de Villaroel*, and of *D. Francisco de Cordona*, being ioyned with the forces of *Almerie*, and others whom they led against the Moores, who had fortified at *Inox*, in rockes that were almost inaccessible: for hauing dislodged them they found to the value of about 500000 crownes: but the diuision of this prey bred great dissention among them.

Profit was the matter they chiefly aynted at that went to this warre, except the Marqueffe of *Mondejar*, who tended to peace, and to saue the Moores that were reuolted, soliciting them rather to acknowledge their faults, and to shew themselves worthe of pardon, than to ruine them by armes, and therefore hee was not pleasing to the souldiers. Hauing led his armie to *Guajares* of the iurisdiction of *Salobregna*, whither many Moores had retired themselves, and fortified among the rockes and precipices (which were they that first receiued the Turks and Moores that came to succour them out of *Barbary*) hee sent to discover them, but to their losse that went, being in a manner all slaine; those of name and qualitie were *Lewis Ponce de Leon*, *Augustin Venegas*, *Gonsalo de Oruena*, the visitor *Ronquillo* and *Iohn de Villaroel*: being charged, the next day they made great resistance, but at night they retired, leauing their old men in that lodging, with many women and children, whom the marqueffe (being incensed with the losse he had the day before) caused to be slaine in his presence, contrary to his manner. The rockes, woods, & caues (being vnurnished of all prouision for victualles) were no fit places to entertaine great numbers of Moores, who had such great troups of women, children & slaues with them, as if they had bin prest by arms, hunger & cold, with other necessities, would haue forced them often to haue changed their lodgings; & they that came out of *Barbary* might easily foresee, that the end of their reuolt must needs be death or captiuitie: seeing they had no means to prouide better retreats to keepe their goods, wiues, & children, nor any good fort neere vnto the sea, with victuals and artillery to maintaine a siege at all euents, and in the meane time to refresh themselves there, & to retire such as were wounded, & to repaire themselves

Aben Humeia  
killes his father  
in law and o-  
ther Moores.

Bootie taken  
from the Moores

Defeat of  
Christians.

crueitie of the  
marqueffe of  
Mondejar.

A themselves after any losse: war is maintained by this means, & when there is question of any accord, it is concluded with better conditions. These defects being knowne, was the cause that the succors which they had frō *Afrik*, being al volūtaries, were weak & came slowly: & they that came once to see it, were soon distastd, & being once returned came no more, & dissuaded others. Finally, there appeared no other end in this nation, of their reuolt, but to powre forth their malice in reuenging themselves most cruely vpon the Christians which they met, for the wrongs and iniuries which they had receiued, killing, burning, and murdering without iudgement or foresight of that which might happen, and then they died content, without either loue, or naturall affection to their wiues and small children, whom they made to trot after them like beasts, and vpon the least crosse they did abandon them without griefe. This warre had continued three moneths, when as king *Philip* by some good inspiration considering the desolation of the countrie, and the innocencie of many small infants which could not distinguish the right hand from the left, he made a declaration, that his meaning was not that men children vnder tenne years old, and women vnder eleuen should be reputed slaues, commanding them to receiue all Moores that would submit themselves to his mercie, and forbidding them to offer any violence to those that had contained themselves in peace. By these means many being forced by hunger and other discommodities, submitted themselves; who being ioyned to deliuer vp their armes, they brought old crosse-bowes, halfe pikes, and such like weapons, broken, and of no vse: and when they demanded where there other armes were, C which they vsed in encounters, they said that the strangers, and such as would not submit themselves had taken them away. Notwithstanding these good orders set downe by the king, the souldiers being insolent and couetous, did them infinit mischeifs, carrying many away, especially women: not onely out of villages, but of those which they found in the citie, euen in view of the magistrates, the which all men of honour blamed and detested; yea many strangers which frequented in the citie of *Granado*, for the commerce, said, that it would be a hard matter for Spaniards to make the Moores good Christians, seeing they shewed in their actions, that they were not so themselves, and that there was more inhumanitie in their behauiours, than in the most barbarous Pirats of *Afrike*.

D *Aben Humeia* hauing taken some breath, resolved to continue the warre, sending to intreat *Plucyaly* to giue him some succours. In the meane time, hee and *Fernand Cagner* came sometimes in the night to solace themselves with them that were reduced, and who had safegards to remaine in their houses; whereof the marqueffe being aduertised, he meant to haue them watcht and taken: but they had some notice thereof, and stood vpon their guards. They did foresee that the Spring being come, the warre would bee more difficult, both for that the Moore should find themselves lesse incommodated in their holes and sauage retreats, as also for that the sea would be more nauigable, and easie to passe the Moores and Turkes out of *Barbarie*, which prepared to come to their succours; wherefore the marqueffe of *Mondejar* sent *D. Alphonso de Granado Venegas* to Court, to acquaint the king with the estate of those affaires, and to tell him what prouisions he thought necessarie to end those warres; and that if it pleased his Maiestie to come vnto *Granado*, it may be it would be of more force than any other thing, and that howsoever, hee must cause the sea to be kept, and the passage to bee stoppt. The king thinking that his presence was not so necessarie, was counselled to send *D. Iohn* of Austria his brother thither, the respect of whom would make the Commanders agree better. The which being concluded, commaundement was giuen to *D. Lewis de Requesens* great Commandeur of Castille, who was then Embassador at Rome for king *Philip*, being also Lieutenant at sea vnder *D. Iohn*, that hee should come with the galleys into Spaine, and bring with him the regiment of old souldiers which were at Naples; that being ioyned with *D. Sancho de Leua*, hee might stoppe the passage of the Turkes and Moores which came out of *Barbarie*.

As soone as it was knowne at *Granado*, and in the countrie where the warre was, that *D. Iohn* of Austria was appointed lieutenant for the king there, all the captains of towns & castles, & those that were in the armies, with their souldiers, fought to make worke for *D.*

Iohn

Moores vnna-  
turall.

Pardon for the  
Moors proclai-  
med.

Insolencie of  
the king's sould-  
iers.

1568

Disobedience  
and insouciencies  
of Christian  
souldiers.Defeat of  
Christians.

*John*, committing all excesses, by spoiling, ransacking, and murdering: for they thought that *D. John* would have better discipline observed in the armies. *D. Aluar Flores*, and *Antonie d'Aula* of Madrid, vnder colour of going to surprize *Aben Humeia* at Valor, whither they said he should come in the night to a certaine marriage, they spoiled all the places where they past, notwithstanding that the Moores which inhabited them had safegards, and made them the best cheere they could. Being come to Valor, they found not *Aben Humeia*, but they did ransome all the Moores of that place, notwithstanding that they had submitted themselves to the kings obedience, carrying away their wives and children as slaues, in contempt of the Kings Proclamation. In their returne they were charged and defeated, and the prisoners rescued. There were lost about a thousand souldiers with their captaines, whereof the Moores sent to make great excuses to the marquisse of Mondejar, offering to yeeld vp the armes which they had taken: the marquisse answered them, that they had done well, and that they should doe so to all them that should offer them violence, against his Maiesties protection and safeguard. *Diego Gasca* a cholericke captaine, being incensed that they of Turon had slain leuen of his souldiers which had gone forth to teale, led his companie thither to disarme them, and to be reuenged: searching in a darke caue of a house, where there were certaine Moores hidden, he was slaine; whereupon his souldiers spoiled and set fire of the borough, slue a hundred and twentie Moores, and carried away the women. A Curat of Tortijos being grieued to see the Moores of the mountaine of Filabres liue in peace, for they had not reuolted, he led certaine leud persons with him, who surprizing them on a suddaine, spoiled them: others did the like at Bayarca, and at Picena, whereas they slue three of the marquisse's gards, being sent thither to preferue them: but as they retired, carrying away many women and children, and much cattell, the Moores which had escaped, and had giuen the alarme to their neighbours, crost them in their waies and slue them all.

At Granado hatred did so transport some of the Iustice, as they suffered the prisoners in the gaole to be armed, to kill the Moores of the Albayzin, who had put themselves in to prison, as hostages in the beginning of the troubles, as wee haue said, to whom they carried swords and other weapons secretly in the night, and bruted it abroad that *Aben Humeia* had intelligence, with the Moores of the Albayzin, to surprize the citie: and afterwards in the night they cried to armes, for that towards Sierra Neuada, they had seen a fire, to answer a signe which had bene giuen out of some house of the Albayzin: whether it were true or not, the people ranne to the prisons, where finding the Christian prisoners armed, and in fight with the Moores, who had no armes, ioyning with them they slue a hundred and tenne, which were of the chiefe and richest Moores of the citie: yet they durst not set vpon the Albayzin, for that in euery house there were souldiers lodged, which were not of that partie. It was said, that some of them that were murdered, were found circumsised, which made the Atturney generall demand confiscation of their goods, whereby their wives and children were deprived. It was thought for certaine that this excess had bene committed by the instigation of the superiours. A good part of the Alpuxarres was in a manner pacified, but the captaines of the garrisons which were there, and in other neigbbour places, as at Almerie, Salobregna, and such like forts, gouerning themselves, as hath bene said, committed such cruelties and thefts indifferently vpon the one and the other, attending the coming of *D. John* of Austria, as they that had laid aside armes, and submitted themselves, reuolted againe, and ioyned with *Aben Humeia*, who became so strong and glorious, as hee bragd that he would not onely defend the mountaines, but also besiege the citie of Granado.

*D. John d'Austria* made his entrie the sixt of April, 1569, being accompanied by the marquisse of Mondejar, by *D. John de Carnaial*, *D. Tello Gonsall d'Aguilar*, *Gonsalo Chacon*, the Earle of Miranda, with many other noble men and knights: the marquisse of Velez would not bee there. Before his lodging there presented themselves about foure hundred women, widowes, and many poore orphans, Christians, which had bene in the Moores hands, crying and lamenting in most miserable manner, and demanding iustice and reuenge for their fathers and husbands which had bene murdered, so as they could hardly make them retire; but it was done of purpose. The Moores dwelling

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*D. John de Austria* comes to  
Granado.

1568.

A in the Albayzin deputed some vnto him, to make their innocency knowne, and yet they were ill intreated; but especially, they made great complaint of the massacre committed of their kinsmen in the prisons, as it were in the kings bosome, into the which they had willingly put themselves. *D. John* heard them, and made shew that this act displeased him, comforting and assuring them. He had a Councell appointed him, whereof were the Duke of Sessia, the marquisse of Mondejar, *D. Lewis de Quixada* President of the Councell of the Indies, *D. Pedro de Desá* President of the royall Audience of Granado, and the Archbishop of Granado, in cases of conscience: all these resolved how they should proceed in this warre. The marquisse of Mondejar persisting in his opinion, said, that they must drawe the Moores to the Christian religion by instruction and good examples, and to the Kings obedience in doing them iustice, and that they should end the warre by some good accord: hee held it fit they should drawe them out of the mountaines, and places of strength, and giue them dwellings in the champane countrie; or if they left them in their auncients habitations, they should place good garrisons there at their charge. The President *Desá* said, that first of all they should cleanse the citie of Granado of the Moorish nation, and to send them with their families to dwell farther off, to the end they should not aide the rebels, as they had done secretly, with armes, counsell, and other things, and that they should take exemplarie punishment of some that had slaine Christians, and spoiled Churches, and begin first with the inhabitants of Albuuel, a place from whence the Moores were releued, with victuals and other commodities. Most were of opinion, that they should continue the warres, and that occasions would giue them necessarie and fit aduice. There were three regiments leuiued vnder *Antonio Moreno*, *Hernand de Orunna*, and *Francis de Mendoza* of Alcala de Henares. There was order taken also for the gouernment of the townes and forts, by new Election, or confirmation of those that were in charge, all being commanded to containe their souldiers, and to obey the ordinances vpon great paines. The marquisse of Velez, who was not come to *D. John*, sent him a note what he had done in his diuision, and what hee thought remained to be done: hee had staid with his armie at Terques, and had a designe to march toward Andarax, but *D. John* sent a Post to stay him. He had begunne a fort at Rauaha, the which was ouerthrowne by the Moores, who slue him, a hundred and threescore souldiers, and tooke an Ensigne; whereat *D. John* was very much discontented. *Aben Humeia* was aduertised of all the consultations and resolutions which were taken at Granado, by them of the Albayzin, and accordingly made provision for the warre, and for those places which hee had an intent to defend. Hee also made three regiments vnder *Hanon de Cucujar*, *Futey de Lautera*, and *Zerxa de Cuair*, Captaines Moores. Hee made his store-house for the waire at Oigiba, hee appointed a market at Vxixar of Albereta; whither they did bring victuals and marchandise, and marchants came from Tetuan in the realme of Fez, to sell armes and other commodities. He made *Rio d'Almansora* Gouernour of that Quarter which ioyned vpon the Marquisate of Zenete, and *Jerome Malech* of the frontier of Quadix and Bafa. At Poqueira and Ferreira *Diego Lopes Aben Aboa*, vpon the frontier of Oigiba *Michel de Granado Xaba*, on the iurisdiction of Luxar and Marchena *Sierra de Filabres Gadoi*, and of the river of Almerie *Aben Mezquenui* was gouernour, in the valley of Locrin, and the frontier of Almunexar, Salobregna and Motril, he placed *Gironcillo* and *Rendal* for gouernours: to all which hee gaue Letters Parents signed by himselfe, and with a royall seale. There were of his priue Councell, *Don Ferdinand el Caguer*, *Dalay Moxarraf*, *Calderon* of Vxixar, and *Hernand Habagui*: *Farrax Aben Farrax* was in disgrace, and came no more in the Kings Presence, who had threatened to haue him hanged as a thief.

F Besides these provisions, *Aben Humeia* did hope to bee fortified by the *Xeriffe Abdalla* king of Maroc and Fez; and by *Flucially* gouernour of Algier, whom he did sollicite and intreat, making them great promises, and assuring him that hee should bee succoured by the great Turkes armie, which charge *Flucially* had taken vpon him. Hee beganne the warre against *Don John* by the taking of Peca, whither hee ledde five thousand men, but hee could not take the Castle; and there were

Counsellors about  
*D. John* of  
Austria.Aduice of the  
Marquisse of  
Mondejar.Aduice of the  
President  
*Desá*.Defeat of  
Christians.Captaines and  
Counsellors to  
the Moorish  
king.

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were many light skirmishes made on either side. The great Commander who had charge to bring the galleys, and the regiment of Naples into Spaine, had drawne together 24 galleys, in the port of Genoua, with some other vessels, & went to sea in a doubtful time, contrarie to the aduice of the Mariners; for that (said he) they had need of him in Spaine: but he was no sooner at sea, but hee was ouertaken with so furious a tempest, as some of his vessels perished with their burdens, and the rest were so dispersed, some into Sardinia, some into Sicilie, and some else-where, as all that preparation proved vnprofitable. The great Commander was by chance cast vpon the Island of Maiorca, and so he past from Palamos into Cattelogne, so as the passage was open for some daies out of Barbarie into Spaine.

Shipwrecke of  
the great Com-  
manders fleet.

Defeat of  
Moors.

Armie of Aben  
Humeya defeat-  
ed.

Pegnon of Fre-  
giliana taken  
by the great  
Commander.

The mountaine of Bentonis is in the countrie of Veles Malaga, vpon the sea towards the South, a countrie fertill in wines, which they transport into England, and Flanders; by which traffike the inhabitants were rich: most of which had their beginning from Moores, and they did reckon 22. Burroughs well peopled and inhabited: the which had not risen, vntill that vpon certaine reports the officers of Iustice began to vex them; saying, that they were aduertised they had commerce and intelligence with *Aben Humeya*: Canilles of Azeitunes is in this countrie, a strong place and of importance, belonging vnto the Marquesse of Comare, and there is a certaine Rocke, called Fregiliana the old, whither a good number of Moores were retired, and had there fortified themselves: whom *Arenalo de Cusao de Veles* would go and assaile, but he was repulst with the losse of most of his men.

The Marquesse of Veles being at Verja in the country of Almerie with a good strong armie, *Aben Humeya* who had ten thousand men, and among them some Turkes, came and charged him courageously, and forced the first gards and lodging of his campe, putting all into disorder: the which was repaired by the diligence of souldiers well disciplined, who recovered their places of armes, and repulst this violence of the Moores valiantly, killing about a thousand and five hundred as they retired in disorder. There were among the Turkes of *Aben Humeyas* armie, many which carried girlands of flowers vpon their heads, saying, that they were sent thither to reuenge *Mahomets* Martyrs.

The Marquesse had about twelue thousand fighting men, and being lodged at Adra, he had commandement to enter into Alpuxarra, where hee came to fight with the Moores at Vxicar, and then he charged *Aben Humeya* at Valor, who was not much weaker in number then he, yet he was put to rout; but the Marquesse was presently forced to retire: for the mischiefe was, that as soone as the souldiers had taken any spoyle, they stole away to carrie it to their houses. Through this disorder there remained not three thousand men in his campe. *D. Antonie de Luna* sackt Albunuela, according to the aduice of the President *D. Pedro de Desfa*, where he made a great spoyle of goods, and tooke about a thousand and five hundred prisoners. According to the ancient custome, the kings of Spaine should haue the fift of all the spoyle, but they made him bad reckonings. The commander of Castille came in the end to the road of Veles Malaga, with such Spanish foot as he could bring out of Italie, and did presently inuest Pegnon de Fregiliana: there were some good Captaines with him, *D. Pedro* and *D. Martin de Padilla*, *D. John de Cardenas* brother to the Earle of Miranda, *D. Pedro de Zuniga*, with others. The Moores which were lodged there, in a manner without armes, defended themselves notwithstanding courageously, and at the first assault slue *Pedro de Sandoval*, and four hundred souldiers, and wounded double the number: but the Spaniards continuing their assaults with great obstinacie, in the end they forced it, and of foure thousand Moores that were within the place, there were neere two thousand slaine, the rest escaped, casting themselves desperately downe the rockes, and many women with them, leaping downe the precipices like goates, hauing their infants tied at their backs. There were women slaine in these combats which made head against the assaillants as courageously as if they had bene old souldiers. There was also found within the fort three thousand foules, old men, women, and children, with much cattel, and great store of bootie.

The riuer of Almanfora is also a good and fertill countrie; but the Moores which dwelt there had not rebelled, vntill that they were forced by the insolency of the souldiers,

who

whb sought nothing else but to make them disobedient, by some opposition or defiance, against their insolencies and villaines.

This riuer takes its beginning from a fountaine called *Fuen Caliente*; and falls into the Sea a league from Vera: Veles Rubio and Veles Blanco are in this Countrie, which is great, and hath many habitations bordering vpon Baza, on the North side, it hath the Sea vpon the South; full of old Castles and strong by situation: There entered into this Countrie in Iune foure thousand Moores, of the rebels, to counter-uaunce them that would reuolt, and to rout out the rest. First they came to Porcenia, where they found not any Christians of the inhabitants; for being aduertised by a certaine Priest, they were fled away.

*Jerome Malache* and *Hernon* of Cucillar assailed the Castle of Seron, which did belong to the Marquesse of Villena; this place, that of Oria, and las Cueuas had hold good, all the rest being reuolted. Seron being besieged, *D. Antonie Henriquez*, brother to the Lord of that place, attempted to relieve it with five hundred foot, and sixtie horse, but hee was chased away, lost two hundred men vpon the place, and scryed in rout. In this charge the Moores got great store of armes, whereof they had good need.

*Diego de Aluarez*, who was Captaine of the place went forth to seeke succours, but he was taken, the which being knowne to the besieged, they yielded to the Moores, who slue one hundred and fiftie men that were within it, and made eightie women slaues. *D. John de Austria* furnished Veles and Oria, and gaue the charge to *D. John de Hara*. And for that they were out of doubt, that the Moores which inhabited in the

Albayzin, and other parts of the citie, gaue intelligence to them that made warre in the Alpuxarres and other places, they put them out of the Towne the three and twentieth of Iune. All were gathered together in the royall Hospitall, which is a great building, made by *Queen Isabella* of Castille without the citie, and there a Register was taken of their houses & goods, which they left to their great grief, for they were very well lodged, being men of means; and they were dispersed into Andalusia; the which bred a great confusion in their affaires. *Aben Humeya* came neere vnto Almerie, threatening to besiege it, he made many skirmishes about it, & towards Safobregna; but he had not one peece of Ordnance. Hee wrote vnto *D. John de Austria*, intreating him to send him his father & his brother who were prisoners in Granada, and in a manner threatening him, but he did not much regard it.

To hasten the Turkes succours, without the which no enterprise could succeed well; hee sent *Ferdinand Habaqui* to Alger, whereas *Vlucially* made a proclamation, that all men that would might goe freely to this warre, and many presenting themselves, hee staied them, to carrie them to Tunis. Yet hee pardoned all malefactors and banished men: and of this sort of people *Habaqui* ledde foure hundred Marquetuziers with him, vnder the commaund of a Turke called *Hosein*, and of a brother of his, who imbarked in eight foists laden with munition and armes. *Hosein* who was an aduancing souldier, cunning, and politike, visited the riuers of Almanfora, and of Almanor, Sierra Filabres; and all the Alpuxarres; hee found meanes also to enter into the Citie of Granada, hee was at Guadix and at Baza without discourie and then returned into Barbarie, laden with presents: for hee promised to goe to Constantinople, to make report vnto his Lord what hee had seene of the oppressions and miseries of the Moores in Spaine. *Aben Humeya* had a designe vpon the towne of Vera; being commodious for the Turkes descent, but it was releued by them of Baza; He ouerranne the Countrie; burnt Cueuas; and spoyled the gardens of the Marquesse de Veles Lord of that place, hauing about ten thousand men in his traine. But while he doth these exploits with more presumption and vanitie to his own then hurt to the enemy, seeking his pleasures without respect of person, letting them know that his will was a Lawe, certaine Captaines were offended therewith, whereof hee that was most incensed was *Diego Aluarez*, whose cousin *Aben Humeya* held by force for his Concubine, both hee and the rest calling to minde the manie cruelties which hee had committed, namely the murder of *Michel Bonar*; his father in law, of *Raphack Arcos*, and other Moores of name: whereupon they conspired to kill him

Ooooo

and

Insolencie of the  
Spaniards  
makes the  
Moors reuolt.

Some taken by  
the Moores.

Moores put out  
of Granada.

Turkes comes  
to succour the  
Moors in  
Spaine.

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and to doe it with more colour, they published certaine letters which hee had written to *D. Alfonso de Granado*, and other negotiators of peace, the which they had kept and opened, accusing him that hee would abandon the Moores, and betray them. They did also counterfeit a letter in his name, directed to *Aben Abou*, commanding him to kill the Captaine of the Turkes, that were come out of Barbarie to his succours: upon certaine reasons they shewed this letter vnto the Turkes, whereat *Aben Abou* was amazed, who thought verily that hee had written them, whereat the whole company being incensed, they went to *Andarax* (where hee was with his Concubine, who was acquainted with this plot :) there they tooke him, and strangled him, publishing in an assemblie of the Captaines the causes of this execution, the which they disguised in such sort, as it was allowed by them, choosing in his place *Diego Lopez Aben Abou* to raigne ouer them, a cruell man, but hee had more iudgement and gouernment than the other, so as *D. John de Austria* had more cause to thinke seriously of the affaires of the war. Hee gaue the charge of the Riuer of *Almerie*, *Bolodui*, *Almanfora*, *Sierra de Balsa*, and *Filabres*, and of the Marquissate of *Zenete* to *Urbane Malech* and to *Xoabi*; and *Sierra Neuada*, the land of *Velez*, the *Alpuxarres*, and the Valley of *Montotojo* of *Granado*, to *Elascien de Guejar*. Hee sent presents to *Vlucialy*, and to the Mosti of *Constantinople*, to keepe him in grace with the great Turke, and to bee a meane for some succours: he made a regiment of foure thousand men for his gard, whereof a thousand should be alwaies in gard. At his election he found tenne thousand men in the armie, and among them fix hundred Turkes.

The Marquesse of *Mondejar* at that time left the affairs of *Granado*, & went to *Valencia*, where he was appointed viceroy, in which charge he continued not long, but past to *Naples* to gouern there with like dignitie. The duke of *Sesse* was chief of the armie which the marquesse was wont to lead, who releued the Garrison of *Origiba*, which *Aben Abou* the new king besieged, and kept the pace of *Lantjaron*, where there was a great skirmish, the which continued long, through the Turkes valour, in the which there were many slaine of either part. *Origiba* was abandoned by the commandement of *D. John*, who sent the Captaine of that place with his men to *Motril*.

In the Dukes armie, there were many Noble men of marke, as *Pagan Doria*, brother to *John Andrew*, *D. Gabriel*, and *Lewis de Cordona*, *D. Lewis de Cardane*, and others, which armie was appointed to cense the *Alpuxarra*. In the other part whereas the marquesse of *Veles* made warre, *D. John* would commaund in person, having *Malech* and *Xoabi* to make head against him. In these Christian armies there were certaine courageous Monkes marching in the head of the troupes, who held a Crucifex in one hand and a naked sword in the other.

The Moores attempted *Galere*, a strong place of situation, belonging to *Eurigue*, a league from *Guescar*, and tooke it. They went to besiege *Oria*, but they of *Lorca* their neighbours (who were alwaies good souldiers) came thither, then foure hundred Moores, raised the seige, and carried away foue Ensignes. *Malech* marcht with the bodie of his armie by the riuer of *Almanfora*, *D. John* led his by that of *Xenil*: this Riuer runnes by *Piulllos*, and enters into an other called *Aguasblancas*, which together passing by the village of *Cene*, runne towards *Granado*; and betwixt these two riuers is the Mountaine of *Guejar*, one of the descents of *Sierra Neuada*, in the which there kept about foure thousand Moores vnder the Captaines *Xoabi*, *Choconeillo*, *Macox*, and *Moxixar*, who ranne euen to the gates of *Granado*: *D. John* made them lodge and retire farther into the mountaines of *Sierra Neuada*.

*Farrax Aben Farrax* was among the Moores that were at *Guejar*, in poore and miserable estate, of whose aduentures it is fit to make some little mention. Being in disgrace with king *Aben Humeis*, and put from all affaires, his miserie had brought him to that despaire, as hee was ready to yeeld himselfe to the Marquesse of *Mondejar*, who without doubt had put him to an exemplarie death: being in suspence, and having changed his minde, hee thought it better to yeeld himselfe vnto the Inquisition, thinking that making his accustomed submissions, he should haue his life saved at the least. There was a

Moore

Death of King  
Aben Humeis.Aben Abou chosen  
king of the  
Rebells.Galere taken  
by the Moores.

Moores defeated.

Farrax Aben  
Farrax, his mis-  
erable estate.

1569

A Moore with him which had beene his companion in the art of dying, to whom hauing imparted this his designe, exhorting him to doe the like (for hee was no lesse culpable than he) he liked well of it, and was content to go before to treat with them of the Inquisition for them both. *Farrax* hauing instructed him, being to depart that night, and therefore they were retired into a valley couered with wood to keepe their businesse more secret, after that he had discoursed long, & reiterated his instructions to this Moore, he fel a sleep in the wood, the other seeing him fast, thought that he should make his peace better if hee slue him, and being resolu'd, hee tooke a great stone wherewith he gaue him so many blowes vpon the head, face, and bodie, as hee left him for dead, and then he went as it is to bee coniectured to *Granado*.

B *Farrax* being thus pittifully handled, remained two daies neither dead nor aliue in that Vallie, whereas two Moores passing by, found him, whilest hee yet breathed, and not knowing what hee was, but onely finding that hee was a Moore, they laied him for pittie sake vpon one of their horses, and carried him to *Guejar*, where hee was lookt vnto and cured; but hee remained so disfigured as his visage had scarce any shape of a mans, and in this estate hee followed the troupes, liuing of almes, being known of few men. This was the reward of the chiefe authour of the Moores rebellion.

Returning to *Aben Abou*: he had a intent to gather the Oliues vpon the riuer of *Boldui*, hauing sent a number of Moorish women thither, with a gard of eight hundred souldiers; but they were no good gardians, for being charged by the Marquesse of *Velez*, they fled with the losse of two hundred of their men, slain vpon the place, and all their women were taken. *Guescar* was also relieved by the Marquesse, who slue about fiftie hundred of the Moores. Winter broght many discommodities both to the one and the other, yet the Marquesse of *Velez* held *Galere* alwaies inuested; but seeing in the Spring that *D. John* would come and besiege it himselfe, he retired: for he was so ambitious as he would haue the honor of euerie thing that was done where he was. The body of *D. Johns* armie which was inteded against the fort of *Galere*, was made at *Guescar*, *D. John* being at *Balsa*, which is 7 leagues off, where he prouided for all things necessarie. *Galere* was but a borough without any wall, but seated among rockes which couered it, being enuironed with

D deep precipices, the which the Moores by traucses and barracadoes had made in a maner impenetrable, and in these deep bottomes the riuer ran, whereas they of the Borough were forced to fetch their water; and to the end they might goe thither without danger, the Moores had made a way like a wall, and by this meane they did water safely. There were three thousand Moores and Turkes to defend this fort. The church without the borough had a high Tower, which serued them both for a watch and a Citadell. *D. John* brought his armie thither, and hauing made there batteries, he presently took this church by one of them. But when he came to the Borough, there was great difficultie to batter it, by reason of the rockes which did couer it. It was so well defended, as the Spaniards were many times out of hope to take it: but obstinacy staied them, and made them to continue their

E assaults furiously, so as in the end they took it by force, being fauoured by three mines, which plaid happily to the great losse of the besieged, who abandoned the place, & sought to escape by the rockes and precipices; there were 2400 Moores and Turkes slaine, and a great booty taken of gold, siluer, and other moucables, with great store of come. There were many women Moores found there, but for that the Souldiers lingred after them, *D. John* caused them all to be slaine in his presence. There were 4500 Christian women and Children set at libertie, as well those of the Borough, as others which they had brought from *Oria*, *Castileije* & other places thereabouts: This victorie was dearly bought, for *D. John* of *Austria* lost many men, but the number is not specified; but of captaines and men of mark, there were slaine at sundry assaults, *Martin de Lorite*, *John de Magueda*, *Baltazar*

F de *Aranda*, *Alfonso Beltram*, *Charles* and *Frederike* of *Antillon*, *D. John d' Castille*, *D. Anthony d' Gouernas*, *Abarca* and others. Of wounded were *Pedro d' Padilla*, *Pagan Doria*, the Marquesse of *Fauara*, *D. Lewis Henriques*, *D. Lewis d' Auila*, *D. Pedro de Sotomator*, *D. Diego Vazques de Atugna*, *Bernardin* of *Quixada*, with many Lieutenants and Ensignes. This place being wonne, *D. John* sent to view *Seron*, but hee lost above fise hundred men. *D. Lope de Figueroa* master of the Campe, was charged in another

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place

Defeat of  
Moores.Galere besieged  
and taken.Women Moores  
masacred.Spaniards of  
account slaine  
at Galere by  
the Moores.

place by fixe thousand Moores, led by *Habaqui* and *Malesh*, who got armes to arme aboute a thousand men. *Lewis de Quixada* was wounded there, whereof hee dyed soone after: *D. John* had a shot on his Caske: but it was of good prooffe.

1570

The duke of Sesses armie entred the Alpuxarres, in March one thousand five hundred and seentie, by *Padal*, to goe vnto Orgiba. The Moores chiefe strength was at Andarax with their king *Aben Aboo*, who had set good gards at Lanjaron, and in the West quarter were *Rendal* and *Macox*, two Captaines, with foure thousand Moores. The duke had diuers skirmishes about Lanjaron, which the Moores held, but in the end they abandoned it. After which hee led his army to Albacete of Orgiba. In these incounteres there was a Turkish Harquebuse taken, the Canon wherof was ten spannes long, carrying a bullet which weighed an ounce and an halfe.

The Moores which were in the Castle of Velez of Benandalla seeing themselves inuaded by the Dukes armie, they corrupted some Souldiers of his campe, who suffered them to escape with their women and what else they could carrie away. But being in a place of safetie, they returned vnto the passages betwixt Velez and the campe, where they spoiled and slue many passengers, and so recompensed themselves largely of their losses. The fort of Lontegi was also taken from them, but some troupes going from *Aben Aboos* campe, charged a conuoy which came to the dukes campe, and carried away many beafts with their burthens, and had made spoile of all, if they had not been relieved in time.

Conuoy defeated by the Moores.

The two armies coasted one another for a time amidst these mountaines, skirmishing vnto Campuxan, the Moores bending towards *Subiles*, and the duke to Portillo and *Vixar*. The duke had in his Campe about eight thousand men, *Aben Aboo* had twelue thousand. The duke to discharge his armie of many vnprofitable mouths, as souldiers that were hurt, whome hee sent to Guadix to be cured, with some women and children, whome hee had rescued from the Moores, and a good number of Moores prisoners, sent away the Marquesse of Fawara, with a thousand foot, and one hundred horse to gard them, and to bring backe certaine horses, and mules laden with victuals to the campe: but the Marquesse fell into an ambush which *Piceni* and *Martel de Zenete* Captaines among the Moores had laied for him, where hee lost all his baggage, and eight hundred of his souldiers, the which fell out vnprofitably, for the dukes armie was in some extremitie for want of victuals, and therefore fought to passe to Adra, being alwaies coasted by the Moores, who began to growe souldiers vnder this new king. *D. John* of Austria had better successe: for he fought with *Habaqui*, who was come with seuen thousand Moores to raise him from Seron, and defeated him. At that time *Ierome Malesh* one of their best captaines died of sicknes. Throgh the fauor of this victorie *D. John* took Seron and Tyole; he chased the Moores from Porchena, and then marcht towards Andarax, to seeke out the Moores king with their armie: betwixt these two armies there were many skirmishes with diuers euents.

Christians defeated by the Moores.

Moores defeated by D. John.

In the meane time king *Philip* came vnto Cordoua, being very desirous to haue this warre ended in one sort or other: for hee was aduertised that the Turke had great designs vpon Italie, and for this cause had broken the peace with the Venetians, the king being solicited by them and other Potentates in Italie, and by continuall letters from the Pope to ioyne in league with them. Wherefore being forced to fend his gallies, hee must of necessitie send his Brother *D. John*, whome hee was desirous to aduance. The Moores who were also aduertised of these things, and therefore out of hope to be relieved by the Turke, who had other enterprises in his braine, desired, no lesse than the king, to enter into some treatie of peace. The Gallies and Foistes of Barbarie came no more to succour them: three galeots which had discharged, come armes, & Arabian books, Alcarons and other, in the road of Dalias, had bin discovered and taken by the inhabitants of the countrie: seuen other galeots or foists being come to the same coast with souldiers, which *Hassena* Turke brought out of Barbarie, they returned vpon a false brute of peace, which had bene spread abroad, both the Moores and the Christians being desirous of rest. Besides, enuy, disloyalty, and other vices raining among the Moors caused a diuision among the, some of the captains hauing bin sent into

Afrike,

Afrike, laied there, and would no more return; many of the common people did the like king *Aben Aboo*, and others which held good were solicited and tempted by promises, that they should receiue all fauour and good vsage from king *Philip*, and they were well pleased also to keepe their pillage, so as they yielded to enter into treatie, but there was no cessation of armes. *Habaqui* and some other knights of the Moores were at Pond of Andarax, where hauing conferred with king *Philip* deputies they made an accord vpon these articles.

That *Habaqui* in the name of *D. Diego Lopez Aben Aboo*, and others of whome hee had power, should kneele at *D. Johns* feet, and demanda pardon of king *Philip*. That they should yeeld vp their armes and Engines. That they should bee receiued into grace, and all that was past forgotten. That they should not be wronged by word nor deede, nor molested by the Inquisition: That they that were reduced should bee sent withall securitie with their goods, wiues and children, to such places as should be assigned them to liue in, for they must leaue the Alpuxarres. According vnto this accord a submission was made by *Habaqui* to *D. John* at Padules, and the Ensignes being deliucted *D. Alfonso de Granada* wrote to *Aben Aboo*, to giue him better assurance, passing by Alcolea where hee found *Xabibi* they went together to Cadiaz, where hee was well entertained by *Aben Aboo* and *Habaqui*, and hauing had much conference vpon the assurance which *D. Alfonso* had charge to promise them, such as they should demand, they proceeded so farre in their accord, as most of the Turkes that were in the army were dismist, and sent home well satisfied.

Treaty of peace with the Moores.

But after *D. Alfonso* departure, many of these Moores considering better of the importance of this reduction, began to distrust, passing into Barbarie and returned not, and for that they had left *Aben Aboo* in mind to retract, they did sollicite the Turkes and Moores of Afrike, not to forbear to succour them of Spaine, whereunto they found many Lords among the Moores verie willing, So as in a short time there came many vessels to that Coast, bringing souldiers, armes and munition from Barbarie. The which confirmed *Aben Aboo*, and others in the resolution they had next to put themselves into the hands of the king of Spaine, nor of his Lieutenants, beginning to hate and curse them that had dealt in this traitise, and especially *Hernand Habaqui*.

Moores after the accord reuolted.

This confusion among the heads did so amaze the common people of the Moores, as they came in great troupes to yeeld themselves to the kings mercie, and to his Gouvernours and Captaines, who had commandement to receiue them, and not to suffer any outrage to bee done vnto them. Others that could escape did more willingly passe the Sea, for they did not submit themselves but through hunger, and by an opinion they had conceiued that they could not prosper vnder their heads, nor bee freed from their miseries by them, seeing they were continually in discord. The armies were still on foot during these Ambiguities, yet somewhat neglected and weak, for they still expected when they should bee dismist.

The Duke of Sesse brought his armie before the Castle of Fer, which was a store-house of Turkes to succour them, and took it: *D. Sancho de Leua* did also take certaine foists. The Captaines of places ranne wheresoeuer they heard there were any Moores in armes, which made many to hasten their reduction. Many souldiers being disbanded did not forbear the Moores that had submitted, but did spoile them and make their wiues and children captiues, to keepe them, or sell them, for slaues, to prevent the which, they vied all diligence to draw them from their ancient habitations to liue farther off in places assigned them according to the accord, and certaine diuisions which had bene made. The more to incite the Moores to submit themselves, the President *D. Pedro de Desá* wrote a letter of exhortation to the nation of the Moores, in the Arabian tongue, as if it had bene some Morabite or Hermite of the law of *Mahomet*, who perswaded them to barken to a peace, and to free themselves of so many miseries, causing many copies thereof to be made, the which being dispersed among that nation, did hasten the reduction of many. *Habaqui* seeing that *Aben Aboo* wet back, & that the party was much diminished, being diuided among themselves, went to *D. John*, & told him with great assurance that if he wold giue him

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five hundred shot, hee would bring *Aben Aboo* bound vnto him: *D. John* would not giue him any men, but hee caused eight hundred Crownes to bee deliuered him, to leue them where hee should thinke good, and to performe what hee had promised.

*Habagui* being resolute to imploy himselfe for the performance of the accord, came to Vercheul where his wife and children were, to haue them prepare themselves, for hee meant to take them from thence, and to carrie them to Guadix: passing by Iessen; hee saw certaine Moores walking idly vpon the place, of whome hee demanded proudly why they staid to goe vnto those places which were assigned them, by the treatie of peace. To whome they answered, that they attended the commaundment of *Aben Aboo*. And I tell you (replied hee) that if *Aben Aboo* be so tedious and vnwilling, I will lead him to *D. John* of Austria bound at my horse taile. These words were told to *Aben Aboo*, by some one of these Moores, whereat being much incensed, hee sent one hundred and fiftie Turkes, which he had reserued for his garr, and two companies of Moores, in whome hee trusted, to goe and take him at Vercheul. *Habagui* hearing a noise in the night, got out of his lodging, and beganne to flee away, who without doubt had escaped, had not his white Turban discouraged him a farre off, which was the cause that they pursued and tooke him.

Being brought before *Aben Aboo*, hee reproacht him with his presumption and proud threats against him that was his king; telling him that hee knew well hee was a Traitor, and that hee sought to make his peace apart with the Christians and bring all the rest of Moores to the slaughter, or slauiery: whereupon hee caused him to bee presently led into a secret place, and there to be strangled by his household Seruants, and then hee caused his bodie to bee bound vp in a fagot of reedes and to bee cast into a precipice, where it remained many daies, and no man knew what became of him.

Being rid of this man, hee sent into all places where the Moores were not reduced, to aduertise them that they should not submit, putting them in hope by counterfeited newes of succours by the Turkish armie, and other such meanes, yet hee did not leaue to write to *D. Alonso* of Granado, and to *D. Fernand* of Barrades, the Mediatours, that hee continued still in the same minde; but the effects shewed the contrarie, for a brother of his called *Galipe* hauing bene defeated, as hee went towards Ronde and Bentomis with two hundred Souldiers to maintaine the Moores of that quarter in rebellion, they vnderstood all his practises, how hee did sollicite the Turkes and Moores of Affrike: That hee made an accompt to haue twelue thousand men; that hee made prouision of come; that hee had put eight hundred men into Pitres, and that hee fortified himselfe and prepared for warre. Finally to free them from all doubt, being prest by letters from *Hernand de Barredes*, and by mouth by *Hernand Valles de Palacios*, who was sent expresse vnto him, to make declaration if hee would ratifie the Capitulations; hee answered plainely, and after a proud and disdainfull maner, that they were deceived who thought hee would put himselfe into the power of *Philip*, or trust to his promises: for the Moores of those times had sufficient proofes, besides those which their predecessors had left, in what maner the kings of Castille were accustomed to keepe their faith. This being reported, the king commaunded they should continue the warre with all violence, and not pardon any Moore that was armed, but preferue them that were quiet. The duke of Arcos had the charge to presse them of Ronde and of Sierra Vermeille. The great Commander was to enter againe into the Alpuxarres, whereas many defended themselves. But in the end the Moores finding that their head was destitute of means and Counsel, most of them submitted themselves, and *Aben Aboo* found himselfe so abandoned, as he had no care but how to saue himselfe in Barbary, being resolu'd neuer to trieking *Philip* clemency, flying from caue to caue, & from rock to rock betwix Vercheul & Treuelles, which are the roughest parts of those mountaines, hauing scarce 400 men which followed him: being notwithstanding like a troublesom thorn, whereof the king desired much to be free. VVhe as it pleaseth god to take away all difficulties, wherewith men are troubled

Boldnes of a Moore.

Habagui strangled.

Warre renewed with the Moores.

A troubled, he suddenly raiseth occasions, and can giue v unexpected ends to great affaires, many times by meanes instruments. There was a Goldsmith at Granado, called *Barrero*, a pleasant man, and well knowne to the Moores and Christians dwelling in the Alpuxarres, where, before the warre, hee was wont to goe and sell rings of gold and silver, and other toys of his trade, and tooke in exchange from them silke, pearles, and other things. *Barrero* returning to his wonted traffique, vpon the reduction of some burroughes in those mountaines, hee came to Cadiar and to Vercheul, at such time as the capitaine of the garrison, called *Galas Rotulo de Villa-Real*, hauing taken certaine Moores, theues, of *Aben Aboos* traine, was readie to haue them shot: One of them knowing *Barrero*, came and saluted him, and reported his misfortune vnto him, intreating him to bee a meanes for his deliuerie. The Goldsmith knew this Moore, and demanded newes of *Aben Aboo*, who were about him, and his chiefe counsellors. The prisoner told him what he knew, and that his most familiar friends were a Secretarie of his, called *Bernardin Aben Amer*, and a capitaine whom they called *Seniz* of Vercheul, but he gaue most credit to *Aben Amer*. *Barrero*, who in former time had bene verie familiar with *Aben Amer*, thought it fit to write vnto him touching the reduction of his master, asking the Moore if hee could find meanes to carrie a letter and not be discovered, and hee would cause him to bee set at libertie. The Moore did promise and sweare it: Wherefore *Barrero* hauing acquainted capitaine *Rotulo* with his enterprise, hee intreated him to keepe this prisoner vntill his returne from Granado, whither he would goe and aske leaue to conferre with the Secretarie of *Aben Aboo*, whom he had knowne long, hoping to draw him to persuaade his master to yeeld. The great Commander gaue him leaue to write and conferre, and being returned to Vercheul, hee dispatcht this Moore with a persuauiue letter to *Aben Amer*. This messenger could not so passe the rockes and caues of Vercheul, but hee fell into the hands of *Seniz* men, who led him to their master. Being examined whence he came, and whither he went, hee answered, That he had escaped the hands of the capitaine of the garrison of Vercheul and Cadiar, who held him prisoner. *Seniz* not beleeuing him, threatened to racke him: wherewith being terrified, hee sayed, That in truth hee was a prisoner, and that hee knew not what it contained, and so hee gaue it him. *Seniz* hauing read it, was verie well pleased, saying vnto the Moore, That it was happie for him hee had fallen into his hands; for if hee had gone to *Aben Amer*, he would haue hanged him as soone as he had giuen him this letter: That hee meant to send him backe to him that had written it, willing him to bee faithfull, for hee should bee well rewarded. This poore Moore being glad, promised to doe any thing that hee should commaund him.

*Seniz* and *Francis Barrero* met at a certaine place appointed, and concluded betwixt them, That *Barrero* should returne to Granado, and bring a generall pardon in good forme, to all those that had bene in armes since the treatie made with *Habagui*, in the which *Aben Aboo* should bee expresse named. These letters were dispatcht with all fauour, wherein nothing was omitted. *Barrero* hauing brought them, and deliuered them to *Seniz*, it happened that *Aben Aboo* was aduertised of this conference, wherewith hee was much discontented, and came in the night with a small traine to the caue where *Seniz* retired himselfe, leauing his people a little way off, in a passage vnder the rocke, keeping two Moores onely with him, whom hee made to stay at the entrie of that naturall caue, which was in the top of the mountaine of Huzun, a boue Vercheul and Mecine of Bombaron. Hee demanded verie disdainfully of *Seniz*, Who had giuen him leaue to treat with the enimie? You, answered *Seniz*, and it is in consequence of former conferences, the which, I tell you, wee must continue and end; and therefore let vs not loose the opportunitie to recouer king *Philip* fauour, and let vs not through bad counsell seeke our own ruines: putting instantly into his hand these letters of pardon, the which *Aben Aboo* reiected, crying out, That it was nothing but villanie and treason, offering to goe forth to call his men. One of them which hee had left at the entrie of the caue would haue come in, but he was put

Practises of a Goldsmith to end the warre with the Moores

1570

Aben Aboe  
king of the  
Moors slain.

put backe; and throwne downe a Precipice, the other fled; and hee himselfe was G stayed to reason with him; but he was in such a rage, as hee would not heare any thing: so as *Seniz*, seeing his obstinacie, resolved to kill him, and lifting up a long harquebuse which hee had in his hand, hee gave him such a blow on the head, as he overthrew him, and then he and his men stabbd him with their daggers. They which attended him, being aduertised by the Moore which had fled, That they had slaine his companion; and that he thought they had done as much vnto the king, retired. This done, *Seniz* sent to aduertise *Francis Barrero* thereof, and that hee should send a moyle to carrie the kings bodie to Vercheul; the which was done, and *Seniz* invited to come with all assistance to the garrison, where hee was entertained; and much made of by *Leonard Rosulo*, H brother to captaine *Galas*, then absent; and then hee and *Barrero* went vnto the citie, whither they caused the bodie to be carried, where they had a joyfull entrie made them.

Troubles of the  
Moors specified.

The head of *Aben Aboe* was put in a cage of yron, and set ouer the citie gate which looks towards the Alpuxarres: The bodie, being quartered, was hung vpon the high-ways. After which there was not any Moore found to make head; all layed aside armes, and submitted themselues to the kings mercie, according to the generall pardon which was graunted to *Francis Barrero*. But they were all drawne out of the mountaynes, and the townes of Granado, and thereabouts, and sent into plaine countries, and more accessible, to inhabit; as the Emperour *Trism* did with the auncient Spaniards, who were accustomed to rebell often, vpon the assurance of their townes and castles built vpon the edge of the mountaynes, the which he caused to be rased, and commanded by an Edict, that they should not build any more but in the plaines.

Thus ended the warre of the Moores of Granado, in November 1570; having continued neere two yeares, verie daungerous and difficult, being rashly caused by the ill vllage of them that they call old Christians in Spaine, by the importune pursuits of the Clergie and Inquisition, and by the bad administration of justice; and infolencie of the ministers there of; and no lesse inconsiderately entertained by the impatiencie of the Moores, and augmented by their obstinacie and ignorance, which suggested wicked and monstrous conceptions. The charge and losse was great, for there was about siue millions of crownes of the kings treasure spent in this warre. The interest of priuate men, and the spoyle and vnpeopling of the countrey, was incalculable, in the which about thirtie thousand Christians lost their liues. As for the Moores that were slaine of all ages and sexes, the number cannot be said; for a great realme might haue bene peopled therewith. If they had bene intreated with more mildnesse and humanitie, without doubt they might easily haue kept them in obedience, and by little and little might haue made them leaue that which was vnpleasing or scandalous in their manner of liuing; and as for religion, they should bee instructed with more care and charitie, causing that injurious contempt which is ordinarie in Spaine and other places, of them that are newly come to the knowledge of Iesus Christ, to cease, being vnpleasing vnto God.

9

Marriage of king  
Philip with his  
niece.

King *Philip* being somewhat freed from cares by the end of this warre with the Moores of Granado, hee would haue his marriage consummated with *Anne* of Austria, his neece, daughter to his sister and to the Emperour *Maximilian*, for the which he obtained a dispensation from the Pope, according to the vse of that holy Church. She past through the Low Countries, and was receiued by the duke of Alba at Nymeghen with great honour, who conducted her to Brussels, and so to Fleissingue, where she embarked in October, and within eight dayes arriued happily in Biscaye, being accompanied by the Archdukes *Albert* and *Wenceslaus*, her brethren, being verie young. Shee was receiued there by the cardinall of Seuille, whom the king had sent thither to doe that office. The king entertained her at Segouia, with that state that was befitting the greameste; then passing on to Madrid, whereas the widow Queene of Portugal met them, they were married with great solemnitie.

The king of Spaine (as wee haue said) was solicited to enter into league with the Pope

1570

King of Spaine  
sends his galleies  
to assist the Venetians.

A Pope, and the Venetians, against whom *Selym* the great Turke, picking a quarrell, had declared warre. And for that the danger of this warre required aid, the Pope sent a Nuntio into Spaine, which was *Lewis Torres*, clerke of the chamber, with speciall order from him to draw the king into this league, but about all, to craue the assistance of his gallies for that present yeare; that being ioyned with them of Venice, they might goe and make head against that mightie fleet which the Turke had sent to sea. The king knowing how much it did import himselfe and the whole state of Christendome, being moued with many speciall considerations, hee graunted his gallies, which were then readie in Italie. Wherefore he sent a speciall commission to *John Andrew Doria*, That according to the Popes pleasure he should go; as head of those gallies, to Messina; but he gaue him no direction, that hee should goe from thence to Corsu, to ioine with the Venetian armie, and with the Popes gallies, which were commaunded by *Mars Antonie Colonna*, and that hee should leaue the command of all vnto *Colonna*, being lent by the king vnto his Holinesse: the which being not well specified, was a great prejudice to the armie that yeare. But the businesse of the league being treated of in the kings Council, with great deliberation, was not so easily concluded, notwithstanding that *Torres*, and *Leonardo Donata*, a Senator of great worth, sent from the State of Venice into Spaine, did sollicite it verie earnestly: but the importance of the businesse, the ordinarie disagreement which is found in all Councils consisting of men of diuers complexions, and the naturall slownesse of that nation, made those embassadours to spend many monethes in vaine, and did somewhat coole the ardent desire the king had to satisfie the Pope and that Commonweale, as he did afterwards shew by the effects.

But to come to the cause of this warre. The Turke had sent a Chaous to the Venetians, that they should, without delay, deliuer vnto him the island of Cypres, which did belong vnto him, as hauing succeeded to the rights of the Emperours of Constantinople, the kings of Ierusalem, and of the auncient kings of Syria and Egypt, the which (said hee) they had gotten away. The which hauing refused, he denounced war against them, wherein they had great difficulties, being surprised, for that it was before the succours came which they had begged from the king of Spaine, the Pope, and other princes, who performed not their promises but verie late, after the losse of Nicosia, and all they had in that island; euerie one selling the succours which hee had promised in balancing the interest they had to oppose against the Turke, and seeking to contribute with some aduantage for his owne particular. But the next yeare there was a league made, as you shall heare, by the which *D. John* of Austria, the kings brother, was chosen to be Generall of the confederats armie against the Turke.

The enterprize which the Turke made vpon Cypres, and the battell at sea, which happened vpon this occasion, is memorable, and merits a particular relation in this historie of Spaine, for that the power and meanes of king *Philip* did much auaille, and *D. John* of Austria, his brother, had the honour to be Generall of the armie at sea, and woon a famous victorie.

The island of Cypres was in truth a remainder of the Empire of Constantinople, and of the realme of Ierusalem, erected by the French in their holy warres, and came by the gift of *Richard* king of England, who had conquered it from the Emperours of Constantinople, or rather by purchase or exchange, to the famous house of *Lusignan* in France, who enioyed it some generations. Among the kings of this familie, there was one *Peter* the first of that name, who was valiant, and went into diuers parts of the world; but for some tyrannies, and by the conspiracie of his vnchaste wife, who was of the house of Aragon, he was slaine by his subiects: to whom *Peter* the second succeeded; in whose time there grew great contention, with notable murders, betwixt the Consuls of the Venetian and Genouois, nations trafficking in Cypres; and the Consul of the Genouois was by his commandement cast out of the windowes of his palace, in fauour of the Venetian: wherefore the Genouois being then strong at sea, sent a great armie to Cypres, sackt the island, and seised vpon Famagosta: falling to an accord, the Genouois carried *James* the kings vnkle with his wife, away in hostage. *Peter* being dead, *James* was deliuered, and reigned in Cypres, and vpon some rights, caused himselfe to bee crowned, and called

Cypres an island  
and a realme.

Lewis of Sauoy  
king of Cypres.

10  
Right of the  
Seigniorie of  
Venice to Cy-  
pres.

Tyrannies of  
the nobilitie o-  
uer the people  
in Cypres.

Usurpations  
upon the religi-  
on of Malta.

called king of Ierusalem and Armenia, although that he possessed not any thing. His son G named *James*, for that he was borne at Genoua, which they call in Latin *Ianna*, succeeded him, who was taken by *Melech Sala*, Sultan of Egypt, to whom he paid for his ransom 125000 ducats of gold, and a yerely pension by way of tribute. After him *John* his sonne reigned, a man of no value, who, among other wifes, had married one of the bloud royall of the *Pa-leologni*, named *Helene*, by whom he had a daughter called *Charlotte*, who was married to a prince of Portugal: he tooke the gouernment from his mother in law *Helene*, and there-fore she caused him to be poisoned. *Charlotte* tooke to her second husband *Lewis* of Sauoy earle of Genoua, and seeking to raigne, a bastard brother of hers, called *James*, opposed himselfe, saying, the women did not raigne in Cypres.

This quarell being debated before the Sultan of Egypt, who (as superiour of that realme which payed him tribute made himselfe Iudge) gaue sentence in fauour of *James*, and put him in possession, chasing *Charlotte* and her husband out of the island. This *James* married with *Katherine Cornari*, a Venetian, who was adopted by the Seigniorie of Venice for the daughter of *S. Marc*, and had an hundred thousand ducats for her dower. This *James*, being the second of that name, dyed in the yeare 1473, lea-ving the queene his wife with child, having ordained by his Will, that his after birth, if it were a sonne, should bee heire to the realme. It was a sonne, and hee was named *James* the third, being acknowledged and crowned by the nobles and people of Cy-pres, for their king, as soone as hee was borne; but hee died at the end of the yeare: and then there grew a diuision in the realme for the Regencie and gouernement thereof, the which was ended by a resolution taken by the Estates, That the wi-dow Queene should raigne and gouerne with the counsell of eight men that should bee chosen; the which continued fiftene or sixteene yeares. Considering after-wards with what difficultie they should maintaine themselves against the enterprises of the Sultans raigning in Egypt, and in all Syria, the Queene and the Councell ha-ving againe assembled the Estates and the feudatories of the countrey, they conclu-ded to make donation of the island to the Seigniorie of Venice, which was rich and strong, and had meanes to defend them, sending the Queene to Venice, to signifie the decree, and to carrie this goodly present, in the yeare 1489, where shee remai-ned: and then they sent onely a Lieutenant, and certaine officers, for the Seigniorie.

Thus this donation is found written in the Annales of the Cypriots: But others say, that when as king *James* the second was dead, the Venetians being aduertised, that he had ap-pointed the infant which should be borne, and the mother together, to be heires vnto the realme, and the one if the other failed, the Venetians sent some of their Senators thither, as tutors to the king, and at the intreatie of the Venetian queene, who had a desire to quit her right vnto the Seigniorie: and that this young king being dead within the yeare, she retired her selfe to Venice. Howsoeuer it were, they enioyed it about fourescore yeares. Although that this commonweale be famous for their wisdom in the gouernement of their Estates, yet they had in time suffered the nobilitie of the countrey to vsurpe cer-taine authoritie ouer the common people, which exceeded, so as their condition did not differ much from slaues, for they were beaten, sold, and slaine, at the pleasure of great and couetous men, without mercie: the which had bred a desire in the people to change their master. Whereunto they adde another quarell, which was often made vnto the Senat by the great Master of Malta, That some priuat men among them had appropriated vnto themselves the Commaunders of the Order of *S. John*, in that island, and had made them hereditarie to their houses, whereof they gaue them no satisfaction. Which had made the great Master, *la Valette*, to countenance an enterprife, which was made to take that island from them, and to make a Maltois borne king there, who had his beginning from Greece, named *Basilic*, much fauoured by the great Turke, and who for his valour and merits had bene made by him Vaiude, or Prince of Transilvania. But the matter be-ing discovered, it was disappointed, and quenched, by the punishment of some, and a better guard set; and yet they did not suppress the tyrannies of the nobilitie ouer the poore people. Who for that cause did still animate the Turke to send an armie into Cypres, with assurance of good successe; for he should find the inhabitants of the coun-try

Armie of Turke  
in Cypres.

Nicosia ill pro-  
vided.

Resolution of  
a gentlewoman.

Famagosta be-  
sieged.

A *Musafa* his declaration: This was then the cause which had moued Sultan *Schih* to make this conquest this yeare, the which hee coloured with his old rights of Ierusa-lem and Egypt, and other such vanities, sending forth his armie (after the returne of his *Ghaous Gahal* from Venice) to inuade this island, where they landed a great num-ber of Turkes, horse and foot, in April, a port called *Salmes*, finding no resistance, so as within few dayes they were about fourescore thousand fighting men: for the trained bands, the Tymariots of Syria, Egypt, and of Natolia, which were nere vnto the sea, and in like manner the higher prouinces, euen vnto the river Euphrates, had bene com-manded to come vnto certaine ports, whereas thirtie gallies which *Osli Bassa* had left after his first landing, and some boats to barrie horses, went to receiue them, and to trans-port them into the island: The which continued many dayes, and the Venetians could not hinder it; notwithstanding that they had sent about an hundred and fiftie saile to sea, vnder the commaund of *Agome Zane*, who lay about Corfu and Dalmatia, which was opposite, there being an infectious disease fallen among their gallic slaues and souldiers that were newly leuied, and not accustomed to the sea, whereof a great number died; As *Richard* *John*, *Andrew Doria* being come with fiftie gallies of Spaine and Seile, and *Marc* *Anthony Colonius* with the *Dopes* and others, hauing commandement to fight with the Turkes armie, before they landed in Cypres, they joyned with that intent with those of *Malta*, which were in the island of *Candia*: but they vsed such delays, as the Turkes had landed in Cypres, and besieged *Nicosia*, battered and taken it before they weighed anchor, or had any newes of their taking thereof, and being aduertised, there was then no question to fight with them at sea, but rather to land, and to giue battell to the Turkes; but the parties were not equalle. Wherefore *Doria Colonius*, and the other Commanders of the succours, tooke counsell to retire into Italie, the Commanders of the Venetian fleet consenting themselves to keepe their ports, and other islands: yet they suffered much in this retreat by tempests, in the which the Venetians lost eleuen gallies, and *Marc* *Anthony Colonius* two, whereof the one, being the Admirall, was burnt with lightning. They had fortified *Nicosia* seasonably well, but it was ill furnished with men of defence, although it was full of people, for they made an estimate, that there liued in that cite about foure-score thousand persons, but there were not fiftene hundred souldiers, and verie few horse of the nobilitie of the countrey: yet they maintained the siege fure and fortie dayes as well as they might, but they neuer made sallie nor skirmish, as is vsual when a towne is invested by an entrie, for as being battered, and an assault giuen, it was not forced, but in a manner taken without resistance. There was a great slaughter made of all them that were found in armes; but there were more made slaues, and the towne was abandoned to the spoile, whereas the Turkes found an incredible wealth. About all, the Turkes had a great bootie of faires women and maids, among the which there was a gentlewoman, who for despight to see her selfe reduced into seruitude, had the courage to set fire on the pow-der in a ship into which she and many others were put, so as they were all burnt, and two other vessels that were joyning vnto it.

*Musafa*, who was General of the Turkes armie, hauing taken *Nicosia*, he left *Musafa* *Bassa* with 4000 men for the guard thereof, and then he marcht with his armie towards *Famagosta*, the onely place that was fortified in the whole island, the which was held to bee much richer than *Nicosia*, and therefore it drew so many Turkes thither from all parts, as by the common opinion there were at this siege about 200000 men. He made his first lodg-ing three miles from the towne, on the 18 of September. There was no hope to win this place by threats or promises, wherein they vsed great art: They found greater difficulties in their approaches than they had done at *Nicosia*, they of the towne falling forth, & skir-mishing with them continually. But in the meane time they had receiued aduertisement, that the Christian armie was joyned in *Candia*, which made the Turkes feare, that they would soone offer to succour Cypres, & that they would land an armie: so *Musafa* going to counsell with *Piali* and the other comandars, it was resolved, That *Musafa* should fortifie his lodgings at *Famagosta*, & then passe to *Nicosia*, to repaire the ruines, and aug-ment the garrison; & that *Piali* should go to sea with the fleet, maintaining the reputation of

1570

of the victorie gotten at Nicolsia, and the honour of the great Turke with a new victorie at sea; but they were soone after aduertised by two frigates, That the Christian armie being come to Castellazo, and hearing of the success of Nicolsia, were returned to Candie. Whereupon their fleet alfortumed, to give better order for their affaires, both for the wintering of their men at land, and for the better of the fleet to Constantinople, ready besiring to enter triumphantly into that citie with the spoyle gotten in Cypres, where he arrived the sixteenth day of December.

King of Tunis  
expelled by  
Muscibaly.

In this time, Muscibaly king of Alger had fallen into warre with the king of Tunis, who (as we have said) was feudatarie to the king of Spaine; and being come to fight, Muscibaly was victor, and the other dying away, with great difficultie, recovered Goulette, with his wife and foines; and the enemy being favoured by this occasion, and by the inconstancie of the Moores, made himselfe lord, without any toyle, of the citie of Tunis, and of Biscay; the which did afterwards draw the king of Spaine into a new warre, to restore him to his realme, flying to his Majestie for aid, as his father had done to the Emperour Charles the first.

1571

League concluded  
between the  
Pope, the king  
of Spaine, and  
the Venetians.

The king of Spaine desired to satisfie the Popes desire, and to avoyd tediousnesse in the conclusion of the league, had referred the treatie thereof to Rome, giving the charge in his name to *Antonie Perrenot*, cardinall *Granvelle*, and to *Francis* of Toledo, cardinall *Pacheco*, joyning with them *Johnde Zuniga* his embassidour at Rome. In the end, after many difficulties, the league was concluded the twentieth day of May, with these articles: That the king of Spaine should furnish an hundred gallies, the Venetians should arme as many, and the Pope (under whom marche the other princes and potentates of Italie) should enter for their part, That they should entertaine fiftie thousand foot, and foure thousand and five hundred horse, and with this power they should goe and assaile the Turke in his owne countrey, but especially in the island of Cypres. That towards the charge of this armie and the equippage, the king of Spaine should contribute a moitie, the Venetians a third part, and the Pope a first; and if the Pope should not be able to furnish it, whatsoeuer should be wanting the king should beare three fift parts, and the commonweale of Venice two: and that *D. John d' Austria* should be General of the whole armie.

Cardinall  
Alexandrino sent  
Legat into  
Spaine.

After the conclusion hereof the Pope sent cardinall *Alexandrino* his Legat, into Spaine, to treat with the king as well touching the execution of the league, and some other private businesse, as to goe into Portugal, to procure aid from that king. The king of Spaine received him with great honour, and treated with him touching the execution of the league, seeming to be resolved to bend all his forces against the Turke: and therefore he commaunded *D. John* to stay in Italie, after that yeares navigation, to be more readie with the armie in the Spring, and that his ministers at Rome should resolve in euerie occasion concerning the league, as they should thinke best, without expecting any new order from Spaine. From thence he past into Portugal, to treat in like manner with the king *D. Sebastian* concerning the league. This young prince was bred up in generous thoughts to purchase much glorie by making warre against Infidels, and therein to exceed his predecessors, having in himselfe a naturall disposition to warre, an able bodie, and practised in those painefull exercises which belong vnto warre, having bene alwaies laid before him, by the Iesuites which instructed him, That all his enterprises should be for the sole benefit of Christendome, they had made his mind as religious as his owne nature and the exhortations of his noblemen had made him warlike; so as hee did not thinke or reason of any thing but of warre. And for that the example of his predecessors did represent vnto him in his sleepe the honourable victories and glorious conquests they had made in Africke and the East Indies, hee in like manner directed all his thoughts to that end.

Disposition of  
Sebastian king  
of Portugal.

The Legat *Alexandrino* finding him in this disposition, did easily draw him to enter into this league against the Turke: who not onely promised to send his gallies well appointed, to the Christians armie, but he would also annoy *Solima* with another great manie at Suez, and other places held by the Turkes in the red sea, and in the golph of Persia: and more.

1571

A moreouer, the Pope desiring to breake the marriage betwixt *Marguerite* of Valois, and the king of Nauarre, he gaue commission vnto the Cardinall to moue this marriage vnto the King of Portugal, the which would haue bene somewhat difficult, if the king had not bene much deuoted to the Pope, who at his intreatie layed aside a strange resolution; which was, that he would not heare speake of a wife, because he would not be held effeminate, to the great griefe of his grandmother, his vncke, and the wisest of his Nobilitie, who desired to see some issue of him, and the succession of the realme assured. In the end he was content to take this French ladie, neither desired he any other dowrie, but a generous resolution in king *Charles* to enter in the league. Matters beeing thus settled in Spaine, the Cardinall, according to his commission, past thorough France, for the league and marriage, but he found no meanes to effect either: whereupon he returned into Italy.

King of Portugal  
content to  
take Marguerite  
of Valois to  
wife.

*Don John* of Austria being much pleased with this honorable charge, came from Spaine to Genoua, where he stayed not long, but arrived on the ninth of August at Naples, bringing with him from the Court, the great Commander of Castile, with the title of his Lieutenant, and chiefe Councillor, *Fernando Cariglia*, Earle of Pliego, his chiefe Steward, *D. Francisco d'Ibarra*, *D. Pedro Velasco*, *D. Michell Moncada*, *Gil d'Andrada*, *Carlo Spinelli*, who had followed him as an aduenturer against the Moores, with many others. With these there ioyned the Dukes of Parma and Vrbino, *Don Antonio Carrasa*, duke of Mondragon, the Marquis of Carrara, *D. Pompee* of Lanoy, *Vincencio Carrasa*, Prior of Hongary, the Earle of Sarno, the Marquis of Auila, *Paul Iourdain Vrsin*, the Earle of S. Fleur, *Afcanio de la Corne*, and *Paul Sforza*, beeing in Naples, Cardinall *Granuell*, the Viceroy, who in that action had the authoritie of Legat, deliuered vnto *D. John* the Standard, as General of the Church, the which the Pope had blest, who solicited his departure towards Messina by many embassages, where the whole fleet should ioine, and whether *Marc Antonio Colonna* was gone long before with twelue gallies of Florence, armed by the Pope, and three of the Order of S. John.

Noblemen with  
Don John in the  
army.

But to returne to the sege of Famagosta, *Mustapha* sought by all meanes possible to get the counterscarpe, the which was valiantly defended by *Marc Antonio Bragadino*, and *Astor Baglioni*, the one having charge of the gouernement, the other of the garrison, but in the end the Turkes wonne it. About the midst of May, they planted five batteries, and had made ten forts. They had in the beginning aduertised the Seigneury of Venice in what state they stood, who sent them a supply of seuteene hundred men, with victuals and munition by *Marc Antonio Quirini*, who past valiantly through the Turkes guards, and returned: these succors were commanded by *Lewis Martinengo*. The Turkes continued their batteries with great obstinacie, and had giuen foure assaults, where the besieged repulst them valiantly, but with great losse of either side: the besieged having held out till the 20 of Iuly, beeing now prest with great hunger and want, the number of their souldiers beeing diminished to eight hundred, and those much tyred; most of the Grecians beeing dead, either with fighting, or with the continuall toyle. Beeing terrified with so great miseries, and out of hope of any more succors, some of the chiefe of the citie besought *Bragadino*, that he would incline to some accord, seeing he had made so good proofe of their faith and constancie in that sege: No man would euer hold them vnworthie of commendation, if (after they had endured so many assaults, and suffered so much penurie, with want of munition, after the losse of so many souldiers and citizens, and finally, beeing without all hope of succours, they had provided at the least, for the liues of their children which remayned, and for the honour of poore miserable women: that he would not in recompence of their deuotion, which they had alwaies shewed to the common-weale of Venice, be the cause of the totall ruine of their citie, and suffer their wives and children, who had spent so much blood, and offered their bodies to death for their seruice, to become a shamefull prey to their Turkish lust, there remaining no hope of health, but by the meanes of some accord: That it was a thing worthie of a wife Nobleman (as he was) to chooseth the least of euils: And last of all to remember, that it was held a brutish crueltie, and no valour, to runne headlong to a certaine death, where there is no hope of life.

Speech to  
Bragadino at  
Famagosta.

Ppppp

Braga-

*Brigadino* knew that their request was just, and that their extremities were great: yet forcing his owne nature, and desiring to preserve the realme, which depended wholly vpon the losse of that place, he did not thinke it possible that the Senat would neglect so weightie a businesse, and not send the succours which had bene promised. Wherefore hee would not yeeld to their demaund, but fed them with good words, putting them in hope of present succours, dispatching a fregat presently into Candie, to aduertise the Seigniorie of their extremities.

12  
Famagosta yeelded to the  
Turkes.

In the end of Iulie the Turkes gaue an assault which continued fise houres: but the besieged seeing there was no meanes to endure another, hauing but seuen barrells of powder left, they began to treat of an accord, and hauing made a truce the first of August, the next day they gaue hostages of either side. The conditions were:

That the citie should be yeelded to the Turkes, the persons, armes, and goods of souldiers and citizens being safe, who might remaine there, and liue in the laws of Christ, and not be wronged in their honours nor substance.

That such as would depart might haue free passage into Candie, and three yeares respite, and that the souldiers should be garded by the Turkish gallies, that no outrage should be done them, and that they might carrie with them fise peeces of ordnance, and three of their best horses.

That they should not make any Mosques of their churches, nor charge the citizens with any carriages or tenthes.

*Mustafa* signed these conditions, and the souldiers began to imbarke in the gallies and other vessels which the Turkes had sent into the port, and on the fift day at night *Brigadino* hauing sent the keyes to *Mustafa* by cont *Nestor Martinengo*, he went himsele in person with *Astor Baglioni*, *Iohn Antonio Quirini*, *Andrew Brigadino*, cont *Lewis Martinengo*, with other Commaunders of great worth. *Mustafa* receiued them, in shew, with great honour, and causing them to sit downe, hee discoursed with them of diuers things, at last he said, That the Christians which had imbarked to goe from Famagosta, the night before they meant to passe into Candie, and to other places belonging to the Venetians, had cruelly and treacherously slaine all the Turkish slaues which they had, and that three had escaped with great difficultie out of the citie, to aduertise the Bassa thereof: And therefore he had giuen order, that the Turkes should not goe out of the haven with their vessels, before they had good caution for their securitie, that they should not be slaine, or made slaues in Candie, or any other place. Whereunto *Brigadino* answered, That it was not in the accord to giue any hostages, and therefore he meant not to doe it, denying absolutely that there were any Turkes slaine, as he had said. *Mustafa* was much altered with this answer, and made a signe with his hand, that he should come neere him; then he caused his interpreter to speake certaine words vnto him in his eare, which were not heard, nor yet *Brigadino* answer: but he seemed more furious than a Tigre, and striking *Marc Antonio* vpon the head, he and all the rest were presently taken, being all vnarmed: for it is a custome among the Turkes, that no stranger comes vnto them with his armes. Then causing them to be led out of the tent, he caused *Astor Baglioni*, *Andrew Brigadino*, *Iohn Antonio Quirini*, *Lewis Martinengo*, and the knight *del Haste*, to be cut in peeces in his presence, one after another, *Marc Antonio* being reserved for a more horrible death. Cont *Hercoles Martinengo* being there in hostage, was sau'd by one of the Bassas Eunuches, who tooke him for his slaue. The souldiers which were in the campe, to the number of three hundred, were all slaine, and those that were imbarked were made slaues.

Men of worth  
treacherously  
put to death by  
*Mustafa*.

Death of *Marc  
Antonio  
Brigadino*.

Two dayes after *Mustafa* entred into Famagosta, and hauing caused *Brigadino* eares to be cut off, when hee was taken prisoner, hee made him to bee set vpon the maine yard of the Admirals gallie of Rhodes, to bee a spectacle to the Christians that were there in captiuitie. In the end hee caused him to bee set vpon the pillorie in the market place, and there to bee stayed aliue by a Iew; this lord shewing still a noble resolution, and full of Christian pietie, neither did hee, during all his torment and disgraces which they did vnto him, shew any signe of feare or basenesse, still reproaching that traitor with the breach of his faith euen vnto his

A his death. Then hee caused him to be quartered, and one of them to bee set vpon either batterie: his skinne was stuf with straw, and hung at the yard of one of his gallies, being first a miserable spectacle to all the coast of Soria, and then to *Selim* in Constantinople. Thus after threescore and fiftene dayes batterie, and many assaults, the Turkes hauing spent an hundred and fiftie thousand shot of great ordnance, Famagosta was taken.

D. *John* of Austria came the foure and twentieth of August to Messina, being receiued by the two other Generals, *Colonna* and *Veniero*, with great honour; where, all the forces of the league not being yet arriued, he called the two Generals, with some others of greatest judgement in martiall affaires, to counsell, to resolute what they had to doe: but for that their opinions were diuers, it was ordered, that they should set them downe in writing, with their reasons; but the resolution was deferred vntill the arriual of the rest of the gallies. On the first of September *Iohn Andrew Doria* arriued with twelue gallies, hauing imbarke Germanes and Lombards at Spetie, after whom came the marquisse of S. Crux with thirtie gallies from Naples, and the next day *Quirini* and *Canale* with threescore from Candie: soone after there came some ships from Naples laden with men and munition, and some gallies from Palermo, conducted by *Cardona*; but some other vessels could not come so soone, being left to imbarke three thousand Italian foot, and 2000 Spaniards that were at Oranto. There were at Messina the eight of September twelue gallies of the Popes, 81 of the king of Spaine, with twentie ships of burthen (some say twentie fise) one hundred and eight gallies of the Seigniorie of Venice, six gallasses, and two ships; three gallies of Malta, and three of the Order of S. Lazaro: so as there were in the whole fleet two hundred and seuen gallies, six gallnasses, and two and twentie ships, besides foists and other smaller vessels, and in them at the least twentie thousand fighting men, with victuals and munition sufficient. Those that had chiefe charge in this armie, besides the Generals, were these, *Ascanio de la Corna* was Campe-master generall for the king of Spaine, the earle of S. Fiora was Generall of the Italians, the Colonels were cont *Paulo Sforza*, the earle of Sarno, and *Gasper Toraldi*; the Colonels of the Dutch were the earle of Lodron, and *Vinciguerra* of Arco: And of the fleet, D. *Iohn Andrew Doria* was Generall of his owne gallies, which the king paid, D. *Aluaro de Bassan*, marquisse of S. Crux, gouerned them of Naples with the like title, D. *John* of Cardona them of Sicilie, and D. *Cesare d'Amalos* the ships: *Gabrio Serbelloni* was Generall of the ordnance. The names of the rest of the Commaunders I omit to auoid tediousnesse.

D. *John* of Austria comes to Messina.

Number of  
Christians fleet  
at Messina.

The Pope sent *Iohn Paulo Odescalco* to Messina, to hasten their departure, and to enrich them with many indulgences, being to fight against the enemies of the holy Church. Then after a solemne procession they went againe to counsell. There were many things propounded, whereon they discoursed long with great judgement; but in the end the exhortations of *Colonna*, and of the Venetian commanders, made D. *John* resolute, who had a desire to do something worthe of himsele, and the expectation which was of that great fleet, to goe and fight with the enimie. Wherefore they parted from Messina the 16 of September: at night they came to S. *Johns* ditch, where he gaue order how they should saile, staying there the next day for certaine vessels which had staied behind for some necessities, & also for D. *Giles d'Andrada*, whom D. *John* had sent some daies before to leame some newes of the enimie, by whom he vnderstood, that they were gone towards Valona: but to be duely informed of his course, the same knight was presently sent backe againe. The Venetians were verie desirous to aduance, fearing that the dangerous time for sailing drawing neere, there would some storme arise, and make all their attempts fruitlesse for that yeare. After some foule weather and contrarie winds, they came to Cape S. Maria, hauing first met with a fregat, who brought them newes of the great need they of Famagosta had of present succours, and withall he did certifie them of the state of Candie, and that the Turkes armie was gone towards the gulph of Lepanto. Being come to Corfu on the 25 of the moneth, they were troubled to see many of their gallies behind, besides those that the marquisse of S. Crux had caried to Oranto for 3000 Italian foot, & the regiment of Spaniards in Naples. They wanted also their ships, who were sent before with

Resolution of the  
Christian armie



souldiers, and other necessities, parting from Messina a day before the rest of the armie, G but being hindered by foule weather, they could not come in time to the battell: within two dayes the galleasses and some gallyes arriued, the which had bene separated from the armie by storme, or by some other accident. And for that some were not of opinion to fight with the enemye, *Veniero* feared some accident, which might disturbe all, and make *Don John* to alter his resolution, and therefore pressing their departure, he had caused great store of come to be put into the galleasses, to be sent to the succour of Famagosta, having not heard any thing of the losse thereof. It was bruted, that *Caracossa* was gone with 18 gallies to Valona, to fetch *Biscuit*: wherupon *Colonna* and *Veniero* persuaded *Don John*, not to lose so goodly an oportunitie; for going to encounter his enemies diuided, wheresoeuer he hapned, he should obtaine a certaine victorie. *Don John* was not auerse to that resolution, but he desired to be better certified than with rumors, and vncertaine reports; and therefore it was resolved, that *Canale* should go before with two good gallies, to learne some certaintie of the enemies Fleet. But he was stayed vpon the arriual of foure gallies, which by contrarie winds had bene separated from the rest; they assured the Generalls, that there was not any vessell of the Turkes at Valona: for that hauing past thereby, they had not scene any. Whereupon some thought, it was but an artificiall invention of such, as desired they should fight with the enemye. *D. John* being at Gomenizze, a great port of Epirus, they were aduertised by *Giles d'Andrada*, that he had heard for certaine at Zante, that the Turkish Fleet was entred into the gulph of Lepanto, as a place of safetie, that they might supply their wants, and to resolve what they had to do, sending their sicke and vnprofitable people to Corone, for that *Caracossa* hearing of the coming of the Christians into those seas, was gone to aduertise the Generall *Aly*. There *Doria* having commandement from the Confederates, tooke must of all the vessels, obseruing every thing carefully, for that their opinions were diuers touching their fighting with the enemye.

Commander of  
Castile dis-  
suaues them  
from fighting  
with the Turke.

The great Commander of Castile, who was of great authoritie with the Generall, gaue aduise, that they should not hazard a battell without some great aduantage, whereof the hazard and danger was very great, not onely for the losse of so great an armie, but K for the great ruines which would ensue: for that Sicile, the coasts of Calabria and Apulia, yea of all Italy and Spaine, would, in this case, be made destitute of all gard and defence: so as they did not see what assured hope of gaine might ballance the reasonable feare of so great a losse; protesting, that what he sayd, was no more for the priuat interest of his King, than of the other Confederates, and especially of the Venetians, who as nearest to the enemye, might thinke to tast the first fruites of this dangerous counsell. It is sometimes to be held a great victorie, to hinder a mightie enemye, from doing any thing of importance, as they should do, in curbing the pride, that yea of the Turkish armie, growne bold by so many victories, hauing many gallies, and so well furnished, as it was to be presumed, both of souldiers and slaues, being in its owne country, where they had great Garrisons continually in pay, and had of late reduced so many Christians into seruitude in the Venetians countries.

He added, that by the example of all famous Captaines, both ancient and moderne, from whom they are accustomed to draw secure instructions in militarie actions, there was no course held wiser for them, that had the weaker power, and are in danger of the greater losse, than in delaying an enemye, to attend some aduantage to oppresse him, and tyring him, to make his attempts vaine.

The condition of things were not equall, neither should they hazard so much vpon a most doubtfull fortune, onely with a designe to fight with the Turkes forces M at sea, seeing the gaine would be small which they could promise themselves, by that hoped-for victorie; being as easie for the enemye to returne the next Spring very strong to sea, although he were vanquished, as it would be hard for the Confederates to repayre so great losses, if God, for the sins of Christendome, should suffer them to be overcome. Wherefore, I beseech you, my most noble Lord, set before your eyes the inestimable losse which may happen to Christendome, by the ruine of this armie, if in nothing else, but of so many noble Captaines, and valiant souldiers, which

A which we may boldly say without blushing, is the flower of all the martiall men of Christendome, of whose counsell and valour, I may truly say, depends the health of the best part of Europe; and so by consequence by the losse of them, the means to resist the Turkes power now would faile vs, and all hope to vanquish him hereafter. I will not forget to offer to your consideration, how dangerous it is for the winds and sea, the time of the yeare being so far spent, and that to go and spend any time in seeking of the enemye in this dangerous season of Autumne, were to tempt fortune doubly. There may be infinit examples produced, but the remembrance of the last yeare is so fresh, as wee need not to seeke farther: and you must vnderstand, that he which in time recouers a safe port with his shipping, makes it knowne what counsell is most profitable, if an vnfortunat chance happen. B But who can judge, if going so farre into the enemies countrey, to fight with him, being much weakened either by our losses in fighting, or by foule weather, whether we can with safetie recover our owne ports: without doubt, in this case few would be faued, being knowne by experience (a dangerous doctrine of rash men) what bad counsell it is, to follow a mightie enemye, and to fight with him in the midst of his owne strength.

Both the Venetian Generalls opposed themselves against the opinion of the great Commander, so did *Ascanio della Cornia*, *S. Fiora*, and *Serbelloni*, but especially the Generall *Colonna*, who sought to infringewith apparent reasons, and with the Popes authoritie, whose expresse commandement was, to find out the Turkes armie, and to fight with it. He C said, That he could in no fort yeeld to the opinion of *Requesens*, being a new proposition, and contrarie to the articles of the league, where it was chiefly propounded to make an offensive warre, and he taught them how they should still stand vpon their defence; which was nothing else, but to confirme the enemye in the opinion which he had conceiued of the small valour of the Christians, whereby he was growne more insolent. The confederat princes, said he, haue had a speciall care in their conuentions, to doe any thing that might daunt the pride of this enemye of Christendome, and that he should sensibly feeble the valour of Christians. He will neuer feare any such power, if we, measuring all forces by the compass of humane discourses, dare not promise vnto our selues any thing from the help of heauen: and yet let vs remember that we are the souldiers of Christ, that we fight for D Christ, and that being vnited vnder his banner, we need not feare that he will euer abandon vs, if we shew not our selues distrustfull. But I will not lay the foundation of all our hopes vpon the miraculous helps of heauen, whereby I should seeme to confesse, that humane force were not able to encounter, yea to vanquish this enemye. I should seeme to want judgement, to counsell a battell without constraint, and with apparent disadvantage, and to tempt the pleasure of God with the dangerous euent of a battell. Our armie then, in my opinion, is not so weake, nor the enemye so vigorous, that matters should bee brought to that despaire, seeing that we haue here about 200 good gallies, better appointed (according to the opinion of men of judgement) than the Turkes, the which would equall their aduantage of number, if the same be true, that the Turkes haue three E hundred vessels. For gathering these vessels from diuers parts, they haue, to make a number, assembled euery small barke of pyrats, fitter to steale, & run away, than to fight. Wee must thinke that our souldiers do exceed the Turkes in valour, who often with many thousands could not resist hundreds of our, and now, it may be, are not inferiour vnto them in number, if we shall wel examine the qualitie of their vessels and ours: and therein also we wil vse your authority, who maintain, that we haue the flower of all the souldiers of Christendome. And to what end then serues this multitude of gallies, these numbers of noblemen and souldiers, and so much treasure wasted, onely to goe neere the enemye? nay, not to approach neere him, but to terrifie him with the fame of our forces, and seeing that he doth not flie, we to retire our selues into safetie. But if that be not to be thought on, yet F to keep him from proceeding any farther in Cyprus, nor to annoy any more those miserable coasts, those vnfortunat islands which be subiect to the fire & sword of their barbarous cruelty. But we are to attempt more, to reuenge so many injuries receiued from them, so as the religious arms of Christians being as it were awaked from a long sleep, may be employed in those actions which shalbe held worthie of their ancient glorie. And contrariwise, what greater imputation can there bee vnto the name of Christians, than after two

1571 such preparations within few monethes, not to dare to looke the enemy in the face? **G**  
 What hope will there then remaine to deliuer the realme of Cypres? What will the  
 world say of vs? Oh let there neuer any thought of such feare come into our hearts:  
 let vs not shew our selues so weake: let vs not so little esteeme the forts which are held  
 by the Catholike king, and the Commonweale of Venice: that in case any vnfortu-  
 nate successe should befall our fleet, they should be a prey vnto the enemy. Princes  
 were wont to repose all their safetie in armies by land, or in fleets by sea; but since that  
 they haue found meanes to secure their countries with ports and frontire places well for-  
 tified, they haue not much esteemed the losse of a battell at land or at sea, touching the  
 conquest of anothers dominions, for that the defence within walls is so long, as that  
 prince which was a looser may repaire his forces, and come againe to fight with his ad-  
 uersaries. We haue now in hand the example of the realme of Cypres, the which al-  
 though it be farre from their lords forces, yet two forts, and those not very wel furnished,  
 haue made resistance aboue a yere, and there is yet hope to preserve it, sending some small  
 succours. And shall we feare, that so many strong places vpon this gulph, and vpon the  
 coast of Naples and Sicile, shall be in an instant deuoured by the Turkish armie, if any  
 sinister fortune should befall our fleet, which God forbid. But if we (my Lord Com-  
 maunder) shall runne into such apparent daunger, being at sea in these tempestuous  
 times of August, why will wee secure our enemies from the like daunger, when as they  
 after that imagined victorie, will faile ouer (being farre from their ports) the Mediterra-  
 nean and Tirrene seas, in that dangerous season? And if you shall say vnto me, That  
 in the Spring they will attempt some conquest of importance, I will answer, That our  
 forts, and the countrey which lyes most subiect to daunger, shall be the better fortifi-  
 ed. And for prooffe hereof, this mightie Turkish fleet, although it hath not bene a  
 ny way hindered this yere by our gallies, what matter of importance hath it attempted?  
 yea in Candie, and in these seas, they haue receiued great losses, comming neere vnto  
 fortified places. But let it suffice to haue hitherto discoursed, to shew that the daunger  
 is not so great, nor so apparent, in case we should loose a battell. Let vs now come to  
 the consideration of the importance, and necessitie we haue to giue battell, and then of  
 the certaine hope of the conquest, if we be victors. It is impossible to bridle and tame  
 the insolencie of the Turke whilst that hee is lord at sea, the which hee will alwayes  
 hold himselfe to bee, when as our nauie shall not dare to affront him with sufficient  
 forces, and that it is all one to flie the enemies sight, and to feare to receiue some harme:  
 but that feare doth not onely leaue him the possession of the sea free, and doth increase  
 his boldnesse with his force, but doth quite discourage the subiects, and giues them occa-  
 sion to attempt things verie prejudiciall to the commonweale. Let vs then goe and seeke  
 this armie, to daunt the pride of the Turks, and to giue courage to the Christians: hauing  
 found it, let vs fight with it, hauing a firme confidence both in the helpe of heauen, and in  
 our owne forces, that we shall vanquish them. Let vs perswade our selues, that the repu-  
 tation of the Christian name, and the honour of our princes, cannot be otherwise maintai-  
 ned; for that being knowne that they haue two yeaeres together prepared so great a fleet,  
 with their incredible charge, and giuen it out, That they would fight with the Turks, if  
 we should retire with such apparent signes of feare, I doe not see how we can auoid a ge-  
 nerall imputation, either of want of gouernment, or of extraordinarie cowardise. It is re-  
 quisit then by all the reasons of warre, that for the importance of this action, and to auoyd  
 shame and dishonour, we should trie a battell, for that the losse thereof cannot be so preiud-  
 ciall as the Commaunder faith, and by a victorie we are to expect a great conquest, if  
 we will presently imbrace the occasion, & reape the honorable fruits of so great an aduen-  
 ture. For it is apparent, that all the Turkes dominion is gouerned by most cruell tyrannie,  
 & that his subiects (whether you wil make an attempt vpon Albania, Morea, or Soria, yea  
 and in Thrace it selfe) as soone as they shal heare that his forces (who oppresseth them vn-  
 der the heauie yoke of barbarous seruitude) are ouerthrowne at sea, wil attempt some inno-  
 uation, if they shal but see the Christians ensignes: so as the Turks seeing the enemy not  
 only round about them, but euen in their houses, they will find themselves in a verie hard  
 condition, & what remedy shal they find to escape, but they must endure themselves to be  
 trium-

**A** triumphed ouer by many Noble victories? It is not any vaine hope grounded vpon  
 desire, that makes mee to speake thus, seeing it is certaine that the Christians  
 in those Countreys which I haue mentioned are more in number than the Turkes,  
 and although they bee vnarmed, yet are they not without courage, so as being armed by  
 vs, they will doe great seruice in any thing that shall bee attempted.  
 Besides, those coasts hauing not of many yeaeres scene a Christian Nauie, and not suf-  
 ficiently fortified for such dangers, what resistance can they make against our victo-  
 rious armie? If these great hopes should make vs resolute otherwise than the Commaun-  
 der hath propounded, should we not doe it the rather, for that it is the chiefe intent of  
 your king and my Lord to free Christendome from the oppression of the Barbarians, &  
 then to assure the Spanish Seas from the continuall spoiles, of Pyrats, Turkes, and A-  
 fricans? But his Maiestie shall neuer attaine to either of them, if their forces at Sea  
 been not first subdued: neither can they bee subdued, if wee doe not hazard a battell:  
 wee haue no hope to bee stronger at Sea the next yere than this, but rather to  
 decrease both in number and courage, hauing twise performed so little, if wee shall  
 resolute as you aduise vs: what then remains to bee done, but that being forced wee  
 proceed with an assured hope, not of one, but of many worthy victories, and finding  
 out the enemy, fight with him, like the souldiers of Christ? So may it please his diuine  
 bountie, to abate their arrogancie, and to confound this their mightie fleet, the which I  
 assure my selfe cannot bee soone repaired, if there bee the flower of the Turkes  
 forces, as well of Capitaines, as of priuate men, as wee suppose. But if our Prin-  
 ces, as hee pretends, loosing the battell, should with all lose the best of their for-  
 ces: why shall not wee with the same argument augment our hopes, our en-  
 mies being so much afflicted, for that our Princes exceed them much in men of  
 command; and for Sea causes, I dare affirme that the State of Venice hath more valiant  
 Capitaines than the Turke. Let vs not for Gods sake so much distrust our owne forces,  
 as our hearts should bee surpris'd with amazement, and that deprived of all genero-  
 sitie, yea, of pietie and Religion, wee should hold the enemy in that degree, and so  
 basely esteeme of our selues, and of the dignitie of the confederate princes, hauing in a  
 D maner no faith, that the supreme power which hath giuen them these forces, will also  
 preserve and increase them; with their ruine that are his cruell enemies, for the pro-  
 pagation of which faith we haue put on these armes, the which being guided by his  
 victorious hand, must needs yeeld glorious trophies, both in life and death, if wee will  
 not defraud our selues of this certaine hope.

**D. John** was in the flower of his age, and retaining that generous and warlike minde  
 of his father, hee inclined to his Councell, who with so many reasons propounded,  
 so honourable a party, and worthie of such a prince, notwithstanding that the com-  
 mand had bene giuen him by his brother as a Schoolemaster or guide: and with  
 this resolution hee caused the Navy to bee diligently viewed and furnished, and gaue  
 order how they should goe forth in battell. But, there fell out an accident which had al-  
 most ouerthrowne the whole action, and deprived them of immortall glorie. Some of the  
 kings Souldiers being placed in a Venetian Galley, they fell to quarrell with others that  
 were in the same galley, so as there were some hurt & slain. *Veniero* the general sent some  
 officers with his admirall to bring the offenders vnto him, but they being distempered  
 receiued the admirall with iniuries, wherewith *Veniero* being much incensed, hee caused  
 the offenders to be apprehended, & wold haue two of the with their captain *Anticatro* häng-  
 ed at the main yard. After which *Paulo Sforza* their Colonell, going to speake with *Veniero*,  
 he wold not hear him, threatening him that if he did not depart, he wold turn his ordinance  
 vpon him & sink his boat. **D. John** was wonderfully discontented with the generall *Veniero*'s  
 actiō, holding himself much wrōged; for that he had not referred the iudgement to him,  
 as it was fit, but had chased away Colonell *Sforza*, whome hee had sent, with threatnes and  
 disgrace. The whole armie was suddenly in a mutinie, the Spaniards seemed to prepare  
 themselves to reuenge, and the Venetians stood vpon their gard. But *Colonna* with great  
 dexteritie (although hee held himselfe wronged therein by *Veniero*) sought to preuent  
 this growing mischief. *Barbarigo* laboured in like manner, who with great eloquence  
 and

*Veniero* incen-  
 sed against the  
 Spanish Souldi-  
 ers.

*D. John* discon-  
 tented with the  
 Generall *Veni-  
 ero*.

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and iudgement, so pacified *Colonna* first, and then *D. John* as they were content to G  
 preferre the generall good of Christendome, before their owne private respects; yet they would not that *Veniero* should treat any more with them concerning any  
 businesse, neither as a publike person, nor as a private, but that *Barbarigo* should  
 supplie his place vntill they had further order from Venice. The third of October  
 they went forth in the same order that they should fight, and bent their course towards  
 Cephalonia, where they had newes that did much trouble them, for that by a fregate  
 dispatched from Candie, they had letters brought them from *Marino Caualli*, where-  
 in was related the losse of the Realme of Cypres, by letters intercepted in a Galeor  
 the which were sent after the taking of Famagosta from the generall *Mustafa* to *Aly*. H  
 whereof they presently sent aduice to Venice. Comming to Val d' Alexandria, which  
 was the ancient Samos, they returned againe to Councell, where hearing for cer-  
 taine that the Turkes were in the gulphe of Lepanto, they resolved after much  
 disputation, to goe to the mouth of it, and not meeting first with the Turkes,  
 to set vpon two forts called Dardanelli, to force the enemy to fight, or with the  
 losse of their gallies to runne to land: with this resolution they parted the first of Octo-  
 ber, and came to the Ilands called Curzolaes, where early in the morning they had view  
 of the Turkish armie, which came out of the mouth of the gulfe in good order. The ge-  
 nerrall *Aly* had bene informed by *Caracossa*, who had gone to discouer the Christians, with  
 what intent they failed that way, in what order, and how many vessels they were: so as  
 opening at that instant the great Turkes letter, which by his order should be red as soone  
 as the enemies fleet approacht, they saw it was his mind they should fight, and ruin the  
 Christians forces. The Commanders of the Turkish Navy being very resolute to incoun-  
 ter the Christians, and to shut them vp in the chanell of Cephalonia, being small, wher-  
 as *Caracossa* had viewed them, had newly fortified their army with tenne thousand Iani-  
 faries Spahies, & voluntaries, which *Mehemet Bes* had broght, with great store of victuals &  
 munition, and 100 Sangiacs & Alobei, which are men of title, a degree vnder a Sâgiac. But  
 the Christians parted from Cephalonia, and Val d' Alexandria, towards the Curzolaes,  
 where the sea is verie streit, & full of shelves, & rocks, which the Turkes took for an aduantage.  
 Thus both armies were resolved to fight, & were put in baret in form of a Croisiant. In the K  
 right wing of the Christians armie where fiftie and three gallies, whereof *John Andrew Do-  
 ria* had charge, hauing before him two Venetian galleasses, and at his backe the admirall  
 galley of Sauoy, in the which was the duke of Vrbino. On the left wing were the like nûber  
 of gallies & galleasses, commanded by *Augustin Barbarigo* Proueditor general for the Ve-  
 netians, being assisted by the admirall galley of Genoua, in the which was the prince of  
 Parma. Betwixt these two wings was the bodie of the battell, consisting of 70 gallies and  
 two galleasses, and in the midst or center thereof, the three generalls with their royall  
 gallies, *D. John* in the midst, *Sebastian Veniero* generall for the Venetians on the left had,  
 and *Marc Antonio Colonna* general of the Popes gallies on the right: behind the, as it were  
 in the reereward, where *D. Aluaro Bassan* Marqueffe of Saint Cruz with thirty gallies: and  
 in the front of them was *D. John* of Cardona with eight gallies as a forlorne hope. On the L  
 other side *Aly* opposed against *John Andrew Doria* 96 gallies commanded by *Vlucialy*, a-  
 gainst the Proueditor *Barbarigo*, he set 55 gallies vnder the charge of *Mehemet Bei* and *Si-  
 rocco*, and *Aly* himselfe with *Portau Bassan* (who was general of the land forces) were in the  
 midst against *D. John* with 96 gallies, and the rest of the gallies were appointed in the  
 reere to succour them, with many foistes and brigandins, to passe from place to place  
 with the Generals commandements. *D. John* went in person to view the armie, being ac-  
 companied by *Lewis de Cardona* and *John Soto*: hee was in white armour, hauing in his  
 hand a Crucifix, going from place to place in a most swift fregat animating the  
 souldiers, and telling them, that they had not him for their Captaine and leader, but M  
 that great God alone, whose humane shape, being dead vpon the crosse, to saue the  
 whole world, they saw in his hands. Hee put them in minde that they did fight for the  
 the great God of victories, to whome all humane powers yeeld obedience: that hee was  
 their Generall and their guide, and the gouernour of euerie mans actions; promising  
 to euerie man that day an honourable and glorious victorie, whereof nothing could  
 deprive

Order of the  
christian armie.Order of the  
Turkes army.D. Johns speech  
to the armie.

1571

A deprivethem, vnlesse they distrustd to obtaine it. His words were short, but deliue-  
 red with such efficacie, as it made all them that heard him weepe for ioy, who with a  
 presage of their future successe, beganne to crie victorie, wherewith hee was much  
 contented; and so hauing saluted the Generall *Veniero* verie courteously, reioycing to  
 see that reuerent old man of seuentie and fve yeares old, in an action where hee must  
 fight as well as command, hee retyred to his galley: and then hee set vp the standard of  
 the legaue, which was a Crucifix in a red field, in signe of battell. Whereupon  
*Aly* did presently discharge a canon, and *D. John* answered him in like manner. *John  
 Andrew Doria* did an act of iudgement, stretching forth his right wing into the sea, & gi-  
 uing meanes to the rest to doe the like, to the end they should not be compassed in by the  
 Turkes gallies, who were in all places more in number, the which did auaille them much.  
*Barbarigo*, *Anthony Canale*, *Marc Anthony Quirin*, and others which did assist him, kept  
 as neere the land as they could, so as they could not bee charged in flanke but onely  
 in front, the which *Sirocco* and *Aly* a renegado of Genoua sought to doe; and when  
 they were put to rout (which began among the enemies which *Barbarigo* had in front)  
 hee kept them that they could not escape, and made a wonderfull spoile of them.

The battell of  
Lepanto.

The fight grew hot, and the Canon of either side plaied furiously, wherein the  
 Christians were somewhat fauoured by the wind, the which in the beginning being  
 in their faces, changed instantly as the battell begunne, and carried the smoake in-  
 to their enemies eyes. In the beginning the two Generals Gallies, of *D. John* and *Aly*  
 Bassa affronted one another, about the which the combat was very hot. In *D. Johns*  
 gallies there were foure hundred Harquebuziers and Muskietiers, vnder *D. Lope de  
 Figueroa* their Commander; in the prow were *D. Michel de Moncada*, *D. Bernardin de  
 Cardines*, and *Salazar*, Captaine of the Citadell of Palermo; in the midst were *D. Fran-  
 cis Zapate* and *Lewis Carrillo*; and in the poupe *D. John*, with the great Commaun-  
 der of Castille, the Earle of Plego; *D. Lewis de Cordova*, *Roderigo de Benauides*, *D.  
 John de Guzman*, *D. Philip de Heredia*, *Ruy Dias de Mendoza*, and others. In *Aly Bassas*  
 galley were foure hundred Ianifaries, shot, and some Archers tryed men, who fought  
 verie valiantly against *D. Johns* Spaniards, who entred twice into the Turkes Admirall,  
 and were valiantly repulst by them, *Aly* being succoured by diuers others gallies which  
 were about him; but such was the resolution of the Christians, as they became ma-  
 sters thereof, *Marc Antonio Colonna* arriuing, in whose galley was the Commander  
*Romeias*, who wanted neither iudgement nor courage. *Aly* Bassa was slaine, and in a  
 manner all that were in his galley; his head was cut from his bodie, and presented  
 vnto *D. John*, who caused it to bee set vpon the end of a pike for a spectacle to en-  
 courage the Christians to pursue the victorie, and to daunt the Turkes, who be-  
 gan then to faint. *John Andrew Doria* was also Victor on his part, but some said that  
 hee might haue done better if hee had list, for hee suffered *Vlucialy* to escape. In  
 these actions there is no man troubled but such as are in them, the rest speake at plea-  
 sure. The most furious combat was in the left wing of the armie, whereas the Pro-  
 ueditor *Barbarigo* commaunded, who left scarce any one of the enemies gallies, but  
 was broken, sunk, or taken. This wise and valiant Captaine was shot into the eye with an  
 arrow, whereof hee dyed. *Portau Bassa* fled away in a boat seeing *Aly* slaine and the  
 battell lost. *Caracossa* Gouernour of Valona a famous Pyrat, was slaine by *Honorat  
 Gaetan*, Captaine of one of the Popes Gallies. The valour of *Martin de Padille* was  
 great; who with his onely galley tooke three of the enemies. It was an horrible spec-  
 tacle to see the Sea dyed with bloud, full of dead Carcasses and peeces of gallies.  
 Many sought to runne themselues on ground, but they were preuented by the Venetian  
 gallies: many Turkes cast themselues into the Sea, thinking to saue their liues by  
 swimming, but they fainted and perished before they got to land. It was the grea-  
 test victorie that had bene at Sea in many ages. The battell continued eightene  
 houres, wherein they spent some part of the night: there died about fve and twen-  
 tic thousand Turkes, and almost all the Commaunders: others write that there were  
 fiftene thousand Turkes slaine, and seuen thousand Christian; and some write thir-  
 teene thousand. There were taken and carried away one hundred and seuentene  
 gallies,

Aly Bassa slaine

Victory of the  
Christians.Number of the  
dead.

gallies, and thirteene Galleots, and many were sunke, the number whereof was unknowne: there were some thirtie and nine gallies, galleots, and foists which escaped and came to Lepanto, which reliques *Vlucially* had charge to conduct to Constantinople, yet they were so ill handled, as hee was faine to leaue sixe of them behind. They tooke one hundred and seuentene Canons, and two hundred fiftie and eight small peeces of Ordnance: some number three thousand eight hundred fortie and sixe prisoners, and some 5000, among which were the two Sons of *Aly Bassa*. *Sirocco* gouernor of Negrepont was taken, but he was so wounded, as he died soone after: his wife, who was exceeding faire, was also taken prisoner. There were 15000 Christian slaues set at libertie. The Christians, besides priuat men, lost 14 Captaines of gallies, and sixty knights of Malta, and aboue eight thousand that were hurt: of men of name, there were slaine *Augustin Barbarigo* the Prouiditor, with fiftene other gentlemen of Venice: *D. Bernardin de Cardine* a Spaniard, *Horatio* and *Virginio Vrsini*, with diuers others: and of wounded *D. John* himselfe, the Generall *Veniero*, *Paul Iourdain Vrsini*, the earle of Sancta Fiora, *Troilo Samelli*, and *Thomas de Medicis*. They found in *Alys* galley two and twentie thousand peeces of gold, called Soldamini, and in that of *Caracossa* forty thousand. The whole prey was diuided at Port Caligiero, some wrote at Corfu, to euerie one of the confederates according to the rate: the king of Spaine had of six parts three, the state of Venice two, and the Pope one; and all the captaines and souldiers were commended and rewarded for their good seruice. After which *D. John*, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, and *D. John Andrew Doria*, retired to Messina, whereas they found that the Marqueesse of Pescara the Viceroy was newly dead, hauing frequented women too much. *Marc Antonio Colonna* went to Rome, & the great Commaunder of Castille with him, to treat with the Pope touching the next yeres seruice for the league, and to goe to his gouernment of the duchie of Milan, which the king had giuen him after the death of the duke of Albuquerque. This victorie was wonne the seuenth of October 1571 without any further pursuit, for the opinions of the commanders depending of sundrie masters were diuers, and also for that the season of the yeare was too farre spent.

Duke of Alba  
sends to treat  
with the queene  
of England.

The duke of Alba being incensed against the Queene of England, for that she had staid his money, and as hee thought fauoured the Rebels of the Netherlands vnder hand, he studied how to crosse her, and to cause some troubles in her Countrie, and to giue the better forme to that which had been begun by his praefises, hee sent *Chiapin Vitelli* vnder colour to treat with her of the composition of reprisals, and restitution of that which had beene taken from king *Philips* subiects, but hee gaue him secret instructions against that state, if hee might conueniently effect them. There was no meanes to come to any accompt for the spoiles which were taken by the English from any of the king of Spaines subiects or adherents, for that they were either waisted by priuat men, or else the truth could not be verified. Wherefore *Vitelli* was sent backe with good words, and could doe nothing in that respect. And as for the enterprises whereof hee had charge to conferre with certaine Noble men discontented with the present gouernment, hee could not worke any thing; for during his aboad in England, hee was carefully obserued, yet the Pope had his Spies and Negotiators in the countrie, and did sollicite king *Philip* to help to depriue the queen both of her crowne and life, and that the Roman Catholikes, and such as vnder that pretext desired innouations, might be the Masters. To effect this, they had need both of men and money, but especially of a stranger to bee their leader, such a one as the duke of Alba, whome they held to be fitter than any other. The king whither through importunitie or willingly, being full of other affaires yeelded, and it happened that *Chiapin Vitelli* after his retorne from England, comming into Spaine to craue leaue of the king, for that he was called into Italie, by some princes, vnto whome hee was bound, was stayed, and sent backe into Flanders with instructions to the duke of Alba, to entertaine the praefises of the malecontents of England: but this froward and disdainsfull man, being incensed for that they had refused him the gouernment of the Netherlands for *D. Frederic* his sonne, and that the duke of Medina Celi was sent to succeed him, he contemned and ouer-threw all that praefise, where without doubt he might haue done much harme.

14  
Duke of Medina  
Celi sent to  
succeede the  
Duke of Alba in  
the lowe Coun-  
tries.

Newes

A Newes being come to Flesingue that the duke of Medina Celi, was arriued neere vnto Ostend with forty vessels, they sent forth twelue Ships of warre, who tooke diuers of them, and the duke was forced with twelue more to fly to land in a cocke boat. Hee thought at his comming thither that all troubles had beene pacified: but seeing that there was more confusion than euer, and greater ruines than hee could repaire, he excused himselfe for not accepting the gouernment, and demanded leaue to retorne; the which was some dishonour to the duke of Alba.

Duke of Medina  
Celi refused the  
gouernment of  
Flanders.

This yeare the king of Spaine being iealous of the French king, least hee should aid his subiects of the Netherlands was verie ireresolute in giuing aid vnto the league, his Ministers in Italie propounding new enterprises in Afrike, as well for the hope which the king of Tunis gaue them, as to free the coast of Spaine from that neast of Pyrats. The which did much distast the Pope, hee beeing verie desirous to see some better fruits of their victorie, and that the league might continue inuiolably, with the like conditions that it was made. Whereupon the kings Ministers were forced to discouer vnto his Holinesse the feare they had of the French, least they should countenance his subiects in the Low Countries: but the Pope being assured of the contrarie by the French king, hee grew discontented against the Spaniards, as if they had inuented it, to reape all the benefit they could of that warre, transporting it into Afrike, notwithstanding the iealousie increased; and although they made C prouision of all sides, to send forth a mighty armie, yet they proceeded coldly and found many delaies.

Difficulties in  
pushing the  
victorie against  
the Turke.

Pope *Pius* being newly dead, although the Pope did shew himselfe very desirous to maintaine the league, and did solicit it earnestly, yet it required much time; and the Spaniards being discontented that they could not draw the armie against some places in Afrike, from whence they received great annoyance, were slowe in execution this yere. Yet after many delaies, *D. John* general of the league could not auoid it, but granted two & twenty gallies to the confederats, and sixe thousand foot to be distributed among their gallies, himselfe remaining at Messina, with the rest of the armie, to succour where his Majesties occasions should require, if the French should shew themselves enemies. D There parted then from Messina *Marc Antonio Colonna*, with the gallies of the Church, and the knight *Gild' Andrada*, whome *D. John* had made Commaunder of the king of Spaines two and twenty gallies, and being ioyned at Corfu with *James Foscarin*, who was newly made general for the State of Venice, *Veniero* being dismiss, in fauor of *D. John* they thought to haue some certain intelligence of the enemies fleet, being come forth vnder the comand of *Vlucially*, who was much made of & esteemed by *Selim* for those poore spoiles which he got of the knights of Malta, being a signe that hee had fought and vanquished, although his companions in the battel had bin defeated, and forced to flie: who like a politick & couragious Captaine, did so sollicite new prouisions of an armie, shewing that the losse was not so great as the amazed multitude did esteeme it, as hee put his Lord E in better hope. Hauing drawne all his forces together, he had a fleet of two hundred gallies, galleots and foists, with fise galleasses, with the which they sailed towards Maluagia. The general *Colonna*, who in the absence of *D. John* held the first place, & *Foscarin*, hearing where the enemy was, after consultation, they went to fight with him, hauing 140 gallies 23 ships, six galleasses, and thirty smaller barks descouering them as they parted from Dragoniere; but for that the wind was contrarie, they could make no vse of their galleasses, which kept them from fighting. But *Vluciallys* fleet being more in number than in force, he thought it sufficient to keep the enemy that yeare from attempting any matter of importance, and not to hazard a battell: and therefore still in his retreat he made a shew as if he wold fight, with which art he fled from them with reputation. At that time *D. John* F had a resolute answer from the Catholike king, that he might ioine with the army of the league with all his forces, and attempt some thing against the Turke, what they should thinke most fit: whereof hee had aduertised the Generals at Corfu, at such time as they had resolved to goe and affront the enemy, so as they thought it not fit to stay and attend him, as hee desired. But *Vlucially* beeing retired, and the Generalls beeing come to Capfali vnder Cerigo, there they had letters from *D. John*, who

Number of the  
Turkes Armie.

who called them backe to Zante; and then to Corfu, whether after many difficulties they brought the armie: but D. John would not willingly free the generals, especially *Colonna*, for that they had not attended him, whereupon their resolutions against the enemy fell out crossly; but *Foscarin* and others laboured by all meanes to pacifie that disdain: and they made a new resolution to goe against the enemies fleet, which they vnderstood lay in the port of Nauarino, and some vnder Modone.

The Christians had sayled as farre as Striuali, when as D. John de Cardone, being sent to discover the enemy, gaue them that aduice, which made them resolute to hasten their voyage that night, so as they might bee vpon the enemy before day; the which was better deuised than executed, for they arriued so late, as being first discovered by the Turkes, they might retire with all their fleet, vnder the fort of Modone, and defend themselves long from the Christians armie, who sought by diuers meanes, but alwaies in vaine to draw them out of the fort to fight. They resolved, for that they would not remaine there in vaine, to beseege the Castle of Nauarino, a place of fame, hauing given the charge thereof to the prince of Parma, but with weake prouisions, where hee preuailed nothing, they beinge soone relieved by land with many horse and foot, by the garrisons thereabouts.

Hauing staied in those seas some daies, being in October, and fearing an Autumne storme, and the kings Gallies beginning to want biscuit, they were constrained to depart: the which did much discontent the Ministers of the State of Venice, for that they had spent that time, wherein they had designed great enterprises, without any fruit, but with incredible charge. The Navy then returned towards Corfu, leauing the passage free for *Fluccialy* to retire to Constantinople, at such time as hee beganne to feare the euent. D. John hauing retyred to Sicile, and from thence to Naples, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, and *Doria* went into Spaine to relate vnto the king what had bene done that yeare; and *Colonna* to free himselfe of some imputations laied vpon him by such as did malice his greatnesse, wherein hee did preferue his honour, and returned into Italie with great reputation.

After the arrest of the English Merchants, and their goods both in Spaine and the Low-Countries as you haue heard, the English sought all meanes to bee reuenged of the Spaniards. Some vpon their owne coast, and others went vnto the Indies: Among which Master *Francis Drake*, who was then a man of no great note, with the helpe of other aduenturers manned forth two ships and a Pynnace, and went to Nombre de Dios in Noua Hispania, where hearing that the Towne was not very well peopled, hee landed in the night with one hundred and fiftie men, whereof he put seuentie into a fort, and the rest seized vpon the market place, the inhabitants in this amazement flying to the Mountaines, but soone after they within the fort apprehending that their companions in the Towne had been all slaine, for that they had heard some shot, and their trumpet did not answere them. They retyred inconsiderately to their Pinnace, which they of the Towne finding, made all the hast they could to get to their ships. Thus Master *Drake* without any losse but a Trumpeter, and hauing slaine but one man within the towne, retyred much discontented from Nombre de Dios. After which hee came to the found of Darien, where hauing conference with certaine Negros which had fled from their Master of Panama and Nombre de Dios, they did aduertise them of certaine Mules which were to passe from Panama to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and siluer, whereupon hee landed a hundred shot, and went to attend them with these Negros, where hee tooke two troupes of them, hauing none but their driuers, being without any feare: hee vnladed the Mules and tooke the gold onely, being vnable (as some of them write) to carrie the siluer through the Mountaines. Within two daies after he came to a place called the house of Crosses, where hee slue siue or six Merchants: he found not any gold nor siluer there, but much merchandize, & fired the house with the goods being valued at about two hundred thousand ducats, & thence hee went to his ships: presently after there came downe three hundred shot, Spaniards, but it was too late.

The

Christian army  
retires to Corfu.Sir Francis  
Drakes first  
voyage to the  
Indies.

A The Venetians seeing that there was no likelihoode to make their profite by the support of this league, and that in this warre they had lost the realme of Cypres, spent foure millions of ducats, and recovered not any one place of importance; finding also, that the Spaniards after all their delays, would still be masters, command in all their counsels, and haue the honour of all executions; they resolved to make a peace with the Turke, by the mediation of the French King, and the diligence of *Marc Antonie Barbaro* their Consill, who had bene staied at Constantinople, the which was concluded vpon restitution of certaine small places in Dalmatia, and 300000 crownes which the Venetians should pay vnto the Turke at three payments. The Senate being certified of the conclusion, they sent their embassadours to the Pope and catholike King to iustifie their actions: Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth was discontented, but there was no remedie, for hee must allow of their reasons, which seemed pertinent.

B The King of Spaine seemed no wayes distast with this peace of the Venetians, but would shew by the effects, that hee was able of himselfe, without the help of any other, to maintaine continuall warre against the Turke, for the defence of Christendome, and not onely defend himselfe from him, but make warre against him at his doore. He therefore commaunded that the fleet which was prepared at Naples and Sicile, should go and attempt some thing in the Leuant Seas, or be imploied to annoy *Fluccialy* vpon the coast of Africke, where he had expelled *Amida* out of the realme of Tunes, for that hee had performed all duties to the King of Spaine, and paid the tribute which his father had promised to the Emperour *Charles*: the which did much displease the Turks holding Alger and other places in Africke, who procured *Selims* approbation to haue him dispossessed, and another set in his place, who should be more at his deuotion, the which was executed by *Fluccialy*: wherefore King *Philippe* thinking that he had an interest therein, and that it was necessarie to weaken the Turke forces in those partes, being greatly suspected to Sicile, and other parts of Italie, which Countries the Turkes desired much to ioine vnto his empire, hee sent commaundement to D. John by *Soto* his Secretarie, whom hee had sent into Spaine to that end, that hee should employ the gallies hee had readie in this expedition which would be verie profitable for Christendome, whilest that the Turkes forces were but weake at sea, to attempt a succour so farre off.

D In the meane season there was great means made for the deliuerie of *Aly Bassas* sons, which had bene taken at the battell, whom D. John had obtained from the Confederates with great instance, but one of them was dead before, to his great grieve, that hee could not wholie gratifie the mother: wherefore he sent him home that was liuing, called *Mosamed*, accompanying him with a dwarfe of his owne, and foure Turkes that had bene taken with him, and many presents which the mother had sent vnto his Highnesse, in signe of honour, but he refused to accept them, and wrote the reason thereof vnto her, wherein he shewed the greatnesse of his mind. I haue forborne, said hee, to accept the present which you sent me, and *Mosamed* hath it, not for that I doe not esteeme it, as come from your hands, but for that the greatnesse of my ancestors is not accustomed to receiue gifts from such as are forced to flie vnto them for fauour.

E The armie being ready for the enterprise of Tunis D. John parted with the Duke of Sessa, *Antonio Doria*, *John Andrew*, and other noblemen, on the eight day of September 1573 from the port which in old time was called Lilybee, and had bene long neglected, (notwithstanding that it be one of the best ports in the Iland, and had bene much vfed by the Romans in the Carthaginian warres) others write that they went from Palermo. There was in the fleet one hundred and sixteene gallies, foure and thirtie shippes, and other vessells of burthen. The Duke of Florence did send six gallies to this enterprise, vnder the commaund of *Simon de Rossimini*. They landed at Goulette, whereas they found not any difficulty, to keep them from entring into Tunis, for it had bene abandoned vpon the bruite of their coming, and all the Moores and Turkes were fled to the mountaines and desarts, carrying away all their goods, yea their victuals: yet the King that was aduanced by *Fluccialy* was taken prisoner: Biserta a city some forty miles from Tunis was recovered with the like facility, yielding by the persuation of *Amida*, who thought by this conquest to recouer his estate.

Q9999

The

Peace betwixt  
the Turke and  
the Venetians.Resolution of  
the King of  
Spaine to make  
warre against  
the Turke.Some of *Aly  
Bassas* set at li-  
berty by D. John.Enterprise of  
Tunis.



Fort built at  
Tunis.

D. John effects  
to be king  
of Tunis.

D. Diego prince  
of Spaine borne

1574

... and Gou-  
lette recovered  
by the Turkes.

Porto Carrero  
an indiscreet  
governour of  
Goulette.

The matter being called in question, there were many of the Kings council in Spaine, G and of D. Johns, of opinion that Tunis should be demanded, & Goulette rased, for that those places brought nothing but charge vnto the King, but they were not beleued: yea it was concluded to fortifie the City better, and to make a new fort betwixt it and Goulette, and to ioyne the fort vnto the towne by two long curtines, to beate downe the old wall of the towne, and to lay it open towards the fort. For the effecting whereof Gabriel Serbelloni had the charge, and was made Colonell generall of the garrison that should bee left there, which should consist of fixe thousand men, three thousand Spaniards vnder the commaund of Salezar, and three thousand Italians vnder Pagan Dorra: afterwards they said that D. John left eight thousand men there, with labourers sufficient for the fortification, and a troupe of horse. D. John hauing thus ordered all things, H hee returned happily to Messina, and then to Naples, where he was receiued with much ioy in Nouember, being assured that the Turke could not send a fleet from Constanti- nople to Barbarie, vntill the next yeere, and that in the meane time Serbelloni should haue leisure to fortifie. D. Pedro Porto Carrero was gouernor in Goulette, a man more respected for his birth, than for his iudgement and knowledge in martiall affaires: he was preferred vnto it (no man knowes the reason) in the place of D. Alphonso Pimentell, an industrious and a valiant capitaine. In Tunis there was left more like a gouernour than King) Maho- met brother to Amida, who was alwayes opposit vnto him: some write hee was but his cousin, and as for Amida, he was carried backe into Sicile, whereas in former time they had seene his father Muley Hascen, dispossessed and made blind by him, and with him was the King whom Pluccial had aduanced in his place: for that Amida had giuen D. John some cause to suspect him; yet some write it was for that the Moores did hate him deadely for his crueltie. This happie exploit of D. Johns, made him to discover his inten- tions more plainly vnto the Pope, which was, to remaine King of Tunis, with the good liking of King Philip his brother: continuing in this opinion, he intreated the Pope to be Intercessour for him; taking counsell both in this and all other affaires of his Secretarie John de Soto, whom hee fauoured so much, as he caused him to marrie (about that time) with the baronesse of Saint Philadelphus at Palermo: the which did nothing please the King, as we will shew hereafter. But the Sultan Selim did soone make him loose that de- sire. D. John being come to Naples from the taking of Tunis, their ioy and feasts were doubled: hauing receiued newes, that King Philip had another sonne, the which being christned was called D. Diego. He staid there some moneths much honoured: then hee passed into Lombardie, being called into Spaine by his brother; but he went not by rea- son of the Turkes successe at the enterprise of Goulette.

The great Turke being much incensed for the taking of Tunis, by a young man, who had so much preailed ouer his forces, as after that he had in a maner disarmed him at sea, he had dispossessed a King which had bene placed by him at Tunis, and set an other in his place, which was contrarie vnto him: hee sent in the yeere one thousand five hundred seuentie and foure Sinan Bassa into Barbarie, with a nauie of one hundred and threescore gallies, thirty shippes, with many galcors, foists and other small vessells, carrying twenty thousand harquebuziers, and almost as many archers, with great store of ordnance, and at land they had fiftene thousand Moores and Arabians on horsebacke. At the newes of this great fleet, the viceroys of Naples and Sicile made preparation to defend their go- uernement, if the Turke should make any attempt vpon them. D. John had commande- ment to furnish Goulette, (where as we haue said Porto Carrero was gouernour) who re- quired certaine money of cardinall Granuelle then viceroy of Naples, for the leuying of cer- taine men to send thither, the which he refused, saying that he had no other charge, but to preferue the countrey which he had in gouernement. So as Tunis and Goulette were left to their defence that were in them: where the Commanders did not agree amongst M themselves; for Porto Carrero could not endure that any man should thinke hee wanted counsell, or that he was not verie sufficient to defend Goulette; taking it in ill part, that Gabriel Serbelloni should presume to send him five ensignes of Italians, to fortifie his garri- son, saying that he would not impart the honour of the gard, and defence thereof to any but to his owne nation: but it was not long before he changed his opinion; for when as he

Skirmish among  
the Moores.

Ignorance of  
Porto Carrero.

Goulette tak-  
en by force.

Fort at Tunis  
taken by assault.

A he saw the fields couered with Moores and Alarabes; which they of Alger and Caruan had sent about Tunis, as fore runners to Sinan Bassas army, which arrived soone after, he then demanded men of Serbelloni importunately, protesting that if he sent him not some, he should be the cause of the losse of Goulette. King Mahomet thought to haue sallied forth with nine hundred horse, and foure thousand foote of his owne nation, against these troupes of Moores; but he was suddenly abandoned by his treacherous and disloyall sub- jects, so as with three score horse onely, being supported by the regiment of Salezar, and some Spanish horse, he escaped. Serbelloni being troubled with these accidents, thought that it was no time now to regard the vanities of Porto Carrero, but went himselfe to view the estate of the garrison of Goulette, when hauing caused some faults in the fortifica- tion to be amended, he returned to his fort, where hee made them to labour with all dili- gence to put it in defence, vnto the citie also, but they gaue him no great respite: for the B Turkes army being landed, and meaning at the first to assaile Goulette, Sinan sent Aydar king of Caruan to besiege Tunis, the which he did; and battered it furiously with a great quantitie of ordnance, so as Serbelloni resolved to leaue it, and to defend his fort betwixt the citie & Goulette, the which was presently inuested by the Moores towards the towne, but he scattered them often by his continuall sallies, and slew great numbers. Goulette being besieged, Porto Carrero did importune Serbelloni to send him men, the which he did by the lake: but the Turkes did soone take that passage from them, making a long bridge of barques bound together, and thereon as it were a causey of earth, whereon they plac- C ced many muskietiers. The batterie planted against the bastion which looked towards the sea, made a great breach, where the Turkes gaue a terrible assault, with bridges made of maine yards, according to their custome, the which notwithstanding was defended by the valour of the Christians: but Porto Carrero did either forget the duties whereunto men besieged are bound, or hee did not know them: Hee neuer would suffer his men to make a sallie, it seemes hee feared to waist powder and shot, so as the Turkes had good meanes to view the fort, to lodge, and to plant their ordnance at their pleasures: And to shew the great arrogancie of this gouernor, whereas Anthonie Carrafe a gentleman of Na- ples sought to giue him good aduice, he caused him to be strangled & to be cast in a sacke into the sea. Serbelloni, although he had need of all his strength within the fort, yet know- D ing the importance of Goulette, he weakened himselfe to fortifie it, being continually called on by D. Pedro, and sent him men as he could; yet could he not prevent it, but that Goulette was taken by force, Sinan hauing caused a general assault to be giuen, the which was continued with such fresh supplies one after an other without intermission, as they within it were no longer able to make any more resistance, but were forced, and all (or the greatest part) put to the sword: some write that Porto Carrero with three hundred soul- diers were made slaues, and that the sonne of King Amida was taken in that place. Gou- lette being taken, the Turkes went and besieged the fort both by sea and land, hauing fil- led certaine great barques with packes of wooll wet, to choake their cannon shot, and planted many harquebuziers in them, with long fowling peeces, which carried very great E bullets, to keepe the besieged from their defences. Sinan made batteries, and cast vp trenches to approach vnto the fort, as he was accustomed, to batter, sappe, and mine at one instant in diuers places; where hauing made great breaches, hee caused three seue- rall assaults to be giuen, but they were all resolutely defended; and hee caused fire to be set to a mine, the which did more harme vnto the Turkes than vnto the besieged. The as- saults were continued vnto the fourth time, & still they were repulst with great slaugh- ter: but this valor decreasing by litle and litle through their ordinary assaults, they were so weake at the fist, which was generall and more obstinate than any of the rest, as the place was forced, and all within cut in peeces. excepted Serbelloni, who was taken being F wounded, and drawne by the beard before the Bassa, who caused him to bee kept. Pagan Dorra flying the Turkes, and thinking to find more mercie with the Moores, was slaine by them, and his head set vpon a pike. Porto Carrero being a prisoner, died within few dayes after, (as some say) of poison. D. John de Sinoghera after these two losses, was left alone with three hundred and fiftie men to defend the tower vpon the lake, standing betwixt Tunis and Goulette, the which (although it were very strong, yet considering his owne strength,

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strength, and the enemies, he could not hope to make any long defence) he yielded vpon certain conditions, and passed afterwards into Sicile, to carrie newes of this great losse. Thus Goulctre (the honour of the Emperours conquests, the which kept Afrike in awe) was lost through carelesnesse: *Sinan* caused it to be rased to the ground, and then returned triumphantly to Constantinople.

*D. Sebastian King of Portugall gets into Afrike.*

17 This yere the Christians reaped both losse and dishonour in Afrike, for *D. Sebastian* the yong King of Portugall, of too warlike a disposition, as we haue shewed, and desirous of glorie, seeking to aduance himselfe by some enterprises against the Moores, hauing not imparted any thing vnto the Queene his grandmother, nor vnto the Cardinall his vnckle, by whose care his actions should haue bene gouerned, by reason of his age, which was voyd of experience: He sent *D. Antonio* Prior of Crato his cosin, but base, to Tanger in Afrike, which did belong vnto the Crowne of Portugall, and made him his lieutenant generall there, deliuering him the Standard with great solemnitie. He would haue him accompanied with some numbers of soldiers, but specially with many knights: and within few dayes after the King himselfe, taking many of the chiefe noble men with him, embarked at Calcais, whenas no man suspected it, and went in like maner into Afrike, leauing order in Portugall, that some knights should follow him, and therefore hee did write many priuar letters vnto them. Being come to Tanger, and hauing tried the Moors forces in the neighbour garrisons, and seeing his men in all their skirmishes to be ouerlaid with multitudes, and the nimblenesse of the enemies horse, he beganne to consider better of the daunger whercinto he had runne, of whom depended the peace and quiet of his whole Realme; and so being better aduised by some noble men of authoritie that were with him, but especially being moued by a letter written by father *Lewis Gonzales* a Iesuite, who had bene his Scholemaster, and was then in great credit with him, he resolved to returne presently.

THE



## THE 30 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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The



¶ All the Realmes of Spaine vnited to the Crowne  
of Castille vnder *D. Philip*  
the second.

Great Comman-  
der of Castille  
sent gouernour  
into the Low  
Countrie.



On *Lewis de Requesens* great Commander of Castille was sent to succeed the *D. of Alba* in the gouernment of the Low Countries after that the duke of *Medina Celi* had refused it. He was a man approaching somewhat in disposition to his predecessor. He had accompanied *D. John* of Austria in his sea-army, whenas he fought with the Turke at Lepanto, as his chiefe Councillor, and after his returne into Sicile, the King *D. Philip* had made him gouernour of Milan, where hee remained not long, the King thinking him fit to calme that which the Duke of Alba had left in trouble in Holland and Zeland, into which prouinces it seemed that the whole warre was reduced. Among other disorders, he found the Spanish souldiers discontented, and cursing the Duke, who owed them foure and thirtie moneths pay: whom he was forced (for the first triall of his wisdome) to seeke meanes to pacifie, the which he did in some sort: but when he beganne to enter into the managing of affaires, he fell grossely into an inconuenience which did preiudice the rest of his gouernement. What his actions were, during his charge there, you may read at large in that Country historie. He liued not long there, but died of a pestilent feuer in the yere one thousand five hundred seuentie and sixe, leaving those Countries in greater confusion than the Duke of Alba his predecessor had done.

King of Spaine  
renokes his af-  
firmations and  
breakes with  
the Genouois.

In the yere 1574 it was found that king *Philip* was indebted to the merchants of Genoua and Spaine in 37 millions of ducats; for the which hee gaue them assignements out of his royall reuenues: whereupon for the relieuing of his necessities, and to free the king from the Genouois, the Deputies of the chiefe Cities and Townes were called to Madrid, to consult how to relieue the king in these great wants. Among other, there was one in Court, whose name was *Francisco Brauo*, who told the king, that the contractions which he had made with the merchants, were in respect of them, against all law and equitie; the which, if he did not remedie within a yere, hee would not haue any meanes to free himselfe: telling him moreouer, that he had beene fraudulently circumvented by them, in very great summes, contrarie to all diuine and humane lawe. Whereupon in the yere 1575 the king of Spaine made a decree touching the losse and preiudice which his royall reuenues had receiued by the corrections which he had made with the Genouois and others, making a staie of all the said contractions and assignements, the which did much trouble the Genouois and others, to whom the king was indebted, for by reason of this suspension they could not giue satisfaction vnto their creditours, which made them to present an answer to this decree vnto the King, shewing that it would be a blemish to his honour, and verie preiudiciall to his seruice; yet could they not get it reuoked, but were forced to make a new composition.

Genoua di-  
uided into factions

The citie of Genoua was diuided into two factions, the old (which were the noble men and gentlemen) and the new (who were some gentlemen, supported by the common people.) *D. John Idiagues* as embassadour for the Catholike King, had labored much to quench this fire which beganne to kindle, and had perswaded them to lay aside armes: but this yere the furious multitude little respecting the promise of the wiser citizens to disarme,

A disarme, and to treat an accord with the liking and authoritie of the Catholike King, for whom *Idiagues* was employed in that action, matters were brought to despair, the faction of the new offering by force to reforme the publique gouernement after their owne manner, and to abate the power of the nobles, who were called the old; who not suffering so great an indignitie, went most of them out of Genoua, *John Andrew Doria* beeing as it were their head. The Pope sent Cardinall *Morone* thither, but the Genouois would not treat with him alone, vnlesse the Catholike kings Embassadour were called, he being the chiefe protector of that common weale. The matter was found so difficult, as the faction of the old despayring, were come with good forces, some to Final, and some to Aquai, resolving to recouer their countrie and dignitie by armes, choosing *John Andrew Doria* for their Generall in that warre, who refused that charge, vntill he had leaue from the king of Spaine, whom he serued. In the meane time, they had newes that the king was ready to send another Embassadour, to adde authority and counsell to the other two, which was the Duke of Gandie: but *D. John d. Austria* came first with a nauie vpon that coast, to see that no Prince, by means of this tumult, should enter into Genoua; and make himselfe master thereof: and therefore they made prouision of souldiers, drawing into the duchie of Milan two regiments of Germans, and leuying some Italians. The people of Genoua grewe iealous that *D. John* meant to seize vpon their citie; but he, according to the order he had from his brother, hauing conferred with Prince *Doria* and the gouernour of Milan at Spetie, they concluded onely, that there should be all meanes attempted to quiet that citie, and if the people should continue in their obstinacie, the faction of the Old should haue leaue to recouer their countrie, with their auncient rights and dignities: and the rather, for that they offered to make warre at their owne charge, requiring nothing of his Maiestie, but *Doria* person, and the gallies wherewith hee serued the king. The Emperour and the French king sent their Embassadours to pacifie this tumult, but they could not effect any thing, especially he of France, whom for that they would not breed a iealousie in the king of Spaine, they dismissed with good words. They without the citie finding by the treatie that there was no hope of any pacification, were readie to goe to armes, when as *Charles Borgia* Duke of Gandie arriued; but hoping that his authority, and the priuat instructions of the catholike king, would preuaile much, they staid: but yet the mischiefe could not be thus cured. Soone after, the Secretarie *Espanedo* hauing beene sent by *D. John*, returned from Spaine, who brought order from the king, that all the resolution of that businesse, for that which concerned his Maiestie, was referred to *D. John*, who was then at Naples, whither *John Andrew Doria* was gone to that end, the nobilitie hauing prouided money to make warre: when *D. John* hearing that they to whom it was compromitted in the name of those great princes, could not pacifie them, he sent order to the Gouernour of Milan to dismisse his Germans and Italians, that the faction of the Nobles might imploy them, to reduce them to their duties that had no will of an accord. With which troupes, the faction of the Old went to field, and tooke diuers places. In the end, after many letters written from the Pope, Emperour, and King of Spaine, it was wholly compromitted to their agents, who caused a suspension of armes, and there were hostages giuen by both factions to stand to their arbitrement, but the accord was not fully concluded vntill the yere following.

This yere there grewe seeds of warre in Africke, which past into Europe, to the great preiudice of Christendome; for that *Muley Mahomet* king of Morocco, beeing loath to leaue the gouernment of that realme to *Muley Moluc* his vncke, according to the will of his grandfather dying, *Moluc* fledde vnto the Turkes for aid, and obtained it; with the which, and with the Moores which fauoured him, he made warre against his nephew, and defeated him thrice in battell, so as he remained absolute Lord of the realmes of Fez and Morocco, his nephew beeing fled vnto the mountaines, where, with some that followed him, he ranne vp and downe, not as a king, but like a thiefe; beeing by nature both couetous and cruell, vntill that in the end he perswaded the ill aduised king of Portugal, not onely to giue him succours to recouer his realme, but to passe thither in person, with the ruine of that royall house, as you shall hereafter heare.

After

*Muley Mahomet*  
expelled  
out of his realme

1576  
D. John of Austria  
gouverneur  
of the Netherlands.

John de Escovedo  
Secretary  
to Don John.

D. John aspires  
to the crowne of  
England.

D. Johns carrying  
in his gouernment.

Voyage of Sir  
Francis Drake  
into the South  
sea, and about  
the world.

2 After the death of *Lewis de Requesens*, great Commaunder of Castille, D. *John d' Austria* was appointed to succeed him in the gouernment of the Netherlands, to which end he came into Luxembourg, but he would not aduance, vntill that the Estates had accepted him for gouernour, and Lieutenant general to the king his brother. This prince was once in an humour (as we haue said) to obtaine the crowne of Tunis, by the bounty of the king D. *Philip*, whom hee had caused to bee often importuned by the Pope, wherein the king tooke no delight, but the taking of that citie by the Turkes, and therazing of those forts which the Spaniards had built to keepe it in awe, made him to forget that humour: but it did not quench his desire to raigne in some other countrie, in the which a Secretarie of his called *John de Soto* entertained him. Which the king vnderstanding, hee tooke him from him, and commaunded him to vse the seruice of *John d' Escovedo*; by which change he got little, he animating him more to greatnesse: wherefore he thought it expedient (to diuert him somewhat from these ambitious desires) to drawe him out of Italie, and from those honourable employments which presented themselves, and to send him into Flanders, to contend against his rebellious subiects: the which D. *John* hearing, hee bare it with great impatiencie, to see himselfe so much deiected, as to become (as a man would say) an Algouzil, or Prouost Marshall, to punish common people, whereas he had been Generall of armies to the greatest Potentates in Christendom, against the incomparable forces of the great Turke.

Having failed of Tunis, he conuerted his thoughts vpon England, and caused the king to be solicited to make waite vpon that realme, for that (said he) *Queene Elizabeth* had alwaies fauoured the Estates and townes of the Lowe countries, in their contumacie and rebellion, and to make him General, hoping to make himselfe king; thinking that the affaires of the Lowe countries were too little to keepe him occupied. The king D. *Philip*, for that hee would not flatly refuse him, seemed to yeeld to it, but hee said, they must first subdue the Flemings, commaunding him to goe directly out of Italie thither, and not to passe by Spaine: but he obaied him not, for he went out of Italie into Spaine, and all by the counsell of *Escovedo*; which made the king to bee ill conceited of him: but in the end hee was forced to goe, and arrived as you haue heard. Beeing accepted for their gouernour, hee ratified the treatie of Gand, made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, for the expelling of all strange souldiers, and other things, the which was confirmed by the king of Spaine, in April, 1577, and his Letters of approbation sent to D. *John*.

Then the poore Netherlanders beganne to hope for better vsage, thinking that they were at an end of all their miseries, but the effects which followed did soone shew that this hope had beene conceiued vpon apparances. For in all D. *Johns* gouernement there was nothing but dissimulations, secret enterprises, accusations, false imputations, surprises, and apparent designs to heap vpon this people all the miseries of the precedent gouernements; although the effects did not follow according to the Spaniards desires. The which they imputed to D. *John*, who was not come into the Low Countries to liue there in a quiet estate, or to walke in his night gowne, but with an intent that the enterprise of England should proceed, and that the King would make him General: but seeing that (notwithstanding all troubles in his gouernment were in a manner pacified) they made no preparation tending to inuade that land, and that there came no aduice out of Spaine conformable to his desire, yet would hee commaund an armie, and breed occasions to employ it where he was. What his particular actions were you may read in that countrie historie.

Sir *Francis Drake* beeing encouraged by the good successe of his first voyage to the Indies, resolved to make a new attempt, and to passe into the South, thinking thereby to doe his Prince and Countrey great seruice, to winne himselfe immortall fame, and to annoy the King of Spaine and his subiects: wherefore in Nouember in the yere one thousand five hundred seuentie and seuen, he went forth of Plimmouth with five English shippes and barques, bending his course towards the Indies (my meaning is not to report the particularities of this voyage, but onelie to touch the action summarily, for

A for that it concernes Spaine) in August after his departure hee past the Strait of Magellan, and came into the South sea, whereas the Spaniards liued secure from all feare, hauing neuer seene any Englishman there before. Beeing in this sea, hee tooke many ships and barks, with great store of treasure: but there was one shippe which exceeded all the rest in wealth, hee tooke it at a place called Cape S. Francisco, 150 leagues from Panama: the shippe was called by the Spaniards *Cacaluco*, which name (after the taking thereof by Sir *Francis*) was wittily changed by a Spanish ship-boy, and tearmed *Cacaplara*, for that it yeelded him so much siluer. They found in her (besides great store of iewels, and pretious stones) thirteene chests full of ryals of siluer, foure score pound weight of gold, and 26 tunne of siluer. Having done diuers exploits, and sackt some townes vpon the coast of Peru, and Noua Hispania, being now full fraught with treasure, and sufficiently reuenged (as he thought) of the Spaniard, hee resolved to goe to the Islands of the Molucos, and so returne to England by Cape Bona Esperance; the which he performed happily in Nouember, beeing the third yere of his voyage. By the report of *Nugno de Silua* a pylot (whom he had taken in the beginning of his voyage at the Islands of Cape Verd) & others, Sir *F. Drake* carried to the coast of Peru, 866 kintals of siluer, every kintal being worth 1200 ducats of Spaine: all which amounteth to a million thirtie nine thousand and two hundred ducats. He had besides, tenne kintals of gold, every kintall beeing valued at ten thousand and five hundred Spanish ducats: which last some amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thousand ducats; besides other treasure in that shippe which had not beene customed (the value whereof was vnkowne) as pearles, pretious stones, ryals of plate, and other rich commodities.

These exploits of his in the South sea, (where they had neuer seene any enemy) did much trouble the Viceroy of Peru, who sent forth *Pedro Sarmiento*, a good nauigator, with two shippes, to meet with Captaine *Drake* if hee could, or to fortifie in the Strait of Magellan, against such as should hereafter seeke to passe it. D. *Pedro* passed through the Straite with one of his shippes, and so went into Spaine, where he informed the king of the nature of the Strait, and of the meanes to build a fort there, the countrey beeing rich, and abounding with all necessaries. Whereupon the king (beeing aduertised that there were more shippes making ready in England) sent *Diego Flores de Balde* with twentie three shippes, and three thousand and five hundred men, and a new gouernour to Chili, with five hundred old souldiers come out of Flaunders; but before they were free from the coast of Spaine, they were surprized with a storme, and eight of the Fleet cast away, with about eight hundred men, the rest put into Cadiz.

D. *John d' Austria* hauing drawne a world of miseries vpon those Prouinces which were vnder his gouernment, died in the Campe, neere vnto Nemours this yere 1578, of a pestilent feuer; a prince who conceiued high and great enterprises in his mind, but about all, hee was much incensed against the Lowe Countries, and their generall Estates: his death was happie for them, hauing thereby some ease of their miseries and calamities. Men made diuers censures of his death, and of *Escovedo* his Secretaries, who in a manner at the same time was slaine in Spaine (as some said by the kings commandement) for the which *Antonio de Peres* was afterwards called in question, as you shall heare.

*Alexander Farnese* prince of Parma, who was D. *Johns* lieutenant, had commaundement of the armie, and was afterwards gouernour in his place: hee was more temperate and modest in his gouernment than the Spaniards that went before him. This prince was allied to the king of Spain, he hauing married in the yere 1565 D. *Maria* of Braganca, daughter to D. *Edward* of Portugal, who was brother to the Empreffe D. *Isabella*, so as they were cousin germans: which marriage might purchase to the house of *Farneses* some right to the crowne of Portugal: where, soone after there happened a lamentable change; for that this realme which had maintained it selfe with honour and reputation, in all the parts of the habitable earth, for so many ages, was reduced vnto a Prouince, vnder him of Castille, as you shall heare.

Wee

1577.

1588

Treasure Sir  
Fr. Drake  
brought out of  
the South sea.

Ships of Spaine  
cast away.

1578  
Death of D.  
John of Austria.

1577  
Moors.Xeriffes kings  
of Marocco  
their beginningMahomet Ben  
Hamet Xeriffe  
the father.Three brethren  
Xeriffes.Burning and  
Armes united  
makes a man  
complete.Emanuel king  
of Portugal  
fortified by  
Moors.

4 We must now enter into the mournfull Tragedie of the death of D. Sebastian king of Portugal, who thrust on by his ambitious desire of glorie, gouerned by ill counsell, and among other affections, by zeale of religion, wherein the Iesuits had instructed him, would (contrary to the grane aduice of the Catholike king) and without any reason, bee an actor in the quarrels of the Xeriffes, princes of Afrike, contending for the empire of Marocco and Fez, from whence the race of the kings, Merins, (of whom wee haue often made mention in this worke) had bene expelled by their fathers. It will be fit, to giue more light vnto our historie, and more tast of the fruit which may be reapt, to relate briefly the beginning of these Xeriffes, and the policie of their suddaine and admirable aduancement to the large dominions, so neere vnto Spaine, there beting but a small cut of sea betwixt them, or (as a man would say) a puffe of wind.

Mahomet Ben Hamet called Xeriffe, which signifies famous and sacred, the which among the Mahometans they giue vnto them that are of the line of their Prophet Mahomet (from whom he said hee was descended) lived in the times of our fathers, in the towne of Tigumedel, in the countrie of Dara in Numidia. He was a politicke man, and a great hypocrite, who had by a fained sanctitie purchased the reputation of very religious and wise. He was learned in their law, in Astrologie, and in art Magike. He had three sonnes, whom hee instructed in the same manners, arts, and disciplines, and were esteemed as the fathers; especially after that they had bene at Mecque, and at Medina Tal Nahi in Arabia, which is a voyage held among them of great merit: for at Medina Tal Nahi the youngest, who past the rest in policie and valour.

Hamet and Mahomet beeing come to Fez, a great and well peopled citie in Afrike, and the chiefe of the reale of Mauritania Tingitana, to make themselves knowne there, they weremuch made of by men that were curious of Sciences, and in a short time one of them obtained a publike Lecture in the Colledge of Modarafa, and the other had the charge to instruct and bring vp the children of Muley Mahomet, and Otaaz, who was the last king of Fez saue one, of the race of Benimerins. The Xeriffe their father hearing that his sonnes prospered, hee aduised them to ioyne the art of warre with knowledge and learning; for those two faculties vnited, make a ready way to greatnesse: the which they could practise in such sort, that as they had bene esteemed for their learning, so they got a reputation to be valiant among the Xeques and Alcides of the realme; and vpon this opinion they had charge giuen them of some troupe or corner of horse, at their instance, vnder colour of religion, saying that it was to make warre against certaine Moores and Africans which went to seue the king of Portugal, and did annoy the other Mahometans of their sect: Muley Nacer brother to the king of Fez, was very vnwilling they should haue this Commission giuen them; saying, that by the like practises, and vnder a cloake of holinesse, the families of Isdris, Magaracs, Almoranides, and Almohades had raigned in Afrike, and ruined the auncient royall houses. Yet they had commission to leue men; and proued famous captaines in a short time; for hauing for a time ouerrunne the provinces of Duquele and others, where the Portugals had some forts, and done many gallant exploits, they past into that of Sus, which depends vpon Marroc, whither their fame was spread; and beeing there visited by many Moores and Africans of those marches, liuing then in libertie, without any king, and who beleued that their designe was to make warre against the Christians which did hold the coasts of Afrike vnder the kings D. John the second, and D. Emanuel of Portugal, and the townes of Ceuta, Tangir, Arzile, Alcazar, Ceguer, Azamor, Mazagon, Saphi, and Cap d'Aguer, & farther off, the castle of Arquin, they had presently a great troupe; especially for that king Emanuel entertained many Moores and naturall Africans: so as that Christian king might at sometimes haue drawne into armes of those nations aboue fiftie thousand horse, and twice as many foot. Vnder the name of this religious warre, the Xeriffes became strong and fearefull in the field: and in fauour thereof, they did obtaine of the inhabitants of the province of Dara in Numidia, where they were borne, the tenths of their reuenues: for vnto God, said they, the tenths of the fruits of the earth are due by auncient

1577

Xeriffe makes  
himselfe master  
of Turedant.Xeriffes strike  
vpon Marroc  
by treason.

A auncient constitutions. The citie of Turedant, which is a seat royall, and in olde time was the third member of the Miralimumins estate, did not onely receiue this impossit willingly; but they also perswaded the other Westerne Prouinces to doe the like, and to choose for their gouernour the old Mahomet, Ben Hamet, the father of these two Xeriffes, Hamet and Mahomet: by reason whereof, he made himselfe master of Turedant, & made sharpe warres against the Moores which held the partie of the Portugals, in the province of Dara and others. A certaine Xec of the towne of Tiguint, in the mountaines of Atlas the greater, towards the province of Sus, drew vnto the Xeriffes the people of Hea, lying neere vnto him, who did contribute the tenthes of their fruits, and of the feeding of their cattell, and in the end hee put them in possession of the towne of Teneft, which is the chiefe of that province of Hea, one of the best of Afrike: and then they called themselves princes, by the practises of this Xec, who was a Genouois renegado. But they were expelled by Nugno Fernandes of Atayde a Portugal, who forced them to retire to Tazarot, a towne of the iurisdiction of Marroc, and in the meane time old Mahomet Ben Hamet the Xeriffe died. His three sonnes continuing their enterprises, besieged the towne of Alquel, and tooke it from a Xec, called Cidi Bugima Africain, vassall to the king of Portugal: and then they seized vpon the castle of the mountaine of Xanxaua, the which they fortified, and were continually assisted by the Lords, townes, and communalities of that Westerne quarter of Afrike, in regard of this holy warre. After which, they got more reputation, hauing incountried and taken D. Lope de Barriga, gouernour of Alasti, who was the most redoubted captaine king Emanuel had in Afrike. Norwithstanding Abdelquibir the eldest of the Xeriffes was slaine in this conflict. The two others continuing their designes made themselves masters of Marroc, a goodly great citie, and chiefe of the realme, by a notable treason practised against Nacer Buxentuf of the race of the Hententats, who was king, but hee held nothing, in a manner, but the very towne, for all the dependancies were at that time held by pettie tyrans; and the champaigne countrie by the Alarabes, who in that countrie doe commonly hold Lords; towns; yea and kings in subiection. This Nacer hauing often receiued the Xeriffes very kindly into Marroc, and vsed them with all honour and courtesie; hee was one time poysoned for their fraud, going forth to sic at the Heron with him. They had suborned a certaine Moore, who crossed these noble men in their way as they returned from hawking, hauing a cake in his basket made of flower and sugar that was poysoned, who seeming to go on his way like a trauelier, he was staid by the Xeriffes, who demaunded of him what hee carried in his basket, and if he had not something good to eate, or to mingle with water to disalter the king, who was there present; whereupon this Moore drew out his cake, and presented it vnto the king, who did eate thereof, and dranke the water, into the which he had steeped it; whereof he did not presently complaine: but beeing come to Marroc, he fell sicke and died within 6 daies. In the meane time Mahomet knowing what would happen, went to Xanxaua to fetch his forces, to second his brother Hamet, as they had agreed, who by the meanes of some confederates, which vnder other pretexts were then at Marroc, seized vpon the castle, euen as his brother arriued with his troupes, and made himselfe to be acknowledged for king of the Marroquins, and seeming with a counterfeit modestie to be very much grieved for the accident which had befallen king Nacer; as a thing (said he) practised by some of his enemies vnknewne to him, he said that his election was a blessing of heauen, the which must follow: seeking to pacifie the children of the deceased, promising them honours and estates at their desires. Then he sent to aduertise the King of Fez, that hee had bene created King of Marroc, and that hee would hold the citie of him; and sending him certaine presents, accompanied with submissions and promises, he rested satisfied. Thus he got the possession of Marroc, and of the rights of that realme, the iuridictions whereof extend farre towards the South; which (as wee haue said) were distracted by the usurpations of pettie Lords: and many townes also had infranchised themselves, gouerning themselves like common weales, but they reduced them to their old obedience. The warres against the Christians and Moores which did adhere vnto them, beeing the chiefe support of their auctoritie and credit with the people, they continued it, and had diuers incountriers with the Portugals.



1577

Hamet and  
Mahomet di-  
vide their e-  
states.

Portugals; but that wherein they did labour more curiously, and wherein they were most fortunate, for the sealing of their greatnesse, was to practise the Moores which followed the king of Portugals partie, to draw them vnto themselves, wherein finding some difficulties, they fought to set a diuision among them, and they faiming to be partakers in their quarrels, did so bandie them one against another, as the Moores and Alarabes of the countrie of Duquele and they of Xarque of the one part, and they of Garbia of the other, by mutuall incounters and bloodie battels made themselves so weake, as the Xeriffes did easily subiect them one after another, and enrich themselves with their spoyle: which was so great, as afterwards they had not any need of armes, horses, nor followers: and then the two brethren diuided their estates, so as *Hamet* was king of Marroc, and *Mahomet* king of Sus, or of Tarudant, which towne he did beautifie with buildings, and fortifie very much: but, as the prosperities of this world are neuer absolute, going to besiege the towne of Cap d'Aguer in Sus, hee was roughly repulst, with the losse of a great number of men; the which did but quicken his spirits and courage to find meanes to recover this losse, and to maintaine his reputation: wherein both hee and his brother *Hamet* were much assisted by the approbation they had of the king of Fez, who was content when they had any losse, that they should repaire their forces by new leuies made in his countries, and by his subiects which did voluntarily follow them: and therefore for some yeares they entertained friendship with this king, who was the cause of their aduancement, by all duties and good offices, paying him the like tribute that *Nacer* king of Marroc was accustomed to paie, and moreover, the fift penie of their spoiles taken in warre. But finding themselves once strong, they began to neglect it, wherewith the king was discontented, commanding one of his captaines to let them vnderstand, that if they sent him not this tribute, he would make warre against them as enemies. The death of king *Mahomet Ostaz* ensuing, pacified this quarrell, for that the children of the deceased who had bene scholars to one of the Xeriffes, would not molest them, but confirmed them easily in their conquests, making a new promise of a light tribute, of the which they neuer paid any thing, being glad to haue such an occasion to breake with them of Fez, whom they knew to be men of little valour, liuing in delights and pleasures: Ambition which hath no bounds, prouoking them to passe all the bonds, respects, and considerations of the fauours which they had receiued from the house of these *Ostaz Merimes*, whom in the end they did ruine: and the better to attaine to that which they pretended, they made an alliance with *Aben Hadu*, and *Muley Ferez*, brethren, and *Muley Drys*, with other Lords of the mountaines, enemies to the familie of the *Ostaz*; so as when *Muley Hamet*, who had succeeded *Mahomet* his father in the realme of Fez, thought (after that the tribute had bene discontinued some yeares) to force the Xeriffes: they gaue him plainly to vnderstand that they owed him not any thing, and that they had more right to raigne, and to demand tribute of the kings and people of Affricke, than any other, for that they were descended from the Prophet *Mahomet*, and his lawfull successours: wherfore, if he thought it good to bee their friend, they would bee his: and if hee attempted to crosse them in the warres which they made against Christians, that both God and *Mahomet* would punish him, neither should they want power to defend themselves. And soone after, the Xeriffe of Marroc, who confined vpon the countrey of Fez, made triall if this king had the courage to enter into warre; for he began to force the inhabitants of some places of his iurisdiction which lay neere vnto him, to paie him the tenthes of their fruits, which was the chiefe article at that time of the receipt of their treasure: yea, they did not exact any other thing, but certaine customes or tolles. Whereupon the king of Fez resolved to proclaime war against them, & came in person to besiege Marroc, being vnprovided of Ordnance: for hee had but two peeces, with the which hee made a batterie neere vnto the port of Ciet Belabez Cebti. The other hearing of this siege at Sus, came speedily and put himselfe into Marroc, with three thousand horse, the which the king of Fez with his armie could not preuent: then instantly, with his and his brothers forces, they made a furious sallie, and put the assaillants to rout, pursuing them vnto the Prouince of Escura, doing infinit harme euen in the taile of their army. King *Hamet Ostaz* making hast, with the first to come to Fez, where he had news the same night, that

Tenthis offruits  
sho re newenes  
of Kings.

Muley

A *Muley Musand* her brother, had raysed a tumult in the cittie, & that he wold make himself King: which rebellion he suppressed by his comming. By this bad triall which the King of Fez had made, he was so incensed, as he would returne againe to the sege of Marroc, whereas the two brethren, did not attend him, but came forth to meete him, and charging him at the passage of the riuer of los Negros, at a place called Buacuba, they defeated his foreward: in which conflict *Muley Mahomet* his son was slaine, and with him King *Aben Abdalla*, he who had lost Granado in Spaine, and the King of Fez was forced to returne in disorder, with great losse of his men, baggage, and women, and to leaue the field to the Xeriffes, who by fauour of this victorie, made all them of the iurisdiction of Fez, which confined vpon Marroc, to contribute the tenths, without any resistance: and when as afterwards the King of Fez fought to be reuenged, they made head against him and his Captaines, and put them to many routes, so as that wrong remayned vreuenged. The Xeriffes hauing handled the King of Fez thus roughly, he of Sus led an armie beyond the mountaine Atlas, he tooke Tafilet, a towne of Numidia, and carried away the Lord thereof called *Amar*. He also took some other places, some by force, some by composition: so as these two brethren extended their dominions towards Numidia and Lybia, and subdued the Arabians and Affricans which liued in those drie countries. But that which gaue more fame to *Mahomet*, was the taking of Cape d'Aguer, which he had already attempted, and was then ill defended by *D. Guttiere* of Montroy a Portugois, who was forced and taken there with a good spoile, especially of armes and ordinance, whereof the Xeriffes could make great vse. This conquest settled them in their Estates, and made all the people of the mountaines and valleys, friends, yea obedient vnto them, and some thought that they had made *Emanuel* King of Portugal giue ouer the warres of Affricke, and demantle the townes of Azamor, Safi, Arzille and Alcaçar Ceguer, the which happened soone after.

King of Fez  
defeated by the  
Xeriffes.

But as all equalitie is odious in great men, and their societie nothing firme: these two brethren fell in the end to quarrell, and to open war. The cause was the hatred which *Hamet* bare to his younger brother *Mahomet*, for that hee was more esteemed and respected then he, he was indeed more valiant, more iust, and more loyall in that which hee promised: he was discontented also, that of all the bootie which *Mahomet* his brother had taken at Cap d'Aguer, of the which he should giue him the fift part, hee had not sent him any thing but *D. Guttiere* prisoner, and some few slaues: Wherefore he sent him an imperious message, that he would haue all the Ordnance, the harguebuzies, and the munition, which he had wonne and 400. slaues more, and then the fift peny of all the rest of the bootie: whereupon there were diuers answers and replies. *Hamet* seeing that hee did not performe what he desired, sent certaine troupes to leaue tribute of the land, which his brother enioyed, the which he did for that time endure. After which *Hamet* desired that they might haue an enterview in Marroc, but *Mahomet* knowing his brother well, excused himselfe, and seeing they were vpon complaints, *Mahomet* sayd, that he had deprived him of the lawfull succession of their father, who had left him great treasure in Tazaror, demanding a moiety both of the moouables and conquests, where he had alwaies bene in the greatest dangers. He sayd moreover, that *Mahomet Harran* his son hauing bin borne before that *Hamet* had any children, he ought to be sworne King and successor to all the Realmes, according to a certaine ordonance of their father. From these words they fell to armes, and without the meditation of *Cidi Arrahal* (who was an Alfagui of great authoritie among the Moores and Alarabes) the warre had then growne furious and bloudy, but he pacified them, and procured an enterview vpon the banks of the riuer Hued Isfen, whether either of them came with 500. horse, and lighted in the field, where there were two tents pitched, betwixt the which they parleyed, without any other companie, but the aboue-named Alfagui, their troupes being far from them. At their coming together, *Mahomet* humbling himselfe something, *Hamet* presently laied hold of him, (shaking him after a rough maner, and seeking to ouerthrow him: but *Mahomet*, who was strong and actiue, kept himselfe vp, and in the end in wrastring, got his brother vnder him, doing him no harme, but reproched him with his disloyalty, the other powring forth many injuries, vntill the Alfagui parted them, and then they both retired, so as this vnkind meeting

Xeriffes in quarrell  
betwixt  
themselves.

Rrrrr

did

did breed nothing else but an increase of hatred, which continued vnto their deaths.

*Hamet* was no sooner at Marroc, but hee sent *Muley Cidan* his eldest sonne to overrunne the land of *Dara*, which did belong to the King of *Sus* his brother, who sent against him *Mumen Belesche*, a Geneuiois renegado with some horsemen, who was defeated and forced to retire into a Castle, where he was besieged, taken, and carried to Marroc, and there remayned a Captiue in chaines for a time. On the other side, *Muley Said* another of *Hamets* sonnes, defeated and slue *Hafcen Gelbi* whome *Mahomet* had sent into the Prouince of *Hea* to leaue contributions: by which two routes *Hamet* thinking that his brothers forces were much weakened, he gathered the greatest power hee could together, with an intent to chase him out of his Realme of *Sus*, but *Mahomet* was not faint-hearted: for acquainting all his friends with the motiues of this warre, he could so perswade them, as they were more affected than euer to support and defend him, so as he was prepared to stoppe the passage of the mountaines called *Mascatotan*, which are betwixt Marroc and Tarudant, where hauing seized vpon the streights, when as the King of Marrocs armie was engaged in the mountaines, and his foreward led by *Muley Nacer* his third sonne, readie to enter into the open fields, it was charged by *Muley Harraz*, eldest sonne to the King of *Sus*, with such furie, as *Nacer* hauing lost his best men, was forced to retire into the mountaines, which caused a great disorder: for *Nacer* hauing incountred the battell, and the Squadron which his father led, there was so strange a confusion betwixt them, that did descend, and the others which would haue ascended flying the enemy, who poured them, as one hindering another, and intrangled in their baggage, we may say, that they gaue themselves a second route, greater then the first, casting one another downe the precepices vpon sharpe rockes, both men and horses: after a miserable manner: whereupon the enemy comming, and the barbarous people of the mountaines desirous of spoyle, falling vpon this amazed multitude, they made a terrible slaughter, yet many quitting their horses, escaped on foote, by those difficult waies into the reereward, which was free from this defeat. But *Hamet* King of Marroc, and *Muley Buagou* another of his sonnes were taken, and led to Tarudant: *Muley Cidan* his eldest sonne retired with the remaynder of this defeated armie to Marroc, in such despair, as he would haue sent Ambassadors into Spaine to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, to craue an armie of him, and to offer him homage, but hee was dissuaded by the *Alfaguis*, and Captaines that were with him, who thought it fit to send *Mariana* the wife of *Muley Cidan*, and daughter to the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, whom hee loued much, to Tarudant to procure the deliuerie of her father-in-law, and to mediate a peace: the which shee handled so discretely, as the two kings were reconciled vpon these conditions.

That there should be a new diuision made, and that to *Mahomet* should be left all the Prouince of *Sus*, from Mount Atlas towards the South, vnto the bounds of *Lybia* and *Numidia*, where it confines to *Sus*, the which they call *Remoto*, and to *Hamet* that which is towards the North, and to the frontiers of the Realme of *Fez*: That the treasures left by their father should be equally diuided. That young *Mahomet Harraz* should bee sworne Prince successor to both their Estates, and after him *Muley Cidan*: That the prisoners of either side should be set free without ransom: That *Hamet* King of Marroc, his children and the Captaines that were taken, should sweare neuer to carrie armes against *Mahomet* nor his children: That *Hamet* should haue the fift part of all that should be gotten by their common armes, by way of acknowledgement, as being his elder, and his part of the ouerplus, and being in person in the armie, he should haue the honour to be the Soueraigne head, and *Mahomet* should be as Vrsi, or Lieutenant general vnder him. This peace was concluded in the yeare 1543. but it held not; for *Hamet* being come to Marroc, sayd, that whatsoeuer he had promised, was by force, being a prisoner, and that it was not fit he should to wrong his son: wherefore hauing taken armes againe, the two brethren came to battell, at a place called *Quehera*, 7. leagues from Marroc, the 29. of August 1544. whereas *Hamet* was vanquished, and his army so dispersd, as *Mahomet* being at the citie gates, chasing them that fled, he was receiued, partly by loue, and partly by feare, the Gouernor and citizens thinking that all had beene lost: where hauing deliuered him the cause, he was saluted and held for King of Marroc. Hee did not touch his brothers wiues

nor

A nor children, nor their Jewels, nor treasure, but preserved them, assuring them that they should haue good vsage. A day or two after *Hamet* came to the gates of Marroc, but he found the place taken: wherefore being oppressed with sorrow, hee retired to the Hermitage of *Cidi Abdalla ben Cesi*, a man greatly honoured among that nation, not farre from the citie, and from thence he sent his sonnes *Muley Cidan*, and *Muley Nacer* vnto the King of *Fez*, to recommend them and their affaires vnto him. It was *Muley Hamet Oataz*, aboue-mentioned, a generous Prince, who notwithstanding the wrongs hee had receyued from their father and vnkle, entertained these two Xeriffes very courteously, and promised them all assistance. The Xeriffe *Mahomet*, new King of Marroc, knowing that his Nephewes were retired to *Fez*, sent them word, that they should not estrange themselves, and that he had no will but to do them good, whereupon they obeyed him, and he also drew vnto him by rewards and good entertaynments, all the Captaines and souldiers which had serued his brother. The *Alfaguis* grieuing at *Hamets* disgrace, did mediat an interview of the two brethren neere vnto the riuer of *Luyden*, two leagues from Marroc in the yeare 1545, but it was to *Mahomet* aduantage: for this victorious King caused a great and rich pavilion to be set vp all open, in the midst of his troupes, where he was set low vpon a royall seate, hauing barres round about, so as no man could come neere him but before, he being armed. About him were his gards fer, and other troupes of souldiers, who left an entrie to go vnto the King. There first presented themselves vnto him *Hamets* smaller children, then they that were bigger, and so according to their ages, who came and kissed his knee one after another, and then retired to one side of the pavilion, whereas the Kings children and his chiefe Officers were: last of all came *Hamet* the Xeriffe, before whom the King arose, and receyued him at the entrie of his pavilion, where as they embraced one another with teares in their eyes, and then sitting downe vpon one seate, after they had viewed one another a long space, sighing but not speaking, *Mahomet* began to tell him mildly of the breach of his faith, and of the peace of *Tarudant*, that God had punished him by the victory which he had giuen him miraculously, being very apparent that his forces were not sufficient to seize vpon the Realme of Marroc, and that he must confesse, that for his disloyalie he was fallen into the hatred of his

D subiects and vassals. That he should remember how much he had loued him, serued and obeyed him, as being his elder, and that he might assure himselfe he would beare him the like loue hereafter, notwithstanding all that was past, so as he would acknowledge him to be his king, and be content to be his Vizir, and Captaine general: but he must forbear to enter into Marroc: for he had promised the Inhabitants, who feared to be ill intreated by him, not to suffer him to enter: Wherefore hee should retire himselfe with his wife and children to the towne of *Tafiler*, where he should receiue all brotherly loue from him, and that he hoped the conquests they had hitherto made, were of small esteeme, in regard of those that were to come, by the which hee should haue meanes to giue vnto his children Realmes and Seigneuries to his and their content. *Hamet* made some excuses for that which he had done, and thanked him humbly in words for the promises and offers he made him, although the sentence seemed hard, yet he must vndergo it: wherefore he retired to *Tafila* in *Numidia* with his wiues, children, & such friends as wold follow him.

If the Xeriffe *Mahomet* had disposed his brother, whereof the chiefe motiue had beene ambition and then distrust, the King of *Fez* might well attend as much, for they had beene already in armes, and the Xeriffe knew wel that he had wronged him of *Fez*, which in reason required reparation: but the Xeriffes greatnes would not permit it: one distrusting another, they fell easily to quarrell. The Xeriffe complained, that after the battell of *Quehera*, the king of *Fez* had giuen refuge to *Muley Cidan*, and *Muley Nacer* his nephewes, and then he pretended that the Prouince of *Tedle*, did belong to the Realme of Marroc, and at the same time that he demanded it, he sent *Muley Abdel Cader*, one of his sons, to field, with an army, to exact the contributions, giuing him for an assistant *Mumen Belesche* aboue-named, by race a Geneuiois, to whom he gaue charge to beseege the strong castle of *Fixtelle*, and to take it: which they could not do, for the place was well defended by *Ben-Ouzar*, capitaine to the king of *Fez*, who also went to field to succor him. The Xeriffe desiring to incounter him, went also to field. In the armie of *Fez* were 30000. horse,

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as

*Mahomet* defeats his elder brother

Xeriffes brethren reconciled.

*Hamet* breaks the peace made with his brother.

*Mahomet* speaks to his brother *Hamet*.

Kings of *Fez* and Marroc at warre.



Gouverneur of Alger, who had some intelligence of these Carauels, who assailed them with fourescore Galleons, tooke them, and carried them to Alger, with all the Christian souldiers, notwithstanding any thing that *Buafon* could pleade, who sayd, that hee had brought them for his seruice, that by their ayde hee might enter into the Estate of Fez, from whence the Xeriffe, their common enemy, had chased all their house and family by force: but hee could get nothing from *Salharrais* at that time but reproches, that hee should bee ashamed, being a Mahometane, to haue recourse vnto Christians in his affaires, rather then vnto Turkes: yet notwithstanding afterwards, hee not onely deliuered these Portugall souldiers, but came himselfe with the forces of his Gouvernement to ayde *Buafon* to recover the Realme of Fez: for it happened, that the Xeriffe hauing greater desseignes, and aspiring to the Empire of all Affricke, made an enterprize vpon the Towne of Tremessen, which was a store-house for the Turkes, where they had a Garrison, sending his three eldest sonnes *Harran*, *Cader*, and *Abdalla*, to whom it was yielded without resistance. *Abdalla* remayned there with a good Garrison, but hee stayed not long till hee was inuested by *Salharrais* with a mightie armie, by whom hee was vanquished going soorth to fight with them, notwithstanding that the father had sent him a supply of eight thousand horse, vnder the command of *Cader* and *Abderramen* his Brethren, who were the cause of this losse, by their accustomed iares and dissensions: for being brethren by diuers mothers, they had alwaies some quarrell a foote, and could not agree in this important action. *Cader* was slayne in this conflict, being not succoured by *Abderramen*, and *Abdalla* (fore wounded) was forced to retire in disorder.

*Bahami* an old Captaine, and Cousin to these young Xeriffes, thinking to reprehend *Abderramen* for the fault which hee had committed, vsing some sharp and manly words vnto him, hee wounded him in the arme with his sword; whereof hauing afterwards complayned vnto the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, hee was so incensed against his sonne, as some thought hee was poisoned within a moneth after, with the fathers consent: so in a short time three of the Xeriffes sons dyed: for *Mahomet Harran* the eldest, who was appoynted Successour to the Realmes of Marroc and Fez, and had assisted him in the Conquest of Tremessen, returning afterwards to Fez, he dyed of sickness. In the meane time the Xeriffe had newes that the Inhabitants of the Mountaine *Nefusa*, called otherwise *Derenderen*, a people subiect to rebellion, were reuolted. They had mutined before, by the perswasion of a Preacher of the sect of *Mohaydin*, called *Cidi Abdalla*: but now the Xeriffe imputed this tumult to the practises of *Muley Hamet* the dispossessed king of Fez and his children: but more vpon a conceipt, then any wel-grounded reason: so as incensed with a violent passion, hee sent his sonne *Abdalla* to Marroc, where this poore King was, with charge to cut off his head, and there was commaundement sent to *Habis*, Gouverneur of Sus, to do the like to his two sonnes *Cazeri* and *Nacer*, who liued at Tarudant, the which was executed.

The Rebels of *Derenderen* had annoyed the Xeriffe, being animated by their Preacher *Cidi Abdalla*, and now they shewed themselves no lesse obstinate. It is a mightie people, but barbarous, superstitious, and disloyall, inhabiting this long mountaine, which was strong and of hard access, hauing with in it spariou valleys well tilled, carrying grayne, oyle, and other fruites, which is a branch of the great Atlas, in the territory of Marroc: who made such resistance against the Xeriffe, who came against them in person, as after that he had lost a great number of his men, he resolved to leaue them vntill another time.

The towne of Tremessen being recovered by the Turkes, *Buafon* Lord of Velez, who was at Melille, came againe to intreate *Salharrais*, that he would not ruine his good fortune, but deliuer the Christian souldiers which hee detayned, paying him some reasonable ranfome. *Salharrais* being incensed against the Xeriffe, and thinking that if hee should assaile him after the route of his sonnes, hee would bee so amazed, as hee might dispossesse him of Fez, requiting him with the like as he had attempted to do against him at Tremessen, he granted *Buafon* his request, and moreover offered to furnish him with a good number of Turkes, hauing agreed vpon some pay, and he himselfe went with

A him in person. *Buafon* promised to pay him a thousand doubloons of gold daily, for forty daies together, and gaue him caution in the towne of Alger: Hee agreed also that *Salharrais* should carry away all the mouables, iewels and treasor which should bee found in Fez, belonging to the Xeriffe.

This accord being made, the Turke went to field with foure thousand men of his nation, and twelue peeces of ordinance, giuing order to other troupes to come and ioine with him at Tremessen; the Lord of Dubude of the bloud of the *Merins*, came also with some souldiers. It may be the newes hereof made the Xeriffe retire from pursuing the Montaynards of *Derenderen*, sooner then he would haue done, and to put himselfe into Fez, whether all his forces being come, hee went to encounter the Turkes vpon the Marches of Tezar, whereas the Realme of Fez confines with that of Tremessen, and there attended his comming many daies: but seeing his long stay, and his victuals being cut off by *Buafon*'s children, who held the passages, and had their retreats into the mountaines of Maragara, hee was forced to retire. Xeriffe was no sooner parted from Tezar, but *Salharrais* arriued, to whom the Inhabitants opened their gate, and receiued a garrison of Turkes: then causing his army to march against Fez, hee went along the foote of the mountaines, being coasted by the Xeriff's army which held the plaines, and was much stronger then he in horse. *Salharrais* was a captaine, and could embrace all occasions, so as one day hee surprized the Xeriff's reereward, led by *Abdalla*, his sonne, and put it to route, and made him to abandon his munition and baggage, so as the Xeriffe was forced to goe hastily to Fez, marching all that day and the night following without any stay, and then *Salharrais* lodged presently vpon the bankes of the riuer Sebu.

The Inhabitants of Fez haue a priuledge, that if their King suffers the enemy to approach within halfe a league of the city, as being to weak and wanting meanes to resist him, they may open him the gates, and not bee taxed with treachery, and so they cause their Kings to sweare at their comming to the crowne: For it is a great folly, say they, by a vaine, weak & vnseasonable loyalty, to expose such a city to the spoile, in supporting a Prince obstinately, who is vnprovided of force and meanes to defend them. This priuledge forced the Xeriffe to goe forth againe to fight with the Turkes army, and with his enemy *Buafon*, and fearing that the captaine of the Turkes which hee had for his gard, would abandon him, and retire to *Salharrais*, he caused his head to bee cut off.

All the captaines and gouernors of Sus, Dara, Marroc, and the Prouinces of Fez, were in his army with their people, which shewed to bee foure score thousand horse, of the which he sent eight thousand good horse of Sus against the enemy, to fight with him at the passage of a riuer, and hee with the rest of the army followed after, stretching it out vpon the riuer side, so as there was nothing but the riuer betwixt the two armies, *Salharrais* finding great difficulty in his passage, planted his ordinance, vpon the riuer side where there was a ford, and caused euery horseman to take a Harguebuzier behind him, and the ordinance to play continually vpon the Xeriff's squadrons; so as hee past a great number of his shot in despite of them, who with admirable celerity cast vp a kinde of rampar to defend them from the horse, and shooting incessantly gaue meanes to the rest of the Turkes horse and foote to passe, neither could they bee forced to quit the place, which they had taken, notwithstanding the many charges of the Xeriff's horsemen.

The Turkes army being past, they lodged that night as strongly as they could. The next day they marched towards the city, whereas the Xeriff's army made great resistance, the which was diuided into three battailions, and hauing made a trench vpon the great high way, planted with ordinance, they could not passe; but *Salharrais* making a shew as if he would goe and beseege the bourrough of Zefere with part of his army, whereas the Xeriff's victuals and munition lay, hee caused his sonne *Abdalla* to leaue a little hill called *Dardubag*, which hee had in gard, of the which hee himselfe, with the other part of the Turkish army, seized instantly; and then hee feared not the enemies horse, the which could not then anoy him, the way being rough and full of stones. Notwithstanding the Xeriffe charged the Turkes, but they of that nation and the renegados which were in his army, and of his gard betraied him; so as *Salharrais* Turkes got the aduantage, and

Turkes goe to beseege Fez

Xeriffe Mahomet forced to flee.

Priuledge of the Inhabitants of Fez.

Crueltie of the Xeriffe Mahomet.

Turkes make  
the Xeriffe re-  
tire.

and with their shot disperced their first Squadrons: and put them to flight, wherefore A  
the Xeriffe seeing that they of Fez that were with him began to wauer, and that most of  
them retired towards the old city, hee resolved also to retire himselfe into new Fez, with  
his souldiars of Marroc and Sus, in whom he did most relie, and the Turkes marching on  
in good order, came and camped neere vnto the port called Bebelsetoh, whereas ma-  
ny of the Inhabitants came vnto them, and Arabians that were friends to *Buacon*, with  
an intent to haue it opened vnto him. *Muley Abdalla* the Xeriff's sonne, who had entred  
the city by an other port, caused two peeces of ordinance to bee planted vpon the por-  
tall of Bebelsetoh, which made many shot into the Turkes campe, and did them much  
harme, but *Buacon* and his friends brake open the gate, and made way for the army to  
enter. B

Then there beganne a furious and bloody conflict in the streetes, where there died  
many good men of either side, in the end *Abdalla*, who had no confidence in them of  
Fez, abandoned it, and retired himselfe into the castle of new Fez, passing by the suburbs  
of Merz, where he reported vnto his father how all things had past in the great towne,  
who holding himselfe not safe in new Fez, went to field, in a manner flying towards  
Marroc, hauing aduised his wiues, his daughters and household traine, to saue themselves  
as they could: abandoning his treasures, iewels, and mouables (whereof hee  
went alwaies well furnished) to them that could lay hold of it. Some escaped, others  
were staid and taken, and amongst them two of the Xeriff's daughters, who had that day  
a notable losse. *Aliben Bubar*, who was captaine of the fort of new Fez, held it, vntill C  
he thought that the Xeriffe was in safety, and then hee yeilded it to *Salharrais* by com-  
position, his men going forth with their armes and horses, and what goods they could  
carry with them.

Fez abando-  
ned by the X-  
eriffe to the  
Turkes.

Fez taken by  
the Turkes.

The city of Fez being thus wonne, some captaines of the Turkes army, who hated  
*Buacon*, gaue *Salharrais* to vnderstand that the Inhabitants of Fez did detest him, for that  
hee was affected to the Christians, and was proud, and of an ill disposition. That they  
murmured already against him, and gaue it out that they would neuer receiue him wil-  
lingly for their King; and therefore hee should binde them much vnto him, if hee gaue  
them *Muley Bubar*, one of the sonnes of *Muley Hamet Oulaz*, to whom by right D  
the Realme did belong, and that it was their desire. Vpon these reports and perswasions  
*Salharrais* caused *Muley Bubar* to bee proclaimed King of Fez, retayning *Muley Buacon*  
in the fort of new Fez well garded, which made the people to mutine: for whereas the  
Turkes had said that *Buacon* was hated and reiected by the Inhabitants of Fez, it was a  
meere slander, and the contrary did soone appeare, for they tooke armes for his sake a-  
gainst the Turkes, so as *Salharrais* was forced (to pacifie this tumult) to send him vnto  
them with an Alcaide, he promising to returne againe to accomplish their conuentions.  
*Buacon* being brought into the city, cast himselfe into the Mesquite of Caruin, and  
would not come forth, saying, that he had bene ill intreated by the Turkes, and in dan-  
ger to be slaine by them, and therefore he would not fall againe into their hands. E  
But the Alcaide, which did accompany him, gaue him so many reasons, as hee returned with  
him to *Salharrais*, who pacified him with good words and made him King of Fez: but  
he condemned the Citizens to pay an ounce of gold for euery house, because they had  
sediciously taken armes against the Turkes: whatsoeuer past betwixt them afterwards,  
it is certaine, that *Salharrais* departed very ill satisfied of King *Buacon*, and returned from  
this enterprife (where hee had gotten much honour and proffit) in such a rage against  
him, as hee aduertised the Xeriffe, that he might boldly make warre against Fez when hee  
pleased, assuring him that hee would neuer giue aide to *Buacon*: It may bee hee was the  
more incensed, for that hauing sent *Ta Haya* a Turke to Veles, to receiue the fort of Pip-  
non, which it may be was an Article of their Conuentions, the captaine that was in it, F  
would not yeeld it, but deliuered it vnto *Muley Mahomet* sonne of *Buacon*, and when the  
Pirat demanded it of *Mahomet*, hee refused him, but it happened on a time that the Pi-  
rat tooke *Mahomet* out of his fort, and intreated him so roughly, as hee yeilded vp  
the place.

The Xeriffe *Mahomet* being chased from Fez, thinking that the towne of Meguineus,  
would

A would be of great expence hee commanded his sonne *Abdalla* who was in it, to abandon  
it, for the which hee repented himselfe, hearing how much *Salharrais* was discontented  
with *Buacon*: for this place was very commodious to make an enterprife vpon Fez,  
which hee presently resolved. But hee had reason to thinke how to keepe it from the  
Xeriffe *Hamet* his brother, who vpon the newes of this losse was returned to Taflet,  
and had made himselfe Master thereof, with an intent to attempt some great matter.  
He therefore resolved to punish him in such sort, as hee should neuer haue more cause  
to feare him, going himselfe in person to beseege him in Taflet, and in the meane time  
he sent an army against *Buacon* the new King of Fez; giuing the charge thereof to his  
sonne *Abdalla*; *Buacon* for his part sent his army to field, being led by *Muley Nacer* and  
Muley *Mahomet* his sonnes; but these two brethren (the one beeing base) disagreeing,  
they diuided their forces, and gaue *Abdalla* meanes to defeat *Mahomet*, and to make the  
other retire: which made *Buacon* goe out of Fez with a great army, who charged *Abdalla*  
so furiously, as hee put his army to rout with great slaughter. In this battaile there  
was a race of Arabians cut in peeces, called Arrahamenes, whom the Xeriffe drew out  
of the country of Sus, and had placed them in the Prouince of Temecene, of the which  
there escaped not one.

*Abdalla* defea-  
ted by *Buacon*.

The defeat of *Abdalla* was held secret by the Xeriffe, who did beseege *Hamet* his brother  
in Taflet, so as the beseegeed knew not any thing: but contrariwise they found  
meanes to haue it bruted in the towne, that *Abdalla* was a conqueror in Fez. Where-  
fore *Hamet* who had put himselfe into that place, in hope to be releued by *Buacon*, be-  
leeuing that he had bene wholly defeated, and without hope of that which hee expected,  
he sent *Zidan* and *Nacer* his sonnes vnto their vnclie, and yeilded himselfe vnto his mer-  
cy: Who confined him at that time into an hermitage, but hee caused the heads of his  
Nephewes, to bee cut off, to free himselfe of all feare; and hauing left a good garri-  
son in Taflet, hee tooke the way to Garciluin, and by that way entred into the Realme of Fez.  
*Buacon* seeing himselfe thus obstinately pursued, went forth against the Xeriffe, where  
there was a bloody battaile, in the which *Buacon* was slaine vpon the place, and his  
army put to flight. *Nacer* his sonne fled to Mesquinez, to recouer the mountaines;  
his other sonne *Mahomet*, entred into Fez, with fifty horse onely, but the Citizens, who  
alwaies held with the stronger, let him know that he was not welcome: wherefore hee  
went also to Mesquinez, where he found his brother *Nacer*, and so they past to Sala or  
Rabat vpon the Ocean sea, where they imbarked to passe into Spaine, but they were  
taken at sea by certaine Pirats Brittons. *Muley Bussiar*, sonne to the deceased King *Ha-  
met Oulaz*, being in this battaile with *Buacon*, fled to Tremessen, and from thence to Al-  
gier, where he died of the plague.

*Mahomet* the  
Xeriffe beseege  
th his brother  
*Mahomet*.

*Buacon* King of  
Fez, defeated  
and slaine.

Thus by this victory the Xeriffe was peaceable King of Fez, and all the Xecques of the  
people, and Gouernors of the Realm, came and yeilded themselves vnto him. Being vn-  
able to force them of the mountaines, or beeing loath to blemish the glory of so great a  
conquest by some sinister accident, in seeking to subdue those base desperate people, he  
made an accord with them, that they should yeeld him a certaine homage. Being then  
come to Marroc, he caused his brother *Hamet* to bee brought thither, with the children  
that he had remayning, giuing them in gard, to *Ali Ben Bubar*, and then he went towards  
Taradant to make a marriage (for hee was accustomed euery yeere to marry some faire  
gentlewoman) and therefore hee carried two of his daughters with him, with a great  
train of women, some troupes of horse, and twelue hundred Turkes of his gard; but  
he came not thither, being slaine by the way, by treason, vpon this occasion. Hee had  
a priuate hatred with *Hassen Basba*, sonne to *Haradin Barbarouffe* (but the cause is not  
well knowne) so as *Hassen* sought all meanes to bee reuenged. Being at Algier there  
came a Turke vnto him, who had heard speake of their quarrell, his name was also *Hassen*,  
a wicked and a murderous man, who made offer to kill the Xeriffe, and hauing receiued  
money, and great promises from the Basba, he came to Fez, whereas *Abdalla* was vice-  
roy for his father; whom hee gaue to vnderstand that hee had fled from Algier, for that  
*Hassen* Basba would haue put him to death vpon certaine false reports, beseeching him  
to receiue him into his seruice. *Abdalla* who did not much loue the Turkish nation,  
would

Fez wholly sub-  
dued to the  
Xeriffe.



would not entertaine him, but willed him to goe to Marroc to his father the which hee A  
did, where he was receiued, and soone after made captaine of the Turkes of his gard,  
who were all discontented, and ready to mutine, for that they had bene about a yeere  
without their pay, the which they had often demanded of the treasurers, and were dis-  
daine fully reiected, with iniuries, as it is the custome of that kinde of people: so as  
when the Xeriffe beganne his voyage to Tarudant; they were much incensed. The  
Turke *Hassen* taking this fit occasion to execute his desaigne, increased their discontents  
all he could, so as he grew confident to treat with some of the most mutinous of his  
garde, to kill the Xeriffe, and to spoile his treasure, shewing them how easily they might  
escape by Numidia, and get to Tremessen, before they should haue meanes to pursue B  
them.

This practise succeeded for the execution of the murthér, but they could not escape  
as they expected. The Xeriffe being at the passage of Mont Atlas, which is called Bi-  
bone, at a place named Algier, he would take a view of his gards, who for this cause were  
armed on horsebacke, and in battaile, *Hassen* who was their captaine, lighting from his  
horse, drew neere vnto the Xeriffe, who was at the entry of his tent, as if hee had some  
thing to say vnto him, being followed by foure other his confederats; being neere, and  
seeing him attentue to some other thing, the Treasurer who was not farre off, seeing  
*Hassen* lay his hand vpon his Cymiter, he cried out to Xeriffe that he should beware of  
himselfe: the Xeriffe thinking to flie into his tent, was intangled among the cords and  
fel, then the traitor cut one of his hamstrings, & the rest made an end of murdering him, C  
killing his chiefe Treasurer (whom they hated) with him. This murthér being done,  
it was published by the Turkes themselues, with curses against the dead. Many of the  
troupes which followed in this voyage, ioyned with them, so as *Hassen* was presently  
strong and so feared, as marching towards the Prouince of Sus, where soeuer hee pass,  
they did him honour and seruice, and being come to Tarudant they easily made them-  
selues Master of the towne, finding it abandoned by *Muley Odman*, one of the Xeriffes  
children, and there they gathered together the treasure that was found in his, and his  
two daughters traines, with that which they found in the castle of Tarudant. Thus D  
perished the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, who from little was aduanced to one of the greatest  
principalities in the world, built vpon the rapine of three mighty and ancient realmes,  
wherevnto hee had annexed many other Prouinces, by notable murthers, and incredi-  
ble effusion of blood, with an intent to make himselfe Monarke of all Afrike, high-min-  
ded, proude, a dissembler, a parricide to reigne alone, couetous, without loue, iniurious  
and contemning all other men: against whom God raised a petty enemy, when as hee  
thought to enioy all his conquests, and that he glorified himselfe, who slue him in  
the midst of his guards, yea and by them; so variable and inconstant is worldly great-  
nesse. The murthers liued not long vnpunished. They found amongst the prisoners  
whom they deliuered at Tarudant, a Moore issued from the race of the Iewes, who was  
called *Gazi Musa*, and had bene superintendant of the Engins of sugar which the X- E  
eriffe held in that Prouince, and was then restrained vpon his accounts.

He was knowne by the Turkes to be a man of great iudgement and vnderstanding, and  
that might giue them good aduice, wherefore they honoured him with the Office  
of Iustice Major of the towne and country of Sus. Being doubtfull what to doe, hee  
aduised them to fortifie themselues in that great and rich city, where they might  
well defend themselues for a time, vntill that succors came vnto them from Algier  
by Numidia, but *Hassen* who was rich, could not see the happinesse to returne vnto  
the Bascha, whom he had serued so wishfully, and therefore hee resolved to depart with  
his booty, and seeke to get through the deserts to Tremessen, the which they might haue  
easily done, if they had taken this resolution sooner: for hauing spent about 3. weekes in F  
Tarudant, they might well thinke they should find incounters, hauing so long a iorney to  
goe, which they should not be able to resist: *Gazi Musa* seeing that the Turke should bee  
no longer his Lord, he secretly gaue intelligence to *Muley Odman* (who was in the  
Prouince of Dara, and leauied men, both Africans and Arrabians his friends) of the de-  
parture and voiage which *Hassen* and his confederats made, who carried away his sisters  
and

Xeriffe Mahomet  
murdered.

disposition  
of the Xeriffe  
Mahomet.

A and the treasor of the Realme, thinking by this aduice to bee freed from the remainder of  
his accompts. These theues were not two iourney from Tarudant, but they found  
themselues charged, and so prest as they were forced to loose both prey and life, for they  
were all slaine. So the virgins and the treasor was recouered, and Tarudant also. This  
happened in the yeere 1557.

At Marroc the Alcaide *Ali Ben Bubcar* remained Gouvernor, who had bene a good  
seruant to the Xeriffe that was dead, and was much affected to *Abdalla* his sonne. Hee  
vsing wordly wisdom, hearing how his Master had bene slaine, not attending any order  
or commandement from the new King *Abdalla*, slue the old Xeriffe *Hamet*, who had  
bene giuen in gard, least the people should force him to deliuer this *Hamet*, to seat him  
in the royall Throne, where they had seene him some yeeres before, the which might hin-  
der *Abdalla* who was then at Fez, desiring to settle him quietly in the realme as he did.

Among the Princes which this Gouvernor slue, there were two sonnes of *Muley Zidan*  
and of *Mariana* daughter to the deceased Xeriffe *Mahomet*, who found an easie meanes to  
be reuenged, for after the death of *Muley Zidan* her husband, she had retired to *Abdalla*  
her brother, whom she gouerned whilest he liued with great fauour, so as *Ali Ben Bubcar*  
had a most dangerous enemy of her about the King. *Abdalla* succeeded in the realmes  
of Marroc, Fez and Tarudant, with their appurtenances, without any contradiction: The  
father had ordained by a sollemne will, made in a Parliament or Conuocation held ex-  
pressly, that the eldest of his sonnes should succeed in all his Estates, Lands, and Siegneu-  
ries, as King, and after him his other brethren vnto the last that should be lyuing, accord-  
ing vnto the prerogatiue of their ages, and that not any one of their children should  
come vnto the crowne, during the life of any one of the vncles, which Order *Abdalla* in  
the course of his reigne thought to breake, in fauour of his sonne *Mahomet*, and there-  
vpon *Mariana* tooke occasion to be reuenged of *Ali* who had slaine her children, and  
procured his ruine by this meanes. This woman who was of a great spirit, gouerned the  
King absolutely, yea she presumed to meddle in his greatest and most secret affaires, and  
to giue him counsell, which he tooke not ill, but did confesse willingly with her. Hauing  
then a desaigne to breake this testamentary Ordinance made by his father, and to leaue  
the realme to his eldest sonne called *Mahomet*. She told him that she found he should  
haue some contradiction, if he should die during the life of *Ali Ben Bubcar*, who was vizir  
of the realme, a cheefe dignity next vnto the King, yea of so great authority, as in the  
election of Kings, the voice and approbation of the vizir was very necessary; for accord-  
ing to the custome of the Moores, all their Kings were chosen after this manner, not-  
withstanding any Ordonances and dispositions which Kings in their life time may make  
to the contrary, and she told him that this vizir would seeke to maintaine his fathers wil,  
for she saw him much affected to one of his brethren, she speake it not by surmise: for  
dissembling the hatred she bare vnto *Ali* (as shee was very cunning) and diuising often  
with him of diuers affaires, and euen of this, as if it had bene a desire of her owne onely,  
and no intent of the Kings, she discovered his heart sufficiently, by his discourse and an-  
swers, being to open and free for a Moore. Moreouer he was rich and mighty of him-  
selfe, for he was Xeeq or Lord of a great people called Zaragana, and for his wisdom  
and valour, which were great, he was held so necessary for the realme, as the King ought  
to respect him, and gouerne his affections according to his counsels. The King in truth  
did much esteeme him, and knowing that the election of his successor depended of the  
vizirs voice and nomination, he did entertaine and gratifie *Ali*, thinking in time to bind  
him by his bounty to second his intentions. Conferring after with his sister of this  
desire which he had to leaue his realmes to *Mahomet* his sonne, she still objected vnto  
him the sincerity or rather severity of his vizir *Ali Ben Bubcar*, seeking to incense the  
King against him: So as on a time seeing the King discontented at some thing that *Ali*  
had done, according to the duty of his charge, but against the Kings will, this cunning  
woman fell in speech of the succession saying, that hee assured himselfe more of *Ali* then  
he ought, and namely in this businesse concerning his sonne *Mahomet*, perswading him  
to certifie himselfe by some tryall, and therefore she aduised him to counterfit himselfe  
sicke for some daies, and not to suffer any one to enter into his Chamber, if he were not  
called

Service rashly  
performed.

Abdalla King  
of Marroc, Fez,  
and Tarudant.

Testament of  
the Xeriffe  
Mahomet.

Vizir a digni-  
ty at Marroc.

Kings of the  
Moores elect  
their.

called the which is not strang among those nations, whereas their Kings being out of war remaine whole monthes shut with their women, and no man sees them, but such as are called. During this fiction, the Vizir *Ali*, who loued the King and the Estate, came daylie to the pallace, morning and euening, inquiring of his health, yet could not bee admitted into his Chamber. *Mariane* talked often with him, and made him beleue that the Kings sicknesse was very dangerous: who obseruing her words and countenance, perswaded himselfe that he was dead, and that she sought to conceale it, so as one morning he intreated her to tell him the truth, which should not be hidden from him; for if he were dead it were needfull to provide another King speedily for the Estate, and that such affaires could not admit delaies. Then *Mariane* seeing how this businesse wrought, brought him into the Chamber, where he saw the Kings bed couered, and he stretched out and couered with a cloath, as if hee had bene dead, and so hee held him: Then she said vnto him, consider *Ali* I pray you, seeing the King my Lord is dead, to worke so as his sonne may be chosen King, as you know he much desired. It is very fit answered *Ali*, that you women should meddle with such matters, what reason were it to choose a young man for King? It must not be, the Xeriffe *Mahomet* hath wisely ordained, that the brethren should succeed one another, knowing that Kingdomes must be gouerned by men that are ripe of yeeres and Iudgement, and being ready to goe out of the Chamber to assemble the counsell, hee was amazed when he saw the King vp, who called him, and said vnto him, that he thanked him much for the good office he intented to his sonne. *Ali* was so daunted, as not able to answer, nor to excuse himselfe with any reason, hee fled home to his lodging, where hauing taken the habit of a woman, he commanded a seruant of his to bring him two horses to a certaine place where he would attend them, and sodainely departed, with an intent to goe out of the realme. Being in that place, set at the foote of an oliue tree, attending his seruant, there past by two young Knights, which came from hunting, who seeing that *Ali* hid his face, thinking it had bene some leud woman, they came neere to see, and made him to vncouer himselfe; knowing him, they doubted some mischief, so as they carried him backe vnto the King, who caused his head to be presently cut off. And thus was *Mariane* reuenged for the death of her children.

This matter being knowne, the Kings brethren and all they of the blood disperced themselves, yea after that hee had caused *Muley Mahomet* *Aben Abdelcader* his Nephew, sonne to his elder brother deceased, to be slaine at Mesquinez, whom he had married with *Lela Sophia* his sisters daughter, onely for ieaousie, for that hee was a wife and a valiant Knight, and much beloued of his subiects. His brethren and other kinsmen being gone out of the country, he did not care much to persecute them. This *Abdalla* Xeriffe was the mightiest King of Affrike, the most peaceable, and the most happy, if he had abstayned for the blood of his owne house. His dominions extended from Benais in the Negros country, whether the Prouince of Sus doth bound, which they call Remoto towards the South, vnto the North sea, and from the Westerne sea, vnto the limits of Tremessen towards the East, in the which are comprehended foureteene great Prouinces. Hee did commonly entertaine three score thousand horse, well paid, the which were thus diuided 15000. in the realme of Sus 25000. at Marroc, and 20000. at Fez: and out of these hee drew fise thousand horse, which were his batrillion or Cornet: And moreouer hee had two thousand Harguebuziers on foote, Christians renegados, and fise hundred on horse-backe; with a thousand Harguebuziers of Sus for the gard of the towne of new Fez, which is the Kings pallace, and as bigge as a good towne. Hee gaue pay to all these souldiers as well in peace as warre, beeing paid euery foure monthes: when he had any enterprise, if need were, he assembled all his trained bands, and moreouer did entertaine what Arabians and Africans he pleased, lyuing in his countries, vnder a certaine vassellage, and paid them for the time they serued. He reigned seuentene yeeres, and ordained *Mahomet* his sonne to be heire to those their realmes, and to all his treasure, who beganne to persecute his vnckles, hauing three yet lyuing: that is, *Abdelmmen*, *Abdelmelech*, whom the Spaniards call *Muley Moluc*, and a bastard called *Hamet*.

*Abdelmmen*

*Dominions of  
Abdalla King  
of Fez and  
Marroc.*

*Abdelmmen* was slaine at Tremessen, by a murtherer who shot at him being at his prayers in a Mosque; *Hamet* liued among the Alarabes, but *Muley Moluc* had first retired to Alger, from whence hee did for a time sollicit the King of Spaine, by the meanes of D. *Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel*, viceroy of Valencia, to assist him to annoy *Abdalla* his brother, who sought to depriue him of his right, but seeing it was in vaine, he past to Constantinople, where hauing complained of the iniustice was done him by his brother, hee continued in *Selims* seruice, seeking all occasions to giue a testimony of his valour, and to make him willing to aide him to recouer the realmes of Fez, Marroc, and Tarudant, which did belong vnto him, and were vsurped by *Mahomet* the sonne of *Abdalla*, his Nephew. He had bene in the warres which the Turkes had against the Venetians and the confederats, and at the recouery of Tunes, and the fort Goulette, where hee had carried himselfe so valiantly, as by the report of *Sinan Bassa*, the Sultan *Selim* held him worthy to be assisted and fauoured, sending him backe into Affrike, with letters of fauor and commandement to his Lieutenants, to giue him what ayde they could; so as hauing by this meanes gathered together a good army of Turkes and Moores his friends, and some Arabians which his brother *Hamet* brought vnto him, he came vpon his Nephew *Mahomet*, and gaue him three defeats, the last whereof was admirable; for *Mahomet* had three score thousand horse, and tenne thousand foote, and 36. peeces of ordinance, yet he disposed him quite, and chased him out of the realmes of Fez and Marroc, and their dependances. It is this *Mahomet*, which did incite D. *Sebastian* King of Portugal to passe into Affrike, whose misfortunes we must now relate.

*Mahomet ex-  
pelled by Mo-  
luc.*

#### D. Sebastian the sixteenth King of Portugal, alone of that name.

On *Sebastian* King of Portugal had bene bred vp since the death of King *Iohn* the third (being but three yeeres old) vnder the gouernment of Queene *Catherine* his grandmother, and of his vnckle D. *Henry* the Cardinal, who were his tutors, and Gouernors of the realme, who bred him vp in delights and superfluous pompe, in steed of that commendable simplicity of his predecessors: wherefore being twenty yeeres old, putt vp with those vanities, being strong of body, of a couragious minde, full of ouerweening, (a natural vice in Portugals) and not content with his owne Dominions, he resolved (as it were by force) to alter the quiet of his realme, and to make triall of his valour, to his owne ruine, and of the crowne of Portugal: for not measuring his owne forces, hee would needs (without any constraint, and contrary to the aduice of Princes, which were allied vnto him, and his most faithfull friends) meddle in the warres and quarrels of the Xeriffes of Affrike: the chiefe blame whereof was imputed to the Iesuits, to whom Queene *Catherine* had giuen him in charge to frame his affections and Iudgement. These fathers who were in great credit, and well provided for in Portugal, beeing tired with their long peregrinations to the East Indies, where they are bound to procure the soules health of the Barbarians, with whom the Portugals doe trade; desired much that there might bee some occasion offered to set footing into Affrike, which was neere, by some enterprise of warre: entertayning this young King in this humor, who to bee ready when time should require, made certaine legions or trained bands on foote, in Lisbon and other townes, causing them to bee inrowled, and armed with pikes, and harguebuzes, and some of them to bee drawne once a weeke out of Lisbon to bee trained.

*Portugal:  
5  
D. Sebastian  
first of that  
name King of  
Portugale*

*D. Sebastian  
bred up by the  
Iesuits.*

In the yeere 1574. he had an ychting desire (as I haue said) to see the skirmishes which were daily made betwixt the garrisons of Ceuta and Tanger, & the bordering Moores, he past the straight with some companies of soldiers, saying that he went only to visit those places: Being arriued in those countries hee discovered his lowne weakenesse, hauing a desire to do more then he spake, and being yong & without experience thought to effect more then hee did. Being returned to Lisbon, he did still meditate vpon some warre,

*Youth of D.  
Sebastian.*

S ffff especially

especially in those parts, and in this desire hee did things nothing befitting a Kings **A** practising amongst the common people, to the end, said he, to bee better accustomed to the toyles of warre. He thought that a happy occasion was offered, hearing that *Muley Moluc*, or *Abdelmelech* was come with Turkes to assaile *Muley Mahomet* his Nephew, to whom he presently sent to make offer of his forces if he had need, but the Moore (who was no discreeter then hee) thanked him, saying that he was strong enough to repulse *Muley Moluc*, and to ruine him, whereof hee repented himselfe afterwards; for hauing beene vanquished and dispossessed, he was forced to come to intreaties. This Moore after his defeats, fled with such as would follow him, hauing some iewels and other wealth, vnto certaine places called Montes Claros, which is, a sauage country, but finding **B** himselfe neither safe there, nor in a place fit to negotiat, hee went to Pegnon de Veles, casting himselfe into King *Philips* armes, for hee was ashamed to haue recourse to him of Portugal, whose offers hee had refused. Yet hee was forced to come vnto him, for he found not King *Philip* disposed to deale in that businesse. King *Sebastian* who desired nothing more then to goe to the warre in Africke, granted him whatsoever hee could demand, and did easily credit the promises and bragges of this Moore, who said, that as soone as euer they should shew themselves in field on the other side of the streight, the whole country would turne vnto him; for *Abdelmelech*, said he, had no friends, and was in a manner vnknowne; the which was found false, for after the victory he had beene receiued and acknowledged with great ioy and contentment, by them of **C** Fez, and Marroc, as their lawfull King, as well in fauour of the testamentary decree of the old Xeriffe *Mahomet* his father, as for that he was held amongst the Xeriffes to bee most valiant, and much regarded for his mildnesse and humanity, beeing alouer of Iustice, and temperate, and modest in his behauiour, vertues which grace a Prince, and which wanted in *Mahomet*, the effects whereof *Moluc* had made his subiects to tast: for he presently ordred the affaires of the Realme to their content; and for that the Turkes which he had brought with him, committed many inuolencies (as men accustomed to all excesses, lying in the garrisons of Barbary, sate from their Sultan) hee freed himselfe, and sent them away well satisfied. So as being respected and beloued of euery man, they came and offered their seruices voluntarily vnto him; and sent him rich presents from all **D** parts of his dominions; yet some Christian Princes were glad to haue his friendship, and among others King *Philip*, whom hee did also honour, so as many Christians began to frequent his Court and countries, to whom he shewed both fauor and bounty: One of his chiefeest cares was to prouide for the succession of the realme, wherefore he caused the Noblemen, townes and states, to sweare fealty and homage vnto *Muley Hamet* his base brother, according to their fathers testament, notwithstanding that he had a sonne: the which was held by them to be a generous act, for the which there were great feasts of ioy made at Fez, Marroc, Tarudant and other townes. Whilest that *Mahomet* begged succors of the King of Portugal by his Deputies; hee liued at Ceuta, a fort belonging vnto Portugal, beeing in Africke; the Gouvernor whereof beeing aduertised of his **E** Masters disposition, did him honour, attending an answer, the which hee had soone, and according to his desire.

But the King *D. Sebastian* beeing aduertised by some that were about him, that hee might finde himselfe too weake for so great an enterprise, hee tooke counsell to solicit King *Philip* his vnckle to bee of the partie, and to the end they might negotiat such an action with more efficacy, hee sent *Peter d'Alcassona* a fauorite of his, to craue an interview at Guadalupe vpon the confines of the realmes of Castile and Portugal, who returned with a good answer: whereas these two Kings met to their great contents, namely of Don *Philip*; there was some treaty of a future marriage betwixt Don *Sebastian*, and one of the daughters of Castile; but coming to confer of the **F** warre of Africke, which was the chiefe subject of their meeting, King *Philip* dissuaded him from it, as well for that he had a peceable treaty with *Muley Moluc*, as also for that he saw such a war had need of a more experienced commander then *D. Sebastian* was, & better soldiers then the Portugals of those times: for since the time of King *Emanuel*, that nation had not done any thing memorable in warre, at the least in Europe, or the countries

*Mahomet flies to King Philip for refuge.*

*Muley Moluc a friend to Christians.*

*Mahomet Xeriffe craves aide from Portugal.*

*King Philip dissuades D. Sebastian from the voyage of Africke.*

**A** confyning vpon Europe, yet hauing well defended their forts at the East Indies. The conclusion was that King *Philip* aduised him not to meddle in the quarrels of those Princes Moores, but whatsoever hee did not to goe in person to those warres. Being importuned by *D. Sebastian* to contribute men and shipping to this enterprise, hee excused himselfe vpon the great affaires he had in the Low countries, and the ielousie he had continually of the French, but especially of the Turke, who threatened Sicile and Italy, and had already taken Goulette and Tunes, being ignorant, what this new Sultan might practise against him; yet being intreated and coniuured by *D. Sebastian* not to abandon him in his first enterprise, he would not leaue him discontented, but promised in case the **B** Turke did not arme against him, to furnish him with fifty Gallies and fise thousand souldiars, so as he for his part should entertaine tenne thousand, and aduising him, what warre soeuer he made in Africke, not to abandon the sea shore, and that he should attempt the recouery of Alarache, and so proceed by degrees along the Ocean, and then they parted. King *Philip* aduise was very good, and the Portugals haue not yet any cause to complaine.

After that he had heard his Nephew speake, and discovered his heat and obstinacy, he fell to discourse of the inconueniences that might fall vpon him, and began to thinke of his affaires, as if the royall line of Portugall failed, and to seeke out what pretensions he might haue, were they cleere or doubtfull, and from that time hee resolved, that if Don **C** *Sebastian* should chance to die in this warre, not to suffer any other to seize vpon the Realme. The young King of Portugal being returned to Lisbon, full of hope and ioy, hee still pressed King *Philip* to grant him a free promise of his succors, without that reservation, if the Turke should send an army against him, the which he granted, and therevpon he thought it was but a leape to passe into Africke with great troupes, which hee imagined to haue ready; but when they came to examine euery thing in particular, they neither found men, money, shipping, nor horses of seruice, nor any thing that might serue to good vse, so as to prouide all these things, which giue motion vnto armies, they were forced to spend all the yeere 1577. And without doubt if *D. Sebastian* had had his men and prouisions ready, as it was concluded, King *Philip* would haue furnished the **D** gallies and men which he had promised. *D. Sebastian* beganne then to tast the difficulties which are found in making warre, especially for Estates which haue enioyed a long peace, and whereas both Nobility and people, haue neglected armes (the which is an inexcusable fault in them that gouerne common-weals, who should know that it is one of the maine pillars of an Estate, especially in this age full of iniustice.) Seeing then that Portugal at that time had neither captaines, souldiers, treasure, victuals, armes, nor horses, which are the essentiall parts to make a warre, into the which *D. Sebastian* would enter, he was forced to prouide all these things extraordinarily and in hast, seeing that in time of peace they had not thought of it. Hee was therefore forced to write into Italy and Flanders, for some Regiments of old souldiers, the Prince of Orange (who was then in armes against the Prince of Parma Lieutenant to King *Philip*) sent three thousand **E** Lansquenets into Portugall, vnder the command of *Martin* of Burgongne, Lord of Tamberg. And it happened that the King of Spaine being perswaded by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, to succor the rebels of Ireland against the Queene of England, there was a leauy of Italians made in the territories of the Church, the action went in the Popes name, but the King bare the charge, sixe hundred of these vnder the command of a Licentious English man called *Thomas Stukeley* (who not long before had gotten from the Pope the title of Marquis of Ireland) being shipped at Ciuita-uecha, came into the riuer of Lisbon when they were preparing for this warre of Africke. The King being desirous to see them, staied them, and intreated them to goe with him to this war. **F** He was forced to seeke money by meanes that were vnpleasing to the whole realme. The king tooke the portions of Widowes & Orfans, he made forced borrowings of the Clergy, Nobility, townes and commonalties, he laied an imposition vpon salt: he made the new Christians (as they call them) to buy the exemption of the confiscation of their goods in case they should fall into the Inquisition, and hee vsed other exactions, which made all men complaine.

*Advice of King Philip to D. Sebastian.*

*D. Sebastian unfurnished of all things, for the warre.*

He staied marchants ships. He enioyned some of the Nobility, to mount themselves like men at armes, and many gentlemen to march with the foote, being so aduised, to better his new leauied Portugal footmen; of the which hee made foure regiments; In these preparations he spent the time vntill Sommer, being in the yeere 1578. And when as he thought to take shipping, hoping that King *Philip* would haue sent him the gallies and men which he had promised, he found himselfe deceiued, for that the Castilian (hauing changed his minde) excused himselfe vpon new accidents which had happened that yeere, which would not suffer him to doe then, as he might haue done the yeere before: wherefore he had no aide from thence, but some voluntary aduenturers, and one very expert capitaine in matters of Affrike, called *Francis* of Aldana. There was no man of any iudgement and experience in worldly affaires, but saw that this preparation was weake, and vnfitting for such an enterprize, but there was no counsell, no perswasion, no difficulties, nor any other consideration, could stay or diuert him. Hauing intreated the Cardinall his vncke to gouerne the realme in his absence, he excused himselfe vpon his age; wherevpon he made foure Gouvernors, that is, *George* of Almeida Archbishop of Lisbon, *Peter* de Alcaissoua superintendant of the treasure, *Peter* de Sada and *John* Mascaregnas. They that did accompany him into Affrike were *Diego* de Sosa, Generall of the fleet at sea, *Christopher* Tawora Master of his horse and capitaine of the voluntaries of Portugal, *Don George d'Alencastro* Duke of Auero, *Don Alphonso* of Portugal Earle of Vimiofo, *Don Lewis* Cotigno Earle of Rodondo, *Don Alphonso* de Norogna Earle of Myra, *Don James* brother to the Duke of Bragança, and his Nephew the Duke of Barcellos, *Vasco* de Gama, and many others of the Nobility, but most of them in steed of good armes, were appareled in satten, inriched with imbroyderies, as if they had gone to some feast or marriage; yea there were some which had lined their tents and paulions with satten.

Gouernors made by D. Sebastian going into Affrike.

Superfluity of the Portugalls going to the warre.

6  
D. Sebastian's Armie going into Affrike

In this equiPAGE D. *Sebastian* parted from Lisbon, being about foure and twenty yeeres old, the day after Saint Iohn Baptiste, being the fife and twentieth of Iune, hauing about two thousand failles in his fleet, but there were scarce 60. ships of warre, nor of defence, the best were fife gallies and foure galleasses; he came to Cadiz, where he staied fifteene daies, attending the Castilian souldiars of Andalusia, which should follow him by the suffrance of King *Philip*, which some said were two thousand; others, fifteene hundred by the suffrance of King *Philip*, which some said were two thousand; others, fifteene hundred or lesse. He had a Legat from the Pope in his army, with ample power to giue pardons to all such as went this voyage; then sayling towards the coast of Affrike, they cast anchor right against a place called the Almadraues, betwixt Tanger and Arzille. This place of Arzille was held by a Moore called Albacarin, who by the perswasion of *Muley Mahomet*, had consigned it some few daies before vnto the Gouvernor of Tanger. The King landed at Tanger, and there *Muley Xecq*, the sonne of *Mahomet*, came vnto him, and soone after the father presented himselfe, and made a goodly oration of his rights and pretensions, and of his friends and confederats which he had in the country, promising to giue the King three ports of the sea, and other places in Barbary; and for a pawne hee gaue him his sonne in hostage. King *Sebastian* being fed with these fictions, past with his army towards Arzille, hauing drawne all the old souldiars out of Tanger and Ceuta, and put new in their places, hauing first caused *Muley Xecq* to runne towards Mazagon, to see if any Moores would ioyne with him, but there was not any one that offred himselfe, but to skirmish.

King *Abdelmelech* or *Muley Moluc* had beene aduertised of this preparation from Cadiz and Castile, and also from Portugal, and was much greeued at the enterprize of this young Prince, not that he feared him, or his forces, but for that he saw him abused, and also in regard he bare some affection vnto Christians. What moued him (said hee) to be mine enemy, and to trouble himselfe to take from me a realme which doth belong vnto me, yea by hereditary right, confirmed and allowed, to giue it to another, and thereby not to benifit himselfe nor any Estate in Christendome? Doth hee thinke we are so vnprovided of souldiars, so faint hearted, so poore and needie, as wee cannot resist him. I foresee to my great grieve that the country of Barbary shalbe a tombe for the King of Portugal and his army, for God who is iust will neuer suffer that so

*Muley Moluc* speech of D. Sebastian.

A vniust an enterprize shall succeed. This Moorish King did often vse these or such like speeches, as it hath beene since reported. But because he would not bee found vnprovided, hee gathered together a mighty army, and went timely to field, vpon the Marches of the realme of Marroc, and hearing that the Portugal army had landed at Arzille with an intent to goe to Alarache, hee advanced into the country of Temisan tending to the Portugals frontier, and then being aduertised that the enemy hauing left the sea shore, approached neere vnto Alcaçaquibir, and had already waded through a little riuer called Macazen, which fallies into that of Luco, whereat hee wondred, knowing well that there was ignorance and confusion in the conduct of the King of Portugals army, and that it was not strong ynough to leaue the sea shore, and to march into the country.

Error of D. Sebastian.

In truth this was one of Don *Sebastians* chiefe errors, who (meaning to goe to Alarache which stands vpon the sea, and hauing his vessels already at Arzille to carry him in an instant) would rather trie to lead his army by land, and enter farre into a country, which was vnknowne both to him and his, to finde a bridge which is vpon the riuer of Luco, the which is not to bee waded through in those parts, and being betwixt his army and Alarache, stopped his passage. He marched vp the riuer of Luco, and made fife lodgings, before he had any newes of *Muley Moluc*'s army, but such as vncertaine: yet hee was so neere it, as he was ready to fall into it before he saw it, doing all things after his owne fantasie, not suffering any one to contradict him: Hee had commanded

C *Diego* de Sosa, Generall of the fleet, to goe and attend him neere to Alarache, marshalling his army to lead it by land, as wee haue said; against the opinion of all men, yea of *Muley Mahomet*, who beganne now to despaire of his restitution. Some said that hee had a great desire to see his army in battaile, and to play the Sargent, and to trie if hee could order his squadrons, who like a young man and without experience, did not consider that the conduct of armies is no childrens play, growing into choller when any one tould him, that a good capitaine must haue a good foote, a good eye, and good eares, and that hee should alwaies take the surest way, how strong soeuer his army were, so as no man durst speake vnto him. *Muley Moluc* came to Alcaçaquibir, and hauing there ioynd with his brother *Hamet*, hee made hast to get the bridge, which the Portugalls sought after, and there past his army, so as the two armies were so neere in a plaine champian field called Tamita, as if night had not approached, they might haue scene one another that day. Then were they to resolute what to doe; for they must of necessity fight or retire in disorder to recouer the sea, the one or the other was very dangerous, but a battaile most; for there was no comparison betwixt their forces. King *Mahomet* made the greatest instance to haue Don *Sebastian* retire with his army, although it were with some losse. Most of the capitaines were of that aduice, especially of strangers, but howsoeuer, either in a picht field, or in a retreat, hauing so many horses to pursue them, this army must of force be defeated, wherefore let vs leaue this testimony to posterity of Don *Sebastian*, that hee made choise of the most honourable manner of dying. Hauing therefore put his army in battaile by the breake of day, hee beganne to march courageously against his enemies. Hee had about 14000. foote, two thousand horse and three thousand pioners; and there was double the number of boyes, whores, victuallers, carters and other vnprofitable people. But to describe the King of Portugals army more particularly, it did consist of three thousand Lansquenets vnder the Siegneur of Tamberg their Collonel, fixe hundred Italians, vnder *Stukeley* an English man, two thousand Spaniards vnder D. *Alphonso d'Aguilar*, fixe hundred souldiars drawne out of Tanger, 2050. aduenturers on foote, the rest were peafants of Portugall. Amongst which footmen there were eight thousand pikes. Moreouer fife hundred horse of Tanger, and 1500. as well of the gentlemen of Portugal, as of the Kings attendants. The souldiars were ill paid, the campe ill furnished, and all things managed with small order. In *Muley Moluc*'s army there were 42000. horse, Moores and Alarabes, carrying lances and targets after their manner, and about 15000. harguebuziers, whereof two thousand were on horsebacke, fixe and twenty peeces of ordinance well mounted, and expert gunners.

Resolution of D. Sebastian.

Moluc falls  
very sicke.

Captaines in  
Molucs army.

7  
Battailins Af-  
fricke and  
death of D.  
Sebastian.

Death of Mu-  
ley Moluc.

Death of King  
Mahomet.

Defeat of the  
Portugall ar-  
my, and death  
of D. Sebastian.

Moreover there was great store of victuals, his men well paid, and all orderly governed: All the discommodity thereof (the which in deed was very great) was the indisposition of King *Moluc*, who, having drunke milke to greedily, it quailed in his stomake, whereupon he fell extremely sicke and died in the heat of the battaile, the which did not hinder their victory. The armies approching neere together, *Moluc* made hast to ioyne, for he feared that some of his troupes would disband, and goe vnto the enemy, and in truth there were some which left him, but not many, nor they whom he most distrust. *Hamet* his base brother was Generall of the horse, *Doali* and *Mahomet Faba* captaines of the Andaluses and Christians renigados: *Ozarin* of Ragoufa led the hargue-buziers on horsebacke, and *Musa* was captaine of his gard, with other good captaines of Turkes. These two armies ioyned on a Monday the fourth of August, it being past noone, the canon hauing plaied a litle, the Portugal army was presently enuironed by great numbers of the enemies horse, but *Moluc*'s left point was furiously charged by three hundred men at armes, led by the Duke of Auero, the which was put to route; there were about ten thousand Arabes which fled about twenty leagues, to carry newes that the Christians were victors, which disorder made *Muley Moluc* to get to horsebacke, so full of griefe, as he would haue gone thither to fight notwithstanding his sickness: But the souldiers of his gard staied him, and put him into his Litter, where withnesse: But the souldiers of his gard staied him, but they concealed his death. The Duke of Auero fearing to ingage himselfe to much, being not followed, ment to retire, after that he had broken that part of *Moluc*'s army: but the Moores being ashamed that so few horse had thus shaken them, they sent a great number of harguebuziers, both of foote and horsebacke thither, who charged the Dukes troupe in flanke and behinde, and an other troupe of Arabian horse, came vpon them in front, so as they chased these men at armes vpon their battallion of foote, and disordred them very much: But they were presently repulst by the King, *Don Sebastian*, who was mounted vpon a strong horse, and in greene armor, being followed by the Duke of Auero, and a squadron of fresh horse, who bearing charged by a great battailon of the Moores Cavalary and shot, were soone put to route, in which retreat their happened the like confusion. And then the whole body of *Moluc*'s army, with *Hamet*, fell vpon the disordred troupes of King *Don Sebastian*, with such fury, as they were no more able to resist them.

In this charge the Duke of Auero was slaine, with many gallant gentlemen, the whole army put to route and the ordinance abandoned. Yet King *Sebastian* charging *Hamet*'s troupes made a breach in them, and forced them to turne their backs, but returning, he saw all his battailons, ouerthrowne, euen to that of *Mahomet*, which was the last and heere to the riuer, with an incredible slaughter of his men; so as *Mahomet* being forced to flee, thinking to passe the riuer of *Mucazen*, missing the foard, he was mired and drowned with his horse; but to increace all these miseries, *D. Sebastian* was charged by so great a number of Moores, as both he and all they that did accompany him, were slaine; it is certaine that many left him, flying towards *Arzille*; but they fell into the like misery, for being pursued by the victorious Moores, they were in a manner all cut in peeces. There died about 12000. Christians, amongst the which the chiefe, with the King *Don Sebastian*, were the Duke of Auero, the Marquis of *Aranda*, the Bishops of *Coimbra* and *Porto*, the Popes Legat *Christopher* de *Tauora*, and his brother *Aluaro Pereira*, *Alphonso* of Portugal Earle of *Vimiofo*, *Lewis Cotigno* Earle of *Rodondo*, *Vasco de Gama*, *Alphonso* of Portugal Earle of *Mira*, *Iohn Lobo* Baron of *Aluito*, *ma* Earle of *Vidiguera*, *Alphonso* de *Norogna* Earle of *Mira*, *Iohn de Silueira* eldest sonne to the Earle of *Tentugal*, *James* brother to the Duke of *Bragança*, *Iohn de Silueira* eldest sonne to the Earle of *Sorteilla*, the captaines of the Regiments of strangers, with others, so as by this defeat many Noble families of Portugall were extinct. There were many more taken prisoners of all sorts: The Duke of *Barcellos*, and the King of *Spaines* Ambassadors were deliuered without rancome. *Don Anthony* (who was base sonne to the Infant *Don Lewis*) Prior of *Crato*, of the order of *Saint Iohn*, being taken prisoner, escaped miraculously: some of the rest redeemed themselves, but the greatest part remained slaues in diuers places.

*Hamet*

*A Hamet*, a Conqueror, hauing gathered his people together, and caused a retreat to be founded, did that night publish the death of his brother *Abdelmelch* or *Moluc*, whereupon he was receyued and acknowledged for King, but to the great griefe of most of them who knew him to be a man of little valour, and not like vnto the deceased.

The day following, the new King sent some troupes to view the dead, where they found about 1500. of their men slaine, whome they buried in the same place: they also found the bodie of *Mahomet*, who had beene the cause of all these miseries. The body of King *Sebastian* was found naked among a troupe of his men that were slaine, and knowne by two of his seruants, as they say, to whom they had promised libertie, if they could find him. *D. Sebastian*'s bodie was left (as it were in deposito) at *Alcazar*: but a while after the Xeriffe *Hamet* (renewing the allyance and peace which his brother had made with the king of Spaine) offered him this bodie, and to set his Ambassador, and the young Duke of *Barcellos* freely at liberty.

The King would not accept of *D. Sebastian*'s bodie, but intreated him to deliuer it vnto the Portugals, the which he did, and sent it to the Gouvernor of *Ceuta*, to whom *Andrew Gaspar* of *Corfica* did conigne it in *Hamet*'s name, and tooke an act thereof: *Hamet* caused the bodie of *Muley Mahomet* to be flead, and the skinne to be stuff with straw, the which was carried in great ignominy throughout the Realme: and the bodie of *Abdelmelch*, was carried twenty leagues from *Alcazar*, and buried with his ancestors. Thus there dyed three Kings in that battell. The King of Spaine accepted of the deliuerie of the duke of *Barcellos*, and of *Iohn de Sylua* his Ambassador, in requittall whereof he sent a present to the Xeriffe in Iewelst o the value of an hundred thousand crownes. *Don Sebastian* had reigned one and twenty yeares, one moneth, and sixe and twenty dayes, and dyed beeing foure and twenty yeares old, sixe moneths, and fiftene dayes.

The losse of this battell beeing knowne in Portugall, caused a generall sorrow and mourning, but they were doubtfull for a time, who were slaine or prisoners, wherof they were certified by degrees, and this desolation crept into priuate families, so as there were scarce any among the Nobilitie but felt of it. The Kings death was held doubtfull many yeares, some denying, that there was any certaine testimony that his bodie had beene found among them that were slaine in the battell: saying, that the liberall offer which *Hamet* Xeriffe made to king *Philip*, who demanded it not, was a great presumption, that he himselfe doubted, that the bodie which he left at *Alcazar* Quibir, was not *Don Sebastian*'s, yea, that he did not beleue it: others haue presumed to say, that they had seen him after the battell in Portugall in a disguised habit, shrowding himselfe for shame in religious houses, and that beeing oppress with griefe for the death of so many of the Nobility, he had beene so sorrowfull, as holding himselfe vnworthie to raigne, he had returned into *Affricke* in a religious habit, and wandred among the Barbarians, who giue free passage to them that do penance for their sinnes, of what religion soeuer they be: yet two and twenty yeares after this battell, there hath beene a man found so resembling *D. Sebastian*, shewing markes vpon his bodie, naturall or accidentall, so like vnto those wherewith this Prince had beene marked, and speaking so confidently of things said or done by this king from his infancie, to the time of this lamentable day, and of secret conferences and speeches which he had had, as well with Ambassadors of forraigne Princes, which had beene sent vnto him, as other persons yet liuing, which haue certified it; and discourring so particularly and truly of the estate of Portugall at that time, as it hath made many doubtfull whether he were *Sebastian* or not, whom they held to haue beene slaine at the battell, in the plaine of *Tamita* in *Affrick*. You shall hereafter here it at large, and the man himselfe speake. But howsoeuer, *Don Sebastian*'s funerall was made at *Lisbone* with great ceremonie, at the end whereof they cryed *Reall, Reall*, for the King *Don Henry*. King *Philip* did also make a funerall pompe at *Madrid*, where it was obserued, that the Duke of *Alba* sayd, that the King should go and do those obsequies in our Ladies Church at *Belem* in Portugall, and not at *Madrid*, which made some thinke, that the king had disouered his conceptions, and had resolued touching the succession of the Realme.

*Don*

*D. Sebastian*  
body sent to the  
Portugals.

Death of *Don*  
*Sebastian* un-  
belieued of  
many.



## Don Henry the seuenteenth King of Portugall.

8 BY the decease of Don *Sebastian*, the Crowne of Portugal seemed to belong to Don *Henry* his great Vncle, Cardinall of the title of foure Saints crowned: but King *Philip* his Councell, (I know not by what law) found that the right which he pretended, was stronger then the Cardinals, yet he modestly gaue way to his preferment, and the rather for that seeing him old and broken, he thought he might with more content of the Portugals take his ranke afterwards without any difficulty or dispute. Yet there were many other pretendants to this succession, which might cause some troubles in the State, and therefore the first request which the cittie of Lisbon made vnto Don *Henry* in the name of the whole country, was, that for the quiet and tranquillitie of the State, hee would be pleased in his life time to name him, or her, who (in his opinion) ought to raigne after him: wherein they layed a burthen vpon him, which did exceed the force and capacitie of his iudgement. For this Prince in the whole course of his life had shewed a simplicitie of manners, and a weaknesse in his discourse, which had made him to be alwaies held fitter for the Church, then to gouerne a temporall State. Yet seeing himselfe King, hee sought to be feared, and gaue way to his ambition and choler, which procured him no more loue then before, but made him to be both hated and cursed. Hee disappoynted and dismissed all those, that had had any fauour or office in Court during his nephewes raigne, for that they had not respected and honoured him, as he thought, according to his ranke and neerenes of blood, causing some to be arraigned by courle of Iustice, for their charges, for words proudly spoken, and such like things which had past in the life of the deceased King, who were degraded of honours, deprived of the rewards which they had deserved, and sent from Court: He intreated *Pedro d'Alcaçaua* more roughly then any officer, who had bene of the secret Councell and high Treasurer. He appointed other Officers in their places that were dismissed, who were no honeste then the former, but much more ignorant in affaires, who framing themselves to their masters humors, thought to shew themselves sufficient to bring in examinations and reuisions of accompts, against such as had made parties, and contracted with the King, causing most of those contracts to be broken, and it may be such as were least vniust.

To know the disposition of this new King, and to make his ministers conformable to King *Philip*'s desire, which was to vnite the Crowne of Portugues to that of Castile, in what sort foeuer, he sent *Christopher de Mora*, a Portugall, bredde vp in Castile, to reside there, with the title of an agent onely, who spared no paines, cost, nor presents to purchase friends to his Master. But the better to assure his poursuite, he was aduised in Castile to send some man of qualitie vnto the king Don *Henry*, with the title of Ambassadour: the which the King of Spaine had till then forborne to do, for that he thought he should thereby preiudice the right which he pretended from the death of Don *Sebastian*, if hee did by this act acknowledge him for King of Portugall, in sending an Ambassador vnto him. There was chosen to this charge, Don *Pedro Giron*, Duke of Osuna, after the resolution taken by the King Don *Henry* in an assembly of the Estates of the Realme, touching that nomination of his successor, which was, That the King would not name any one at that present, but might do it in time, by the aduice of the Iudges, assigned by the Estates, and in the meane time to preuent all inconueniences that might happen, if the King should dye suddenly, being very old, there should be a rowle made of fifteen of the chief and worthiest men among the Nobilitie, of the which the King should choose fise, who should be after him Gouernors of the State, vntill the Iudges had determined who should be the true successor to the Crown, in case the king had not named one: and that the fise thus chosen by him, should be kept secret during his life: and to examine the rights of euey one of the Pretendants, and to iudge with the King (being aliue, and sitting in his Estates) or after his decease, in case there were no sentence giuen, there should be another rowle made of foure and twenty Doctors, and men of State, of the which the king should

Proceeding for  
the succession  
of Portugall.

A should choose eleuen Iudges, which should make a royall Chamber to that end; and it was decreed, that all the sayd Pretendants should be cited and adioyned to appeare, or their Ambassadors, or Agents, before the sayd Chamber, there to produce their rights and pretensions, and to be heard in all that they would say and alledge, to the end they might make report, and proceed to the nomination. The Pretendants were Don *Philip* King of Spaine, Don *Anthony* Prior of Crato, Donna *Catherina* of Portugall, mother to D. *Theodosia* of Bragança, *Rainucio Farnese*, son to her sister D. *Maria* of Portugall, both being daughters to the Infant Don *Edward*, and *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of Sauoy, borne of Donna *Beatrice* of Portugall: all these deriuing their rights from Don *Emanuel*, King of Portugall: moreover, there was *Catherine de Medicis* the French Queen, the Pope but especially the realme and states of Portugall.

Pretendants to  
the Crowne of  
Portugall.

Don *Philip* was borne of D. *Isabella*, eldest daughter to Don *Emanuel*, the Duke of Sauoy was sonne to D. *Beatrice* second daughter to the sayd King, Don *Anthony* was issued from the Infant Don *Lewis*, who was also sonne to king *Emanuel*, but Don *Anthony* was base, yet he maintained that he had a sentence for his legitimation. The Duchesse of Bragança was daughter to the Infant D. *Edward*, who was also sonne to King *Emanuel*, but *Rainucio Farnese* was issued from *Mary*, the eldest daughter of the sayd Don *Edward*. As for the Queene mother of France, she fetched her pretensions farther off, saying, that the Kings which had raigned in Portugall since Don *Alphonso* the third, brother to Don *Sancho Capello*, had bene vsurpers of that Realme, the race being base and proceeding from an vnlawfull coniunction: for that they say, Don *Alphonso* being married in France with the Countesse of Bullen, by whom he had one sonne named *Robert*, from whome the Pretendant was descended, he had left the sayd Countesse to marrie another wife in her life time, which was Donna *Beatrice* of Castile, and that from this vnlawfull marriage, all the Kings were issued which had held the Realme vnto that day. The Pope pretended it to be a fee, saying, that the Realme of Portugall was a fee of the Church, and was so acknowledged by Don *Alphonso Henriques* the first, who obtrayned the title of a king, who in acknowledgement had bound it to pay a certaine quantitie of markes of gold for a yearly rent, and for not paying those rights the Realme was deuolued vnto the Church, to dispose thereof. This right was corroborated after the death of the Cardinall then rainging, for that (said they) it was the spoyle of a Cardinall. But the realme and the generall Estates, pretended to haue an aduantage aboue all, for that (said they) women could pretend no right in Portugall to the succession of the Crowne, neither for themselves, nor their descendants: for they had neuer seene any women raigne, although it had bene often in question, euen with the Castilians, who had bene reiecte, and if they should haue any access, or their descendants, it must be after the males, before whome women haue no precedence, in regard of their age, the which is not considerable in fees, much lesse in Soueraigne Estates.

Queene mothers  
title to  
Portugall.

Popes title to  
Portugall.

Most of these Pretendants being cited, they sent their rights, titles, and Pretensions, the which were receyued by the sayd chamber without any difficultie, but in regard of Queene *Catherine de Medicis*, whose cause was odious, and her allegations iniurious to the king then rainging, and to his Predecessours, the Abbot of Saint Gelais her Agent found great difficultie to haue it admitted. Onely king *Philip* appeared not in this Chamber, disclayming the Iudges that were chosen, yea all the Portugals in his cause, the which (he sayd) was so iust and cleare, as it needed not any examination nor doubt, hauing had consultations vpon that point in the best Vniuersities of the world, as well for that which concerns right, and the lawes of Realmes, as for conscience, and to satisfie the king Don *Henry*, (whom he did importune by his Ambassadors to name him, without any other forme obserued by the Estates) he sent him a coppie of the counsels which many Lawyers and Diuines in Spaine had made him, that other reasons being examined and weighed, hee might not make any difficultie to name him. Aboue all they had wonne father *Lyon Henrique* a Iesuite, his Confessor, who hauing first made him incline to the Duchesse of Bragança, laboured afterwards to perswade him to name king *Philip* for his successor. The Duke of Osuna and *Christopher de Mora* his Ambassador doubting that this iudiciall proceeding would not preuaile, & that the familiaritie of the Castilians had

Lisbon refused the King of Spains letters.

10  
Sentence of Don Antonio's legitimation dismissed.

K. Henry falls sick.

had beene alwaies odious vnto the Portugals, who detested their gouernement, they had letters from the King their master, to the chiefe of the Nobilitie, to the Cittie of Lisbon, and to the principall townes of the Realme, full of perswasive reasons and promises, concluding in the end, that if they did not receyue him willingly (his title being so well grounded) he would vse force, and therefore they should aduise not to draw themselves, their families, and the whole Realme into a warre, and the miseries which follow it. These letters were deliuered to many with good words and presents: but the cittie of Lisbon would not receiue them: and as *Christopher de Mora* had left them with the Officers of the Cittie: they sent them sealed vp vnto their King, who was much troubled with this weightie busines, and could not resolue any thing that was pleasing to king *Philip*, who threatened him, and began to let the Portugals know, that he prepared to armes: for not meaning to be taken vnprovidd at *Henries* death, which could not belong, and that this delay should not any way preiudice him in that he pretended to be King of Portugal, in despite of all those that would contradict, he had drawne into Spaine of Germans, Italians and Spaniards of his old regiments of Italy, to the number of 18000. foot, whom he entertayned many moneths with great charge and hinderance to his subiects, in Andalusia, and other places nere to Portugall, which they could not coniecture to be to any other end, but to inuade that realme, where they sayd openly, that armes and force were his best title: for he had no right vnto it. He among all the pretendants which did most trouble him, and the King *Don Henry* also, was *Don Antonio*, Prior of Crato, who was very well beloued of the people, and of many of the Nobilitie. The King was so incensed against him, as he gaue commandement he should not be heard, and taking vpon him to re-examine his cause of Legitimation, he fought to dissolve the sentence which was giuen by *Emanuel d'Almada*, Bishop of Angra, appoynted Iudge by the Pope: whereof Pope *Gregorie* the 13. being aduertised, he retayned the knowledge of the cause to himselfe: yet *Don Henry* either moued by his owne passion, or prest by the Castilians, declared this sentence to be voyd by his owne authoritie, without forme of law, or solemnitie of iustice: but *Conefagio* in the Historie of Portugall, writes, that King *Henry* had obtayned a Breefe secretly from the Pope, by the which he gaue him authoritie to iudge the cause of legitimation absolutely, without any forme of Proceffe, and that of four witnesses, two confessed that they had beene suborned by *Don Antonio*, and that the other two were suspected, as his neere allies, and disagreeing betwixt themselves, and that *Lewis* his father reard him Bastard in his last will, whereupon hee declared *Don Antonio* illegitimate, imposing him perpetual silence touching the pretended marriage and legitimation, sending a Sergeant to Crato, to seaze vpon the Prior, but hee found him not. This he writes. But were it true or false, the King leauing the qualitie of a Iudge, commanded *Don Antonio* of his royall authoritie, not to come within thirtie leagues of the Court. Then his indignation increasing, he banished him the Realme, deprived him of all pensions, priuiledges and fauours which he had receyued of precedent kings, seeking by all meanes to haue him apprehended, and to put him into some freight prison: yet *Don Antonio* went not out of the Realme, but retired to some of his friends, or to some Monasteries vpon the frontier, neither did he forbear to come and sollicite the Iudges, with the which the king was dayly incensed. Being prest by the importunities of king *Philips* Ambassadors, terrified by his preparation to armes, and perswaded by his Confessor father *Lyon Henrique*, he did adhere wholly vnto him: and there was then no difficultie, but to find meanes to name him, and to get the consent of the Estates, and therefore he propounded a kind of accord betwixt the Realme and king *Philip*, the which should be treated by his means in an assembly of the Estates, the which he called to that end.

But the king of Castile would not put his right to Compromise, and detested this Assembly of the Estates, aduertising king *Henry*, that he should not treat of this businesse with them, vnited in one bodie, but particularly with the chiefe of the Clergie, the Nobilitie and the townes. In the meane time the king *D. Henry* found himselfe ill, so as being taken with great faintings, which held him long, the Councell, which was about him, and the Deputies assembled in the towne of Almerin, (whither they were retired by reason

A reason of the plague, which was very violent in Lisbon, and in a manner in all the other townes of the Realme) thinking that he would neuer recover it, they presumed to open the boxe, wherein was the lyst of such as he had chosen to be Gouernors of the Realme, and to proceede to the nomination of a Successor, in case he had not done it, where they found, that of the fiftene that were contained in the rowle, he had chosen *George d'Almada* Arch-bishop of Lisbon, *Francis de Sada*, Lord Chamberlain, *John Tello*, *John Mascaregnas*, and *Diego Lope de Sosa*, President in the Councell of Iustice at Lisbon. The king was somewhat recovered, but knowing that he drew neere his end, employing the remainder of his daies in the care of his soule, and leauing this businesse with others imperfect, he dyed the last of Ianuary, 1580. hauing held the royall state, (as the Castilians sayd) seuentene moneths and some dayes, being 68. years old, for he dyed in the same moneth, and on the same day that he was borne.

This was the last king of Portugall, in whom ended the direct masculine line. And as the first Lord of Portugall, (though with the title of an Earle) was called *Henry*, euen so was the last. He was of a thinn bodie, low of stature, and leane of his visage, hee had an indifferent good wit, and was endowed (besides the Latine tongue) with some knowledge. He was alwaies held to be chaste, and did neuer blemish that angelicall vertue; but with the desire of marriage in his latter dayes. He was accompted sparing, giuing rather then denying, for he refused seldome, but he gaue sparingly: he was ambitious of all Iurisdiction, as well ecclesiasticall as ciuill, zealous in religion, but more seuer then was fit in the reformation of Clergi-men. He was Bishop, Gouernor of the Realme, Inquisitor Maior, Cardinall, Apostolicke Legate and King. But the greater he grew in dignitie, the more he discovered his incapacitie and weaknesse, suffering himselfe in greatest affaires, to be ouer-ruled by his ministers, not able to determine the cause of the succession. Hee was very obstinate in his opinions, neuer forgetting any wrongs, so as iustice was in him but an vniust execution of his passions, and therefore a religious man (whome hee had prest to take vpon him a most strict course of life) sayd vnto him, that hee would obey, seeing there was no humane helpe against his Commandements, for he had the will of a man, the authoritie of a Pope, and the execution of a King: To conclude, hee had many D vertues, and fewer vices, yet they were equall: for he had the vertue of a Church-man, and the defects of a Prince: during his life he was feared of many, and beloued of few, so as no man lamented his death, onely such as were well affected; (desiring the cause of succession had beene first decided) had some feeling.

The five Gouernors being at Almerin, at the time of his death, they began to execute their charge as Kings, and their first resolution was to send Ambassadors to King *Philip*, (whome they saw in armes; and who had in a manner threatened the deceased king, and the Realme) to intreate him to proceede in this busines, by the way of iustice, and to assure him, that it should be done him, witnessing moreover the great good will and respect which the Gouernors, the chiefe of the Nobilitie, and the good townes of Portugall, bare vnto his highnesse. The king before their audience, made some difficulty, whether he should receiue them with the accustomed ceremonies to Princes Ambassadors, or as simple Deputies of his subiects: but he was counselled to heare them as Ambassadors, to the end he might winne the loue of the Portugueses, so as they were heard with their hats on, the king being vncovered at their comming in. The Ambassadors were the Bishop of Coimbra, and *Emanuel de Mela*, and they came vnto the king being at Guadalupe, who made a long relation vnto them of his rights, and of the consultations which he had made, as well to make them apparent to the world, as to satisfie his owne conscience: that he knew well there were many among the Nobilitie and townes, ill affected vnto him, whom he had good meanes to draw vnto their duties: wherefore the Gouernors and the Estates should be well aduised, and not be the cause of a warre in their country, giuing them a short time to send him their last resolution. The Deputies of the Estates of the Realme, who had beene called by the deceased king, were all at Saint Iren, a towne right against Almerin, the riuer of Tagus running betwixt them: who seeing the Gouernors manner of proceeding, they gaue them to vnderstand, that their Councell and Assembly was superiour vnto them: as representing the Realme, and the general

II  
Gouernors of Portugall.

An. 1580.  
Death of King Henry.

Life of King Henry.

generall Estates thereof, and therefore they sent word vnto the Gouvernours, that lea-  
 uing Almerin, which was small, and not able to lodge so great a multitude, they should  
 come to S. Iren, to the end they might all together determine of that was fitting for the  
 preferuation of the Realme, and put it in execution, and not make them, vpon euery oc-  
 casion, to passe the riuer, for their affaires required expedition, and no delayes, saying,  
 that their most necessarie prouisions, was to man the entries of the Realme with soldiers,  
 the which they should haue done before they sent Ambassadors to King *Philip*. This did  
 amaze the Gouvernours, and caused bad intelligence betwixt them and the Estates, so as  
 in disdaine one of another, they did not any good for the publike. Among these Gouver-  
 nours, there were there noted to fauour King *Philip*, the other two were for the Realme.  
 Among the Deputies of the Estates, most of them were for Don *Antonio*, Prior of Cra-  
 to, who hauing notice of the death of Don *Henry*, came presently to Lisbon, spake vn-  
 to the Magistrates of the Cittie, shewed himselfe vnto the people, saluted euery man,  
 seeking to maintaine himselfe in the loue of the multitude, with all the humilitie that  
 might be: hee wrote vnto the Deputies of the Estates at S. Iren, and came himselfe to  
 present the Popes Bull vnto them, by the which the sentence of the deceased King, giuen  
 against him, was suspended; he remembered his rights vnto the Crowne, and protested  
 that he would submit himselfe to iustice, according to the resolution which was taken whi-  
 lest he liued in the open Estates, and conformable also to the sayd Kings last will, made  
 eight moneths before his death, by the which he declared him his successor, that should  
 be found to haue most right by the Iudges: This course was desired by all in generall,  
 namely, by the other Pretendants, except King *Philip*, who pressing the Ambassadors  
 much to haue their last resolution, whether they would receiue him for their King or  
 not, and they desiring him to giue them a longer time then he had prefixed, he told them  
 plainly, that he would vse his rights according to his meanes and dignitie. The which  
 the Gouvernours, the Duke of Bragança, and other Noblemen, that were at Almerin,  
 seeing, they began to prouide for the frontiers, but so late, and so slowly, as all men won-  
 dred: the Deputies of the Estates insisting stil, that they should all assemble in one place,  
 to consult ioyntly together how to repulse the iniurious force, which the Castilians, their  
 ancient enemies, would do vnto the Realme. And although it seemed reasonable, that  
 the Gouvernours, who were but few in number, and had but a transitorie and limited au-  
 thoritie for a time, should passe vnto S. Iren, and make shew to allow of it, yet they did  
 it not, they still remaying in their seuerall lodgings, making very preiudiciall decrees  
 apart, which in the end blemished the honour of the Crowne of Portugall, one weak-  
 ning anothers authoritie, whereas if they had bene well vnited, euery man would haue  
 obeyed them, and they might haue opposed such forces against King *Philip*, as happily  
 he might haue yeelded to a iudiciall course.

The Gouvernours sent Commissions into the Prouinces, to raise the Commons, and  
 commanded the Lords which had lands and vassals to be mounted and armed readie to  
 march, when they should be called, but they did little regard it. The King of Spaine be-  
 ing aduertised of all their disorders, was exceeding glad, for that they prepared a way for  
 him to attaine vnto that which he pretended: and without any further delay hee caused  
 those troupees which he had so long entertayned, to march towards Badajos, where hee  
 had appoynted the Rendez-vous for the armie: he commanded Don *Fernando de Salua*,  
 Earle of Cisuentes, *Guidon* Major of Castile, to draw forth the Standard-royal, which  
 is neuer displayed, but when as the King goes to the warre in person. Hee made choice of  
 the Duke of Alba to be his Lieutenant to leade this armie, whom hee freed from prison  
 for a certaine precipitated marriage made by Don *Frederick* his sonne, and by his coun-  
 sell causing him to come to Merida, to conferre of the meanes to enter with an army in-  
 to Portugall, yet some say, that he saw not the King, but marched directly to the armie.  
 In the meane time he did write againe, and perswaded the Gouvernours, the Estates, the  
 Nobilitie and Commons, to receiue him without resistance, sending them new consul-  
 tations, which he had drawne from the Diuines of the Vniuersity of Alcalá of Henares  
 of Castile, to the which he sayd, there was no reply, and that they were conformable in  
 euery point to those which he had before from other Vniuersities. King *Philip* with his  
 Councell

13  
 Disord be-  
 twixt the Go-  
 uernours and the  
 Estates.

D. Antonies  
 proceedings.

14-  
 Philips troups  
 marcheth to-  
 wards Portu-  
 gall.

A Councell and Lawyers did set downe (as a thing which they ought not to call in questi-  
 on) that beeing the most ancient male liuing of the race of Don *Emanuel* of Portugall,  
 he should precede all others in the succession to the Crowne: yea presently after the death  
 of King *Sebastiam*: for the Cardinall (whome he had suffered to raigne) was not capable  
 thereof, considering his qualitie, beeing a Clergi-man. This beeing presupposed, he de-  
 manded of the Diuines: first, whether he were bound to submit himselfe to any Iudge or  
 Arbitrator, to haue the Realme of Portugall adiudged vnto him. Secondly, if there were  
 any other pretending that Crowne, who might decide their controuersies: and that there  
 beeing no competent Iudge to do it, and the Portugals refusing to receiue him before  
 the cause were decided, which might be a meanes to frustrate him, whether hee might  
 not take possession of his owne authoritie by armes, without any scruple. And last of all,  
 if the Gouvernours or Estates of Portugall alledge, that they are bound by oath, not to ac-  
 knowledge any one for king, but he to whome the Realme shall be adiudged by iustice,  
 if that may excuse them.

To the first point the Diuines of Castile answered, That Don *Philip* beeing a Soue-  
 raigne King, he was not bound to submit himselfe to any Iudge, but onely take coun-  
 cell, and that he might thereupon adiudge the Realme vnto himselfe, and not charge  
 his conscience, grounding vpon the neerenes of blood, which was apparent. And if  
 there were no Iudge in this cause, they sayd, that the Pope, who had the greatest power,  
 might not take knowledge of it, for that it was meereley temporall, hauing not any cir-  
 cumstance to bind it to the Spirituality. The Emperor in like manner was no competent  
 Iudge: for the Kings of Castile are Soueraignes, Emperours in their countries and  
 Estates.

The Estates of Portugall were inferiours and subiects; and therefore in no sort Iud-  
 ges: the deceased King Don *Henry* could not preiudice the right nor dignitie of King *Phi-  
 lip*, in appoynting eleuen Iudges to determine of the Succession of that Crowne: be-  
 sides, hee beeing dead, the Commission of those Iudges was expired, and their autho-  
 ritie extinct. As for the referring it to the compromise of Arbitrators, it was not vsed but  
 in matters which were doubtfull: and whereas their titles and interests were obscure. If  
 they would say, that in this cause King *Philip* should not be regarded as a King, but as a  
 priuate person, bound to plead against the rest, pretending the same succession by rea-  
 son of blood: it was a frivolous distinction, for that the dignitie of a King cannot bee se-  
 parated from the person that carryeth it, in any case whatsoever. If they did pretend, that  
 the controuersie must be ended, whereas the matter in question lyeth: that this rule hath  
 no place in matters of Kingdomes.

To the second point they did apply some of the former answers, and to make it more  
 plaine, they sayd, that it was sufficient for the King to exhibite his titles and right to the  
 Gouvernours, or to the Estates, to iustifie his proceeding by armes, the which he might  
 lawfully vse in case of refusall, the which was a kind of contumacie and rebellion. And last  
 of all they sayd, that an oath made by whomsoever, to preiudice another, doth not bind  
 him that hath taken it, especially where there is no Iudge, and he cannot pretend it for an  
 excuse against a Soueraigne, especially when his title is apparent.

King *Philip* hauing resolved to enter Portugall with an armie, more (sayd he) to feare  
 the Portuguezes, then to do them harme, besides, the armie which he prepared at Ba-  
 dajos, he caused his vassals (after their example) in euery Prouince bordering vpon Por-  
 tugal to be in a readines, commanding the Lords which had their lands there, to shew  
 themselves in armes, but not to aduance, and that if any neare Townes, Noblemen or  
 commons would acknowledge him for their King, they should assure them of all good  
 vsage: The Gouvernours were much amazed, yet they made shew, as if they would defend  
 themselves, sending into France, to the Emperour, and to other Christian Princes for  
 succours.

But they did aboute all imploy the Popes authority and prerogatiue, that he would be a  
 meanes to make King *Philip* lay aside armes, and submit himselfe to a quiet course of iu-  
 stice: whereupon they obtayned, that there should be a Legate sent into Spaine to de-

T t t t

cide

Allegations  
 made by King  
 Philip touch-  
 ing his title  
 to Portugall.

15  
 Advice of the  
 Diuines of Al-  
 calá of Henares

cide this controuersie; which was Cardinall *Alexander Riaro*, who was not pleasing vnto the King, being held suspect, neither would he that the Pope should meddle in this business, much lesse determine of it: Besides, this Legate came late, the Castilian armie being already entred farre into Portugall: and the Gouvernors were in such a confusion, and did so disagree among themselves, as they suffered to haue a Croisado preac hed against the Castilians, as if it had beene to go against Infidels: the Magistrates did the like in many townes, and they sayd, that there were slaine Noblemen of Portugall, who by the meanes of prisoners which were yet in Affricke, since the overthrow of *D. Sebastian*, did sollicite the Xeriffe *Hamet* to take vpon him the protection of the Realme of Portugall against the King of Castile: such was the hatred of these two nations, and the proceedings of *Don Philip* so much detested, seeking to be Iudge in his owne cause, and to decide it by armes, to the prejudice of the other pretendants, and namely, of the generall Estates of the Realme.

The contrarities which were obserued in all that the Gouvernors did, being fearefull, irresolute, and yet very ambitious, seeking to retaine the royall authoritie longer then they might, and to sell their fauours to their owne priuate benefites, did witnesse the confusion that was in their minds, and in their affaires, being solicited by the Ambassadors of Castile, they yielded to declare *D. Philip* King, vpon certaine conditions, whereof they drew Articles, which were all signed by the Duke of Ossuna, but the difficulty was to publish this decree with any collour.

On the other side they fortified themselves daily both within and without the Realme. In the meane time they had not any money, and suffered the revenues of the Crowne to be lost by their bad intelligence, and withall the peoples loue, who might haue supplied their present necessities out of their store, if they had seene any order or grauitie in them.

They resolved to sell the Jewels of the Crowne, but the Ambassadors of Castile opposed themselves, saying, That they did belong vnto the King their master, who was the true and lawfull king of Portugall. They sent *Iohn Tello*, one of the bodie of the cittie of Lisbon, vnder colour to assist *Emanuel* of Portugall his brother-in-law, who did fortifie Belen, and other places, at the mouth of the riuer of Tagus, beneath the cittie, but it was to be ridde of him: for he did not fauour the Castilian partie, no more then *Emanuel* his brother-in-law: and for that the Deputies of the Prouinces and townes which were at *S. Iren*, did crosse them, they sought to send them home as vnprofitable, saying, that after the Kings death, who had called them, their procurations were void, and that there was not any assembly of Estates: yet they were content that tenne of the said Deputies should remaine with them, to bee witnesses of their actions, who should come to Setuual, a towne and port of the sea, twenty miles from Lisbon, whether they meant to retire themselves, by reason of the plague which was crept into Almerin. The Deputies on the other side maintayned, that their proclamations were still in force, that the Estates were not ended, and that in the business, which was now in question, their assembly was more requisite then in any other occasion, inuiting them againe to come vnto Saint Iren, where there was not any danger of the plague: the which they would not doe, but went to keepe their Councell at Setuual, farre from those that did obserue them, being accompanied by the Duke of Bragança, and the Ambassadors of Castile.

Setuual was one of those places whereof the King of Spaine desired to seize, for that in holding this port, he might shut vp the riuer of Lisbon: and therefore hee had commanded *Don Aluaro de Bassan*, Marquis of Santa Cruz his Admirall, to go thither with his Fleet, consisting of aboue sixtie gallies, and to make some enterprise, whilest that the Duke of Alba should enter by land, from Badajos to Eluas, and other places of that country, as he did soone after, the king hauing first sent *Pedro Velasco*, Iudge of Badajos, to see, if with perswasive words, promises, and presents, he might draw the neighbour townes and places to yeeld themselves voluntarily, and without force: where hee behaued himselfe so discreetly, as he caused *D. Philip* to be acknowledged for King of Portugall at Eluas, Oliuença, Serpa, Mora, Campo Maior, a noua, Arouge, Portalegre, and others.

Matred of the  
Portugueses to  
the Castilians.

Gouernors  
bring King Phi-  
lip into Portu-  
gal.

Gouernors seek  
to dissuade the  
Estates.

others. The Duke of Alba coming to the army, found it much wasted with sicknes, being in all but 4500. Italians, 3500. Germans, and 3000. Spaniards of the old regiments of Italy, the which the King supplied with 7000. Besognes, or new soldiers, which he had leuied in Spaine, after which he took a view of his army, where he found about 18000. foot, and 6000. horse, with 25. peeces of ordnance, and store of victuals, and other warlike necessities: for the carriage whereof he had aboue 6000. carts and wagons. The Duke of Alba was General both at sea and land: in this expedition. *Peter de Medicis* was General of the Italians, being diuided into 3. regiments: of the one *Prosper Colonna* was Colonel, of the other *Vincent Carrasa*, and of the third *Charles Spinelli*. *Ierome Earle* of Lodron was Colonel of the Germans, *Sancho d' Auila* was Marshall generall at land, and *Francis d' Alana* was Master of the ordinance. There was no Generals of the horse, for all the companies were commanded by Noblemen that were of the Kings councill, but in executions *Don Francis de Toledo* the Dukes son should lead them. With these forces the Duke of Alba past the riuer of Caya, and entred into Portugall the 27. of Iune, 1580. threatening such as would not acknowledge *K. Philip* his Master for their king. The Deputies of the Estates, which remained at *S. Iren*, seeing the king of Castile to enter the realme with an army, they accused the Gouvernors to haue abandoned the publike cause, and declared *D. Antonio* defender of the Realme alone, but soone after the people proclaimed him king, & although he excused himself, being content (said he) for that time with the title of defender, yet was he forced to accept it, seeing himselfe enuironed with many swords in the midst of a furious multitude, cursing the Gouvernors, & crying, that he must lead them against the Castilians. If *D. Antonio* did then somewhat want a spur to prick him forward to the royall dignity, he had afterwards more need of a bridle to curbe him, not to abandon himself as he did, in a time of so great confusion, hauing an armed enemy in the hart of the country, who wan the Nobility daily, & wanted neither mony nor credit, which are the sinewes of war. He might haue apprehended the want both of friends and mony, into the which he soon fell, hauing no support, but the multitude, and some Monks, who shewed themselves in his cause, not only passionat, but desperate, or rather mad. A royaltie is held to bee so sweet a morsell, and the desire to be a king, is so vehement, as they do willingly breake the bounds of law to deuoure it, when occasion is offered, without any respect: yea there haue beene many who to raigne one day, haue not cared to be slaine the next: whereof there are some examples in the course of this History: so as it is no wonder, if *D. Antonio*, who had suffered so many crosses to come to it, hauing got it, sought to keepe it. The first error he committed, was to haue caused *Fernand de Pina*, one of the Magistrates of Lisbon to be slaine, for that he spake against him, and then hee suffered *Susres*, who had committed the murther, to be hanged, whom he might haue saued by his authority. The opinion of the Portugals is and hath beene for many yeares, that the city of Lisbon is the force of a world, and that whosoever holds it, may make head against the mightiest Monarks of the earth. In truth it is one of the greatest peopled cities in Europe, of great traffick and wonderfully rich: but a multitude of people is but a weake support, and riches in the hands of priuate men in tumults, when as euery man sees himselfe in danger, and seeks to preferue that which he hath, are not assured, nor to be accompted of, vnlesse they will vse violence and tyrannie, which make the most lawfull kings to be hated. These considerations were not regarded by *Don Antonio*, hee must needs runne to Lisbon, thinking that if all the Realme were lost, Lisbon alone would restore him.

The bodie of the cittie, and the Magistrates, apprehending this hastie comming, and the peoples proclamation at Saint Iren, who had cryed *Real*, *Real* for *Don Antonio*, intreated *Iohn Tello*, one of the Gouvernors, with *Don Emanuel* of Portugal, as wee haue sayd, to come and hinder *Don Antonio's* entrie, if he could, and to perswade him not to take the name of King vpon him, but onely to tearme himselfe defender of the State and Crowne of Portugall, against the vniust and tyrannous inuasion of the King of Castile, that this title would be more fauourable for him, and make him to be followed and supported by the Nobilitie, and the great men of the realme: whereas that of King, seemed to bee vsurped out of season, whilest that hee with the rest of the Pretendants demanded it by iustice.

Duke of Alba  
enters into Por-  
tugal.

16  
D. Antonio de-  
clared defen-  
der of the  
realme of Por-  
tugal.

Don Antonio  
receiued into  
Lisbone.

Don *Iohn Tello* sent *Diego de Sosa*, and *Francis de Meneses*, who could not stay him, A but they returned together into the Cittie, where they durst not stoppe his entrie, yet comming neere vnto Lisbon, there was a harguebuze shot of, which past neere his haire, but they could not learne whence it came. Beeing entred into the cittie, hee was receiued with acclamations, and all signes of ioy, as the time would permit: for the greatest part of men of qualitie were retired to their houses in the Countrey, by reason of the plague, which was very great, so as the common people onely made him this reception, crying, *God saue the king*. But hauing once seized vpon the pallee, the riuier, and the Arsenall, and the armes, he went to the towne-house, whither hee called all the Magistrates that were within the Cittie, and was there saluted for king, and the other taken B and receiued with the accustomed formalities: which done, hee wrote vnto the Gouernours beeing at Setuall, that they should come vnto him. Don *Iohn Tello* (who had bin sent by his companions to Lisbon, with procuracion to see what was necessarie for the preseruacion of the Cittie, according to their desseigne, and had till then authoritie as a Gouernour) departed presently, and carried some others away with him, whome Don Antonio would haue employed: and by that meanes hee carried away fortie thousand Crownes, which he had gathered together, vnder colour of reparations that were to be done at Belen, S. Iulian, Cascais, Cabeça Secca, and other places lying vpon the riuier.

Beeing come to Setuall, the other Gouernours would no more admit him into their companie, saying, that he was confederate with Don Antonio, and that hee might haue C hindred his entrie into the Cittie if hee had would. The new King beeing discontented with them all, he wrote againe vnto them, to draw them to Lisbon, yet vsing very mild words, but they would not do any thing. Hee wrote also very kindly to the Duke of Bragança, who was with them, and in the end he sent Don *Francis* of Portugal, Earle of Vimiofo, to perswade them if hee might. In the meane time the Duke of Bragança taking leaue of the Gouernours, retired himselfe to one of his houses, seeing, that neither the one, nor the other, did any thing to purpose, and that they could not preuent it, but king Philip would raigne in Portugall, with whome soone after he made an accord. The Earle of Vimiofo seeing that he could not preuayle with the Gouernours, he incensed the people against them: who chased them out of Setuall so hastily, as some were forced to D creepe out of windowes, and to slippe downe the walles in danger of their liues, yet the Arch-bishop of Lisbon, and Don *Iohn Tello* stayed still, beeing assured to be spared, the one for his Ecclesiasticall dignitie, the other, for that he had not beene opposit to Don Antonio, but had done him good offices.

By this meanes the king seized vpon Setuall, and went thither to haue the place fortified and furnished, and then he returned to Lisbon, to whom there yeelded the abouenamed places vpon the riuier, and other about the cittie. The Gouernours beeing thus eclipsed, got, with the Ambassadors of Castile, to Castro Marin, where they made a strange Decree against Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, condemning him as a Rebelle, and declaring, that the will of the deceased King Don Henry was, that King Philip should succeed him in the royall dignitie. E

Decree of the  
Governors a-  
gainst Don An-  
tonio.

17  
Duke of Alba's  
exploits in Por-  
tugal.

Setuall taken  
by the Castil-  
lans.

Whilst these things past, the Duke of Alba aduanced, and had taken Villa-vitiosa, the Duke of Bragança's chiefe house, a place of strength, which might haue stayed him some daies, and then without any care to march in order with his army (for there was no enemy to feare) he came with small iournies to Setuall, whither he had appointed the fleet should come. This place was soone yeelded to the Dukes discretion, by men without iudgement and experience: yet he suffered all the soldiers to depart, retayning onely *Diego Botello* the yonger, Captaine of the garrison, who sought to escape in a barke. There remained only one tower which garded the port, the which he battered, and then the captaine and souldiers yeelded it, to haue their liues and goods saued: after that they had beaten one of the royall galleons in peeces, thinking it wold haue yeelded to the Castillans. This place being taken, the Marquis of Santa Cruz came with his fleet (consisting of 60. gallies and many ships) and lodged most of them within the port, from whence they did so stop the mouth of the riuier of Lisbon, which is neere vnto it, as nothing could go in, nor come forth, but by the mercy of the gallies.

The

A The Duke of Alba continuing his course, meant to go to the Cittie of Lisbon, which is the head of the Realme, and therefore he deuised how he might passe the riuier with his armie, wherein there was some difficulty, by reason of the old forts which were at the mouth of the riuier, and those which Don *Emanuel* of Portugall had newly built and erected.

Don Antonio beeing returned from Setuall, (whether hee had gone before the losse of it) was receiued by the Inhabitants with greater estate then before, causing him to enter vnder a Canopie, but hearing of the losse of this important place, their ioy was turned into feare and amazement, for they must now studie how to make head against B the enemy, who they might assure themselves, would be soone at their gates, if they did not speedily provide for it. The remedie consisted in a multitude of souldiers and mony to entertayne them, which they had not. There was a great multitude of common-people in Lisbon, but not trayned vp in armes, yet full of courage, when the enemy was farre off. He commanded them to be readie, and to furnish themselves with armes, giuing them Captaines of their owne sort, for there were few men of qualitie that followed him, and the best families of the Cittie were absent: but he made publike Proclamations to call them home in this necessitie, and some he inuited particularly: to such as hee found willing, hee distributed in paper, honours, offices, commanderies, crosses of the Orders of Knights which are in that countrey, without regard whether they, to whom he C gaue them, were men of merit, and capable according to the Orders: for many base men were seene to carrie the crosses of Saint James, of Christ, of Alcantara, and others vpon their Cloakes: but he was indifferent, so as they gaue money. Such as did not obey his commandements, and were slow in comming to the towne, hee vied with all rigour, causing their houses to be opened, and their goods to be sold for the charges of the warre.

If any rich man within the towne, fearing to be taxed, or forced to pay mony, did seeke to escape, he was stayed at the Port, stript, and put in prison, so as the great fauor which Don Antonio had found at his first coming, grew now cold. His most constant friends were the begging Friars, many of which leauing their hoods, tooke armes, and garded the ports, or followed him, and made a company in his armie, which he sought to rayse D of this multitude, hauing no other: but they shewed themselves mutinous and rebellious, when they came to lye in field, a practise which Shoo-makers, Taylors, Mercers, Vintners, and the other skumme of the people; had not beene inured vnto, by whome the estate and reputation of Don Antonio were supported, who could not be ignorant of this absurditie, but that glorious name of King couered all defects, and made all dangers light. Hee had sent *Diego de Meneses* to Cascais, with some troupes to gard the passage, yet hee did not thinke the enemy would haue past there, but rather would haue gone about the towne towards Saint Iren, where the riuier growes narrow, for towards the sea, it is very broad: but notwithstanding any thing that *Meneses* E could do, the Duke of Alba past vnder Cascais, at a place called *Marines Vechos*, neither did he euer seeke to hinder his landing, nor offer him skirmish, so hauing forced *Meneses* to retire, the Duke was master of the field, Don Antonio who expected some good seruice from *Diego de Meneses*, had made him Generall of his forces by land, and his brother *George de Meneses* of his armie at sea: where he had good Gallions, and some other Vessels, but growing ialous of *George*, he had taken his charge from him, and put him in prison.

It may bee, hee would haue done as much to *Diego*, if hee presented himselfe before him after the Dukes passage, but hee put himselfe into the Castle of Cascais, which cost him his life. Don Antonio, King of Portugall, must of necessitie issue forth of Lisbon F against the Duke, and fight with him for his honour, but hee found himselfe very vnfit for it: for neither by faire meanes nor rigour could he gather together at that time about a thousand foote, and some fiew hundred horse, ill appoynted, and neuer trayned vp in the warres, neither could hee possibly stay them about that day, for night beeing come, most of them returned to the towne to supper, for that there was not any breade in his campe.

Escape of Lisbon  
under Antonio

Tttt 3

The



The Duke of Alba meaning to attempt Cascais, found it abandoned by the inhabitants, the castle which was somewhat strong, refused to yeeld, whereupon it was battered and forced. The captaine who commanded there, called *Antonio Pereira* was hanged, and his souldiers stript. *Diego de Menezes* was found in this place, whose head the Duke caused to be cut off, although there were some that did sue for his life. The cittie of Lisbon beeing amazed at the taking of Cascais, expecting to heare the like of the Castle of S. Iulian, which is, as it were, their key, they protested to D. *Antonio*, that they wold make their peace, if he did not put himselfe in defence, who offered himselfe to go, if they wold follow him. Then euery man was forced to take armes, and go to field, euen the Negro slaues, of the which there is a great multitude in that City, so as of one and other hee found himselfe to haue an armie of 8000. men, ill armed, ill apparelled, and ill led, (for there was scarce one that could execute the office of a Sergeant, or place a Sentinell) with which troupe he went and camped at Alcantara, within fise miles of S. Iulian, which the Duke did beseege and batter, which place was yeelded vnto him by *Tristan vax*, by the perswasion of a woman, who had obtayned a safe-condukt from the Duke to draw forth a daughter of hers with her husband, which were within it. Cabeça Secca which was a fort built vpon the sand in the midst of the riuer right against S. Iulian, was also abandoned to the Duke. So as there was not any thing that could hinder him from camping to the citie gates, but *Belem*, and Don *Antonio's* armie, which lay in ther ill-made trenches at Alcantara, and kept that bridge, the which was forced in its lodging, and put to route by the Duke, and chased euen into the towne with some slaughter. Don *Antonio* escaped by flight, being hurt, but he stayd not there: for passing through the town, and as it were, bidding them farewell, whom he could not defend, he tooke the way to S. Iren, hauing caused his wound to be drest at Sacaben, where he might haue bene taken, if they had pursued him: but he had the good hap to find meanes to retire to Coimbra, which of all the townes in the Realme had most resisted King *Philip*, and most dispured their pretended rights.

It is the onely Vniuersitie of Portugall, for all faculties, which had giuen aduice and counsell contrarie to the Doctors of Castile. The Duke of Alba tooke *Belem*, and soone after the Magistrates of Lisbon came to offer him the keys of the Cittie, demanding their liues and goods: the which was promised them, for King *Philip's* meaning was to haue it preserved, yet they could not prevent it, but the goodly suburbe which was vpon the way, was spoyled, and all the houses and gardens which were about the cittie, whither the Inhabitants had retired themselves by reason of the plague, and had carried most of their best moueables thither.

King *Philip's* gallies which were entred into the river, tooke them of Portugall, and the eleuenth of September, that yeare 1580. the Duke of Alba tooke possession in the king his masters name, of the city of Lisbon, and made him to be sworne and acknowledged, the people crying *Real*, *Real* for King *Philip*. Whilst that the Duke of Alba did these exploitcs in Portugall, King *Philip* was at Badajos, whereas he fell so dangerously sick, as the Physicians despayred of his life, and it was bruted in Portugall, that he was dead, so as many Noblemen did put on mourning weedcs, and among others the King Don *Antonio*: He recovered, but his Queene Donna *Anna*, who fell sicke at the same time of a continuall feuer, dyed.

The newes of the taking of Libone beeing knowne at Court, and what had followed, many Courtiers sought to disgrace the Duke of Alba's actions, accusing him of great negligence, to haue suffered Don *Antonio* to escape: they sayd, that he was more fitt to destroy then to edifie, not knowing how to do his master seruice, not to get him the possession of any thing, but defiled, spoyled, and made vnprofitable, and with such excessiue charge, as it did exceed the value of the thing gotten: this was spoken, for that the suburbcs and places about the cittie were spoyled. It is certaine, that this man for his sower, disdainfull, and haughtie grauitie, was hated of most of the Noblemen in Court. Then the King entred into Portugall, hauing first caused a generall Pardon to bee proclaimed for all those that had opposed themselves against his reception, except Don *Antonio*, whose that had fauoured him at Saint Iren, at Lisbon, at Setuual, and some others that were

were named: the number of which hee did afterwards abate, causing his pardon to bee reiterated, yet still reseruing some, so as it was commonly sayd, he knew not so well how to pardon, as to offend.

He did set a price of 80000. crownes for him that could either take or kill D. *Antonio*: yet notwithstanding this temptation, there was not any one did attempt against his life, to reueale him, in eight monthes that he went wandring vp and downe the realme after all these miseries, being pursued and fought for in all places, with the greatest care and dilligence that might bee. Hauing elcaped at the route of Alcantara, hee retired to Coimbra, as we haue saied, where hee found so great loue and obedience, as hee gathered together about fise thousand foote, with the which hee approached neere vnto the city of Porto, a strong place neere vnto the sea, where although the Inhabitants had made shew to be Neuters, or rather inclyning to King *Philip's* party, yet hee entred, and was well receiued. Being resolved to trie againe the hazard of a battaile, hee made a kinde of campe vpon the riuer of Duero, neere vnto that city: There hee made some spoile of them that were of the contrary faction, and sought to draw money from the Inhabitants. In case of any sinister accident, hee was resolved to flie into France, and therefore hee caused a barke to lie ready in the roade neere to Viana, a little place vpon the sea, at the mouth of the riuer of Limas. Whilst that hee busied himselfe about these things, the Duke of Alba sent *Sancho d' Auila* against him, with about fise thousand foote, some horse and foure canons. Vnto whom the city of Coimbra (which till then had bene faithfull to Don *Antonio*) carried their keies; they of Auero did the like, who had bene spoiled by Don *Antonio* after that they had yeelded vnto him. D. *Sancho* being come to the riuer of Duero which was not to be waded through, he past his men ouer in certaine boats, which he had brought with him in carts, and others that he surprized running along that riuer, notwithstanding that D. *Antonio* had commanded that all the boats should bee drawne to the other side. Don *Sancho* found not any resistance, for as soone as the Portugals, which were camped on the other side of the riuer, saw him come towards them, they fled, euery man sauing himselfe as hee could, without any great slaughter: this was in effect a multitude without experience or courage. D. *Antonio* hauing no more meanes to subsist, left the towne of Porto, where after that he had let the Magistrate vnderstand how hee had imployed himselfe to the defence of the realme, and hauing excused himselfe by the basenesse of the Gouvernors, and the smal assistance he had had from the Estates, he bad them farewell with teares, promising to see them before it were long, better accompanied, to free them from the tyranie of D. *Philip*: for hee did hope to finde meanes and succors in France and England to restore him.

From thence hee went directly to Viana, with an intent to take shipping, where one attended him, but the sea went so high as it was impossible to put forth, staying there vntill the storme were past, behold there came a troupe of horse which sought for him, whereupon he put himselfe into a small boat, desyring rather to commit himselfe to the mercy of the winde and waues, then vnto men. Being come vnto the ship with great paine and daunger, there was no meanes to force the winde, nor to put to sea, so as hee was forced to come againe to Land in his boate, the sea driuing him to shoare, whereas he was not seene by them that pursued him. They of the house of Portugal were with him, who had alwaies followed him, namely the Bishop of Guarda, the Earle of Vimiofo, and some others; all which hauing disguised themselves like seruants and marriners, yet well furnished with rich iewels which were sowed vp in their doublets (for D. *Antonio* had made good prouision during his short reigne, as well at Lisbon, in the pallace royall, as in other places) they saued themselves as well as they could. By this retreat the name of D. *Antonio* was suppressed in Portugal; neither was there any place or man which made opposition against King *Philip* in all the maine land of Portugal.

The townes and forts which are in Afrike beyond the Straight, yeelded obedience to King *Philip*, as Ceuta, Tanger and the rest, where he was content to leaue the same Gouvernors and garrisons that were before: And it was not long before he had newes that D. *Lewis d' Alcaide* Earle of Zoghia, viceroy at the East Indies, had acknowledged him

*Apries set vp on D. Antonios head.*

*D Antonio raises a new army.*

*Sancho de Auila sent against D. Antonio.*

*20 Antonio laies aside armes.*

*Portugal wholly reduced vnder King Philip.*

*Places belonging to the Portugals in Africke yeeld to King Philip.*

*18 Army of Don Antonio put to rout.*

*Lisbon yeelds to K. Philip.*

*19 Death of Q. Anne of Castile*

for his King, notwithstanding that he had bene much solicited by D. Antonio. Wherefore there remained nothing for the King of Spaine, of all the dependances of the realm of Portugall, to subiect vnto him, but the Islands of the Tercera's, which are of great importance both for the Easterne and Westerne nauigations, for the which he prouided after that he had made his entry into Lisbone.

Imputations  
laid vpon the  
Duke of Alba.

Before that the King parted from Badajos, the imputations and slanders laied vpon the Duke of Alba were such, as every one was perswaded that he caused this goodly conquest to be trodden vnder foot by his souldiers, and that he gaue them such liberty, as without feare of punishment; they did spoile, sacke, kill and violate all diuine and humane lawes: wherefore the King sent two counsellors to informe, the one was called Francis of Villafaguana, taken out of the royall audience of Castile, the other in that of Galicia, whose name was Francis Tedaldi, who found much lesse disorder there then was spoken of: yet there were some insolencies suppress. There was something iustly imputed to the Duke of Alba, that by his sower and proud manner of proceeding, hee had hindered D. Antonios reception into fauour with the King, yea after that hee had bene saluted for King at Lisbone, and when as the Duke went about to take the forts that were neere vnto the city, being certaine that King Philip shewed himselfe willing, when as he vvas mooued by Diego de Carcamo. This Carcamo vvas a gentleman of Castile, who had serued D. Antonio when he was but Prior of Crato, in the life of King Henry: who seeing that King Philip had resolved after his decease to seize vpon the Realme of Portugal by armes, and that the Gouvernors made a shew that they would defend it, he had demaunded his leaue, and was retired into Castile, whereas the King suffred him to follow the Duke of Albas campe as a voluntary. Being in the army after the taking of Setuual, at the passage of the riuer of Tayo, he had leaue giuen him to goe to Lisbone, to see the new King D. Antonio, letting the Duke vnderstand that it was the King their Masters pleasure. Being well entertained by D. Antonio, they beganne to discourse of the present Estate of the affaires, and of what might happen, seriously

Discours be-  
twixt D. An-  
tonio and Car-  
camo.

Carcamo  
speech to D.  
Antonio.

and without vanity; they both concluding that D. Antonio had committed an error, in taking vpon him the title of a King, and that he should haue bene satisfied with that of defender of the country, and that hauing in effect no support, neither from the Gouvernors, who were opposite vnto him, nor from the Estates, who were dispers, nor of the Nobility, nor of any other, but of the Inhabitants of Lisbone, and some other townes, whereas the multitude being ignorant, inconstant, base and vilde, are alwaies mutinous and disobedient in such occasions, he must needs thinke that he could not subsist, and that he must yeeld vnto the forces of Castile, being in danger to be ill intreated, and without any respect if he were taken: and escaping, hee must not hope that any Prince in Christendome would vndertake a warre for his sake. He might well procure some weake succors from France or England, vnder the name of voluntaries, without aduow, for once, with the hazard of some encounter; but this were no great foundation, obtrayning a victory either at sea or land, to thinke your selfe thereby settled against a mighty Prince, as King Philip is, who hath meanes, in an instant, to repaire all the losses that may happen vnto him. It is true (said Carcamo) that this name and title of a King or Soueraigne Prince is a sweet enchantment to bewitch men, and it seemes that honour doth binde your highnesse, hauing once gotten it, to maintaine it with the hazard of your life, and rather to die fighting then to leaue it: This were good if we knew our aduentures, which are most incertaine; Man dies not when, nor how hee doth imagine, it depends of the wil of God. A King is as soone taken as slaine in a battaile. If your highnesse should be taken, consider, what would be your condition, and seeke no farther into Gods secret Iudgements, who shewes plainly by the successe of King Philips enterprises, that he hath ordained the realme of Portugal should be vnto that of Castile. That he should haue recourse whilest he had time, to those remedies which might warrant him from dishonour and infamy, rather then to contend in vaine against heauen and nature: and cast himselfe into the Kings armes, whom hee holds for his enemy; assuring him that he should find him milde, and forgetting all that was past, giuing him meanes to liue with honour, if not with the title of a King, yet in quality of a Prince, whom

A whom hee will loue and acknowledge as his kinsman. Diego de Carcamo did without any dispute, make D. Antonio allow of these reasons, who knowing them to be most true, resolved to write an humble letter vnto King Philip, yet still retayning some right vnto himselfe.

D. Antonio  
writs to king  
Philip.

He excused himselfe for that hee had taken the name of King, and receiued royall honours at Saint Iren, Setuual, and at Lisbone, the question of succession being not decided, saying, that he had bene forced by the multitude, who would haue yeelded him no obedience, if he had onely carried the title of defender of the country, and that if he had prepared to make defence, it was by authority from the states, which is the greatest power within the realme, the royall seat being void: and that his Highnesse should impute that to the loue and charity which euery good Portugues should carry vnto the crowne of Portugal: being then free, and full of honours purchased by the proper and peculiar vertues which God had infused into the Nation, both in Kings and subiects, the which hee greued to see confounded, and in danger to be darkened, being mingled with the trophees of Castile: And howsoeuer he held himselfe bound to perseuer in this defence, thinking the quarrel iust in his conscience, and by the consultations which hee had had both in the vniuersities of the country, as strangers, as well of Diuines as Lawyers, yet considering the condition of humane things, and the vncertentie of their euents, and also to spare blood, and to prevent the insolencies and spoiles which follow warre, he was content to lay aside armes, and the title of King, knowing how his highnessement to intreat both the realmes and him. This was the substance of the letter which Diego de Carcamo, carried vnto King Philip, being yet at Badajos, the which hee receiued in good part, seeming desirous the quarrel might be ended by such submissions, without any more force. But for that this negotiation fell out, either during the Kings sicknesse, or vpon his recovery, being it may bee aduised to haue this matter treated of farre from him, to the end hee might not haue his spirits continually importuned, nor haue occasion to alter his humors by any difficulty, that should put him in choller, hee gaue the whole charge thereof to the Duke of Alba, to whom Diego de Carcamo was sent, who made some voiajes more to Lisbone, and had so well aduanced the businesse, as there remained nothing, but to draw neere, and to conferre together by their Deputies, or in person if it might bee, when as Don Antonio receiuing letters from the Duke, conceiued by the termes thereof, an opinion that hee contemned him, and that hee would treat with him as a Master: for although that the Duke did witnesse by the tenor of his letters, that hee would imploy his best endeauors to attaine vnto a peace, saying that hee honoured the memory of the Infant D. Lewis his father, the which did binde him to seeke D. Antonios aduancement in this treaty, yet he gaue him no other title but your Lordship, where they had bene accustomed to say vnto him, your Highnesse, since he was King, and before your Excellency, when he was but Prior of Crato. This ceremonious kinde of speaking being omitted by the Duke of Alba willingly, to humble Don Antonio, was the cause that the treaty went not forward, which was a great crosse both for the country and himselfe.

D. Philip being now King of all Spaine, entred into Portugall soone after his recovery, and came to Eluas, where he was acknowledged for King, and in all places where hee past, and then he did free them of a forraigne imposition which was leauied vpon all marchandize which past from one realme vnto another, which was valued yeerely at a hundred and fifty thousand crownes, for a token of the vnion, and to shew that the Castilians and Portugals were now but one people. He appointed an assembly of the Estates at Tomar in Aprill the yeere following 1582: hee visited Catherine Dutchesse of Bragança at Villa Boim, who yeelded her right to the Realme vnto him, if she had any. The Pope who had till then bene somewhat opposite to the Kings purposes, did allow of all that had bene done in Portugall, being aduertised how matters had past; hee exhorted him that to shew himselfe thankfull vnto God for the prosperities which hee had giuen him, he should vndertake to make warre against the Queene of England, either directly, or vnder hand, in fauoring the Irish: hee not onely offred him his spirituall treasures, but also quit him the frutes of the Archbishoprike of Toledo, which had bene long

King Philip  
enters into  
Portugal.

Pope Gregory  
allows of the  
conquest of  
Portugal.

long in the hands of his Stewards, whilest that the Archbishop remained suspended of A his dignity, and that his proceffe was in question at Rome, the which amounted to some millions of crownes, and did belong to the Church and Sea of Rome. The King knew well that he should not restore those fruits, and therefore he was not eager to enter into open warre against the English, yet he promised to succor the Irish from Spaine, without any further declaration, but saying, that he would deal with the affaires of Ireland, as the Queene of England did with them of Flanders. Hee was also to provide for the reduction of the Islands of the Tercera's, without the which his fleets could hardly continue their navigations to the Indies.

Description of the Terceras.

People of the Terceras brutaish.

These Islands are in the Atlantike Ocean, and are otherwise called the Açores; they be B seuen in number, most of them small, and not greatly inhabited. The best are the Tercera (which carries the name of them all) Saint Michel (which is the greatest) and Fayal: the other, which be, Santa Maria, Pic, Flowers and Cornes, are barren and vnpeopled. The city of Angra the Bishops Sea, is in the Tercera, but the Bishops aboad is in that of Saint Michel, at a place called Puncto del Gada, which Island is some hundred miles neerer vn- to Spaine then the rest. All the Inhabitants of these Islands are brutish, superstitious and there. Vntil that the Marquis of Santa Cruz had conquered them, they were of opinion that the King D. Sebastian was not dead at the battaile of Afrike, they did hate the Castilians mortally, & were entertained in this hatred by D. Antonio, who held them two yeers C after the conquest of Portugal, by the means of some succors which he drew frō France, for this King being expelled, after that he had wandered throughout the realm, poore and in a disguised habit, for the space of eight months, and yet was neuer wronged nor discovered, notwithstanding that he spake to diuers men, in the end he had means to fraight a ship of the Low countries at Setuual, who for 600. crowns brought him to Callis, from whence going to the court of France, he was kindly entertained by the Queene Mother, one of the Pretendants to the crowne of Portugal, by whose fauor and authority, hee found in many priuat men that offered to do him seruice, & went to sea, & to the Islands, vnder his warrant, hoping to take some Spaniards or Portugal ships coming from the D Indies, and to enrich themselves with their spoiles, so as it was an ordinary trade from the diuers of France to the Tercera's: where for a time D. Antonio Cyprian de Figueredo commanded, but not well pleased with him, he displast him, and gaue his Gouvernement to Emanuel de Sylus, who called himselfe Earle of Torres Vedras. They of the Island of Saint Michel, being some distance from the rest, did presently acknowledge the king of Spaine, diuiding themselves from the rest, whether French ships came many times to spoile it, and some Spaniards to defend it, who meeting made furious war, but the Spaniards had alwaies the worst. They of the Tercera's, were firme for Antonio, and tooke all that came vpon their coast, and vpon that of Fayal, or that they could see at sea, to make a stock for D. Antonio, who reaped great commodity. There was one called John de Betancour, descended from some French house, dwelling in the towne of Angra, who thought to draw E the people into a mutiny for the King of Spaine, who being almost slaine, was cast into an obscure prison; where he remained long, and it is doubtful whether he died there. The Iesuits thought to speake, but they walled vp the gates of their conuents, and kept them long shut vp after that maner, giuing them meate twice a weeke, and yet they feared to bee worse intreated: but the other Orders of Monkes spake of none but D. Antonio, whose vertues and praises were most commonly the subiect of their Sermons, meddling much with affaires of state and warre. King Philip to assure himselfe of the Island of Saint Michel which held for him, and receiue the ships which came from the Indies, being not aduertised of that which had past in Portugal, least they should vnwillingly fall into the hands of the contrary party, he commanded that D. Pedro de Balder should bee F sent with foure ships and six hundred Spaniards, who aduerturing to land in the Island of Tercera's, with an opinion that there were many in the Island affected to the King his Master, and by their meanes to doe some good exploite vpon the city of Angra, which was vnwalled towards the land, he was charged by the, who slue 400. of his men, so as he made all the haste he could to get to sea, and returne to Lisbon, where for his welcome he

Pedro de Balder defeated by them of the Terceras.

A he was put in prison, charging him that he had fought contrary to his Commission, yet he was soone released, finding that he was not expressely forbidden to fight. Lope de Figueroa being sent after to second him, thought to find him about the Island of S. Michel, but hearing of this defeat, he returned also to Lisbon, so as it was then resolved to send greater forces the next spring.

We haue formerly made mention of certaine companies sent by Pope Gregory the 13. to succor the Rebels of Ireland, vnder the command of Thomas Sunkely, who comming to Portugal with sixe hundred foote, when as D. Sebastian did arme against the Moores, they were intreated by him to serue him in that warre, where most of them were slaine E with their chiefe Commander. The rest returning into Portugall, with Sebastian Saniosep one of their Commanders, they had order to passe into Ireland; and the Popes Nuntio there had order to leauy Spaniards to fill vp the number, and to increase it, who should faile into Ireland vnder the Standard of the Church, yet at the King of Spaines charge, hauing money to raise foure thousand men of the country, they being but nine hundred men in all vnder diuers captaines Italians and Spaniards. These men landed in Ireland, and built a good fort, called Smerwike, the which was furnished with ordinance, victuals and munition to maintaine a long seege, into the which there entred but sixe hundred men, the other three hundred returning in three ships, leauing three behind; but before they were fully fortified, the Lord Gray, Lord Deputy for the Queens Maiesty in Ireland, came and besieged them, and prest them in such fort, as some of the captaines, compounding for their owne liues, the rest were put to sword: And so that enterprise was soone made frustrate, hauing more desire then meanes to annoy the English in those parts.

Forces sent into Ireland by the Pope and King of Spaine defeated.

The time appointed being come for the holding of the Estates at Tomar; the Deputies of the Clergy, Nobility, Prouinces and good townes of Portugal came thither; where King Philip was acknowledged by them all for King of Portugal, without any contradiction, and receiued the oath of fidelity, the which hee caused to be taken to the Prince his sonne. There they also treated how the Realme should be gouerned, where the King shewed himselfe very bountifull, for he granted vnto the realme, in a manner, all the Articles which the Duke of Ossuna his Ambassador had promised and signed to the five Gouernors, before the taking of Lisbon, the chiefe whereof were: That the King should take an oath, as he did, to maintaine the realme in her lawes, customes, preiudges and liberties. That the Estates of the realme should bee held within the realme, and that they should resolve there, and no where else, of matters concerning the realme of Portugal. That the viceroy, or by what name soeuer they called the Gouernor, should be a Portugese, vnlesse he were a Prince of the blood, sonne, vnkle, brother, cousin or nephew to the King. That the offices of Iustice, charges of the treasure and reuenues of the crowne, should be giuen vnto Portugeses alone. That such as had offices and dignities within the realme, as well at land as at sea, preferred by former Kings, should enioy them still, and in like manner the offices of the house and crowne of Portugal. That the Gouernors and Captaines of places and the souldiers in garrisons should be all Portugeses. That the commerce of the East Indies should remaine for the Portugeses, distinct from them of Castile, as they had bene before this vnion, and vnder the same lawes. That the money which should be coined in Portugal, should haue the armes of Portugal alone, without any other mixture or addition. That all Clergy dignities, both great and small, should be giuen to Portugeses, and in like maner all commanderies of the Orders of Knights. That no Croisadoes, nor thirds of Ecclesiasticall liuings, should be obtained from the Pope, to be leauied in Portugal. That no fees nor iurisdiccions should be granted in Portugal, to others the to Portugeses. That rights, exche- F ting to the crown, should not be giuen to any but to Portugeses. That the King should take into his seruice two hundred Portugeses, giuing them the pension which is called Moradic. That the King comming into Portugal, the lodgings of his Court and traine should be made after the manner of Portugal. That the King going through the realme he should carry with him a priuat Counsel consisting of a Prelate, Chancellor, Treasurer, superintendant, and a certaine number of Secretaries, which should bee called the counsell

An. 1581. Estates of Portugal held at Tomar.

22 Articles granted by King Philip to the realme of Portugal.

counsell of Portugal, all Portugueses. That the prouisions of offices, as wel of Iustice as others should be made within the realme, & that their supreme Iudgements should haue execution. That the Kings Chappel and singing men should be entertained, as had bin vied in the time of other Kings, in the city of Lisbon commonly, or where the Kings person should be within the realme. That all forraigne impositions vpon the confines of either realme, should cease. That all Portugueses should indifferently bee admitted to serue the Kings and Queenes, and that the Queenes taking Portugal maidens to serue them, should marry then according to their qualities, as had beene accustomed.

At these Estates there was a generall pardon granted to them that had carried armes, or otherwise opposed themselves against king *Philip*. Out of the which were excepted *D. Antonio*, the Bishop of Garda, the Earle of Vimiofo, and others named to the number of 52. All the religious men which had adhered to *D. Antonio*, and those that had received office from him, were also excluded out of this pardon, and were made incapable euer to receive any grace or charge from the King. The vniuersity of Coimbra, which had held *D. Antonios* part, and published his title, was (contrary to the opinion of many) confirmed in their preuileges, and taking into the Kings special protection. As for gratuities and rewards to priuate Portugueses, the King gaue much, yet he pleased not all futors. He confirmed the Duke of Braganca in the dignity of Constable of the realm. The Duke of Ossuna, who had left Portugal after the Governors flight from Setuual, was made viceroy of Naples, which is the goodliest charge of Spaine, wherevnto the Noblemen aspire and seeke to come vnto by degrees, as the chiefe of dignities which is giuen in Spaine. All that had employed themselves to serue the King in his pretension and pursuit of that realm of Portugal, as well of the nation, as others, yea and many which had opposed themselves, and were afterwards by some meanes reconciled, were gratified and rewarded, some superfluously, others more sparingly, so as some thought his recompences and rewards amounted to six millions of crownes.

The Estates being ended, the King drew neere vnto Lisbon staying some daies at Almada, not far off, attending the preparations which they made for his reception, and on Saint *Peters* day he made his royal entry, where after the triumphes, he wanted not importunate futors for guifts and recompences, and there was so great a number of petitions presented, as the counsel was ouer-charged, and there could not be any expedition, so as to abridge all delaies, the King discharged the body of the counsell, and committed the examination and prouision vnto two only, which were, *D. Antonio Pignero* Bishop of Leira, and *Christopher de Mora*.

The Great Turke being at truce both with the Persian and the Catholike King, had some cause giuen him to doubt a warre in Afrike, for that in Tunis the people had taken armes, and expelled the Turkes that were there in gard, calling home their old King *Amida*, who had beene expelled and liued at Malta, wherevpon *Amurath* did presently send *Vlucially* with some gallies, who attempted to land some men, but the King of Fez opposed himselfe, having no wil that the Turkes should grow potent in Afrike. And the Catholike King, who had made a league with the Moore, would not haue the Turke aduance on that side, protesting to *Vlucially*, that by reason of the truce, formerly made betwixt him and the great Turke, he could not attempt war against him of Fez, vnlesse he would breake the truce; and therefore if he attempted any thing, hee would send his gallies against him; which threats made *Vlucially* resolute (having past thither wel provided) not to alter any thing this yeere. The disorders at the Tercera increased daily, many comming thither for refuge, after they had beene spoiling at sea, whereof some were French: And King *Philip* being aduertised that in France they prepared many ships of warre, and leaued souldiers publicly vnder the fauour of the Queene mother, to come vnto those Islands, there to fortifie themselves against the Spaniards, to cut off their navigation to the Indies, and to assure them against the enterprises of the King of Spaine, and deprive him of the vse of them, he had already commanded *D. Aluar de Bazan*, Marquis of Santa Cruz, to carry 5000. men thither, when as hearing that *D. Antonio* had set saile with about 70. ships and 7000. soldiers (as reports are alwaies greater then

then the effects) he prest the Marquis to be gonne, and seemed to be somewhat discontented with him, for his slacknesse in making ready the ships of Andalusia, whereof there were a good number appointed for this voyage: so as hee was forced to goe from Lisbon on the tenth of Iuly with eight and twenty ships only, some Biscains, the rest Flemings and Esterlings, appointing the rest which were at Saint Lucar, Santa Maria, and other ports to follow him. This Castilian army, beeing come to the Island of Saint Michel, they found that the French were already landed, and did spoile it. So as they came happily to preserve the Island, and the chiefe fort of it called *Punta Delgada*. Hee was glad that whilst the French were busied about the spoile of that poore Island, they had suffered a great ship, and very rich, comming from the Indies to escape, the which had come unwittingly vnto those Islands, beeing ignorant how the affaires of Portugal had past.

These two enemies fleets were at anchor some thirty miles one from another, being couered with points of Land which runne into the sea: The French being about Laguna towards the West, and the Spaniards at Morro, which is to the East, with this diaduantage, that the Marquis sailing along the Island to finde a fit place to land, the army had beene fully discovered by the French, which hee could not doe of theirs, lying couered and hidden: besides the French had taken a Caruell of aduice, the Marquis hauing sent two vnto the Governor of the Island to aduertise him of his comming, and of the number of ships and souldiers which hee brought with him, and of those which should follow him. Beeing therefore hard to discouer, the French army by sea, the Marquis was desirous to land some men to learne some certentie, but they were forced to returne without any certaine knowledge. Wherefore to bee better assured, he waied anchor, and put to sea with all his fleet, in order to fight, meaning to passe in that manner along the South part of the Island, where the enemy lay (for the other side of the Island was desart and had no landing) and by that meanes see what their strength might be, where at the breake of day there came a smal barke vnto him, in the which was the Master of a Biscain ship, with letters from *John de Castillo*, who commanded in the fort of the city, by the which he did aduertise him of all that had past since the comming of *D. Antonio* and his army vnto the Island: That the French had in all 58. sailes, whereof 28. were great ships, and 6000. souldiers; that they had sackt the village of Laguna, and put to rout *Pedro Pexot*, and *Lawrence Noghera*, who went to encounter them with 3000. men, part Islanders and part Spaniards, and then had entred into the city which they had found empty, and that they sought to winne the fort, into the which they were fled that had escaped at the defeat. That *Lawrence Noghera* was dead of a wound which hee had receiued in the fight, and that *Pexot* went away soone after in a Carauel towards Lisbon, leauing many of his vessels in the Port, which had beene taken or brothen by the French, and that hee was straightly beseged in the fort; and therefore hee should take counsell, whether hee should fight, or retire with all his ships vnder the fort to fauour it.

The Marquis beeing glad of this aduice sent the Master backe to *John de Castillo* with this answer. That hee should not trouble himselfe but hold good, for hee was resolved to fight, with hope to vanquish the enemy. This report came neere the truth for the number of their ships, for the French fleet at their comming from Belille in Britan consisted of fise and fifty sailes, whereof there were fise and thirty ships of warre, and twenty pinaces, carrying feuen and thirty companies of foote, which might make some foure thousand souldiers, whereof *Sainte Soleme* was Collonel of fiftene Ensignes, nine were vnder the command of the Siegneur of Buz, eight vnder *Beaumont*, and fise vnder *Emee*, ouer which *Philip Stroffy* was Generall, and the Earle of Brisfac was his Lieutenant. The Marquis hauing spent that day in consultations, and in ording all things necessary for the army, the next day, which was the three and twentieth day of Iuly, the two fleets were at sea, their prowes turned as if they ment to fight, which it is verie likely they had done instantly if so bee that a calme had not kept them from ioyning. After dinner the vvinde grooving somevvhat fresh, the Marquis thinking that the French (vwho had the vvinde) vwould haue charged him, and

Vvvvv

hee

King *Philip*  
bounty in Por-  
tugal.

22  
Entry of King  
*Philip* into Li-  
bon, and ac-  
knowledge  
King.

Armies of  
French and  
Spaniards in  
the Island of  
Saint Michel.

Number of the  
French army  
at the Tercera.

hee preparing to receive them; hee saw them bend their course towards the Island of A Santa Maria; fifty miles distant from that of Saint Michel, the which the Spanish fleet did in like manner, coasting one an other, and turning their sailes sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, until that night came, which was very calme, so as the French could not execute their designe, which was to have sent ten ships of warre along the Island to get behind the Spanish fleet, with an intent to charge them the next day in front, and on either side.

In the morning every man expected a battaile, but they did not any thing, but play with their great ordinance a farre off, yet injoying one another. For the French had one of their ships funke. Night being come the Marquis being tired with this losse of time, sought to get the winde; wherefore he gave commandment to all his ships, that hea- ring a peece of ordinance shot off, they should beare vp close with the Admirall, and follow it, bearing no lanterns; to the end the enemy should not see them. This Order was observed by all the ships, except two Battalions, in the which were four hundred Germaines, who being not advertised through his fault that had the charge, were so far off as they could not ioyne againe with the rest of the fleet. But this prevailed not, for at the breake of day, which was the five and twentieth of July, on Saint Iames day, the Patron of Spaine, to whom the Spaniards said that D. Antonio and the French captaines before, making no shew that they had any intent to fight. The Marquis men were preest with the like necessity, for that the maine mast of a great ship, in the which Christopher d'Erasso was, had beene bruized and shaken, so as they were forced to attend her, fearing the enemy should entuiron and take her, whilst they mended her mast, which was so shaken, as shee could not saile: So this day was spent, in the which the French, whose vessels were lighter, had meanes to recover the winde.

The next day being the fixe and twentieth, they must needs fight, their former delais proceeding from the sundry opinions that were amongst the captaines of D. Antonio's armies, whereof some would fight, and others were unwilling; and if their Generall and Admirall had not advanced to shew them the way, most of them would not have come to it: making their excuse that they had alwaies seenie Philip Stroffy, and the Earle of Vimiofo (who were in one ship) keepe behinde, which they imputed to want of will to fight, where as in truth the reason was for that the ship was heavy, and not so good a sailer as the rest: for these two Noblemen wanted no courage, but were most desirous to fight with the enemy: Stroffy and the Earle finding this bad impression of their companions, changed their ships, and tooke one of the best saylers in the fleet, in the which the Lord of Beaumont was, who was Collonel of those companies which had followed the Earle of Brissac. The two armies beeing in order of battaile at sea, within three miles one of another, and five and twenty from Saint Michel, the sea being calme, they attended some small gale to giue them meanes to approach.

The which fell out about noone, favorable for the French, wherevpon they ioynd within tenne miles of the Island, fighting with great resolution. In the front of all the French army was Stroffy and the Earle of Vimiofo, their ship holding the place of Admirall, the Earle of Brissac was with them for vice-admirall, with three English ships, then followed the other ships, some neere, some farther off. The Spanish fleet had for their foreward a great hulke, and Francis de Bonadilla in it, the galleon Saint Martin, in the which the Marquis of Santa Cruz went, who towed after him with a cable the ship of Christopher d'Erasso, whose mast was much shaken, and with them the galleon called Saint Mathew, which carried Lope de Figueroa: all the other ships of the Spanish fleet, were in a manner couered by these foure. Euery one had chosen where to fight, but the winde changing and varying, made them to change their designes.

The Saint Mathew, wherein Lope de Figueroa was, beeing cast some what from the rest by the agitation of the winde and waues, it was first charged by the Admirall and vice-admirall of the French, and the other three shippes, which did enuiron it with a storme of great shot and fire, whom hee answered with the like, and made them to keepe aloofe, yet Figueroa was so preest by the Admirall, Vice-admirall, and

23  
battaile at sea  
betwixt the  
French and  
Spaniards.

A an other ship as he was often in danger to be lost, for he maintained the fight valiantly about two houres, and was not succored. In the end a Biscay ship of Peter of Garagarza, in which were two companies of Spaniards, came and releued him. The Marquis, who saw him in danger, was much troubled for that hee could not succor him in time as hee thought; both for that he was forced to answer two French ships which had set vpon him (whom notwithstanding he had made retire with his great Ordinance, and that of the Hulke, wherein Francis de Bonadilla was) as also for that he must goe against the winde, casting about, so as the time would be long before he should recover him. Yet in the end he came vnto him, but the order of the army and all their priuate designes were peruered, as it happens commonly in sea fights, being subiect to the winde and waues; but he was preuented by the ships of Michel d'Oquendo, of captaine Villa Vieiosa, and another Biscain, who came first to succor the Galleon Saint Mathew, being followed by many others. These three last-named did inuest the Vice-admiral, in the which the Earle of Brissac was, who being already ill intreated by the cruel resistance the Spaniards had made, sought to be vngraped, and to retire her selfe. Among others the ship of Michael de Benefa came boldly and graped with the General Stroffy; so as the Marquis of Santa Cruz could not approach nere either of the enemies ships, seeing them enuironed by his galleons; wherefore he obserued what the issue would be, to succor where hee needed required. The French Vice-admiral defended it selfe valiantly against three

C ships that did presse it. Captaine Villa Vieiosa who fought in the prow was slaine. In poupe they were forced by Michel d'Oquendo, who caused some of his Spaniards to enter, but finding his owne ship to be perced, and that it tooke in water, he left her, seeing also other French ships come to succor her. So as this viceadmirall being much torne and broken, seeing her selfe free, would haue retired, but she could not goe farre, before she funke (as the Spaniards say) the Earle of Brissac with some others sauing themselves in a little boat, to the next French ship. As for the Admirall where Stroffy was, which had not yet abandoned the fight, she was so fastned to one of the ankors of the galleon Saint Mathew, as it was not possible to free her, but they must either vanquish or die. Before that succors came she was in a manner Master of this galleon, about the which almost the whole fight was, for there were but 70. men of defence and seruice remaining in her; but besides the ship of Michel de Venesa, the Marquis, who was watchfull, comming with other ships, compassed her in round, and did so batter her with musket shot, as she was forced to yeeld, hauing endured this last charge about an houre, and being shot through in diuers places, she beganne to sinke visibly. There were about three hundred men slaine in her, the rest were taken. Philip Stroffy was found fore wounded with a musket shot about the knee, which made him fall, who being drawne out of the presse, to carry him into the galleon Saint Martin, as they past with him from one vessell to another, an insolent souldier thrust his sword into his belly, and in this Estate he was laied before the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who made no account of him, and seeming not to vnderstand them that said it was Philip Stroffy, hee turned his head on the other side, and made a signe that they should cast him into the sea yet breathing. D. Francis of Portugal, Earle of Vimiofo, who also fought valiantly with him, died two daies after of his wounds. The Marquis seemed to lament his death, for he was his kinsman.

This battaile continued, about five houres, betwixt two very vnequall parties, for there were scarce ten French ships that fought, by reason of the bad intelligence and disobedience that was among them, as it happens often amongst a multitude of men, which are either voluntaries, or not experienced; of the which this army did for the most part consist, who were faoured in their faults by their captaines, whereas they should haue vfed severity, especially at sea. Before their comming out of France, they had falne into quarrels and mutynies, which were with some difficulty pacified: most of the other french ships were idle spectators of the battaile; Some at the first charge went to sea, bending their course towards the Island of the Tecera's, where they refused them the port, as treacherous runne-awaies; and if any one came neere vnto the enemy, it was but to discharge their canon farre off, which is held by good sea men to be idle and vnprofitable.

French defeated  
at sea by  
the Spaniards.

Death of Philip  
Stroffy.



Many of  
the dead in the  
bataille.

Crueltie of the  
Marquis of  
Santa Cruz to  
the French.

Spaine's out-  
raged the  
crueltie of the  
Marquis of  
Santa Cruz.

Thus the French army retired, hauing lost their Commanders with about 2000. men, and eight of their best ships in the conflict, in the which the Spaniards said they had not about 200. slaine, and about 500. hurt, wherein they flattered themselves strangely, for in the Gallion Saint Mathe-w, alone, there were about 600. soldiers and mariners, who by their owne confession were reduced to 70. when as *Stroffy* was oppressed by the Marquis and the rest that came. The Spanish fleet remained master at sea, neither cared to pursue them that fled, both for that night approached, as also thinking that he had done ynough. He was kept foure daies at sea, by reason of the winde which did rise, and could not get to the Island of Saint Michel, where he afterwards landed his men to refresh them, and to cure them that were hurt. There *D. Aluaro de Bazan* Marquis of Santa Cruz did an act which was held barbarous, discouering the pride and insolency of certaine Natures which cannot be pacified, and which neuer take delight in their victories, vnlesse they be seasoned with some new cruelties, committed after the fact in cold blood: for the first day of August the army being landed, *Francis* of Bouadilla hauing caused a great scaffold to be set vp in the market place of Villa Franca, in the Island of Saint Michel, he caused all the French prisoners, to the number of 300. to be brought thither by foure companies of souldiers, where he caused a sentence to be pronounced. That whereas (there being a peace betwixt the Catholike King and the most Christian) they had presumed to come out of France, in fauor of *D. Antonio*, sometimes Prior of Crato, in form of an army, with an intent to spoile the King of Spaines ships, coming from the Indies, and seize vpon his Islands, where they had already taken great booties; he therefore declared them common enemies to the commerce and publike quiet, and fauorers of his Maiesties rebels; and that as pirats and theeues he condemned them to die, commanding the Iudge of the army to cause that sentence to be put in execution, vpon all those that exceeded the age of 17. yeeres, for so the seruice of God, and of the two Kings required. The age of these prisoners, which were exempted from death, to vse them in the galleies, was iudged after that they were carried backe to prison by their beards, so as many which had little or no beards saued their liues, hauing secretly pulled the haire off their chins. There were found among those that were condemned foure score gentlemen, who lost their heads, or rather had their throats cut, for want of a good hangman, and the rest, both soldiers and mariners, were hanged, within two foot of the ground. This inhumaine and bloody slaughter, was detested by the Spanish souldiers, and by many of their captaines, saying, that it did blemish the honour of armes, and that they did wrong to those prisoners to terme them theeues, beeing apparent that they were not come to that voiage for *D. Antonio*, but to doe seruice to the French Queene, by reason of the pretensions she had to the realme of Portugal, and that they should make them faire war, hauing behaued themselves like valiant souldiers, wherevpon they made many requests vnto the Generall, seeking to diuert him from that cruel resolution, but he was inuincible. After this vnworthy fact (howsoeuer they may colour it) the Marquis staid some daies about those Islands, to receiue the India ships, if any came, so as he saued two, which might haue somewhat repaired *D. Antonios* losse, if they had saled into his hands, whom he put in some feare, and all them that were with him at Angra in the Island of Tercere, that he would land there, for he past and repast twise or thrice in view of the city, but he had an other desaigne; for seeing the season approach, when as the seas grow high, he gaue order for the gard of the Island of Saint Michel, where he left *Augustin* *Inyguen* with 2000. Spaniards, and then sailed towards Lisbonne.

The defeat of *D. Antonios* army, and the death of *Philip Stroffy* did much trouble the French King, and the Queene-mother; after which he could not procure any great means to annoy the King of Spaine: Some of the ships of that fleet making hast to recouer the Ports of France, their captaines were reproched with base cowardise, and some of them were put in prison, being charged to haue beene corrupted by the King of Spaine, or his Agents, before they parted from France, and to haue failed of their duties in the day of bataille. They had prepared for *D. Antonio* (hauing newes of the coming of this army) a stately entry in the city of Angra, whether he came two daies before the bataille, to attend the issue thereof out of danger, by the aduice of the French captaines,

*D. Antonios*  
estate after the  
defeat of the  
French at sea.

His returne  
into France.

An. 1582.  
King of Spaines  
fortifies the  
straights of  
Magellan.

*Sarmiento* for-  
tifies in the  
straights of  
Magellan.

A captaines, the vnfortunate successe whereof made the triumphs to cease: and when as after the defeat he saw the Marquis lie houering vp and downe, he grew a fraide, causing a light barke to lie ready for his flight, if he should be assailed, but hearing afterwards of his departure, he grew assured. This poore Prince saled from all his hopes staid their a while, and was perswaded by *Emanuel de Sylua*, whom he had made Gouvernor of those Islands, to commit many insolencies to get money, wherevnto he willingly gaue care, for he fore-saw his future necessity. He caused many of a base standard to be coined, and set it at a high rate. Yet would he not imitate the Marquis of Santa Cruz in cruelty, being sollicitated to put to death fifty Castillans which were in prison at Angra, to reueng the death of those that had beene executed in the Island of Saint Michel, which shewed his generous minde. About the midst of October he resolved to returne againe to France: for danger and want would not suffer him to live any longer in the Island of Tercere. Hauing therefore recommended vnto *Emanuel de Sylua*, that which concerned the gouernment of those Islands, for the gard whereof he left him five hundred French soldiers, besides those he had before: he parted with about thirty saile. And for that he would not arriue in France, whilest that the memory of the losse of so many gallant men was fresh, whereof they imputed the cause to him, he directed his course towards the Canaries, and the Island of Madera, to spend the time, and to get some spoile to content his souldiers: some ships both French and English abandoned him in a storme which disperst them about the Island of Saint Michel.

C The Marquis of Santa Cruz being arriued at Lisbonne, he was welcome to the King, who told him, that seeing he had beene so fortunate in that voiage, he would send him the next sommer to the Tercera's with a stronger army, and that he should carry some galleies with him, to make an absolute conquest of those Islands, and to chase away the French and *D. Antonios* partisans, and euen there he gaue order for that voiage.

We haue formerly made mention that the King of Spaine after the returne of captaine *Drake* from the South sea, had sent *D. Diego Florens de Baldes* with 25. ships, to fortifie and plant in the Straights of Magellan, & to stop the passage of any other Englishmen that should attempt the like, and that five of his ships had beene cast away in a storme, vpon the coast of Spaine, notwithstanding the King sent commandement that he should proceed in his voiage, the which he did with sixteene saile, but he could not get into the straights that yere, so as leauing *Diego de Ribera* his Lieutenant, & *Pedro Sarmiento* (who should be the Gouvernor of those forts) to attempt it the next yeere, he returned for Spaine. And they happily got into the Straights, where they landed 400. men, with their victuals and munition, which done, *Diego de Ribera* left *Pedro Sarmiento* with 400. men, thirty women, and a ship, with victuals for eight months, and returned with three ships, hauing staid but eight daies in the Straights. *Pedro Sarmiento* built a towne in the mouth of the Straight to the Northward, in the which he put a hundred and fifty men, calling it *Nombre de Iesus*, from whence he went by land, and sent the ship some five leagues within the Straights, where in the narrowest part he found a very good port, and built an other towne, which he called Ciudad del Rey Philippo, or King *Phillips* towne, but the snow and extreme cold of the Winter would not suffer him to finish his fort. Wherevpon pretending to goe to his other towne, hee failed to the Straights mouth, to his first built towne, where hauing staid aday or two, he brake his cable in a storme (as hee said) and went to the riuer of Ienero, and then to Fernambuck to seeke for some supplie of victuals, where he obtained what he desired: But *Sarmiento* sayling towards his Colony, his ship with all his prouision was cast away, three of his men were drowned and himselfe hardly escaped. At Baya the Gouvernor of Bresil fitted him with a barke, & furnished him with clothes and victuals for his people, but vpon the way he was surprized with so furious a storme, as he was forced to cast all his freight ouer bord, & to returne againe to the riuer of Ienero, where attending a whole yere, he neither receiued succors nor letter from the King, who was offended with *Pedro Sarmiento*, for that he had giuen him wrong informations touching the straights, and put him to a needlesse charge, and losse of men, so as *Sarmiento* hauing no meanes to releue his people, was forced to saile towards Spaine, where at sea he was taken by certaine Englishmen, so as in

Death of D.  
Diego Prince  
of Spaine.

Death of the  
Duke of Alba.

Death of D.  
Sancho de A-  
vila.

An. 1583.  
D. Philip the  
Kings sonne  
sworne at the  
Estates of Por-  
tugal.

Archduke Al-  
bert made  
Governor of  
Portugal.

King Philip  
goes out of  
Portugal.

Success sent to  
the Terceres.

Forts built at  
the Tercere.

four yeeres those poore Spaniards which hee had left in the Straights had no succors. A  
This yeere D. Diego the Kings sonne, Prince of Spaine, died, for the which he was very  
sorrowfull; but he did not much regard the death of the Duke of Alba, which followed  
soone after, at the least he made no shew of it, whereat the Portugueses (who had seene  
their Kings retire themselves for priuat men) wondred. They remembered that King E-  
manuel had shut himselfe vp three daies for the death of a Pilot. The Duke of Alba was  
74. yeeres old when he died in the Kings lodging at Lisbon: of whose deeds and dispo-  
sition we haue spoken sufficiently. D. Sancho de Auila, accounted by the Spaniards for  
one of the best capitaines of his time, died soone after the Duke, being hurt with a horse  
he fought to be cured by a fouldier, with charmes, and neglected the Art of Surgery. B  
Among other Acts of his the sacke of Antwerp is memorable, in the yeere 1576.

King Philip being prest to returne into Castile, to consider of a marriage which was  
treated of betwixt the Emperour and one of his daughters, being also to goe to the E-  
states of Arragon, he made hast, before his departure out of Portugal, for that which was  
necessary for the government of the realme, and for the firme vnion thereof with Ca-  
stile. He therefore sommoned the Estates for the 26. day of Ianuary the yeere following  
1583, and there he caused his sonne D. Philip to be sworne lawfull successor to the crown  
of Portugal; he caused the funeral of the deceased King D. Henry to be made at Belem,  
where he was buried with his Predecessors, and he caused the bones of King Sebastian,  
of diuers other Princes his kinsmen, which had bene left, or buried in diuers Mona- C  
steries, to be brought thether. As for the Government of the realme, in his absence, he  
gaue it to the Archduke Albert Cardinal, contrary to the opinion of most Courtiers,  
who thought he would haue left it to his sister D. Maria, widow to the Emperour Maxi-  
milian, who had retired her selfe into Spaine, and was come to him into Portugal at the  
time of this conquest. He left for Counsellors to the Archduke, D. George d'Almeida  
Archbishop of Lisbon, Pedro d'Alcaçova, who had bene so ill intreated by King Henry,  
whom King Philip restored to all his goods and honor, and Michel de Mora, Secretary of  
the realme, who was honored by him with the office of Scribe of the purity, which is  
one of the greatest dignities of that Court: but the King contrary to the Articles con-  
cluded at the Estates of the realme, and against their priuiledges, put into the Counsell D  
of the Hazienda, which is for the revenues of the crowne, two Castillians, one a Lawier  
& the other a Merchant. The Emperesse did also somewhat discontent the Portugals when  
as visiting the conuent of Santos, which is a retreat for Ladies of great houses living  
as religious women, but yet may marry, she drew out D. Iuliana d'Alencastro, daugh-  
ter and heire to the Duke of Auero, being thirteene yeeres old, and tooke her with her  
into Castile, whereas they thought she would marry her. The Portugueses were also dis-  
contented at the Archdukes proceedings, who after the Kings departure, in the beginning of  
his government, made difficulty to signe the prouisions and ordinary letters, which  
ought to be dispatched within the realme, as the King had agreed, sending furors ordi-  
narily to Court. In the end the King, to pacifie all discontents, and to leaue a good con-  
ceit of him in his new conquest, gaue many gifts and rewards to them that presented  
E  
themselves, and made their seruices knowne, or their desire to doe him any: the Duke of  
Bragança and the Marquis of Villareal were they that tasted least of his bounty, the  
which was noted, being the principal persons of the realme, from whence he parted the  
eleuenth of February that yeere, presently after the ending the Estates.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz, after his returne to Lisbon, used all diligence to make  
ready the army which he should lead the Sommer following to the Tercera's: the which  
being knowne in France by D. Antonio, and those that fauored him, they wrought so as  
he had meanes to send about 1200. men, vnder the command of Monsieur de Chattes  
a Knight of Malta, and Gouvernor of Diepe, a man well practised in martiall affaires F  
both at land and sea: there were already in the Islands of Tercere and Fyal, seuen hun-  
dred French and three hundred English, and about three or foure thousand Portugueses  
and Islanders. The Island of Tercere was the place which must bee chiefly kept,  
to defend the approaches whereof, and the landing places, Emanuel de Sylua had caused  
some thirty forts to be built within compasse of it, which was a weak fortification, for

A for being all small, capable offew men, and farre one from another, they might be ea-  
sily forced with few men, and one could not releue another. This Emanuel de Sylua (as  
the Spaniards describe him) was a man full of will, and opinion of his own sufficiencie,  
but in effect he was ignorant of the art of war, as in a manner all Portugueses at that time  
were) and of a very tyrannous disposition: so as he omitted no kind of cruelty to get mo-  
ny: and did willingly giue care to them that found out any inuention to call the inhabi-  
tants of the Island in question, for the breach of his capitulations, Edicts, and Ordonan-  
ces, to the end he might forfeit their goods. To effect the which, one Amador de Vieira  
gaue him good meanes, who being secretly entertayned in that Island by King Philip, to  
discouer who was affected to him, and to entertayn them in that good will to serue him,  
when as he thought he had discouered all, he carried the roule to Emanuel de Sylua, who  
made his profit thereof. Monsieur de Chattes being arriued at the Tercera's, he would see  
all the fortifications of the Island, and vnderstand the reasons: for he did not comprehend  
much, considering the number of men, the defence of so many forts would require: with-  
ing that Emanuel de Sylua had rather made one strong retréat, capable of all that was  
good in the Island, both men, victuals, munition, and other things in the best place ther-  
of, which might haue bene able to endure a sege vntill winter, with the fouldiers and  
inhabitants that were there, the which making in all fise or sixe hundred men, good and  
bad, being well led and commanded, might make a gallant defence, and not trust to  
those small forts, which were neither made with iudgement, nor able to hinder the ene-  
mies landing: for they did not defend the third part of the approaches of that Island, the  
which hee found not so inaccessible as they had described it vnto him in France: This  
Knight did also find, that there was small prouision of victuals and munition, although  
there were good store of Ordinance. So as he made accompt, that if the Marquis came  
with such forces, as were giuen out, these Islands were lost without recouerie. Yet like a  
man of courage, he repayed, as well as he could, the defects of these hen-rousts, exhor-  
ting them all to be of good cheare, and to hope well, and that howsoeuer, he would dye  
honorably with them. The presence of this Capitaine did much comfort the inhabitants  
of the Island, and did somewhat assure Emanuel de Sylua: who notwithstanding had pre-  
D  
pared for his escape, if he saw himselfe prest; for he kept two vessels readie in the port, to  
fly into, whereof Monsieur de Chattes was in doubt, and therefore he obserued him.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz hauing put to sea with 30. ships of waire, 12. gallies, two  
galleasses, 5. galleons, and other smaller vessels armed, to the number of 60. besides ca-  
rauels, pinaces, and other ships of burthen, carrying 10000. men, Spaniards, Italians,  
Germans, and Portugueses, vnder Lope de Figueroa, Francis de Bonadilla, and John de  
Sandoval, Colonels of the Spaniards, Lucio Pignatello of the Italians, Jerome Ledron  
of the Germaines, and Felix d'Arragon of the Portugueses. He came to the Island of S. Ma-  
chel the 3. of Iuly, where hauing also imbarcked the Regiment of Augustine Iniques, which  
he had left there the yeare before, he then sayled towards the Tercere, where the city of  
Angra is, in the port whereof hee saw the ships which had brought Monsieur de Chattes  
E  
and his men, and some other vessels, which the Gouvernors did vse to send to sea: there he  
left certaine gallies to keepe them in, and instantly caused the city to be summoned, offer-  
ing a pardon to the Inhabitants, and a good composition to the Capitaines and fouldi-  
ers: but they answered him with the Canon: the Marquis seeing that all landing places  
neere vnto the citie were fortified, he began to coast along the shoare to find some fitte  
descent, but it seemed to him, that all were rampared and fortified: being in this care, he  
was aduertised by a Portugeze, that there was a good landing place at port des Mojes,  
farre from Angra, where presenting himselfe, he found some acceffe, but difficult, both  
for that the place was stonie, and there was a fort built: yet he did hazard some fouldiers,  
F  
who did assure the way for the rest. Being at land, they that garded this fort made some  
resistance, which gaue Monsieur de Chattes time, being aduertised by the fires and smoke,  
and by the bells which hung at either of these forts, to draw his men together French and  
Portugueses, to go and succor them: but vpon the way he found the fouldiers which had  
abandoned this fort flying, whom he caused to returne with him, being resolved to fight  
with the enemy, the which he indeauored to do, and might haue amazed him, if Emanuel  
de

Monsieur de  
Chattes comes  
to Tercere.

Army of Spaine  
going to the  
Tercere.

Conquest of the  
Islands of the  
Tercere, for  
King Philip.

Angra at the  
Terceres taken  
by the Marquis  
of Santa Cruz.

*de Silva* the Gouvernor, and his men had held good: but they did not continue as they had begun: for hauing skirmished well all the day against the Spaniards, and others of the Marquises armie, and against hunger, through the bad order of *Emanuel de Silva*, night beeing come, they abandoned the French, and retired to the mountaine, whether the Commander *de Chattes* was forced also to make his retreat with his French troupe: for there was no reason, that so few men should wilfully make head against an army of 12000. *Emanuel de Silva* thought then to go and imbarke himselfe, and to flee away, but he could not, for euery man watched him, and therefore he retired also to the mountaine, to a place apart. It was strange to heare those Ilanders (who before had seemed so braue) to call then vpon Castile, and to confesse, that those Ilands did belong vnto King *Philip*. The Marquis seeing himselfe master of the field, marched towards the city of Angra, which he found abandoned and emptie, so as the souldiers made small profit of the sacke thereof. When as the Marquis entred the city by land, the gallies seized vpon the shippes which were within the port without resistance, for there were neither souldiers nor mariners in them. From thence *Don Pedro de Toledo* was sent to the Iland of Fayal to subdue them that would not acknowledge the King of Spaine. In the meane time the Marquis apprehending the difficultie to draw the French out of those rocks by force, hee fought to haue them by some honest composition. The Commander *de Chattes* at the beginning made great demands, considering the estate whereunto he was reduced, which made the Spaniards resolute to vanquish them, or to lose their liues, and so they did promise the Marquis, but he did auoyd that danger, hauing found more moderation in those poore forelorne men: for so they might well be tearmed: for had he not fought with them, hunger would soone haue forced them to haue yeelded to his mercie. Their accord was treated by a Colonel called *Pedro de Padilla*, whom the Commaunder *de Chattes* had sometimes knowne at Malta, where it was concluded, that they should deliuer vp their armes and ensignes, keeping onely their swords, and that they should lodge in a quarter of the cittie, and shippes provided for their retreat. D. *Pedro de Toledo* beeing come to Fayal, fought to perswade the souldiers and inhabitants to yeeld without force: wherefore hee sent vnto the Gouvernor, whose name was *Pero Antonio Guedes de Sosa*, a man of qualitie that was in his company, who had his wife and children in that Iland, to let him vnderstand what had happened to the Iland of Tercere, and to perswade him to apply himselfe vnto the time, and to yeeld to the Conqueror. This Gouverneur being proude and disdainfull, making no other answer to this messenger, shue him: wherefore *Don Pedro* staying awhile, doubting that which had hapned, began to aduance with 2500. souldiers which he had brought, beeing to skirmish with 400. French which came to encounter them, whom he made to retire soone into their fort, & to yeeld vpon the same conditions, that the rest had done. *Sosa* was taken, who (for the wild part he had played with him, that was sent by D. *Pedro*) was hung vp by one arme, both his hands having beene first cut off. The Portugals of the Iland were sackt, and then left free, hauing submitted themselves to the Kings obedience. *Anthony* of Portugall was left Gouvernor there with 200. souldiers, and the rest returned with the gallies to the Tercere, where as the Ilanders came and made the submissions that were required. So as there was not any one but did acknowledge King *Philip* for king of Portugal. Before the Marquis of Santa Cruz returned, he caused *Emanuel de Silva*'s proces to be made, hauing had no meanes to escape, who, with some others were executed, *Emanuel* lost his head, and so did *Amador Vieira*, hee who had discovered the Portugals in the Iland, that were affected to the k. *Emanuel Surradas*, who had spoiled the Ilands of Cap Verd, was also beheaded, others of meaner qualitie were hanged. The mony which had beene coyned with D. *Antonio*'s stampe, was condemned as counterfeit, and a great quantitie was burnt in the market place of Angra. This done, the Marquis hauing disposed of the estate of these Ilands, and left *John d'Vrbine* for Gouvernor of the Tercere, with 2000. foot, he bent his course towards Spain, and arriued safely with his fleet in the ports of Andalusia, where there was great ioy, as also in Portugal, and thanks giuen to God for so happy a victory, which put King *Philip* in a peaceable possession of the Realme of Portugal, and all the dependances, so as he might then iustly intitule himselfe King of all Spaine.

The end of the 30. Booke.

A



B

A

## CONTINUATION OF THE GENERALL HISTORY OF Spaine, from the yeare, 1583. to this time.

C



D

HE warre of Portugall beeing ended, *Philip*, King of Spaine, subdued the Ilands which had made resistance: he returned into Castile, whether the Estates of Arragon, and other weightie affaires did call him. Among other things, there was a marriage treated of betwixt *Catherine* his youngest daughter, and the Duke of Sauoy, which allyance, hee held, would be both profitable and honorable to himselfe, and the whole house of Austria, and therefore he concluded the marriage, but it was consummated the yeare following.

Marriage contracted  
between  
Catherine  
Infanta of Spain,  
and the Duke  
of Sauoy.

This yeare the king would haue his sonne sworne Prince of Spaine, the which was done with great solemnitie, in S. Hieromes church in Madrid, the twelfth day of Nouember, there beeing present the King, his sister *Mary*, wife to the Emperour *Maximilian*, the Prince, and the two Infanta's: where the Cardinal of Toledo began to sing a sollemne Masse, there assisting the Cardinal *Granuello*, with the Bishops of Placencia, Salamanca, Zamorra, Auila, Segouia, Coria, Siguenca, and *Osma Granuello* presented the Euangell and the Paxe vnto the king, the like did the Bishop of Placencia to the Infants. Masse beeing ended, the Prince was conducted by Cardinal *Granuello* neere vnto the altar, and there he receyued from Toledo the oth of confirmation, and then was returned backe vnto his place. Then did a King at armes rise from his seate, and going to the left side of the altar, where as Princes Ambassadors, and the Noblemen of the Realme did sit, crying out with a loud voyce, That the Prince *Don Philip* was to be sworne: but after him there followed one of the Kings Councell, deliivering in particular the forme of that oth: and how the Emperesse *Mary* should sweare with the two Infanta's the Princes sisters: but presently the Emperours Ambassadour made it knowne, that that Emperesse was to take the oath as Infanta of Spaine, and not as Queene of Romanes.

F

The first were the King and his sister, who performed that ceremonie vpon the Masse booke, and the Crosse, which were presented vnto them: but when as the Emperesse would haue kist her Nephewes hand, according to the custome, hee would not, for modestie sake suffer her, and so shee was constrained to kisse his fore-head. After, the Emperesse followed the Infanta's, and then the Bishops, the Admirall of Castile, the Marquis of Villena, the Duke of Pastrana, the Marquis of Denia, the Prince of Afcoly, and so all the Grande's

Grande's and chiefe Noblemen of the Court, the Marquis of Aguilar, and the Cardinal A of Toledo swearing last of all.

*Ambassadors  
come from Ja-  
pen into Spaine.*

The ioy of this ceremonie was augmented by the arriual of three Ambassadors, which had bene sent two yeares before from three Kings of Iapon, of Bugno, of Fiunga, and Arima, to the Pope, by the perswasion of the Iesuits, who desired that those Princes, seeing the noble and politicke gouernement of these countries, and the greatnes of the greatnesse of the Pope of Rome, might be edified and freed of a certaine opinion which they had conceived, that Christians came into their countries to get meanes to lue. They came into Spaine beeing accompanied by father *Alexander Valignari*, Visitor in those parts, at such time as the Court was full of feasts and ioy, for the prosperous successe of Portugal, for the conclusion of the Infanta's mariage, and for the swearing of the prince: so as they were not onely received by the Catholike king, and the whole Court, with greates pompe and state, but with extraordinarie content. The King at their reception, would not suffer them to kisse his hand, but embraced them as his equals, and to do them the more fauour, would haue both the Infanta's to do the like: hee made them see all his delights, and rarest things: and at the Princes ceremonie he commanded they should be set at his right hand, in the first place, whereas two men appointed for that seruice, instructed them in the order of the ceremonie, naming euery Nobleman, and what place hee held, as they went to sweare obedience to the Prince. The king hauing royally intreated them, and honored them all that might be, being to go for Italy, gaue them a Caroch and a Coach, commanding, that throughout all his realmes, they should be receiued with all magnificence, causing a shippe to be prepared for them in Alicante, where they imbar- ked, but they were driuen by foule weather into Maiorca, yet in the end they arriued in Tuscany.

Antwerpe, one of the chiefe townes in the Low-countries, was this Sommer so streight- ly besieged by the Duke of Parma, with the forces of Spaine, as hauing no releefe, nei- ther by sea nor land, they were driuen to extreame want, and almost to despair, where- upon they prest their Confederates to succour them: but the Estates not able to rayse so great an armie, sent a sollemne ambassage of twelue of their Deputies to the French king to intreat him to take the Netherlands into his protection, as his owne subiects and vas- sals: the which did much trouble the Councell of Spaine, seeing that the French king might with small difficultie get the possession of those countries, hauing the subiects hearts inclined vnto him: whereupon they fought by letters, and all other meanes to draw them of Antwerpe to a reconciliation with the King of Spaine. Don *Bernardin de Mendoza*, Ambassador at that time in France for the Catholike King (hauing been sent with some disgrace out of England, for that contrarie to the dutie of his charge, he had bene a busie practiser against that State) vpon the arriual of these Deputies to Paris, came with a great clamor vnto the King, telling him that the Estates of the Low-coun- tries, as Rebels to the King of Spaine, had bin condemned of high treason by the Coun- cell of the Inquisition of Spaine, and therefore were to be rooted out. That remembering the strict league and alliance betwixt him and his master, he should not giue them audi- ence, but rather driue such rebels out of his countrie: the which would turn to the good of France, (lying so neere vnto Spaine) and of all Christendome, which was disquieted with these wicked people.

*Bernardin de  
Mendoza his  
speech to the  
French King.*

*Answer of the  
French King to  
Mendoza.*

That he should do wrong vnto all other Princes, to whome such presidents are very preiudicial, if they should countenance and support their Rebels. But the King answered, that he would not giue audience to the Deputies of the generall Estates, as to Rebels, re- uolted, but as to afflicted people, who complained of oppressions. That Princes had ne- uer, neither ought they refuse to ayde the afflicted, especially when as their greatest de- sire is to be reconciled to their Prince (to obtaine the which they informed the King, that they had made many petitions vnto the King of Spaine, and could get no answer: ) and therefore he thought, that any man might seeke support where he could, if right and ius- tice were denied him, so as he was not to be blamed, if he gaue them audience.

In the beginning of this yeare, there was preparation made in Spaine for the mar- riage of the Infanta Donna *Catherina*, with that pompe that was befitting such Princes: for

A for the effecting whereof, the King with his children, and the chiefe of the Nobility of Spaine, came to Sarragossa, about the end of February, the Duke of Sauoy, beeing arri- ued in *Doria's* gallies, at Barcelona on the 18. of the said moneth, from whence hee went by land to Sarragossa, where his Maiesty attended him, without the city, and receiued him with wonderfull signes of ioy, doing him exceeding great honour. The same day that he arriued, he put the ring vpon his spouses finger, the King her father holding her hand, there assisting at the ceremonie, the Cardinal of Seuille, (to whom some few daies before a hat had bene sent) with the Cardinall *Granuelles*, who made them thus: Monsie- ur *Taverna* the Popes Nuncio, the Arch-bishop of Sarragossa, *Vincentio Grudonigo* Am- bassador of Venice, with other principall Noblemen. The next day, according to the cus- tome of the Realme, the married couple came to the Arch-bishops church, (who per- formed the ceremonie) couered with a white yail. Masse beeing sayd, and returning to the pallace, they dined in publike at one table, his Maiesty, the Duke, his wife, and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, beeing all set of one side: for many daies after there were great triumphs, tiltings, tourneys, and other knightly sports made by the Nobility of Spaine, who shewed themselves very gallant in all their sports, especially the Duke of Medina del Rio-secco, Admirall of Castile, the Duke of Albuquerque, the Duke of Medina Celi, the Duke of Maqueda, the Marquis of Denja, the Duke of Paltrana, the Marquis of A- guilar, and the Prince of Acoli, besides the great Commander of Castile, who was fauor- ite and Lord Steward to the Prince *D. Philip*.

*Mariage of the  
Duke of Sauoy,  
and the Infanta  
D. Catherina  
in Spaine.*

C To these there iynned a great number of Knights, of no lesse Nobility, but not of so great dignitie, as well Spaniards as strangers, who were come thither to honour this feast of the Catholike King their Lord. The Duke of Sauoy had also brought with him a great troupe of gallant Nobility, of the which, on the foure and twentieth day of May, he made Knights of the Order of Saint Stephen, *John Baptista* of Sauoy, and the Marquis of Chambray, and besides these the Marquis of Nemours his cousin, and *Afcario Roba* who were absent; and withall, *Carlo Pallavicino*, newly made Master of the Dutcheffe horse, Count *Sannitelli*, and *Michel Bonelli*. But eight dayes after the King did honour three Princes with the Order of the golden Fleece: the Duke his sonne-in-law, the Admirall of Castile, and the Duke of Medina Celi. There were many rich presents mutually giuen by the King and Duke, and by the Noblemen both Spaniards and Italians. Then in the beginning of Iune the married couple beeing accompanied by the King, Prince, and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, went to Barcellona, where they tooke shippe in *Doria's* Admi- rall gally, and beeing accompanied with forty other gallies, hee brought them safely to Genoua, and entertayned them with great state in his owne house, from whence they past to Nizza, then going with an honorable trayne towards Turin, they were receiued with great signes of ioy, and the feasts were renewed. But the King of Spaine beeing re- turned to Sarragossa, whither he had already sent the Court, he caused the Prince to be iworne with the ordinarie solemnities, and then he past into Castile.

E About the same time there came to Court *Pomponio Torello*, Earle of Mont Chiaru- lo, with an Ambassage from his Princes, the Duke and Prince of Parma, the first requi- ring of his Maiesty the restitution of the castle of Placentia, so necessarie for the prefer- uation, not of his Estate, but also of his life, the mutinous people of Placentia being ani- mated by the Spanish garrison, to practise against the Duke, as some conspirators had lately done, who beeing not suppress and punished, although they were discouered, gaue him continuall cause of feare.

*Ambassage  
sent into Spain  
from the Duke  
of Parma.*

F The Prince did sollicite concerning the enterprise of Antwerp, and also about his fa- thers affaires: yet he refused to receiue it as a fauour done to him, for that hee would not confirme an opinion, that he was as distrustfull as his father, of the Crowne of Spaine, to whom, and not to him, hee would haue the castle yielded. This busines was referred to Cardinall *Granuelles*, the great Commaunder of Castile, and to *John d'Isagues*, at that time Secretarie of State, with commission not to treat with any other of the Councell, it seeming the king should yeeld that which hee ought. *Granuelles* shewed himselfe very willing, not onely for the equitie of the cause, but also for a priuate bond he had vnto the Prince, from whome he did acknowledge, that his brother Monsieur *de Champagne* held

his

Castle of Placentia yielded.

Mutinie at Naples.

Deputies sent from the Estates of the Low-countries into England.

Reasons why the Queene of England should take protection of the Low-countries.

his life, and for his Maiesties seruice, whose affaires in Flanders depended chiefly vpon A the Prince: In the end the King resolved to make this restitution vnto the Duke: and so he dispatched Count *Pomponio* with a commission to the Duke of Terranoua, Gouvernour of the State of Milan, to cause the sayd castle to be restored, the Castellan being absent, the which was accordingly performed, and free possession deliuered to Prince *Raynucio* in his Grandfathers name.

This yeare there grew a popular tumult in Naples, partly through the couetousnesse of the King of Spaines Ministers in that Realme, during the time that the Duke of Ossuna was Viceroy, the King hauing giuen order to the Viceroy to supply their wants in Spaine, with such corne as they might well spare within the Realme, hauing had a plentiful harvest: but they not onely transported the ouerplus, but that which was needefull B for their owne vse, by a greedie desire of gaine: so as when the Spring came, they found that they had not corne sufficient, which seeking to helpe by bringing in from forraigne parts, they were forced to raise the price of corne, and to make their bread lesse: whereas with the people being vexed, (for it seemed strange to them to see scarcitie, whereas they expected abundance) who endured more by this want, then the rest. Whilst that on the ninth of May, their elect *John Vincentio Starace* was with the Deputies in the church of Santa Maria del nouo, to consult touching the prouision of corne, they began to mutine, saying, that it had beene accustomed to be done in Saint Augustines church, and to adde deedes vnto their words, they tooke *Starace*, being weake and sicke, and carried him with iniuries and ill vsage. Being come thither, he retired himselfe into a chappell C which had a grate before it, and there sought to pacifie the furie of this multitude with good words, the which notwithstanding increased as the number did, growing almost madde.

These *Starace* growing fearefull, caused himselfe to be let downe into a tombe, which these mad men vnderstanding, he was suddenly drawne forth, and murdered with an hundred wounds, after which they drew him through the streets, and tearing him in peeces, they carried them vp and downe the cittie, in signe of a cruell reuenge. The Viceroy carried himselfe indifferently in this mutinie, and full of feare, where as in the beginning he should haue suppressed it by force, and not to haue purchased afterwards the name of D cruell in his seuer punishments, seeking to recover the reputation which he had lost: but the King of Spaine stayed this rigour, sending a generall pardon concerning this murder.

The Deputies of the generall Estates being returned from France with many good words, but no effects, by reason of the league, which hindred the Kings desire to embrace their cause, they had recourse vnto the Queene of England, vnto whom they also sent their Deputies, seeking to perswade her to vndertake their protection against the king of Spaine, in regard of her owne priuate interest, and the good of both the Estates. This matter was weightie, and required a graue and deliberate consultation. Shee called her Councell, and demanded their opinions, whether shee should voluntarily ingage her selfe in a warre without constraint, which she must needs do, in taking vpon her the protection of the Low-countries. Whereupon they concluded, that she might not with her owne safetie abandon the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands, vnlesse she would neglect the preservation of her owne Estate. They layed before her the King of Spaines hatred against her, hauing changed the religion, which he had planted in England, which appeared by his denying passage to her Merchants throughout the Low-countries, with armes, powder, and munition which he had bought in Germany. That he had refused to renew the auncient contracts made betwixt the Emperour *Charles* his father, and her predecessours. And to shew his hatred to her Maiestie, he had suffered the Inquisitors of Spaine to persecute her poore subiects with all crueltie, and had dismissed her Ambassa- F dour out of Spaine, vpon colour of Religion. That the Duke of Alba his Gouvernour in the Low-countries, had in hostile manner arrested the bodies and goods of her subiects, contrarie to the auncient contracts. That he had sent forces to invade her realme of Ireland, and to ayde her rebels.

Besides these and many other iniuries, the Lords of her Councell layed before her, how

A how dangerous it would be for her Estate, if the Spaniard should become absolute Lord of those countries: that he would alter their religion, disannull their auncient Priuiledges and liberties, and make them subiect to his will and pleasure: which done, he might easily inuade England, hauing so much shipping, and so many mariners at his command, and his Indian treasure, to supply all other wants. He would ouerthrow all trade betwixt her subiects and the Netherlands, and would breed factions within the heart of her country. These reasons (sayd they) should moue her Maiestie to embrace the present occasion, and not suffer the Low-countries to be planted with Spaniards and Italians, considering that the warre was not vndertaken against those Prouinces, but with an intent to B make a greater conquest.

Whilst that the Queene of England resolved to vndertake the protection of the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, it was concluded to arme out a Fleet to annoy the King of Spaine vpon his owne coast, or at the Indies: whence his treasure came. Wherefore this yeare 1585, in September, Sir *Francis Drake* was sent out of England with a fleet of 25. ships and pinaces, and about 2300. souldiers and mariners. Master *Christopher Carlisle* was his Lieutenant generall, with many other gallant Captaines and Gentlemen, whose names for breuitie sake I omit, being written at large by others. After some daies, this Fleet came to the Ilands of Bayonne, vpon the coast of Spaine, where the Generall putting his men into boates, and pinaces, went into his Galley, with an intent to surprize the towne: but vpon the way there came an English Merchant vnto them from the Gouvernour, to see what Fleet it was, who after some speech with the Generall, was returned backe, and one Captaine *Sampson* with him, to demand of the Gouvernour, if there were any warres betwixt Spaine and England: and why they did arrest the English Merchants, and their goods. To whome the Gouvernour made this answer, that he knew not of any warre, and that it was not in his owne power to make any: and as for the stay of the Merchants, it was the kings pleasure, but not with any intent to preiudice them, and that hee had receiued a countermaund to discharge them, the which hee did presently.

The lying of this Fleet at those Ilands, did much trouble them in Spaine, being ignorant of their intent. Whereupon Don *Aluaro de Bazan*, Marquis of Santa Cruz, Admirall of Spaine, being then at Lisbon, did set downe in writing what harme this Fleet might do, if it should go to the West Indies, and enter into the South sea, as *Drake* had formerly done: and what course was to be taken to preuent those inconueniencies and dangers.

This English Fleet stayed not long vpon the coast of Spaine, but directed their course towards the VVest Indies, passing by the Canaries, and the Ilands of cape Verde, where they tooke the towne of S. Iago, which they spoiled and burnt, they came to the Island of S. Dominica, from whence they past to the Island of Hispaniola, where they tooke that gallant Cittie of S. Domingo by force, which after they spoyled, and burnt E a third part, the Spaniards made a composition for the rest, paying fine and twenty thousand Duckets, at five shillings sixe pence the peece. In this Island they found great store of good prouision, but little siluer or plate, yet in their furniture they were very rich and costly.

From Saint Domingo they put ouer to the mayne land, and came within sight of Carthagea, which stands vpon the sea side, where they made a gallant attempt vpon the towne, and tooke it: they landed their troupes five miles from the towne, whither they marched in battell: coming within halfe a mile of the towne, they were to passe vpon a narrow cauley not five paces ouer, lying betwixt the sea and the harbour: This streight was crost ouer with a wall well flanked, and a good ditch, hauing onely a passage F for horsemen and carriages, if need required: which breach had a good barricado: and here there were sixe peeces of Ordinance planted, which scoured along the cauley, and in the harbor, or inner water, they had layd two gallies, with their prowes to the shore, hauing eleuen peeces of Ordinance in them, which did beate crosse this streight, and three or foure hundred small shot: notwithstanding all this preparation to receiue them, the Lieutenant generall (it being very darke, and not yet day) marched by the sea shoare,

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so

Sir Francis Drake with a fleet upon the coast of Spaine.

S. Iago taken.

S. Domingo taken.



so as they receiued little harme by their shot, and comming close vp to the wall, after A  
some resistance they ouerthrew the Barricado, and forced the Spaniards to retire, they  
entred pel mel with them into the towne, and wan the market place, where the Spaniards  
made head awhile, after which they abandoned the towne, and retired to other places,  
whither they had carried their wiues at the comming of the English. They had drawne  
many Indians vnto them, all bow-men with poysoned arrowes; them they had placed in  
corners of aduantage, so as if they did but breake the skinne of any one, he dyed. The ar-  
mie stayd here fixe weekes, and burnt the out-parts of it, but in the end there was a com-  
position made, by the which they should pay an hundred and ten thousand ducketts for  
the ranfome of the rest. They had bene aduertised of this Fleet 20. daies before their ar- B  
riual, which had made them fortifie in that manner for their defence, and to conuey  
away their wealth. Hauing made this composition, they left the towne, and lodged in an  
Abbey, within a quarter of a mile of it, demanding a new composition for it, and a fort  
which stood at the mouth of the harbor: but not able (as they sayd) to ranfome the fort,  
it was blowne vp. From thence the Fleet went to Cape Saint Anthony, and then to the  
Cape of Florida, where they found a fort held by the Spaniards, the which, vpon their  
approach they abandoned: They found in it thirteene peeces of brasse Ordinance, and a  
chest of some 2000. pounds sterling, to pay the Kings Garrison, which consisted of a  
hundred and fiftie men. This fort was called Saint Johns, from whence they went vp the  
maine riuer to a towne ca'led S. Augustines. And then the Fleet returned into England. C  
They tooke in this action 200. peeces of brasse Ordinance, and 40. of Iron. In Saint Iago  
two or three and fiftie peeces: In S. Domingo foure score, whereof most was Cannon,  
Demi-cannon, Culuerin, and such like. In Carthagea sixtie three peeces: and in Saint  
Augustines fort fourteene, the rest was Iron Ordinance.

There was such excesse in their styles, and in their speaking and writing one vnto ano-  
ther, as vpon petition made vnto the King, he made an Edict and set downe a forme,  
what termes they should vse both in their speaking and writing, as followeth:

### Pragmatica, or an Edict:

*In the which is set downe a forme which is to be kept  
and obserued in their entertainments and courtesies of word  
and writing, and in carrying of Coronets vpon  
their Armes.*

On Philip by the Grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Arragon, the two Sici-  
lies, Ierusalem, Portugall, Nauarre, Granado, Toledo, Valencia, Gallicia, Maior-  
ca, Seuille, Sardinia, Cordoua, Corsica, Murcia, Iacn, the Algarues, Algezire, and  
Gibraltar: of the Islands of the Canaries, of the East and West Indies, and the Islands and  
firme land of the Ocean sea; Arch-duke of Austria, Duke of Bourgondie, Brabant and  
Milan, Earle of Ausbourg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay, Molina,  
&c. To the Prince Don Philip our most deere and welbeloued Sonne, and to the Infan-  
ta's, Prelates, Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, Barons, Priors of Orders, Commaunders, and  
sub-Commaunders, Captaines of Castles and places of strength, and to those of our  
Councell, Presidents, and Iustices of our Courts, Commissioners, and Prouosts of our  
Houfe, Court, and Chancerie, and to all Corrigidors, Assistants, Gouvernours, chiefe  
Iustices, &c. and to all other our Officers, and naturall subiects, of what estate, prehe-  
minence or dignitie foeuer they be, or may be, in all the citties, townes, places, and Pro-  
uinces of our Realmes and Seigniories, both present and to come, and to euery one of  
you

A you whom the contents of this our Edict may concerne, health and peace.

You shall vnderstand, that at the sute of the Attorneys of Courts of the Citties and  
Townes of these our Realmes, we haue bene forced to prouide a necessarie and conue-  
nient remedie, concerning the disorder and abuse, which is in the entertainments by  
word and writing, the excesse whereof was growne so great, and come to passe, as it had  
caused some inconueniences, and daily more might be expected, if it were not reformed,  
and reduced to some good auncient order, seeing that true honour doth not consist in  
vanities, or titles giuen by word or writing, but in greater matters: whereunto these do  
neither adde nor diminish. And hauing often treated thereof with our Councell, Wee  
haue ordayned as followeth in this our present Edict.

First, although it be not necessarie to treat herein of our selfe, nor of the persons of  
Kings, yet to the end that it may be the better obserued and kept, which doth concerne  
them, Wee will and command, that from hencefoorth, on the toppe of the letter or pa-  
per that shall be written vnto vs, there shall bee no other title put, but Seignior, or My  
Lord, nor in the end of the letter, any thing, but God preserue the person of your Catho-  
like Maiestie, nor the subscription below, any thing but his name that writes it: and vpon  
the superscription, there shall be onely set, To the King our Lord.

That to the Princes heires and successors of these our Realmes, they shall write in the  
same forme, changing only Maiestie into Highnes, and that of King into Prince, and in  
the end of the letter, God preserue your Highnesse.

The same forme and style shall be obserued, with the Queenes of these our realmes,  
as with their Kings, and likewise with the Princesses of the sayd Queenes, as with their  
Princes.

That the Infants and Infanta's of these our Realmes, shall onely haue the title of High-  
nesse: In the top of the letter they shall write, My Lord, and in the end, God keepe your  
Highnesse, without any other ceremonie: and vpon the Superfcription, To my Lord  
the Infant D.N. or, To my Lady the Infanta Donna N. Wherefore when they do speake  
or write Highnesse, without any other addition, it is onely to bee vnderstood of the  
D Prince, the heire and successor of these our Realmes. Declaring, that it is not our will  
nor intent, that the contents of this Edict shall extend to Donna Maria the Empreffe,  
my most deare and welbeloued sister, although she be an Infanta of Castile, being cer-  
taine, that she is to be called and written Maiestie; and vpon the superscription, To my  
Ladie the Empreffe: and her sonnes, (brothers to the Emperour, our most deare and  
welbeloued Nephew) shall haue the same titles that are giuen to the Infants of these  
Realmes, and in like manner to the Arch-dukes his Vncles.

That to the sonnes-in-law, and brothers-in-law of the kings of these Realmes, shall be  
giuen the same titles that their wiues haue, and daughters in law to the sayd Kings, shall  
be vsed like vnto their husbands.

And as for the entertainment which the sayd royall persons are moreover to haue, our  
meaning is not to innouate any thing of that which hath bene accustomed.

That the style vsed in the petitions which are presented to our Councell, and in the o-  
ther Councels, Chanceries and Tribunals, and the words which they vse when they are  
in Councell, shall be obserued as hath bene hitherto, vnlesse it be contrarie to this our  
prouision, and on the toppe they may set, Most mightie Lord, and no more.

That in the signing of all our letters, scedules, and prouisions, our Secretaries shall set,  
By the King our Lord, in the stead of Maiestie, and in the signing of our Secretaries of  
the chamber, they shall do the like.

That in all iudiciall seates, as well belonging vnto vs, as to any other, and of what  
qualitie foeuer, whether they speake in priuate or in publike, the petitions, demaunds,  
and quarrels shall be begunne in a lyne, with that which they are to treat of, without  
setting any title, word, or signe of courtesie on the toppe: And in the conclusion, they  
may say: For the which I implore the office of your S. or your VV. (according to the  
persons and Iudges to whome they are to speake.) And the Notaries shall onely say:  
By the commaundement and decree of N. the Iudge setting to his name and surname

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only,

onely: they may also adde the name of such a mans Office, and the dignitie and degree A  
which he hath taken, without any other title.

That no man of what estate, condition, dignitie, degree or office whatsoever, shall  
assume vnto himselfe, either by word or writing, the title of Excellencie, nor of excel-  
lent Lord, neither may any be called Reuerent Lord, but onely Cardinals, and the Arch-  
bishop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine, although he be no Cardinall.

That to Archbishops, Bishops, Grande's, and such as we command to be couered, all  
men within our Realmes, shall be bound to giue the title of Your Lordship, and also to  
the President of our royall Councell.

That to Marquises, Earles, great Commanders of the Orders of S. James, Alcantara, B  
and Calatraua, and to the Presidents of our other Councils and Chanceries, the title of  
Lordship may be giuen both by writing and word, and not to any other, vnlesse it be to  
the chiefe cities of the Realme, and to Senates, and to Metropolitan Churches, to  
whom they may giue that addition, as they haue beene accustomed.

That to Ambassadors in like manner, which haue place in our Chappell, may bee  
written or spoken Seigneurie or Lordship.

That in what concerns writing from one man vnto another generally without excep-  
tion, this forme shall be obserued. They shall begin the letter with the busines they are  
to treat of, without setting beneath the Crosse, or on the topp of it, or at the begin-  
ning of the line, any title, cypher, or letter: and they must end the letter, saying, God C  
keepe your Seigneurie, or Lordship, or Worship, and then the date of the time and  
place, and then his signature, without any courtesie before it: and hee that hath taken a  
title, shall mention it when he signes, and whence that title is.

That in Supercriptions, to a Prelate shall bee set downe the ecclesiasticall dignitie  
which he hath, and to a Duke, a Marquis, or an Earle, that of his estate, and to Knights,  
and other men their names and surnames, saying, To the Cardinall, Archbishop or Bi-  
shop of such a place. And in like manner, To the Duke, the Marquis or Earle of such a  
place: and to meaner men: To Don N. or to N. adding his surname, and to euery one  
named in this Article, may be set the dignitie, office, charge, or degree which hee holds.

The vassall shall not be excepted out of this order, writing to his Lord, nor the seruant D  
to his master: but the father to the sonne, and the sonne father, may adde their naturall  
name to their proper, and betwixt the husband and the wife, they may note the estate of  
their marriage, and betwixt brethren the like allyance.

That the complements to women, and among themselues, by word or writing, shall  
be the same that is vsed to their husbands.

That to men of religious Orders, there shall be no other title giuen but father-hood,  
or reuerence, according to the charge which he holds. And in the supercription with  
his name, they may set the charge and degree which he hath in those Orders.

That whatsoever is containned in these our letters and prouision, shall be obserued by  
all the subiects of our dominions, yea writing to them that are absent.

Moreouer, to preuent the great disorder and excesse which hath beene, and is daily  
committed, in setting Coronets to their Scutcheons of armes, and to their seales and  
fomter cloathes. We do ordaine and command, that no manner of person shall set any  
Coronet to his seale or fompter cloath, nor in any other place where he hath armes, ex-  
cept Dukes, Marquises, and Earles, who we hold may carry them, beeing in their right  
forme, and not otherwise: And that the Coronets which haue beene carried, shalbe pre-  
sently left, and no more vsed.

And to the end it may be the better kept, obserued, and executed, we ordaine and com-  
mand, that whosoever shall go against the contents of this our Ediſt, or any part therof,  
shal for euery breach incur a penalty of 10000. maraudis to be diuided after this maner: F  
a third part for the Informer, another third part for the Iudge that shal giue sentence, and  
the rest to godly vses, the which shalbe executed without any remission. Wherefore we  
command all and euery of you, that shall see these our letters and prouision, and the con-  
tents therof, (the which we desire should hold the force of a Law or an Ediſt, made and  
registred in our courts) that you obserue and keep it, and cause it to be obseru'd & kept in  
euery

A euery point, according to the contents, against the forme and tenour whereof you shall  
not do, nor suffer to be done at any time, nor in any sort, vpon the penalties which they  
do incurre, which breake the commandements of their Kings and naturall Lords;  
and vpon paine of our displeasure, and the said thousand maraudis, for euery one that  
do to the contrarie. And to the end that no man shall pretend ignorance thereof, wee  
command that these our said Letters and prouision shall be proclaimed publicly in our  
Court, and that the contents be precisely and inuolably obserued, from the first day of  
the yeare following 1587. and that no man do otherwise in any sort, vpon the said paines:

*Dated at S. Laurence the 8. day of October, in the yeare 1586.*

B

*Signed. JO EL REY.*

THIS yeare Don Pedro de Toledo, sonne to D. Garcia, sought to make an attempt vpon  
Affricke, but the little experience of some Neapolitans which landed in a small I-  
land called Cherchine, was the cause of their ouerthrow and death, beeing defeated by  
a small number of Moores which put them to flight. Toledo beeing landed with the rest  
of his troups, and gone vp the other side of the Iland, he vnderstood by the mariners of  
his mens successe, which holding for an ill presage, without care of any reuenge, hee be-  
gan to faint, retiring with all his men into his gallies, and bent his course towards Sicily,  
where seeking to find some Pyrates, in the end he came to Naples, whether soone after  
came D. John de Zuniga, or *Eñuniga*, Earle of Miranda, and Viceroy of Naples, the D:  
of Ossuna beeing called home into Spaine, to the great content of the Neapolitans, who  
taxed him for his cruell and couetous gouernement.

*Pedro de To-  
ledo vnderstand  
in Affricke.*

This yeare there was another enterprise by an English Gentleman, whose name was  
Thomas Cauendish, who passed into the South seas, as Sir Francis Drake had done: where  
after many accidents in November 1587. the Generall hauing two shippes, mette with a  
great shippe of the King of Spaines called Saint Anna, the which was Admirall of the  
South-sea, beeing about 700. tunnes burthen, the which, after six or seuen houres fight,  
and three seuerall charges, yeelded, to haue their liues saued. In which shippe, by the  
confession of the Captaine and Pilot, they had an hundred and two and twenty thousand  
Pezo's of gold, and the rest of the lading was in silkes, fatten, damaske, muske, with ma-  
ny other good commodities: in the end they set fire of the Kings shippe and burnt her,  
hauing to the quantitie of 500. tunnes of goods in her: then sayling by the Philippina's,  
the Moluccos, and the Cape of Bona Speranza, they arriued safely in England, in Sep-  
tember 1588.

*Cauendish takes  
the S. Anna in  
the South seas*

King Philip (after much warre, the losse of his wiues and children, and the little hope  
he had of long life in the Prince his sonne, beeing of a weake complexion, and ill dispo-  
sed) beganne this yeare to haue more cause of content, for now the young Prince began  
to bee vigorous, and of a spirit besitting an heire of so great dominions: and on the other  
side, the second Infanta Donna Catharina hauing had a sonne the last yeare, did this yere  
double his ioy with another, giuing him the more content, for that the first was christe-  
ned with so great solemnitie the twelfth day of May, foure daies after that the second was  
borne.

Yet touching his publike affaires, the Low-countrie warres troubled him much, the  
which hee referred to the valour and wisdom of the Duke of Parma, and liued him-  
selfe quietly in Spaine. But finding, that the Queene of England did fauour and protect  
his Rebels of the Low-countries, (as he termed them,) and that shee did feed the fire, of  
that long warre, to be reuenged of that iniurie, and to employ his forces to aduance the  
Romish religion, he made preparation to transport the miseries of warre into England,  
giuing countenance and entertainment to all the fugitiue Papists of that country.

The Queene of England beeing aduertised of this great preparation in Spaine for the  
inuation of England, shee was aduised to preuent it: whereuppon shee armed fourth a  
Fleet of some 30 sayle, in the which there were 4. ships, and a pinaces of her Maiesties, the

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rest

rest were Merchants of good seruice. Sir *Francis Drake* was appointed Generall of this A  
Fleete, which went towards the coast of Spaine this yeare, in Aprill. And beeing aduertiz-  
zed, that there was great store of warlike prouision at Cadiz, the which was readie to go  
for Lisbon, he made all possible speed thither, to intercept these prouisions: so as on the  
19 of Aprill, he entred with his Fleet into the harbour of Cadiz; where at the first they  
were affronted by sixe gallies, but they soone retired vnder their fort.

Ships burnt at  
Cadiz by the  
English.

There lay in the roade sixtie ships, with diuers smaller vessels vnder the fort; and such  
as could passe the shoals, fled vp to port Real: there came foure gallies more downe a-  
gainst them from Saint Mary port, and port Real: but they were well beaten: they burnt  
in this harbor a shippe of Ragouça, of a thousand tunne, hauing fortie peeces of brasse B  
Ordinance in her, and richly laden, and another great new ship of twelue hundred tunne,  
belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, high Admirall of Spaine, with many others  
laden with victuals, wine, iron workes, biscuit, oyle, fruite, and other commodities, which  
were to be transported to the Indies, or to serue for the prouision of the Fleet which was  
preparing for England: so as they burnt, sunke, and carried away to the number of thirty  
shippes and barkes, beeing as they esteemed them ten thousand tuns of shipping. Whil-  
est they lay in the roade, the gallies and forts shot continually at them: and such shippes  
as they could defend no longer, they fired, to driue among the English shippes, who were  
somewhat troubled to auoid them. This resolute attempt was performed in one day and  
two nights, to the great amazement of the King of Spaine, and the Marquis of Santa C  
Cruz his Admirall.

After their comming out of the roade of Cadiz, this English Fleete was followed by  
ten gallies, who notwithstanding suffred them to ride quietly at an anchor by them. Then  
they bent their course towards cape Sacre, beeing well victualled at the enemies charge:  
vpon the way they tooke at seuerall times, almost an hundred shippes, barkes, and cara-  
uels, laden with hoopes, gally oares, pipe-stauces, with other prouisions for the King of  
Spaines armie intended for England; all which they burnt, and landed the men. They al-  
so spoyled the fisher-boates, and nets, for the fishing of Tunies. And comming to Cape  
Sacre, they landed, and tooke three forts, some by force, the rest by composition. From  
thence they came neere vnto Lisbon, anchoring neere vnto Calcais, where the Mar- D  
quis of Santa Cruz was with his gallies, and yet he came not forth against them. Ha-  
uing a message sent him by the Generall, that he was readie there to exchange certaine  
bullets with him: the Marquis returned him an answer, that hee was not readie for him,  
neither had he any such commission from the king his master.

Carack of Por-  
tugal taken by  
Sir Francis  
Drake.

The Generall seeing no more good to be done vpon the coast of Spaine, hee bent his  
course towards the Ilands of the Azores, where (by good fortune) beeing within thirty  
leagues of Saint Michels, he met with a Caracke of Portugall, called S. Philip, the which  
they tooke, hauing made little resistance, sending the people home into their country,  
in other vessels well furnished with victuals. And this was the first Carake that euer was  
taken comming from the East Indies. The riches of this prize was held exceeding great, E  
whereupon they resolved to returne into England, the which they did with their whole  
Fleete, and their admirable rich prize.

S. Diego cano-  
nized.

The religious desire which the Catholike King had long had, to haue Friar *Diego Seni-*  
*liano* of the castle of Saint Nicholas, to be canonized a Saint, being dead in Spaine some  
hundred and foue and twenty yeares before, with an opinion of holinesse throughout all  
Spaine, did this yeare take effect: for that since the yeare 1563. instance beeing made by  
him, and the Spaniards, to Pope *Pius* the fourth, to *Pius* the fifth, and then to *Gregory*  
the 13. all which dyed before this busines could be ended. But continuing in this zealous  
disposition, he commanded the Earle of Oliuares, his Ambassadour resident at Rome, to  
mooue it againe to Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, so as on the third of Iuly this yeare, hee was F  
canonized a Saint, at the charges of the King of Spaine, and his feast day appoynted the  
twelfth day of Nouember, to the great content of all Spaine. This yeare the Catholike  
King sent the Duke of Saboneta out of Italy into Poland, to pacifie the tumults and  
confusions of that Realme, which were growne by the election of two kings, the Pope  
hauing also sent Cardinall *Aldobrandini* thither to that end.

The

A The King of Spaine after the conquest of Portugal, hauing gathered together a great  
Nauy of ships, and leauied a mighty army, euery man thought, hee would make some  
great enterprise according to the opportunity that was offered; but mens opinions  
were diuided touching the action, for that their humors and dispositions beeing di-  
uers, they propounded things according to the quallitie of their owne passions. And  
so it fell out in the ordinarie discourses which were made touching the Catholike  
Kings enterprise, which they all restrained to three, against Afrike, England, or the vni-  
ted Estates of the Netherlands: but to resolute which was most expedient for his Ma-  
iesty, they all disagreed, some seeking to perswade him to attempt the Netherlands, o-  
thers Afrike, but most England.

In the end a truce beeing concluded betwixt the King of Spaine and the Turke, and  
thereby the enterprise of Afrike cut off; the question was now whether hee should in-  
uade England or the Netherlands. Wherevpon there was one which deliuered his  
reasons, by way of discourse to the Catholike King, shewing that it was more conueni-  
ent for him to make warre against England, then against the vnited Estates. It seemes  
hee was vassall to the King of Spaine, as you may iudge by the vanity of his discou-  
se. Many (said he) considering at the first sight, the Catholike Kings interest to the Nether-  
lands and to England, affirme, that although hee haue great pretensions to this Island,  
yet he is more bound to recover the Netherlands, then to conquer England; for that  
C in all policy of state, wee should rather seeke to preferue that which wee hold, then to  
conquer new. Although this maxime of state be of great force, yet (said he) I doe not  
hold it to bee of such import, as it shall sway downe the ballance, without all contra-  
diction.

For in these graue consultations, we must not onely consider what is to bee done, but  
how it may be most profitable, most easly, and most conueniently done: For that many  
times Princes are incited to enterprises by honour and duty; and yet the consideration  
of many circumstances and discommodities restraine them: wherefore the considera-  
tion (which binds vs more to preferue that which wee hold, then to get new) is not suffi-  
cient to conclude, that his Catholike Maiesty should rather vndertake the enterprise  
D of the Netherlands, then that of England, neither should wee in effects of so great im-  
portance, giue credit to such light reasons. But to the end it may appeere plainly that  
the King of Spaine is bound in all respects to the enterprise of England, I will first of all  
(said he) lay not onely a true, but a necessary foundation, which shall support the whole  
building of my opinion; which is, that conquering England, hee shal at the same instant  
conquer the Netherlands: but winning the Netherlands, England is not gotten, nay  
their hopes are no whit increased.

Moreouer, hee said, that the conquest of England was not so difficult as that of the  
Netherlands. If then (said he) the conquest of England drawes with it the Netherlands,  
and if bee more easie and more certaine; who doubts, that to peruert this order, were  
E to loofe a goodly occasion, and to bee the workman of his owne disgrace? but I will  
prooue (said he) with pertinent reasons either member of my ground. That the con-  
quest of England is more profitable then that of the Netherlands; and that it is more  
easie. For my prooue of the first ground, I will produce three heads. The first that  
the Low countries haue not so long maintained warre, but with the helpe of England,  
without the which they could not stand, no more then mans bodie can liue without  
nourishment: That fire is more easly quenched by taking away that which feeds it  
then by casting on water, for that not hauing wherewith to feed it, it consumes it selfe:  
but seeking to vanquish it by the contrary; it may bee it will grow more violent. So  
the Florentines could not quench the rebellion of the Pisans, before they had taken a-  
way the matter which nourished that fire which came from strangers, and therefore  
F it was all one action to take away their succors which came from confederats Princes,  
and to winne the city, which otherwise all their forces and of their confederats would  
not haue beene able to effect.

For my second head (said he) I set downe, that England doth not onely maintaine the  
rebellion of the Netherlands by sending succors, but also by her countenance: for where  
as

as the Netherlanders see the forces of Spaine conuerted against them, they flie vnto A  
England as to a Sanctuary, knowing that the English would alwaies take armes against  
any that should inuade them. Wherein they imitate the Athenians, who thought  
themselves safe as long as the Olynthians stood, who being subdued, they knew not how  
they should keepe *Philip* out of their country. Euen so if England should fall into the  
Spaniards hands, the Netherlanders should loofe the ground of their rashnesse, being  
defitute of that support which hath maintained them in their insolencies.

My third reason (said he) is, that the burthen of so long a warre, hath so wasted the spi-  
rits and faculties of the Netherlanders, as they scarce haue any pulse remayning; they  
hauing not onely beene cruell butchers of their owne liues, but Tyrants ouer their  
goods, taxing themselves at about forty in the hundred; besides hauing lost so many B  
yeeres profit, their land being vttilled, and their trade of Marchandise sayling which doe  
much import them; hauing also endured so many spoiles, inuasions, burnings, routs of  
armies, and ruines of townes, with other great losses: So as they cannot possibly main-  
taine this rebellion wanting life and spirit, which England gaue it. Whereby it ap-  
peeres that the conquest of the Low countries followes that of England, as the shadow  
doth the body. But on the other side we must not thinke the Netherlands being won  
England would be so easily vanquished: the which being a rich and a mighty Kingdome,  
seekes no support from any other, but relies vpon her owne forces; the which they  
would oppose against their forraigne enemies, if the Netherlands should fall absolutely C  
into the Spaniards hands, standing as they doe now, wherefore England in her de-  
fence depends onely of her owne power, and if it should expect any forraigne suc-  
cours, they would not flie vnto those rebellious States, which are needy, and depend vpon  
others.

Hetherto (said he) we haue shewed the difference of these enterprises, and how much  
more profittable that of England would be. Now I must prouue the second head of my  
ground; that the conquest of that Island is more easie then that of the Netherlands, and  
therefore ought to be preferred, whether wee doe consider the profit, the oportunity,  
the possibility, the honour, and safety, or any other important consideration whatsoeuer.  
But discoursing now of the easinesse of this conquest, in regard of that of the Ne- D  
therlands, I will proue (said he) that the difficulties be the same to inuade England and the  
Netherlands. First of all I presuppose that a sufficient army beeing leauied, a royal en-  
terprise is sooner brought to perfection, when as they are attempted both by sea and  
land, the which King *Philip* may do with greater aduantage in the enterprise of England  
then in that of the Netherlands: for as the voiage by sea is shorter and more easie, so he  
may more commodiously inuade England by land, hauing meanes to land part of his  
army safely in Scotland, as we will hereafter shew: whereas if he should send an army by  
land into the Low countries, the way would be long to passe from Spaine through Ita-  
ly and Germany, and it would be exceeding chargeable and dangerous. The second rea-  
son is, that it is more commodious, neerer and more safe to passe into England; for that  
from the straight of Gibraltar thither, is all open sea, without any let; but to go into the  
Low countries, hee must of necessity passe by England, the which by all reason of state  
should let the King of Spaine vnderstand in his passage, that neither friends nor foes are  
welcome, when they come with a great power, wherefore there is no doubt that whoe-  
euer wil inuade the Netherlands hee must breake this barre, or make plaine this moun-  
taine of England, which crosseth him in his passage.

My third reason (said he) is grounded vpon a firme maxime of the Art of warre; that  
thou must neuer seeke to inuade any place, and leaue any thing behind to disturbe thee,  
wherefore it were a rash enterprife to attempt the Low countries, and leaue England be-  
hind, who beeing full of ialousie, may sodainely set vpon the Catholike Kings army in  
the hottest of their warre against the Netherlanders.

The fourth, that going to conquer the Low countries, they must fight with braue old  
souldiers bred vp in the warre; but on the other side the English are without Art or pra-  
ctise of warre, they cannot vse the harguebuse, nor any other offenciuie armes, but onely  
bowes and arrowes, the which are of no force against corselets and head-peeces, as wee  
vse:

See here his  
error and ig-  
norance.

A vse: so as (said he) there is the like comparifon to bee made betwixt the English and the  
Dutch souldiers as is betwixt idlenesse and exercise; or an armed and disarmed man.  
And what an aduantage it is to fight with vnskillful souldiers, it is apparent by the exam-  
ple of *Miltiades* in the fields of Marathon, who with lesse then 10000. braue men, put to  
flight that mighty, but vnwarlike, army of *Xerxes*, being about 600000. men.

The fifth, that there is more difficulty in that of the Netherlands, for that they will  
keepe themselves more close, so as they must bee wonne by inches, and a whole army  
must be employed in the sege of a towne and so of the rest, the which happily wilbe of  
no great importance, but that they wil stay in course of his victory that seekes the winne  
B them. But contrarywise England hath not any towne to stay: the violence a victorious e-  
nemy, hauing once set footing into the Island, the which wilbe no difficult thing for the  
King of Spaine to effect. So as England being without any forts but vpon the frontiers,  
and the Low countries full of forts both within and without, there is no doubt but the en-  
terprife of that is more easie then this, as it is more easie to vanquish them that make no  
resistance. Whereof the Low countries are a familiar example, where notwithstanding  
that the King had great garrisons, yet they many times found so great crosses, as they  
were often vanquished by the opposition of those forts, whereas there being no place in  
Portugal able to resist the enemies forces, the Spaniards entred into the heart of the  
realme, they being not able to make resistance.

The sixth reason is that forts and townes of strength are to an inuading army but in-  
combers after they be wonne, for that the greatest part of the army, is drawne away into  
garrisons, whereby it is much weakened.

The seventh reason (said hee) seemeth sufficient in this case to proue the truth of my  
opinion. If the King of Spaine sends an army to purge the rebellious humors of the  
Netherlanders, it is to bee feared that this Phisicke will rather stirre vp the good humors  
then euacuate the bad, breeding a disease full of corrupt matter: whereas now the good  
matter hauing the predominant power, wee may hope that in time it will vanquish the  
violence of the disease: whereas by this course the humors of Malcontents may bee cor-  
rupted, and they drawne to desire innouations: we know that by the composition made  
D betwixt the King and his subiects, the Malcontents, they haue taken vpon them the bur-  
then of this warre, so as the Spaniards and other strange souldiers might bee drawne out  
of the Low countries: If then an army should bee sent out of Spaine to subdue the Ne-  
therlanders, or they should but heare it were so resolved: they would easily vnderstand  
that the victors would prescribe a Law to the vanquished: and the Malcontents would  
not only loose that great desire they had to beare that great burthen of the warre, and  
the reward which they expected from his Maiesty, but they would feare to loose their  
preuiledges and liberties, in regard whereof they haue made cruell warre against them-  
selves. By this then and many other reasons it appeeres, how dangerous it is to exaf-  
perate the mindes of friend with so sharpe a medicine. If the Malcontents should ioyne  
E themselves with the aduerse partie, and oppose against the Spaniards, that warre would  
proue more difficult then euer for the Catholike King, not only for that the Kings forces  
should be diminished, but also for that the enemy should be fortified: So as we haue he-  
therto proued that it is more easie and more commodious to inuade England then the  
Netherlands.

Now we will shew (said hee) not by way of comparifon, but in respect of it selfe, how  
much it doth import the Catholike King, and how easie it is for him to inuade England.  
It is not to bee doubted but the Phisicke is best, which not onely cures the member that  
is greued, but also takes away the cause of the disease. If then the Catholike King seeke  
to conquer the Low countries, hee may well close vp the wound of their rebellion, but  
F he shall neuer euacuate the corrupt humors, which haue fed the disease, seeing that Eng-  
land hath alwaies nourished the rebellions of the Low countries: And admit it were  
cured of this present indisposition, what health can it bee called, when as the body is still  
subiect to these peccant humors: wherefore England is first to be attempted, that after-  
wards wee may with safety digest or euacuate all concurrent humors. But to intreat  
more plainly of the facility of this enterprife: I denie not but that England is a mighty  
Kingdome,

Kingdome, and the greatest Island that the ancients haue made mention of, conteyning A  
in circuit with Scotland two thousand miles, yet late writers haue made it two hundred  
lesse: That it is well fortified with a wall which the sea makes about it, whereby it is so  
defended, as if Scotland were vnder that iurisdiction, it were not to bee inuaded by land;  
Norwithstanding the glory which that nation hath gotten by armes, is rather to be attri-  
buted to the ancient, and not to them that are now, for as it often happens that the  
minde being great with the imagination of great matters, doth still retain the same  
imaginings although that matters change; euen so it happens here, that we doe mea-  
sure the forces of England; not by the present Estate, but as they haue beene when as  
they had in their possession Normandy, Brittan, Gascony, and other flourishing Pro- B  
uinces of France, yea they commanded in a manner absolutely ouer all France, and Henry  
the sixth, was crowned King in Paris. But hee that will looke into the present Estate  
of England, may easily iudge that it is great, rather by the reputation of her ancient fame,  
then by the quality of her present forces, and that it is no more that England, which was  
fearefull to the greatest Princes of Europe.

And without doubt it hath beene obserued that not long since there haue so many  
disgraces fallne vpon that Island, as at one instant it not onely purchased the hatred of  
men, but of God, euer since it fell into Schisme. So as since the change of their religion,  
England hath suffred great shipwrackes, whereof wee may see the effects, hauing lost that  
support whereon depended their reputation and safety, that is the Authority and com- C  
mand, which they had at sea, for that in former times this Island did maintaine many  
ships, and did continually entertaine a good fleet at sea; yea sometimes their prepara-  
tions were admirable, as amongst others when as Henry the sixth, went almost with  
eight hundred great ships against Charles the sixth, the French King, making a bridge o-  
uer the Ocean: but the state and condition of that Island is changed, for since Henry the  
seuenth and Henry the eight, they could not maintaine those hundred Ordinary ships,  
which they were wont to keepe in a readinesse for the safety of that state, but the Island is  
growne to that extremity, as they haue beene constrained not onely to diminish, but also  
to sel the greatest part of those ships which did secure them from forraigne inuasions, so  
much doth want presse those Princes, more their owne safeties.

But the better to explaine that which I haue spoken of the easinesse of the enterprise,  
I wil (said hee) propound two things, the one of him that is inuaded, the other of him that  
doth inuade; whereby it shall appeere that the one is as vnable to defend, as the other is  
powerful to offend. If wee consider England which is to bee inuaded, without doubt it is  
not able to resist the King of Spaines forces, if hee will inuade it with such prouisions as  
he may, and the importance of the action doth require, the which will appeere by diuers  
reasons.

The first, for that, as I haue said, the Island of England is at this day in great  
want; and if in this weakenesse, thee should seeke to make head against the power of a  
mighty Potentate, it were as much as if the should seeke to support Heauen, beeing nei- E  
Alcides nor Atlas.

Secondly, in respect of this necessity (he said) that the crowne of England could not  
entertaine that number of shipping which was wont to be appointed for the gard of the  
realme; and if they should seeke to make any prouision, it were to draw force from  
realme; and if they should seeke to make any prouision, it were to draw force from  
weakenesse, or to prescribe a Law to time and nature; seeking in great want and in a  
short time, to make those prouisions which require a great treasure and many yeeres:  
Moreouer to beginne to make preparation of those things which King Philip hath  
in a readinesse, were to put themselves in defence, when as the enemy held his sword  
ouer their heads. It were vaine for any one to say that the English in daunger may  
use priuat mens shippes for the publike seruice: this remedie would come to late F  
when the daunger is at hand, neither could those ships bee easily called together from  
remote places, neither doe priuate men willingly employ their commodities to pub-  
like vse. Wherefore it is necessary that the designs of Princes in great enterprises,  
flow from the fountaine of their owne power.

Thirdly, for that the English doe altogether want, or are very defectiue of horsemen  
which

Ignorance and  
malice of the  
writer.

Weaknesse  
of England  
compared with  
the power of  
Spaine.

Vwant of ships  
in England.

which is a chiefe ground of warre, for speaking of men at armes they haue scarce any  
knowledge of them, and as for light-horses, they doe not much import, vnlesse the num-  
ber supply the defect of the quality. Besides all the horses of that Island being continually  
put to pasture, are full of diseases and weake, which proceeds partly from the temper of  
that aire.

Fourthly, that the Kings of England haue either through negligence or disability o-  
mitted to make prouisions for the war, like vnto al other Princes, that they may be readie  
against any sodaine tumult that may rise either within or without their states; for that in  
former times their whole care was for prouision by sea, so as the land-seruice was ne-  
glected, as if in an Island there were not any need to goe to field against strangers, or  
that warre could not bee managed at land with sea prouisions.

Fifthly, it is most certaine that the English are by nature desirous of innovations and  
change, for who so shall read ouer their History, hee shall finde that seditions, conspira-  
cies, treasons and such like, haue made their dwelling in their land. Behold the ly-  
ing vanity of  
the Spaniards.

Sixthly, for that the English, in respect of their ancient greatnesse, are more desirous  
to annoy others then to be annoyed themselves when they shall see themselves charged by  
braue enemies, they will be daunted. To see Fortune turne her face is a fearefull specta-  
cle for them that are not accustomed thereto.

Seuenthly, for that England beginning to decline by the iust iudgement of God, e-  
uery man knowes how easie it is to cast it downe, a declining being nothing else but a  
way to ruine. So that mighty Empire of the Romaines, when it began once to decline,  
it fell sodainly, and drew with it a great ruine.

Eightly, for that the English nation haue not in a manner any Commanders to man-  
age their warre, which defect beeing ioyned with the insufficiency of the souldiars of  
that realme, it will prooue that the army of Lyons, commanded by a Hart, wil be little  
esteemed: one of the Harts led by a Cony wil be ridiculous, the which will happily fall  
out in England.

Lastly, admit that England were furnished with armes, captaines, souldiars, victuals,  
ships and all other things necessary for the warre; yet (said hee) all was of no moment,  
wanting money, which giues forme and essence to all enterprizes, for that the crowne of  
England, not onely by the small reuenues, but also by the superfluity of their ordinary  
expences, is growne into that want, as they are not able to vndergoe any royall enter-  
prise, hauing scarce meanes to entertaine themselves, for he that doth arrogate to much  
to his owne force, and ouer-chargeth himselfe with warre, is the instrument of his owne  
ruine. Hauing hether to shewed that it is easie for the Catholike King to inuade Eng-  
land, in regard of it; I will proue the facility thereof with greater reasons in regard of the  
Catholike Kings forces.

The first is the great power of the King of Spaine, whose dominions doe imbrace the  
whole diameter of the globe, and is Lord of more land then any Monake or state in the  
world did euer hold. A Prince, rich in armes, souldiars, captaines shipping, victuals, and  
all other necessary prouisions for warre. A Prince who as Iudge and moderator, seemes  
to gouerne the reines of the Empire of the sea and land.

The second is, for the great navy which hee hath ready, which is not onely that which  
of late yeeres made the enterprise of Portugall, but 150. more which hee hath gotten in  
that Kingdome, which, ioyned with the rest, will breed admiration in all men, and seeme  
to fill the sea with their multitudes.

The third, that besides these ships, and those which hee may haue in Biscay, as faithfull  
to the crowne, as expert in navigation, besides the ships of priuat men, which his Maie-  
sty hath in a readinesse; he shall receiue no small seruice from his gallies, who in the ac-  
tion of Portugall discovered our error in thinking that they were not of any vse in the  
Ocean sea at any time, as if that sea were not calme in Sommer, and that it were neuer  
to be failed in; so as there is no doubt but our gallies may safely aduenture in those seas  
the three monthes in Sommer. They that obiekt *Casars* wrack in the Brittain seas, doe  
not remember that he himselfe doth not impute it to the sea, but to the Moone, which  
not only in the Ocean, but in all other seas doth shew her power, as the Meteoroligikes  
and



and experience doe teach. The fourth, that the Catholike King being Lord at sea by A  
reason of his great fleet, he will at the same instant bee Lord at land: For hauing sufficient  
forces to vanquish the defences of the Island, he shal with ease land his men, and o-  
uer-run the Island with his victorious armes, for such is the condition of that Island, that  
as soone as an enemy is entred, and his army orderly lodged, hee may cut off their victu-  
als, and famish the Islanders.

Fifthly, for that by sea King Philip shall haue the fauor of them of Ireland, who haue  
securely shewed themselves to adhere vnto him, and by land there is no man doubts (said  
he) but that Scotland will assist him in his designs with all her means.

The sixth in order, but the first to be considered, is the Iustice and honesty of the cause, B  
the which carries so honorable a title, as the defence of religion and the Catholike faith,  
as nothing shalbe able to hinder it; yea his Maiesties pretensions (said he) are such that  
realme, and such is the duty which hee owes vnto the name which he carries, of Catho-  
like, as there is no enterprize more due to him then this; whereby he shal not only take  
possession of a realme which is his due, but also hee shal purchase vnto himselfe immor-  
tall glory, about all other Kings, adding so rich and famous a Kingdom to that of Spaine.

The seventh is the commodity of the passage, knowing how short a cut it is from the  
Streight of Gibraltar to the Island, and what great commodities grow by expedition,  
and the ease of transportation of victuals, soldiers, artillery, munition, and al other proui-  
sion necessary for the enterprize.

The eight, if King Philip makes warre against his enemy at his owne doores, he shal fill C  
England with feare and amazement, and the approaching danger will trouble all their  
counseils. There is nothing more terrible then to see the sword that must be the murthe-  
rer of them and theirs.

The ninth, for that (said he) his Catholike Maiesty had many partisans in that Island; it  
importing much to haue some that fauor him among his enemies. And to proue that  
he hath some at his deuotion in that Island, I wil produce three reasons. First the remem-  
brance of his clemency which remains yet in the hearts of those people, and of his cur-  
tesie, hauing sometimes gouerned them as their lawful Prince, with so great satisfaction  
to them al in general, as any other gouernment, in respect of his, should seeme tyrannous. D  
The second reason is that of religion, knowing that there are many in this Island which  
adhere to the Church of Rome. The third is the riches of King Philip, who in his large do-  
minions hath so many commanderies, pensions, offices and rents, to aduance men that  
shal deserue wel, as it wilbe ease for him to draw the hearts of the English vnto him.

Hauing thus shewed the reasons why the Catholike King should rather inuade Eng-  
land then the Low countries, and with what facility it is to be performed, I will (said he)  
to the end that nothing shal remaine vsatisfied, make answer to an ordinary obiection  
which is made by many vpon this subiect, which is, that the king of Spaine making an at-  
tempt against England, he shal reuiue the emulation which hath bene betwixt him and  
the house of France, which fire lying now smothered vnder the ashes of peace, may kin-  
dle a great warre, for if the French should remaine as spectators of this tragedy of Eng-  
land, it might in the end turne to the preiudice of France, whereby they conclude that  
the Christian King should be forced to ioyne with England, least that hauing conquered  
that Island, he should afterwards turne his forces vpon France, which obiection notwith-  
standing he left vsatisfied.

During this great preparation of three yeeres in Spaine, which held all Europe in  
suspence, the King of Spaine caused an ouerture of a peace to be made vnto the Queene  
of England (onely as it seemed to abuse her with the imagination of a treaty, and to  
make her neglect the defence of her realme) who embraced this proposition, and sought  
to draw the vnited Prouinces into this treaty, which they absolutely refused. Notwith-  
standing the Queene desirous of a peace sent her Commissioners in February 1588. F  
to Ostend; and in March following there came others to Bruges from the Duke of  
Parma, to treat with them in the King of Spaines name; who these Commissioners  
were, and what the successe of that treaty was, I leaue to the Netherland History, be-  
eing but a fained shew of the Spaniard, to winne time, and to find England vnprovided  
when

A the Queene of England (seeing the Spanish fleet almost at her doore) called home her  
Commissioners, and prepared for her defence.

But now to come to this admirable fleet; the King of Spaine had deuised how hee  
might conquer England, hoping by that means to recover his Inheritance in the Low  
Countries; for being Lord in England, hee might cut off their trafficke by sea, the  
which many (well acquainted with the situation of both countries) held easie to be  
done. Wherefore the King of Spaine (hauing spent one and twenty yeeres, and wasted  
an infinite treasure, in those Lowe Country warres,) resolved to make an other attempt  
vpon the Netherlands by sea, but with greater forces, for that England was now his en-  
emy, and might hinder all trade into those parts. So as hee resolved first to inuade Eng-  
land, wherevnto he was perwaded by diuerse subtil spirits, both Spanish and Dutche,  
and by some English rebels, holding it more easie to be conquered then Holland and  
Zeland, and that it would be more profitable to inuade both England and the Lowe  
Countries by sea at one instant, then to maintaine a continuall armie to cut off their  
traffick from both the Indies. For the effecting of this resolution, hee had for some  
yeeres together made preparation of a great Nauie at Lisbon, the like whereof had not  
beene seene in many ages in the Ocean sea. It was ready in the beginning of this yeare  
1588. the fame of this action was such, as there was not an honorable house in Spaine,  
but had a sonne, a brother, or some of the blood in it, thinking all to winne euermore  
honor with this inuincible Armie (as they called it) and to make themselves rich with  
the spoiles of England and the Netherlands.

The King had resolved to make Don Aluaro de Bassan Marquis of Saint Cruz, (a  
Nobleman of great note, who had done the King great seruice in the conquest of Por-  
tugall, and the Tercera's) Generall of this armie. Hee sent vnto him, and acquainted  
him with his designe; hee put him in minde of his promise, that hee would spend his  
life in his seruice, and hee commanded him to prepare himselfe to conduct this fleet.  
The Marquis in his answer humbly thanked his Maiesty, yet hee seemed by circumstan-  
ces to disswade the King from this enterprize, telling him that the English were gallant  
men at sea (of whom they had made good tryall) that they had good shipping, and  
that he should finde strong opposition. The King was much discontented with the Mar-  
quis for this answer, hauing euer relyed vpon him, and sent him word, that seeing hee  
failed his expectation, and had no courage to vndertake this Action, he would finde an  
other to command his Army, wherevpon he made the Duke of Medina Sidonia his Ge-  
nerall. The Marquis finding himselfe in disgrace with the King, conceived such greefe  
as he died before the fleet went to sea. But let vs returne vnto the Armie, whereof I will  
make a particular relation, as the Spaniards themselves haue set it downe.

Portugall did furnish ten great Gallions, with two smaler ships, vnder the command of  
the Duke of Medina Sidonia the Generall, in the which were 1300. saylers 3300. soldiers  
and 350. peeces of Ordinance.

E Biscay set forth ten Gallions and foure Pinasles, with saylers, soldiers, and ordinance  
proportionably, vnder D. Iohn Martines de Ricaldo, the Admirall.

Gnipuscoa did arme ten Galeons and fourteene Pinasles, vnder Michel Oquendo.  
Andalouzia set forth ten Gallions, & one Pinasse, vnder comand of D. Pedro de Baldes.  
Italie had furnished ten Gallions, the which were commanded by Marsin de Bretendona.  
Castille provided fourteene Gallions, and two Pinasles, ouer which Squadron Diego  
Floris de Baldes had charge.

There were also three and twenty Hulks conducted by D. Iohn Lopes de Medina.  
From Naples there were foure Galeasles sent, commanded by D. Hugo de Moncada, they  
had in them 1200. slaues to row, 480. saylers, 870. soldiers, and 200. peeces of Ordinance.

F Portugall sent foure gallies, vnder the conduct of Diego de Mentrana, with all things  
proportionably.

There were 22. Pinasles and other smal ships, vnder the gouernment of Antonio Buccado  
de Mendoza.

Besides all these there were 20. Carauells, which carried owers and other necessities  
for the ships, so as there were 150. sayle of all sorts, in the which they had about 8000.

Y y y y.

saylers

King Philip  
resolves to in-  
uade England,  
and the Ne-  
therlands.

Description of  
particular pre-  
paration of  
the Spanish  
Fleet.

An. 1588.



there to attend the Duke of Parma, whether the next day the English fleet came and anchored close by them, who that night sending downe ships before the winde, being full of wood, powder, wild-fire and other combustible things, and beginning to burne, they made the Spaniards in that amazement, cut their cables, and to put confusedly to sea. In this confusion the great Galleasse of D. *Hugo de Moncada*, lost her helme, and was driuen vpon Callis sands, where D. *Hugo* was slaine, and the Galleasse spoiled by the English and lost, where there were three hundred slaues set at liberty.

The morning after their disorder, the Spaniards had put themselves againe into battle: and the English charged them before Graueling, but they desired to passe along with the winde, and to stand vpon their defence onely; this fight continued the whole day, in the which some of the Spanish ships were sunke, and some being spoiled, and not able to follow the fleet, were taken by the States men and carried to Flessingue. I omit the repetition of euery particularity, because you may reade them in the Dutch History. The Duke of Medina seeing that he had done what hee had in charge, thought it best now to retire, holding it better to hazard a dangerous passage by the North of Ireland, then to stay still vpon the coast of Flanders, with apparent danger, hauing no means to ioyne with the Duke of Parma: wherevpon they packt on all their sailes, hauing a greater will to sic then to fight, whom the English followed for a while, but seeing them bend their course Northward, they left them, and retired into England. It seemes that God did miraculously defend the English, for in all their severall fights, they lost not one ship, nor a man of account, and not aboue a hundred common persons.

Thus the Spanish fleet hauing lost ten or twelue of their best ships, with foure or fife thousand men, besides those that were sicke and wounded, whose number was great, distressed with wants, and despayring of all helpe from the Duke of Parma (who prepared for their returne) they sought to get into Spaine behind Scotland and Ireland, expecting final releefe in Scotland, and that Norway could not supply their wants, they tooke all the fishermen they could meet withall to serue them for Pilots, and fearing the want of fresh water, they cast their horses ouer-board, and so they sailed Northwards, till they came to 62. degrees. Then the Duke of Medina commanded the whole fleet to bend their course for Spaine or Portugal, and himselfe with about 25. saile, that were best provided of fresh water, kept out at sea, and so got into Spaine. Don *Martin de Ricalde* the Admiral with some forty ships, sailed neerer Ireland, hoping to refresh themselves there, but a great storme arising about the second of September, they were disperst, and many of them were driuen vpon that coast, and there cast away; some sunke, some broken, some runne on sands, and some burnt by the Spaniards themselves, to the number of seuentene great ships: some write, they lost vpon fixe and thirty or eight and thirty ships, in which I take it they comprehend some that were lost vpon the coast of Norway and that sunke at sea. Yet it was constantly reported, that of all that great fleet of a hundred thirty foure saile that went out of Lisbon, there returned but fifty three ships great and smal. Of them perished in Ireland there were specially named a Galleasse two great Venetian ships, called *La Ratta* and *Balanxara* and the Galleon called our Lady of Rosa, of a thousand tunne, in the which D. *Michel d' Oquendo*, General of the Squadron of Guisacoa, was, in which ship there perished (by the confession of the Pilot) fife hundred men, and not any one was saued but himselfe, among others (besides the General *Oquendo*) there died as he said the Prince of Alcoly (held to bee the King of Spaines base son) *Masut* a Commander of the souldiers, *Villafranca* capitaine of the said ship, with many Knights and Adventurers of account: Moreouer hee confest that there was in that ship 50. canons all brasse for the field, 25. peeces of brasse and iron belonging to the ship, 50. tunns of sack, 15000. ducats in gold, with much plate and rich furniture.

After the Duke of Medina's returne with the remainder of his fleet into Spaine, many died of sicknesse, or of the wounds which they had receiued. Many taxed the Duke for this vnfortunate successe, but he (like a iudicious Prince, who had vnwillingly vnderaken that charge) laied the blame vpon his Pilots, and the Duke of Parma, who was not ready to ioyne with him, so as the King allowed of his reasons, and gaue him leaue to goe home, and rest himselfe. There died many Commanders and men of account after their returne

Ships cast away vpon the coast of Ireland.

Others write that he remained in Flanders after his loss at Callis.

A returne, as D. *John Martinez de Ricalde*, D. *Diego Floris de Baldes*, D. *Alonso de Lietua*, D. *Diego de Maldonado*, D. *Francisco de Bouadillo*, & D. *George Manriquez*, al of the counsell of warre. And many were taken prisoners, some in Ireland, as D. *Alonso de Lufon*, a Collonel, two of the house of Cordoua, and D. *Roderigo de Lasso*, and some in Zeland, as D. *Diego de Pimentel* a Collonel. Finally the losse was such, as there was not any great house in Spaine; but had some particular cause to mourne for some one of their blood. The Duke of Parma was much blamed by the Spaniards that were in the Low countries, but he excused himselfe, for that (as he said) the Spanish fleet came to soone, and to free himselfe, he caused some to be hanged, which had not discharged their duties. After the

B ruine of this great Spanish fleet, there fel a great iarre betwixt the Lord of Champaign and Mounseur *Richardot*, who was much fauored by the Duke of Parma, these two hauing run contrary courses in their treaty of peace in Flanders, with the Queene of England's Commissioners. So as after this bad successe, Champaign taxed the Duke of Parma of negligence, writing many letters of the like tenor into Spaine, whereof the Infanta *Isabella* the Kings eldest daughter, affecting the Duke well, did still aduertise him, who seeing his reputation and seruice thus called in question, sent *Richardot*, President of Arthois, into Spaine to the King to make answer to all objections and slanders, wherewith they had incensed him, seeking to bring him in disgrace, and to get his gouernment from him, accusing him that hee had not done his duty concerning the Spanish fleet, and that hee had receiued a great affront before Berghen vp Zoome, for that hee would not beleue the counsell of such as would haue dissuaded him from that enterprife; but *Richardot* gaue good satisfaction to the King and his Councell, and returned with a Commission for the continuance of his gouernment, in despite of his enemies.

C The King of Spaine beeing aduertised of the vnfortunate successe of his fleet and army, which he had sent to inuade England, after the returne of such as were remayning of that miserable wracke, hee beganne to examine euery mans merits; and who had deserued reward, and who punishment in this action, to preserue vnto himselfe, with the feare of some, and the loue of others, the authority of a wise Prince: wherevpon hee rewarded the heires of Don *Alphonso de Lietua*, who (as they said) was drowned with a thousand persons vpon the coast of Ireland.

He did punish seuerely *Fernando Lopes*, who was campe Master generall; and *Antonio de Gueuara*, Pouruoier generall, was deprived of his Office, for his misdemeanors.

In the meane time they had newes in Spaine of a great army preparing in England to send into Portugal, for the restoring of Don *Antonio*, wherevpon the King made prouision for the defence thereof, sending the Earle of Fuentes for Generall into Portugal, with good troupes, hee augmented the number of their horse, giuing the charge to D. *Alphonso Vargas*, he made D. *Francis de Padiglia* Camp-master General, *Andreas d' Alua* Pouruoier, and *John Maldonado* Auditor.

E The prouisions for this enterprife beeing made, they went from Plimouth in Aprill: Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* being Generalls; they had with them fixe of the Queenes, twenty ships of warre, and (as some write) a hundred and forty for transportation, hauing when they tooke shipping a eleuen thousand souldiers, and two thousand fife hundred mariners: within fixe daies after their departure from England being the twentieth day of Aprill, the army landed in a bay within a mile off the Groine, without impeach, from whence they marched presently towards the towne, approaching within halfe a mile they were incountred by the enemy, who beeing charged retired to their gates, and then the Generall lodged the army in the villages and houses thereabouts. F Generall *Norris* hauing viewed the towne before daie, resolved for to attempt it by scaladoc, and to land some Artillerie to beate the shippes and gallies which did play vpon their troupes, the which was effectually performed, so as the Gallies were forced presently to abandon the roade, and goe to Farrol, and then they prepared with all speed to surprize the base towne, the which was done the next day after, they entering it in three severall places, where after good

YYYY 3

resistance

An. 1589.

*Richardot* sent into Spaine by the Duke of Parma.

*Trouison* for defence of Portugal.

*Voyage* of Portugal.

*Groine* the base towne surprized.

resistance in one place, they were forced to abandon it, they all retyring into the high A  
towne, the which they might easily doe for that the English knew not their passages. The  
rest that were not put to the sword, in the fury, fled to the rockes in the Island, where  
they did hide themselves in caues, whereas many were daily found out.

D. John de Luna, a man of great command, hauing hidden himselfe in a house came  
forth the next morning and yeelded himselfe. John de Vera a Commissary of the victu-  
als was also taken that night, who confessed that at the entry of the English into the  
towne, there were siue hundred Spaniards in seuen companies, (as it seemed) retur-  
ned weake from the voyage of England, all vnder D. John de Luna: the captaines names  
were D. Diego Bagan base sonne to the Marquis of Santa Cruz. D. Antonio de Herera; B  
D. Pedro Manriques brother to the Earle of Paredes. D. Ieronimo Mouray, of the Or-  
der of Saint John, hee was in the fort, D. Gomes de Caruajal; capitaine Monson and Cauca-  
de Secas. And that the day that the English landed there came from Retenzas the  
companies of D. John de Mosale, and of D. Pedro Ponce de Leon. He confessed more-  
ouer that there was order giuen for the baking of 300000. of biscuit: that there was  
two thousand pipes of wine in the towne, and a hundred and fifty in the ships. That  
there was lately come 300000. ducats from the Marquis of Seralba. That there was  
a thousand larses of oyle, with great store of beanes, pease, wheat and fish. That there  
were three thousand kintals of beefe, and not twenty daies before, there entred three C  
barkes laden with mach and harguebuses: There were some others taken, and there  
were slaine by the common souldiers about siue hundred. At their first entry into the  
towne, the souldiers finding three sellars full of wine distempred themselves, so as ma-  
ny beeing drunke were hurt from the high towne, and this disorder was the cause of a  
great mortality which fell in the English army. There was abundance of victuals,  
and prouision for shipping and warre; which the Commissary confest to be for a new  
voyage into England.

After the taking of the base towne, there came some two thousand men out of the  
country, downe to the very gates, as resolutely as if they would haue entred, but the  
English that were in gard making head against them, they fled away disordredly, hauing D  
lost some eightene of their men. The Generall attempted the high towne both by  
mine and battery, and going to the assault the loose rubish vnder their feete failed  
them so as they could not stand. They had diuers men hurt in their retreat, and they  
lost some twenty or thirty vnder the ruines of a tower which fell.

The day after that the English had offered an assault, the General vnderstood, by a pri-  
soner, that the Earle of Andrada had gathered an army together of eight thousand men,  
at Puente de Burgos, six miles from the towne, which was but the beginning of an army,  
there being a greater leauy ready to come vnder the conduct of the Earle of Altemira,  
either to releue the Groyne, or to incampe neere vnto the place where the English  
should imbarke, and to hinder there shipping for to that end the Marquis of Seralba had E  
written vnto them both the first night of their landing, as the Commissary had confest,  
or else to stop their passage into the country, whether they went daily by troupes, and  
burnt, spoiled, and tooke great booties. The Generall resolved the next day to goe and  
visit these forces, leading nine Regiments with him: In the foreward were the regiments  
of Sir Edward Norrys Master of the Ordinance, Sir Roger Williams and Collonel Syd-  
neys: In the battaile that of the Generall, of Collonel Lane, and Collonel Medkerke:  
And in the reereward, Sir Henry Norrys, Collonel Hunstleys and Collonel Brets Regi-  
ments, leauing the other siue Regiments with Generall Drake for the garde of the Or-  
dinance.

Vpon the sixth day of May in the morning they discovered the enemy within F  
halfe a mile off their campe; against whom the shot of the foreward skirmished, and  
forced them to retire vnto their bridge, which was of stone, built vpon Arches,  
ouer a creeke that came from the sea. At the foote whereof on the other side the  
enemy lay verie strongly intrenched, who beeing with his shot at the further end  
of the bridge, Sir Edward Norrys (who ledde the foreward, and marched in the  
head of the pikes) past the bridge without any stay at all, beeing accompanied by

A by Colonell Sydney, Capitaine Hinder, Captain Fulford and others. The way was euen,  
but they must passe thorough a storme of small shot; for the bridge was flanked on both  
sides with their shot, at the farther end there was a barricado, but they that had it in gard,  
seeing the proud approach of the English, forsooke it, where Sir Edward Norrys entred,  
and charging the first he encountered, with his pike, ouer-thrusting himselfe hee fell, Sir Edward  
was fore hurt on the head, at the sword, but was honorably rescued by the Generall his  
brother, Colonell Sidney, and some other Gentlemen: Capitaine Hinder hauing his cask  
shot off, had siue wounds in the head and face at the sword. This attempt of difficult-  
ty, beeing seconded by the Generall, their brauest men which defended that place, being  
ouerthrown, their whole armie fell presently to rout, and the English had the chase three  
miles foure fundrie waies. The Generals Standard with the Kings armes was taken, what  
number of the enemy was slaine, was not certain, but only by coniecture how many, two  
thousand men, (for of so many consisted the foreward) in such a poursute might kill. And  
to increase the number, hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their stands,  
they found many hidden in the vineyards and hedges, whom they slue. And Colonell  
Medkerke beeing sent with his Regiment three miles farther to a cloyster, which he burnt  
and spoyled, he found two hundred men there, which he put to the sword. The English  
lost onely one Capitaine Cooper, and a priuate souldier. The execution beeing past, the  
Generall sent three parts of the armie three severall waies to spoyle and burne, so as the  
countrie round about was on fire. They found good store of victuals and munition in  
the campe, with some plate, rich apparell, and other booties, which they had left be-  
hind them.

Thus the English armie returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the Spani-  
ards that were within it: and the next day the shipt their Ordinance, and then they set fire  
vpon euery house in the base towne, and on the Cloister, so as they left not any one  
standing. And on the eight of May, the English imbarked their armie without losse of  
one man, which (had they not beaten the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos) they could  
not possibly haue done, they hauing (as it seemed) an intent to charge the English when  
they should imbarke: the Commissarie confessing, that the first night of their landing,  
the Marquis of Seralba did write vnto the Earle of Altemira, the Earle of Andrada, and  
to Terreis de Sentiiso, to bring all the forces they could rayse, wherewith they might ei-  
ther beseege the English in the base towne, if they tooke it, or lye betwixt them and  
their imbarking place, and so fight with them vpon an aduantage, they hauing about  
25000. souldiers vnder their commands.

The English armie leauing the Groine, on the thirteenth of May, there came vnto  
the Fleete the Earle of Essex, his brother Master Valter Deneraux, Sir Roger Williams,  
Colonell generall of the foote, Sir Philip Butler, and Sir Edward Wingfield. The Earle  
hauing put himselfe into that action, contrarie to the opinion of the world, and with the  
hazard of his fortune, yet much to his honour. After which, the armie went and laided  
at Penecha in Portugall, within shot of the castle. The enemy beeing siue companies of  
Spaniards (vnder the command of the Earle of Fuentes) sallied out of the towne, and  
came to the water side, as the English landed.

But the Earle of Essex, with his brother, and Sir Roger Williams hauing landed men  
enough to make two troupes, they left one to go by the waters side, leading the other  
ouer the sand-hilles: which the enemy discouering, they retired further into the land,  
that they might haue the better meanes to passe away, yet they did it in such sort, as be-  
eing charged, they came to the push of the pike, where they slue an English Capitaine:  
These Spaniards beeing fledde, the English entred the towne, which was neither forti-  
fied nor defended by any man.

F The Generall summoned the Castle that night, which was held by a Portugese,  
called Antonio d'Aurid, who promised to yeeld it, so as he might bee assured, that Don  
Antonio was landed, and so he did. Thither came some Friars and poore men to their  
new king, promising within two dayes good supplies of horse and foote. Hauing staid  
at Penecha one day, the Generals resolved, that the armie should march by land to  
Lisbone, vnder the conduct of Generall Norrys, and that Generall Drake should meete  
him

Sir Edward  
Norris hurt.

Spaniards de-  
feated at Pien-  
cie de Burgos.

English leaue  
the Groine.

Spaniards come  
to releue the  
Groyne.

him in the river with the Fleete, that there should bee a companie left to guard the Castle, and stue in the shippes.

After which conclusion, hee marched with fourteene Regiments towards Lisbon, commandement being giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoyle the countrey, nor take any thing from a Portuguese, the which was very streightly obserued, so as the souldiers grew to some want of victualles in their march, but vpon complaint made vnto the King, it was better supplied. In fixe dayes march the armie came to Lisbon, without any incounter of the enemy, who was betwixt them and the cittie, but they dislodged as they approached.

English armie comes to Lisbon.

Being come to the suburbs of Lisbon, Sir Roger Williams, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield with some thirtie shorte, scowred the streetes neere vnto the Towne, where they found not any but old folkes and beggers, crying *Viva el Rey Don Antonio*, and their houses shut vp, the inhabitants hauing carried much of their wealth into the town, and fired some houses by the water side full of Corne, and other prouision, for that the English should not make vse of it. The whole armie being quartred in the suburbs, the souldiers being tyred with their fixe dayes march, and desirous of rest that night, the enemy being aduertised thereof, sallied forth about one of the clocke, and came vpon the English by three seuerall streetes, but especially vpon Collonell Bress quarter, who being (as most of the Companies) at his rest, made all the hast hee could to draw his men into armes, in which charge hee was slaine, with some other Captaines of his Regiment: but there was such resistance made in all quarters, as they were suddenly put to a soule retreat, and chased euen to the Cittie gates, where they lost many of their best Commanders: In this salley the Spaniards lost treble the number of the English, and some of good qualitie.

Cascais entered by the English.

During their march, Generall Drake came with the Fleete to Cascais, where hee entered without any resistance, the Inhabitants being fledde with their goods to the mountaines, but the Generall sent a Portuguese vnto them, to offer them all fauour, if they would acknowledge their king, and supply the wants of his armie: which offer they willingly embraced, sending two chiefe men to signifye their loyaltie to Don Antonio, and their loue to the English. Whereuppon the Generall landed his Companies, but the castle was held still by 65. Spaniards.

The day after the Spaniards salley, Generall Norris called a Councell, to aduise whether it were fite to attend there for the horse and foote, which the King of Portugall had promised, and to send some conuenient troupes to Cascais to fetch their Ordinance and munition, which was with their shippes. The opinions of the Commanders were diuers, some sedde with a vaine hope of Don Antonio, thought it best to stay there, and to send some three thousand men for the Ordinance. Others (despayring of all succours from Portugall) perswaded to march away, and not to stay vpon any vaine hopes. The Generall being loth to haue an imputation layed vpon him for his too great hast, or to loose any more time vpon Don Antonio's promises, told them, that although the expedition of Portugall was not the onely desseigne of their iourney, but an aduventure, the good successe whereof might get them great wealth, and much honour, wherein they had done so much, as whatsoeuer happened, it could not blemish their credits and reputations.

Yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should haue that night three thousand men armed of his Countrey, hee would not dislodge that night. And if they came, that he might send the like number for his munition, and resolute to trie his fortune for the Towne. If they came not, he thought it not fit to diuide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, knowing how boldly they had sallied forth the day before, and that there were more souldiers armed within the towne, then was in their campe. And that before their men could returne from Cascais, they expected more supplies: for the duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco of Toledo were attended with great succours: whereuppon he concluded to march away the next morning, if the promised supplies came not that night: yet all the Portugueses which came vnto their king, would not make a cornet of horse, and two hundred foote.

The

A The Generall attended the effect of the Kings promise vnto the last houre, and hee sought to perswade him to stay eight daies longer, in which time he might haue ingaged himselfe, and receiued an affront, attempting a towne that was well fortified, and great troupes of men in it. So as the next day, seeing no Portugueses appeare to ioyne with them, as was promised, the English Generall gaue order to march away, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams making a stand, vntill that the whole armie was drawne into field, and so they marched out of the suburbs: Captaine Anthony Wingfield, and Richard Wingfield, being in the reere of them with some shot: after which the Battalions marched in order that night to Cascais. In their march, that day the Gallies of Lisbon did somewhat annoy them, (their way lying along the river) and followed them vntill they were past Saint Iulians, spending many shot, but doing little or no harme. The horse-men followed them afarre off, and cut off many sicke men, which were not able to hold march, hauing no carriages for them.

English armie retired from Lisbon.

Hauing bene two dayes at Cascais, they were aduertised by a Friar, that the Spaniards came marching strongly towards them, and were at Saint Iulians, wherewith the Earle of Essex, and the Generals were much pleased, desiring nothing more then to fight with them: Whereuppon the English General sent away a messenger with a trumpet that night, who carried a challenge to the Spanish General, wherein he gaue them the lye, for that they reported, that the English had retired disorderly and with feare from Lisbon, challenging him to meete him the next morning with his whole armie, if he durst attend his comming, and there to trie the iustnesse of their quarrell by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (preferring the honour of his countrey, before all other respects, sent a challenge to any one of his qualitie, that would meete in the head of their Battalies, single, or with more companie, to trie their fortunes, offering assurance for their returne, and honorable vsage.

challenge sent by the English General to the Spanish.

The English Generall put his armie in a readinesse by three of the clocke in the morning, and marched to the place where they incamped: but they had dislodged in the night in great disorder and feare, as the Generall was the next day informed: so as the troupes followed them to Lisbon, but could not get any answer to his letters, they threatening to hang him, for that he presumed to bring such a messenger: but fearing the like measure to their prisoners, they sent him away without answer.

The armie being come to Cascais, the Castle was summoned, where the Captaine promised to yeeld it vpon sight of the Cannon, and not otherwise. Whereuppon the Generall caused three or foure peeces of batterie to bee brought, where after the first volley, they compounded to depart with their Armes and baggage, he had in the Castle one Cannon, two Culuerins, one Basiliske, and three or foure field-peeces, three-score and fixe souldiers, with good store of victuals and munition, which hee might haue kept longer then the English had any intent to stay: the armie being imbarked and readie to set sayle, the fort was blowne vp.

castle of Cascais yielded to the English.

E Whilest they lay there in the roade, the Fleete, in fixe dayes, fetched in to the number of three-score Hulkes, laden with Spanish commodities, as it seemed, for the Kings prouision, and were going for Lisbon: their chiefe lading was corne, Masts, Cables, Copper and Waxe: among which, some were of great burthen, very well built for sayling, hauing no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought they were brought to supply the Kings decayed Nauie. Into the which the English that were in flie-boates were shipped, and the flie-boates sent home, with an offer of Corne for their hire. And then they sent shippes to fetch their men which they had left at Penecha, where as the enemy entred presently.

F There were nine Gallies sent from Andalusia, to strengthen the river of Lisbon, who in their returne, set vpon some shippes that were becalmed, and farre from the Fleete, but they did no great harme. The Fleet, by reason of the wind, went to the Islands of Bayonne, where they landed two thousand men, being all that were able to fight, and marched to the Towne of Vigo, which being entred by Captaine Anthony Wingfield, hee found the streetes full of Barricadoes, but not any one to defend them: for hee found but one man in the towne, they being fledde away to Bayonne: the

Vigo taken by the English.



the Generall with some others, beeing entred into Vigo, they sent some Captaines out to spoyle, and burne the Countrey, which they did seuen or eight miles in length. In the towne they found not any thing, but wine, all their goods beeing carried away, and in the morning the Colonell generall hauing drawne the Companies out of the towne, he caused euery house to be set on fire, and then they embarked againe, and returned home into England.

King of Spaine  
sends forces to  
the Duke of  
Sauoy to be-  
sege Genoua.

The Duke of Sauoy had an intent to beseege Geneua, which he pretended to bee his, in which attempt he craved ayde from the King of Spaine his father-in-law, who sent vnto him out of the Dutchie of Milan, *Pyrrho Malaezza* with five thousand foot, who went vnto him with all speed: from Naples hee had *Alexander Sforza* with a good number of horse, and *Paul Sforza* with foote: and from the countrey of Cremona, *William* of London with five thousand Germaines, and hee obtrayned the Marquis of Saint Martin from the Duke of Ferrara, to bee Lieutenant generall to the Duke of Sauoy, to whome he was allyed, furnishing him also with money, so as it seemed rather the King of Spains action, then the Duke of Sauoys.

An. 1590.  
Pretext of the  
King of Spaine  
to make warre  
in France.

The King of Spaine aspiring (as it seemed) to the Crowne of France, whereof he had taken vpon him the name of Protectour, tooke now a new cloake to make warre, which was in the name of his eldest daughter, *Donna Isabella Clara Eugenia*, whome he had by *Elizabeth* of Valois his third wife, daughter to *Henry* the second of France, pretending the Dutchie of Brittanie to bee fallen vnto her by lawfull right and succession, by the death of King *Henry* the third, her Vncle by the mothers side. Vpon this pretext hee sent certaine troupes thither, seeking to dismember it from the Crowne of France, to the which it was incorporate, by the death of the Ladie *Anna* of Brittanie, accomplishing the descendants from the sayd Ladie *Anne*, who was promised to *Maximilian* Arch-duke of Austria, and afterwards Emperour, but married to *Charles* the eighth, the French King, who dyed without heires, and then shee was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, by whome shee had one daughter married to *Francis* the first, father to *Henry* the second his successour, who had by *Catherine de Medicis* foure sonnes, all which dyed without children, and three daughters, *Elizabeth* third wife to the King of Spaine, *Claude* married to *Charles* Duke of Lorraine, and *Marguerite* wife to *Henry* the fourth King of France and Nauarre.

All the fore-sayd children beeing descended in the direct feminine line from the Lady *Anne* of Brittanie, their Grand-mother, so as the sonnes hauing no lawfull heires, the succession of of the sayd Dutchie of Brittanie did belong vnto the Lady *Elizabeth* of Valois, the eldest of King *Henries* two daughters, and mother to the sayd Infanta: the which, according to the Lawe, the King her father would maintaine, should represent her deceased mother: for that the sayd Dutchie beeing but a fee of Fraunce, may descend vnto the daughters as well as to the sonnes, as appeareth in the sayd Dutchesse *Anne*, daughter to *Francis* the last Duke of Brittanie, who brought it to *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the twelfth. The French answered, that Dutchie, which were but fees, and held by homage of the Crowne, beeing once incorporated, can bee no more dismembered, with many more allegations, as you may reade in the French.

The King of Spaine could not forget the affront hee had receiued the last yeare by the English in Portugall, hee sought how to bee reuenged, if not of the whole State in generall, yet of priuate Merchants, whose liuing consisted, and wholly depended vpon Traffike into diuers parts, and hearing that the English Merchants had great trade within the Streights of Gibraltar, to Venice, Constantinople, Alexandria, and other places of commerce, hee resolved to interrupt them, and intercept them if he could by any possible meanes: Wherevpon hee gaue charge vnto certaine Gallies to lye continually in the Streights to attend their passage.

Fight betwixt  
the Spanish gal-  
lies & English  
ships.

It happened this yeare, that there were tenne good English shippes, and well fraught, coming from diuers parts, mette together at the Streights, and were bending home-ward. These shippes coming neere to the mouth of the Streights, hard vpon the coast of Barbarie they descryed twelue tall Gallies, wonderfully well manned, and gallantly appoynted, beeing commaunded by *Andrew Doris* for the King

A King of Spaine: who on the foure and twentieth day of Aprill in the morning, bare vp with the shippes, and waied them amaine for the King of Spaine, and the English did the like for the Queene of England: after which, the fight beganne, one of the shippes at her first shot raked away all the men of one side of a Galley, and so pierced it, as it was readie to sinke, but the fight continued very furious, for the space of fixe howers. In the meane time, whilst they were in the hottest of this fight, there came in two Flemings to the Fleete, who seeing of what strength the Gallies were, the one of them stricke her sayles, and was presently taken by the Gallies: the other Flemming was also readie to yeeld, if the trumpetter of that shippe had not threatened to kill the Pilote at the Helme, if he did not speedily put off to the English fleete, and take part with them, by which meanes they were preferred from the Spaniards, whereas the other was taken safely and cowardly. After this long and furious fight the English shippes escaped, for the Gallies were so torne, as they were forced to flie into harbour, for that some of them were readie to sinke, neither durst they come any more forth, notwithstanding that the shippes lay becalmed in the streight.

The Catholike King finding himselfe ouer-burthened, and weakened with the warres which he had at one instant maintayned against his enemies, his treasure beeing exhausted, and hee wanting money to make his necessarie provisions both for Flanders, and France vpon all occurrents, hee commaunded the Duke of Sessa, who was newly come Ambassadour to Rome, to succcede the Earle of Oliuares, who was gone Viceroy into Sicily, to intreate his Holinesse to grant him part of the reuenues of the spirituall liuings in Spaine, leauing vnto the Priests a competent liuing according vnto euery mans qualitie, but this demaund was not allowed of, nor held conuenient in the Court of Rome.

This yeare there was a memorable fight at the Ilands of the Açores betwixt the king of Spaines Armado, and one of the Queene of Englands shippes called the Reuenge. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, second sonne to the Duke of Norfolk, and now Earle of Suffolke, going forth with fixe of the Queenes shippes, fixe victuallers, and some pinaces to attend the West Indian Fleete in their returne, lying at one of the Ilands of the Açores, they were aduertised of the approach of the Spanish armado, (beeing three and fiftie sayle of men of warre, commaunded by Don *Alphonso Bagan*, brother to the Marquis of Santa Cruz) the which were presently in sight, many of the English beeing then on shoare, to furnish themselues with ballast, fresh water, and other necessaries, so as their shippes were light for want of ballast, and halfe their men sicke and vnseruiceable for fight.

Fight betwixt  
the Reuenge &  
the Armado of  
Spaine.

The Spanish Fleete beeing couered by an Iland, were come so neere, as they had scarce any time to weigh their anchors, yet some were faine to slippe their Cables, and to set sayle. Sir *Richard Greenfield* (who was Vice-admirall in the Reuenge) wayed last, staying to recouer her men that were in the Iland, which otherwise had beene lost, and not able to recouer the wind, as the Admirall, and the rest had with some difficultie done, he was perswaded by the Master and some others to cast about, and to trust to the sayling of the shippe: but Sir *Richard* would by no meanes turne head to the enemy, protesting that he would rather dye, then dishonour himselfe, his Countrey, and her Maiesties ship. But he could not force through them, as he thought, but was boarded of either side by their huge Galleons.

The fight beganne at three of the clocke in the after noone, and continued very furious all that euening. The Spanish shippes were full of souldiers, in the English there were not any but Marriners, and some few voluntarie Gentlemen, with their seruants. They made many assaults, thinking to force her with their multitudes, but they were still repulst. The fight continuing all the day, and some howers in the night, many of her men were slain and hurt, and one of the great Galleons, with the Admirall of the Hulks funke, and a great slaughter made in diuers other Spanish shippes. The Spanish shippes which attempted to board the Reuenge, as they were beaten off, others came in their places, there beeing neuer lesse then two mightie Galleons by her side, so as shee had beene assailed

assailed by fifteene feuerall Armados, yet at the breake of day they were more willing to A hearken to a composition then to make any new attempt.

At the breake of day the Reuenge saw none but enemies, nor any hope of reliefe: their powder was spent to the last barrell, their Pikes were broken, forty of their best men slaine, and most of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight they had but a hundred sound men, and nintie fixe lay sicke vpon the ballast. And on the other side the Spanish ships were still supplied with soldiers from the other Squadrons, and with all kinde of armes and munition. The Reuenge hauing her masts beaten ouer board, her tackle cut a sunder, and in a manner made euen with the water, there being nothing left above head to make defence. Sir *Richard Greenfield*, finding himselfe vnable to make any more resistance, hauing endured the assaults of so many feuerall ships, and (as it was thought) B eight hundred shot of great Ordinance, and that he and his ship must needs be taken by the enemies, being in a ring round about her: he commanded the maister Gunner (being a resolute man) to sincke her, to the end the Spaniards might reape no glory of that victory, seeing they could not take her in fifteene houres, with fifty three ships, and about C ten thousand men, perswading the company to yeeld themselves to the mercy of God, and to none else: And as they had like valiant men repulsed so many enemies, so they should not now blemish their honours by prolonging their liues for a few houres. The Gunner was willing with diuerse others, but the Captaine and Maister diswaded him, pretending that the Spaniards would willingly entertaine a composition, and that there were diuerse valiant men (whose wounds were not mortal) which might hereafter do their Prince and country good seruice, assuring him withall, that the Spaniards could neuer D recouer the shippe, hauing fixe foote water in hold, three shot vnder water, and so weakly stoppt, as three must needs sinke with the first working of the sea. But Sir *Richard* could not bee remooued from his resolution. Wherefore the Maister of the Reuenge was conuayed aboard the Generall Don *Alphonso Bassan*, who (finding no man willing to enter her, fearing they should be all blowne vp) yeelded their liues should bee saued, the company sent into England, and the better sort to pay reasonable ranfoms, and to be free from the Gallies and imprisonment. Wherevnto hee yeelded the more willingly, as well to auoyde a greater mischiefe, as to recouer Sir *Richard Greenfield*, whom hee seemed to honor and admire for his great valour.

The Reuenge  
yeelded to the  
Spaniards by  
composition.

This answer being returned, most of them left Sir *Richard Greenfield* and the Gunner, who being desperate would haue killed himselfe. Don *Alphonso Bassan* sent vnto Sir *Richard* to remooue out of his shippe, being vsfauory like a slaughter house, with bloud and dead bodies. Sir *Richard* answered, that hee might doe with his body what hee list, for he regarded it not. The Generall vsed him with all humanitie, and tryed all means for his recovery, much commending his valour, and lamenting the danger wherein hee was, being a rare thing to see one shippe make head against so many huge and great Armado's.

Losse of Spa-  
niards at the  
fight.

There were slaine and drowned in this fight neere a thousand Spaniards, and two speciall Commanders. Don *Lewis* of Saint Iohn, and Don *George de Prunaria* of Malaga; The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Assention of Seuille were sunke by the Reuenge, one recouered Saint Michaels, and did sinke there, and a fourth ranne a ground to saue her men. It is said, that Sir *Richard* dyed the second or third day aboard the Generall, and was much lamented. The rest of the Queenes shippes did not ingage themselves so farre in the fight, the reasons were. They were but fixe shippes in all, whereof two were small: the Reuenge was past recovery: the Island of Flores was on the one side, and fifty three Spanish shippes on the other, full of Soldiers: halfe the English were sick, and not seruiceable; the shippes fowle and wanting ballast, hauing benee fixe moneths at sea, so as if they had all entred the fight, they had all benee lost. Norwithstand- F ing the Lord *Thomas* would haue entred among their Squadrons, but the rest would not yeeld to it, and the Maister of his shippe offered to leape into the sea, rather then to conuict her Maisties shippes to bee a prey to the enemy, where there was no hope eyther of defence or victory. A shippe of the Queenes wherein Maister *Thomas Vauasor* (now

A now Knight Marshall commanded) continued two houres in fight, as neere the Reuenge as hee could, but being in danger to bee compassed in by the Spanish Squadrons, hee cleered himselfe with great difficulty.

Some dayes after the fight, the English prisoners being disperced in the Spanish ships, there arose a great storme, so as the whole fleete (Indians and others) were disperced, they being newly come vnto them; of the which there were fourteene saile, and the Reuenge, with two hundred Spaniards in her, cast away vpon the Island of Saint Michael. There were fifteene or sixteene ships of warre more cast away vpon the other Islands; and of a hundred saile and odde, expected that yeare in Spaine from the Indies, B there were about three score and ten lost in feuerall stormes; the Spaniards confest that there were ten thousand men cast away in that tempest.

The Reuenge  
cast away with  
many Spanish  
ships.

This yeare happened that miserable and lamentable condition of the Arragonois, especially of them of Saragoça, the chiefe city of the realme. From whom the King of Spaine (whether by lawfull or vnlawfull meanes I will not iudge) tooke, or rather pulled away violently their liberties and ancient priuiledges, after this manner. The King had giuen vnto Don *Iohn* of Austria, his base brother, one *Iohn de Soto*, to serue him as a Secreterie, a man by nature tending to great matters, to raise his Lord and Maister to a superlative greatnesse, and by the meanes of Pope *Pius* the sixt, to aduance him to the realme of Tunes. The which being suspect and displeasing vnto the King (fearing the C diminution of his pretended Monarchie) after that hee had well obserued his desseignes and actions, it was thought fit to call home *Soto* from 'D. Iohns seruice and to substitute *Escouedo* in his place. In the beginning this Secretary *Escouedo* did serue his Lord Don *Iohn* well, to the Kings good liking: but in time they discouered plainly, that hee trod in the same pathes that *Soto* had done, entertaining secret correspondencies in the Court of Rome, for his Maisties aduancement by the Popes poursute, who posselt him with an Imagination of the Crowne of England, the which did much displease the King, although it were no preiudice to him. Don *Iohn* being returned soone after out of Italy into Spaine, to receiue his commission and Instructions for the government of the Netherlands, he parted well satisfied and full of hope of this Conquest of England. Seeing come into the Netherlands, and hauing ratified the pacification of Gant, made by the Generall Estates, the Prince and the particular Estates of Holland, Zeland, and their associates, with the Estates of Brabant, Flanders, Arthois, Henault, &c. by which pacification all strange Souldiers should depart the countrie: so as Don *Iohn* thought, (and such was his first and most assured desseigne) to make vse of the sayd Soldiers, in their retreat, to execute this exploite of England. But whether the Generall Estates of the Lowe Countries (who had then made an alliance with England) discouered his intent, or not: when as hee could not finde meanes to retire his souldiers by sea, for want of shippes, which they refused him, that desseigne of England turned into smoake. Notwithstanding that the Pope would haue assisted him, as well with money, as with Bulls, E granting him the inuestiture of that Realme, to hold it of the Popes Sea. The which the King of Spaine (without whose priuie this businesse was in the beginning managed) (hauing himselfe a greedy desire to that realme, as did afterwards appeare) could secretly cross.

Arragonois  
spoiled of their  
ancient priuile-  
ges by the  
King.

Mistakes of the  
bad vse of  
the Arragonois  
for their in-  
terests.

Don *Iohn* being much grieved in heart at this escape, yet seeming still very obsequious and dutifull to the King, hauing in some sort caused the Spaniards and Italians to retire, but not far off, and keeping the Germane Collonels at his deuotion, and not causing them to retire, hee afterwards seized vpon the Castle of Namur, whereby all his practises were discouered, and many letters were intercepted, written by him and *Escouedo* his Secretary: Wherevpon hee was declared an enemy to the Lowe Countries. Then hee began to treat secretly, and to make private alliances in France, F with the Duke of Guise, all without the King, of Spaines priuie and knowledge, the which did mooue him much, obseruing these courtes of Don *Iohn* and his Secretary *Escouedo*: whereof *Antonio de Vargas*, Ambassador for the King of Spaine in France, aduertised *Antonio Perez*, Secretary of State to the sayd King, who presently acquainted his maister therewith. Among other things, that Don *Iohn* said, that hee had rather seeke

Zzzzz

his

his fortune in France with 6000. foote, and 2000. horse, then to stay any longer in the A  
gouernment of the Netherlands. On the other side, Don John by his letters which hee  
did write into Spaine, made strange complaints, full of bitternesse and despaire, yea  
with threats; if they suffered him to languish any longer in that estate: and his letters  
were seconded by Escovedo, who wrote to Antonio Perez, whom he held to be a friend to  
Don John and himselfe; but hee discovered all their secrets vnto the King; as it appeared  
by letters written from Perez vnto the King, and noted in the margent with the  
Kings owne hand.

During all this businesse, Escovedo being sent for into Spaine, the King resolues to  
haue him made away, either by murder or poyson, as well for the great liberty and bold-  
nesse hee vsed in his writing, as for the strange speeches he sometimes vttered, which were  
very displeasing vnto the King, taking for a coulour a certaine proposition made by him  
to fortifie and man the rock of Magro, and of some 6000. Ducats employed by him,  
contrary to the Kings intent. In the end, after that he had conferred with the Marquis of  
Velez, and duly considered of all Escovedos practises: holding it a dangerous matter to  
send him back to Don John, the King found it expedient to haue him slaine. So Escovedo  
returning home to his lodging in the night, he was murdered in the streete by Garcia of  
Arres, and his confederates, at the induction of Antonio Perez, who had receiued com-  
mandement from the King. Hauing bene formerly concluded betwixt the King and  
Perez, that if the murderers should chance to bee apprehended, that Perez, taking the  
fact wholly vpon himselfe should flie into Arragon, whereas the King might more easily  
defend him then in Castile, Escovedo being murdered in this manner, the fact began to  
be discountred. The widow and her sonnes made their complaints against Perez. The  
King receiued them into his Councell of State, but hee sent them not before their Or-  
dinary Iudge, himselfe giuing the whole knowledge of the fact to the President of Ca-  
stile, and commanding him to talke with Escovedos sonnes, and to the Secretary Mathew  
Vasques, who presented their complaint, to the end they might bee silent. But all the Pre-  
sidents admonitions were of no force, yea hee made them more violent in their com-  
plaints. Perez aduised the King to suffer this fact to come to a triall of lawe, with a mo-  
derate & slow porsute, yet not to decree any thing, or else that he would giue him leaue  
to retire from Court; the which the King tooke in ill part, promising him by the faith of  
a Knight, neuer to abandon him, and that hee would keepe him in his seruice. But Perez  
in the meane time saw the storme approaching, whereof hee was the more assured after  
the death of the Marquis of Velez, who had bene a liuely witnesse vnto him. The King  
seeing him perplexed, and in distresse for this death, did confirme this promise againe vn-  
to him more strictly. In the meane time they doubled their complaints, the which (in  
like maner tending to the dishonor, and to charge the Princeesse of Eboly) the complai-  
nants framed at large by writing, and presented it to the King, yet for all this hee gaue no  
sentence: but being prest by Vasques, to whom he had begun to discouer himselfe, as ap-  
peared by the answer which hee made him in writing, copyed by Perez, with a postscript  
of the Kings.

In the end the King commanded his Confessor to reconcile the Princeesse and Perez,  
with Vasques: wherevnto the Princeesse would not giue eare, finding her selfe wronged,  
for that she held him vnworthy to conferre with her. The which did wonderfully discon-  
tent Perez, not daring to moue her therewith, for that he held himselfe bound vnto her  
seruice, for the fauours he had receiued from her. And seeing that by their reiterated com-  
plaints, notwithstanding the Kings promise in the faith of a Knight, they pursued him  
with all violence: he besought the King, at the least, to do him this fauour, that hee might  
retire himselfe. The King finding himselfe wronged on both sides; by the Princeesse, for that  
she would not reconcile her selfe with Vasques, as hee had commanded; and with Perez  
for that he would retire himselfe. After that hee had consulted with his Confessor, and  
with the Earle of Barayas, he caused the Princeesse and Perez to be committed to prison,  
vpon a coulour, that by this imprisonment hee should force them to bee reconciled, the  
King himselfe being a spectator of this apprehension, made by his commandement, the  
which was in the yeare 1579.

The

A The next day, the King sent to visit Perez wife, and to comfort her, wishing her not to be  
troubled for her husband. Hee in like manner sent his Confessor to visit Perez, seeming  
to haue a care that hee should be well intreated. After that he had bene detained some  
moneth in prison, hee sent him with a certaine garde home to his house, where he com-  
manded Perez that he should sweare to Don Rodrigo Manuel, by the faith of a Gentle-  
man, that he would continue friend with Vasques: Perez remitting his spleen (yet hauing  
the knife neere his throte) yeelded therevnto: and so continued in his house, bearing  
the charge thereof, vntill the yeare 1585. and receiuing no allowance nor fee. At the end  
of which time (to the end the blind should not see any thing) hee was with other Secre-  
taries put to the Visita (which is a lawe to examine the actions of such as they meane to  
intrap.)

La visita in  
Spaine is the  
law of fishing.

The charges of this Visita were more honourable to Perez, then hurtfull. They  
did consist of two points, the one concerning the Kings secrets, whereof hee aduertised  
the King, for that he would not discouer them, seeing that they meant to force him ther-  
vnto; hauing alwayes faithfully acquit himselfe in keeping them in his bosome, as the  
King had trusted him. Hee in like manner informed the Confessor, shewing vnto him  
for his discharge, a writing of the Kings owne hand: wherevpon the Confessor did for-  
bid him to purge himselfe by his Kings writing: wherevnto he obeyed, for that he would  
not diuulge his secrets: suffering himselfe to bee condemned in a fine of thirty thousand

C Ducats, suspension of his office, two yeares imprisonment, and then to be banished eight  
yeares. The which Perez endured by the perswasions and goodly promises of this Fa-  
ther Confessor.

This condemnation was made by the strangest Act that hath bene scene, whereof  
the Councell had no knowledge, neither was it signed, nor any iudiciall sentence pro-  
nounced. The Act being insinuated to Perez, being lead from his house to the Castle,  
his goods before seized on were freed, and it was told him that hee should not per-  
forme the said Act, so as hee would deliuer the papers and Instructions which hee had  
written vnto the King, and from the King to him: that by this meanes hee might wholly  
discharge the King, and lay all vpon Perez owne head, wherein consisted the end of  
their proceeding. For there were yet two secret points in the sentence: the one was,  
they would make Perez guilty of Escovedos death: the other, that hee had no meanes  
to complaine of force and violence in his Countrey of Arragon: besides an accusation  
of ten thousand Ducats wherewith they charged him, whereof by many liuely reasones,  
and by a note of the Kings owne hands hee was discharged. Which note hauing bene  
deliuered into the Confessors hand, hee read and retained it, and afterwards denyed  
the hauing it.

Trick of a false  
Monke.

When they came to execute the said Act, Perez thinking to preuent it, fled into a  
Church for liberty (fearing that his enemies would murder him in prison) from  
whence notwithstanding hee was drawne, but hauing obtained a sentence to his aduan-  
tage, this execution was stoppt. Notwithstanding hee was afterwards taken againe, and  
carried to the Castle of Turnegano, where hee was cruelly intreated by one Torres of  
Auila a Licentiar, who kept him ninety dayes in Irons, from the sight of his wife  
and children, who were in like manner committed to prison; to the end they should  
not demand Iustice, as the wife had done once at Lisbone, vpon the Kings promi-  
sing by the faith of a Knight, the which was done to the end they might the better  
come to the Kings papers and her husbands, which this Friar Diego Chines hunted  
so after, knowing how much they did import to free the King. To attaine vnto the  
which hee had already written two letters (by the meanes of the Earle of Barayas  
President of Castile) to Perez wife, sending her word, that there was no other meanes  
to see her husband in liberty, then in yeelding vp the sayd papers: and in so dooing,  
that both shee and her husband should bee deliuered out of prison, wherevnto shee  
resisted courageously, refusing flatly to giue them. So as in the end her husband did  
write a note vnto her with his owne blood (so straightly was he kept) that she should de-  
liuer them, the which she did; yee by a diuine instinct shee reserued some, sending them  
in two cofers to the said Confessor, being at Monzon, with the Keyes, the which were  
deli-

Zzzzz. 2.

deliuered into the Kings owne hands by him that had charge of the cofers; by the deliuerie of which papers, the Lady onely was set at liberty.

At the Kings retorne from Monzon, the papers being read, *Perez* was somewhat enlarged in the towne of Madrid (but not without a further meaning) for the space of foure moneths, hauing leaue to bee visited, and the weeke before Easter to go to Masse, but this was a short ioy, for *Escouedo* sonne came to renew his old complaint, and *Perez* was againe sent to the Castle to prison, and soone after hee was called into the Court: where being examined vpon this complaint, hee continued faithfull and constant vnto the King; refusing to declare any thing according to his commandements and promises; aduertising him notwithstanding what the euent might be of such kinde of proceedings: but all was in vaine; for it was ordered that hee should answer within ten dayes, vnto the chiefe points of a proceffe, which had lasted ten yeares. At this examination the Confessor aduised him, to confesse *Escouedo* murther, but not to declare the motives and reasons; which *Perez* did not approoue. But rather, to the end the King might bee discharged, to compound with *Escouedo* children, who were the parties interested, the which was effected at *Perez* charge, for twenty thousand Ducats; and it was presently paid. All this did not serue the turne, for the President *Roderigo Vasques*, a kinsman to *Escouedo*, seeing that *Perez* could auoyde all stormes, wrote vnto the King that hee should consider well of the composition which *Perez* had made, by the which the world did murmur and surmise, that his Maiestie had caused him to do it. And therefore his regall authority required, that hee should declare, or cause *Perez* declare the reasons of this accord; whereby his Maiesty should stop all mens mouths, and *Perez* should bee better discharged. Wherevpon the king did write vnto *Perez*, to tell the reason why, by his commandement and for his seruice, hee had caused *Escouedo* to be slaine. This note and command from the king, made the greatest murmure; for (said they) if the king hath commanded him to murther *Escouedo*, what reason, or what reparation do they pretend? Is it now time, after twelue yeares since it was done, to demand the cause? yea a Cardinall, & the Popes Legat spake vnto the Confessor in *Perez* behalfe: To whom he answered, that they should rest satisfied, and that what had beene done, was to giue contentment to the President *Roderigo Vasques*, and that all should be well. As in like manner Father *Salinas* preaching Friar, discoursed sufficiently in a Sermon which he made in the kings Chappel, in Iustification of *Perez*, but all was without effect, the Confessor holding it a sinne to demaund Iustice: Notwithstanding *Perez* remained firme and constant, and being examined vpon the Kings note, he would not declare any thing, for he did not easily giue credit therevnto: wherevpon the Iudge tooke occasion to put *Perez* to the rack (although his minde were sufficiently tortured, with the confusion of a precedent order) yet relying vpon the Kings first instruction and commandement, he continued constant, & endured the torture, euen to the effusion of his blood, yet in the end hee was forced to declare the motiue causes of the murther of *Escouedo*, with the circumstances, producing the Kings originall letters to that end, and an Autentike witnesse, who was yet living: whose testimony they receiued, but all making for *Perez*, they suppress his deposition, and the Kings biller, and did not produce it. *Perez* finding by all these violences and out-rages, that they would draw his life into question, he found no better means, then to seeke how he might escape out of prison in Castile: as he did by the assistance of his wife, and of *Giles de Mafsa*, a Gentleman of Arragon, his kinsman in the night, the Thursday before Easter: running thirty leagues post, without any rest, vntill he came into Arragon: for the which his wife and children smarted, for they were cast into prison, with a friend of *Perez*; which cruelty was intollerable before God, as in such euents, whereas wife men are combe, God makes fooles to speake, and to tell Kings and Princes the truth, to their confusion. For *Thio Martino* the kings foole, & a natural hearing that the chiefe in Court reioyced that *Perez* had so escaped, asking the king what that *Perez* was, for whom euery man did so much reioyce? Surely said he, he was not guilty, had therefore Sir, be thou also glad. These words by a foole were observed by the wisest. It seemed that imprisonment of *Perez* wife and children, proceeded from hatred, or to stop their iust complaints, or else that the Confessor sought to be reuenged of them, for that the said Lady had once charged him

An. 1591.  
Arragon  
action.

*Perez* escapes  
out of prison,  
and flies into  
Arragon.

A him that instead of a Confessor, hee was a Soueraigne Iudge, teaching him what was written of the poore widow in the holy Scripture. And also for that which *Dona Gregoria Perez* their daughter, after a long pursute, spake with great courage and griefe of heart, vnto the President *Roderigo Vasques*, that she was come with her young Brethren and Sisters, to the end that without making them to languish any longer in misery, hee should make hast to suck vp their blood, and that they were come to that end, desiring rather to dye at once, then they should thus suck their bloods by degrees. Wherewith the President was no lesse terrified, then the Confessor was at the Mothers words. *Perez* hauing recovered Arragon with great difficultie, being much broken with the Racke, and his long and miserable imprisonment, hee stayed some time at Calatajub, where hee retired himselfe into a Monasterie. There were priuate letters sent to a Knight of that towne, without any Act, or sufficient warrant, to draw him from thence: the which not able to effect, being hindered by the religious men of that Conuent, hee gaue him a Monkes Sell for his prison. *Perez* did write from this place vnto the King, but all was in vaine; for vpon new complaints and accusations, hee was drawn out of this Conuent by the Kings expresse commandement (not without some mutinie of the townes men) and lead to Saragosa, from whence hee did importune the King with new letters, sending a religious man expresse, with good instructions of all matters. This religious man spake vnto the King, who gaue him good words: but hee was not welcome to the reuered father the Kings Confessor. But nothing could helpe him, to stay these pursutes begonne: or else God would haue the truth knowne to all the world, the which some priuate mens mallice sought to suppress.

*Perez* seeing that hee prevailed nothing, hee had recourse to his papers, letters, and instructions, as well from the King, as from some others, which had beene kept safe by his wiues industrie: whereof hee made a collection, deciphering the whole estate of his businesse, and made a Booke, the which hee presented vnto the Iustice: whereby his aduersaries seeing themselves confounded, and that hee should be absolutely discharged, they inuented an other meanes to intrappe him: which was that the King reseruing all his rights, should desist from this action against *Perez*; and that they would charge him to haue ill acquitted his duty to his Prince. Although that this seperation of the cause was repugnant to the customes of Arragon, and that the King might not doe it: yet they gaue it forth that they had instructions, impugning them of *Perez*, the which was alledged wholly against the Kings authority, to the blemish of his reputation, and contempt of his writing, the which *Perez*, neither in prison, nor out, for the onely respect he bare vnto the King, would euer shew, but onely at this last charge, where hee was forced to make vse of them, least he should fall into the like inconuenience that *Piso* had done, who would not iustifie himselfe of *Germanicus* death, by the writings of *Tiberius Caesar*, who had commanded him: *Perez* discharge being the more receivable, for that hee did make euery man know by liuely reasons, what had moued the King to doe it. *Perez* enemies seeing there was no aduantage to be gotten of him before the Soueraigne Iudge, they drew him to the seate of the Inquests of Arragon, where as the King is both Iudge and party. There he was examined vpon the old Articles, the fift day after the separation, and also vpon two new points: by the which in their Interrogatories they did obiect against him, that when as he heard the French King did prosper, hee reioyced, and contrarywise hee was sad, when as he heard of the King of Spaines good success. Moreover that he had a desire to retire himselfe into Berne, or into Holland and Zeland. To whom he answered, that they ought not to search into the secret Cabinet of God, who alone knowes the hearts of men, protesting of the force and violence they offered him, to the preiudice of the Kings seruice: Offering yet to produce more Instructions before any third person, whom it should please the King to name, and especially before the Archbishop of Saragosa: But this offer was not allowed, nay not any one durst deale in his businesse, no nor his owne Aduocate, hearing the threats of the Marquis of Almenare, who had corrupted some witnesses vpon *Perez* retreat into Holland.

Yet this Inquest could not worke out any thing to prejudice *Perez*: then his aduersaries tooke a new resolution, to deliuer him ouer to the Inquisition, vpon those

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*Peres put into  
the Inquisition.*

*An. 1591.  
Arragon.*

those witnesses which had beene suborned by the Marquis of Almenare, touching his reuerate into Holland, accusing him also of Inchantment. This forged Act of the Marquis, was censured throughout the realme, and euery man would take knowledge thereof, who found it to be such, as it was nothing preiudiciall to *Peres*: yea the Salmedine of Saragoſſa (which is the supreme Magistrate of the towne) was afterwards committed to prison, for that he had receiued the depositions of these false witnesses: whereby all the people and Estates of Arragon, did see with what passion and spleene they did proceed against *Peres*: and would haue them iudge definitiue, whether he were guilty or not, the which if they refused to doe, then said they, *Peres* cause was good. Notwithstanding the Officers of the Inquisition, (contrary to the priuiledges of the manifestation, and other rights of the realme) came vpon the fine and twenty of May, that yere 1591. and tooke him out of the prison, leading him to the Inquisition; but within foure houres after, the Inquisitors were forced through a mutiny of the people, to deliuer him back to his first prison of the manifestation: the tumult was very great, with the effusion of some blood, and the burning of houses: yea the Marquis of Almenare, for that he had done against their priuiledges, was committed to prison, hauing a thousand injurious speeches giuen him by the women and children, and being out-raged and beaten by the skumme of the people: whereof fifteene dayes after, (hauing in his extremities freed *Peres*) he dyed in prison. *Peres* enemies being not yet sufficiently taught, by this third bloody and horrible error, they persisted in their obstinacie to haue him in the Inquisition: wherevpon thirteene Lawyers of the realme, were appointed to iudge, whether *Peres* cause deserued to be sent thither, or not. At the first they ordeined, that it was against all right to deliuer him to the Inquisition: But afterwards by the solliciting of *John Lewis Murano*, who had wonne most of them with presents, they gaue another sentence, contrary to their first, directly impugning the priuiledges, examples, concordants and declarations of the realme, which disannull the Edicts of Conſecration, proceeding from the Inquisition. Yet his aduersaries would proceed, and the rather, for that the King had commanded the Gouvernor of Arragon, to keepe *Peres* in perpetuall prison: or at the least that he might neuer goe out of the realme of Arragon: wherein the deputies, to obey the King, agreed most together. The people notwithstanding were resolute, seeing the wrong and violence they not onely did to *Peres*, but also to his wife and small children, yea to religious men that were his sollicitors: the which all the world detested: and in like manner to his reuenues, so as in prison hee liued onely of almes, the which were grudged him, besides the wrong which was done vnto his moueables, basely sold at an out-cry, yea the shirts and smocks of his little Infants borne in the prison, with the thimble and needle wherewith *Donna Gregoria* his eldest daughter did sows besides many other great indignities, which were done to him, his wife and children, whereof the people had great pittie; concluding thereby, that whatsoeuer he endured, proceeded onely from reuenge, hatred and spleene, and that he was not culpable.

His pursuing enemies knowing well, and hauing found it by experience, how the people stood affected to their priuiledges, and to *Peres*, durst not attempt to put him againe into the Inquisition (which should haue beene done on the twentieth of August) without force: and therefore they gathered together a good number of the Kings soldiers, with many Noblemen and Knights of the Viceroyes house (which had neuer beene seene before) the which troubled both the City of Saragoſſa, and the whole realme, for that it was directly against their priuiledges: but all turned for this time into smoke, they not daring to effect any thing. Not content herewith, they made better prouision of men on the 24. of September following, hauing raised 2000. men to take *Peres*, being assisted by the Officers, Noblemen and Knights. On the day appointed, the Gouverneur called his soldiers together before the breake of day, and put them into battaile: and to strike terror into the Burgesſes, he caused them to giue a charge of shotte, where there was a yong child slaine, and some hurt by the Gouvernours owne hand. At the houre of Councell, the Inquisitors arriued, who demanded to haue the persons of *Peres* and of *John Francisco Maiorini* deliuered into their hands. Vpon which demand (notwithstanding, a petition presented at the same time, by some good Countrymen) they obtai-

A obtained, *Fiat*. Wherevpon many Noblemen and officers went to the prison to receiue him. Whether being come, a Lieutenant called *Micer Claueria*, with the Officers of the Inquisition, being accompanied by some soldiers, leading with them two Notaries, the better to qualifie their exploite, they entred into the prison, and caused *Peres* to come downe, where hauing obserued the ceremonies of his euocation, they demanded to haue him for some points concerning religion, and the faith. *Peres* seeing this, and standing vpon his right and the priuiledges of the realme, nothing would preuaile, but they put Irons vpon both his legges, and prepared to lead them away. Whilest that the Viceroy, or Gouverneur, the Soueraigne Iudge, the great Noblemen, Earles and Knights of this company, were in Armes in houses neere vnto the prison: at the same instant the people came running in great troupes, crying, Liberty, liberty, (the which in the like case vpon the breach of their priuiledges, is lawfull.) At the first they were but a multitude of labourers, and the skumme of the people (whereof few were armed) which fell vpon them that were vpon the place of Iustice. The rest of the people seeing that they had no leader, and that it was not onely for *Peres*, but also for their liberties, that made them to stirre, they went and intreated *Giles de Meza* to bee their head, who hauing taken vpon him this charge, with those men he had, and such as came scattering vnto him, hee charged the horsemen, and the rest of the Gouvernours souldiers, whom he presently put to flight, who were also set vpon by two hundred children, armed according to their ages and strength, and a poore naturall foole, who played his part with stoanes. Finally, their fury was so great, as they slew the Coche Moyles, and burnt the Coches, which should haue carried *Peres* and his companion into Castile, they also set fire of the house whereas the Viceroy and other Noblemen had saued themselves. There were slaine in this tumult the said *John Lewis Murano*, and *Pedro Ieronimo* of Baradix, one of the chiefe Councillors of the towne.

This Combate, happened for their liberties, was done with such zeale and heate, as a very old man would haue exposed sixe or seauen of his sonnes to sacrifice themselves for this cause, commanding them to arme, and rather to dye: and a Gentlewoman of a good family, sent her Nephew and onely heyre. The furie being past by the death of fifty or sixtie persons, and about a hundred and fifty hurt, the people returned to the prison, with an intent to haue *Peres*. The Officers of the Inquisition, seeing in what danger they were, tooke off his feters, and by their Maisters commandement, intreated him to goe out of prison, fearing to be slaine there. *Peres* demanded an Acte, but for that by reason of the confusion hee could not haue it, hee went forth, to the great ioy and content of all the people: who conducted him to the house of *Don Diego* of Eredia. This done, they went to retire *John Francisco Maiorini*, setting all the other prisoners at liberty. The same night *Peres* went out of Saragoſſa, with *Giles de Meza*, remaining three dayes vpon a Mountaine, during the which hee vnderstood that the Gouverneur caused him to be pursued, wherevpon hee returned back into the towne, where he lay hid forty dayes, to vnderstand what would become of this business: which was that they prepared an Armie in Castile, to come towards Saragoſſa, and yet the Viceroy gaue out a brute of an Accord, which was but to vnderstand where *Peres* remained; as appeared by the letters of an Inquisitor, who had seed men to that end, hoping by such a seruice to get an Archbishopricke: By reason whereof *Peres* retired the day before that *Don Alonso de Vergas* entred with his Armie into Saragoſſa, hiding himselfe among the rocks, vntill in the end hee came to Sala, where hee rested himselfe some dayes, vntill that hearing of the new and intollerable Accord, hee sent *Gilles de Meza* vnto the Lady *Catherine* Princeſse of Nauarre, the French Kings onely sister, intreating her to receiue them vnder her protection and safegard. And hauing certaine intelligence that they pursued him, and sought him in all places, hee went by night from Sala and came to Pao, where hee found *Giles de Meza*, with an answer from the Princeſse, which was that hee might come boldly, where hee should find all freedom, going, comming, or staying, with liberty of his religion, yea shee sent some horses to fetch him vnto her. Where being arriued, and hauing saluted the Princeſse, shee gaue him as good a reception as he could expect of such a Lady.

*Tumult in  
Saragoſſa for  
Peres.*

*Peres escapes  
out of Arragon  
and comes to  
Paris.*

*Action of  
Arragon.*

*Peres*



*Perez* being thus vnder the protection of this Princeesse, the greedinesse of the Spaniard to shed his blood, did hunt after his death, offering new Accords, to entertaine him neere vnto them, vntill they might finde some meanes to effect their desseignes, to which end they bargained with diuerse persons for his life. Being at *Pao*, there was a very good agreement offered him by *Don Martin de la Nua*, in the behalfe of the Viceroy, of *Don Alonso de Vergas*, and of the Inquisitors, but he durst not trust them. Many letters haue discovered the treasons and practises to murder *Perez*, and the names of the vnder-takers: among others, of one *Bastamantes* his owne kinsman: of another Arragonois furnished with poyson, and letters from the Viceroy, found about him, who being discouered, hee was condemned to dye, but at the request of *Perez*, the Princeesse pardoned him: then there was another of *Nauarre* hired to that end, who discouered himselfe to *John Francisco Maiorini*: to whom in the King of Spaines name, hee promised pardon and great rewards: But going about to perswade him by his reasons, that in executing the Kings will to murder or poyson *Perez*, was no treason. *John Francisco* hauing discouered the ground of his speech, hee reuealed him, and the *Nauarrois* was banished. They would also haue suborned a naturall Foole to murder him, but he was wiser then they that sought to corrupt him.

All these practises and attempts were the cause that *Perez* retired into England, considering that in France hee should neuer bee safe from such practisers against his life: Notwithstanding that hee was comprehended in the letters of Pardon granted to them that had offended the King of Spaine, which were afterwards dispersed throughout the world. Wherevnto hee would not trust, taking example by *Don Bernardo de Cabrera*, the Kings Secretarie, who seeing how hee was enuied, retired from Court, and became a Priest, yet the King called him back againe, being loth to loose such a seruant: being returned, their enuie increased, and he was so violently pursued, as *Don Pedro* of Arragon caused him to loose his head like a traitor: and yet afterwards, this *Don Pedro* dying, hee declared him an Innocent, and to haue bene faithfull: saying, that hee had been abused by his household seruants, who hated *Cabrera*, commanding that all his lands and goods should bee restored to his Nephew, which had bene confiscated: In the meane time the Innocent man was dead, and had suffered wrongfully.

The like was scene at Brussels, in the Councell of the troubles, who put to death during their greatest executions, a poore innocent man that was a prisoner, who had neuer bene called, heard, nor examined, so as some three or foure moneths after his death, when they came to call him to bee examined, they found that hee had bene executed, without any arraignment, or sentence giuen. Wherewith some of the Councillors that were borne in the country, being troubled in conscience, the Councillor *Vergas* a Spaniard, sayd vnto them: Trouble not your selues, it imports not, if he bee dead an Innocent, his soule is the more happy, and his body is freed from all miseries.

But returning to that which followed in the towne of *Saragoça*, after the departure of *Perez*. The King of Spaine, to bee reuenged for this tumult, gathered an armie together vpon the frontiers of Castile, giuing it out that it was to bee sent into France, to succour the League, of the which *Don Alonso de Vergas* was Generall, who hearing that *Perez* was escaped, fell with all his troopes vpon the realme of Arragon, to punish them of *Saragoça*. There was a petition presented against him and his armie, by the whole body of the realme of Arragon, to the end that the Iustice Maior, according to their ancient priuiledges, should take armes, to repulse the attempts of *Don Alonso*. According to the which, by a decree of seuentene, the Iustice with the whole realme, fell to Armes, distributed the Offices of warre, leuied men, and brought Saint Georges Standerd to field (an vsuall thing in such cases) and so marche in good order out of *Saragoça*, but with bad successe: for that the Captaines (traitors to their Country) basely fearing the forces of *Don Alonso*, retiring themselves, abandoned their companies, so as the armie of Arragon came to nothing, euery one slipping away, through the treachery of a Maister Inquisitor, who aduertised the King how many men there were, who were their Commanders and Captaines, with their names and surnames, and the meanes how to defeat them.

To

A To vnderstand the reasons of the Arragonois, to the end it may not be held a rebellion, lightly vnderaken without cause, or an alteration without ground. It shall be good for the better knowledge of the matter, to relate briefly, the estate, condition, and beginning of the realme of Arragon.

Since the generall losse of Spaine, which hapned vnder King *Roderigo*, by the meanes of *Cont Julian*, for that he had deflowered his daughter *Caba*. The Moores or Sarazins held Spaine long, without either King or Lord. In the end, the realme of Arragon freed it selfe from the power of the Moores, and the Arragonois made themselves their owne Maisters and Lords, not acknowledging any particular Prince, and without any Souerainty but their owne. So as being weary of their rest and liberty, they required (as the children of Israel did sometimes to *Samuel*) to haue a King, and therein they demanded the Popes aduice: who answered them as *Samuel* had done the Israelites. But seeing they desired to haue a King, he did wish them to prescribe him lawes and conditions, and ouer him a Soueraigne Iudge, with assistants, to bridle his ambition. The Arragonois gaue credit to this Councell, and before they would choofe them a King, they erected the dignity and preheminance of *El Iusticia* of Arragon, which is a Soueraigne Iudge about the King, with seuentene Assistants. And they made a law which was called the *Laws of manifestation*, for the preservation of the Vassals right, against the out-rages and oppressions of the mighty, be hee King, Prince, or other Iudge. Which law, with other

C Statutes and Ordonances, together with their Priuiledges, are to be scene Printed, vnder the Kings royall authority, and haue continued many hundred yeares, to the honor and reputation of their Kings, and especially of *Don Ferdinand* of Arragon, surnamed the Catholicke, who would not giue eare (being come to the crown of Castile, by *D. Isabella* his wife) to the bad counsell which the Spaniards gaue him, tending to the abolishing of the said priuiledges, saying: *So long as the two ballances of the King and realme, shall be in a iust Counterpoise, the king and realme shall continue and flourish together, but if one of the Scales seeke to weigh downe the other, the one or the other will fall to ruine, or it may bee both together.* Moreover the Arragonois made a law of vnion, consisting in two points worthy the knowledge, for the clearing of this present discourse. The one is, that whensoever the king shall breake their lawes, they may choofe an other. For you must vnderstand that they do not sweare vnto their Kings, but conditionally in these termes. *Nos que valemus tanto como vos, y vos tanto como nos, o hazemo nuestro Rey y Senor con tal, que nos guardey nuestros fueros, y libertades, sy no, no.* And hee must humble himselfe vpon his knee, bare-headed, before the Soueraigne Iudge, which is *El Iusticia*, and sweare first, and then the Arragonois after him. The second point of this vnion is, that the Princes and Noblemen of the realme, may make leagues and confederations against their King in case of oppression, or of breach of their priuiledges. And vpon these conditions they did choofe their first King, who was a Knight of Arragon, called *Garci Ximenes*, and after him three or foure: But this election continued not long; for the King *D. Pedro*, called with the Poignard, desiring to make the realme successiue, and hereditarie, insisted in an

E assembly of the Estates, to disauill this law of election; the which in the end was granted, by the foure members of the realme, reseruing all their other rights and priuiledges but that: the which he did willingly accept, and after this Accord made (holding the Charter of this Election in his hand) he drew out his Poynard and cut it in peeces, saying these words. *Que tal fueray fuero de poder elegir Rey los vassallos, sangre de Rey auia de costar,* and withall stabd himselfe through the hand, from which time the King was called *Don Pedro* with the Poynard: as his effigie is to bee scene at this day, in the royall hall of the deputation in the towne of *Saragoça*, whereas all the Kings his successors are, vnto *Philip* the second last deceased. By vertue of the law of vnion, and of their priuiledges, the

F Arragonois tooke Armes this yeare 1592. proceeding thus iustly in their businesse, the chiefe Iustice causing the sentence to be insinuated to *Don Alonso de Vergas*, by two Notaries and two others, who hauing made their insinuation vnto him, vpon the penalty of body and goods, they returned freely to *Saragoça*. Of which their proceeding may appeare by the Comission giuen to *Don John de la Nua*, chosen Generall of the armie, signed by *El Iusticia*, by the Abbot of *Piedra*, *Lewis Nauarra*, *Ihon Louis* of *Marcella*, *Don*

Saying of Don Ferdinand King of Arragon.

Manner of the King of Arragons othe.

Don Iohn de Luna, Jeronimo de Oro, and others, and the Realme. Wherefore all things being thus ordred according vnto law, and past by the Iustice, and Soueraignty, the Preachers in their Pulpits, and the Priests in their Confessions exhorted the people to do it: yea a Secretary of the Inquisition signed the resolution of the realme, as well grounded. The Army of Arragon being thus dispersed, and come to nothing, as wee haue sayd, before that Don Alonso entred into Saragoça, the King wrote goodly letters to diuerse of the chiefe Noblemen of the Realme, as Don Alonso did in like manner, to giue some coulour to his bloudy exploite, saying, that it was to goe into France, and swearing that it was the least of his thoughts to doe them any harme: yea that hee was a better Arragonois then any one of them.

Vpon these letters he was suffered to enter freely with his armie into Saragoça: hauing lodged his men, hee began to imprison all men whom hee pleased, Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, Lawyers, Marchants, and Bourgeses of all qualities: the Deputies of the Realme and the Cleargie were least spared: there were also many Ladies, Gentlewomen, and other women prisoners, and Lieutenants of Soueraigne Iustice, as *Michel Claueria*, and *Miter Spinsa*, whom they forced to renounce their Offices, substituting others, whom the King before for their offences had declared incapable, to the blessing of his authoritie, their election being against all right and law. They did also confiscate (contrary to the lawes of Arragon) not onely the goods of the husbands, but also of the wiues of such as were absent. And about all the Soueraigne Iudge of Arragon was taken, and within twenty houres lost his head, without any other sentence, but of a little scrowle written with the Kings hand, in these termes, *Hauing read this, you shall presently apprehend Don Ihon de la Nuca, chiefe Iustice of Arragon, and let mee haue newes of his death as soone as of his imprisonment.* The which was done, notwithstanding his appellations and Protestations, without the priuie of any man, vntill hee came vnto the Scaffold to bee executed, whereas many had gone before him, and many followed after. Thus the Realme of Arragon thinking to preserve their priuiledges and liberties, lost them, with the chiefe of the Nobility, and a great number of men of good quality.

This yeare 1592. the King of Spaine hauing put many to death at Saragoça, for that they had taken armes for the defence of their liberties, and burnt *Antonio Perez* Image. The Estates of the Country hauing assembled at Tarracone, and giuen satisfaction vnto the King, hee was content to send a generall pardon into the Prouince. Wherevpon all *Vargas* Souldiers were drawne out of Saragoça, except some fewe that were left to garde the Inquisition. The Turke being in Armes, and threatening especially the house of Austria, the Catholike King grew iealous, that by this diuersion hee might bee much troubled in his warres of Flanders, where as the vnited Estates were very strong, being assisted from other Princes: hee therefore sent *Charles Cigala* to Constantinople, vnder coulour to visite his brother, but it was generally thought, that his going was to saue his country from inuasion, but *Cigala* could not obtaine what hee desired, for that the Turkes landing diuerse times, carried away many thousands of Christians, and committed great spoiles vpon the coasts of Calabria, and Apulia, comming neere vnto Naples, as also in Sicile.

Cont Fuentes  
sent into the  
low countries.

Newes being come into Spaine, that the Duke of Parma was returned very sicke from the Spawe, and that the Physicians despaired of his life: the Cont of Fuentes was presently sent into the Lowe Countries, with Commission to command the armie after his death, (the which some imputed to the Spaniards) whither he went in post, but the Duke of Parma dyed before his arriuall in Arras, and was much lamented.

This yeare there being a Commission granted by the Queene of England to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, for an expedition to the west Indies: he armed fourteen or fifteen good ships of warre, whereof two were the *Queenes*, and being accompanied by a troope of resolute Gentlemen, hee began to bee ready to goe from the West Countries, but hee was so long stayed there by contrary windes, as the fittest season for Sayling was past, his peoples mindes began to alter, and his victuals consumed. Wherevpon the Queene called home Sir *Walter Raleigh* in Maye, commanding him to giue over his intended voyage.

A voyage, and to leaue his charge to Sir *Iohn Bourrough*, and Sir *Martin Frobisher*: but hee finding his honor ingaged, would not leaue the fleet being now vnder saile, but being taken with a strange tempest on the 11. of May, and in danger to be swallowed vp in the sea, hee resolved to returne, and to leaue the charge to the aboue-named, giuing them directions to diuide their fleet in two, one to lye vpon the South Cape of Spaine, and the other to attend at the Ilands, which made the Admirall of Spaine to stay vpon that coast, and to neglect the wasting of the Caracks. Sir *Iohn Bourrough* sayling towards the *Açores*, hee discovered a Carack called *Santa Cruz*, comming from the East Indies, which getting neere the land, the Portugalls carried what goods they could out of her, and set fire of the ship. There they vnderstood by certaine prisoners, of three other Caracks that were comming from the Indies, which Sir *Iohn*, with his comforts, resolved to attend. After sixe weekes patience, they discovered a huge Caracke called *Madre de Dios*, one of the greatest belonging to the Crowne of Portugall, which after a long and furious fight, was in the end borded by the English, they found the hatches strewed with dead carcases, and with wounded men languishing. Don *Fernando de Mendoza* was commander of this Caracke, whom Sir *Iohn Bourrough*, of an honorable disposition and pitying his estate, sent away freely with most of his followers to his Country. This Caracke was esteemed to be of a thousand sixe hundred tuns, and did carry nine hundred tuns in bulke of Marchandize, there were in her sixe or seauen hundred persons: her chiefe commodities, besides Jewels, were Spices, Drugs, silks, China silkes, Callicoes, with Pearle, Muske, Cyuet and Amber gris, with diuerse other commodities, the which at reasonable rates was valued at an hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. The losse of these two Caracks brought Don *Alphonso de Bacan*, General with the Spanish fleet, in disgrace with the King, who imputed it to his negligence.

Caracke called  
Santa Cruz, set  
on fire.

Caracke called  
Madre de  
Dios, taken by  
the English.

In the yeare 1593. the King of Spaine sent the Duke of Feria into France, to offer all his forces to fauour the League, and the election of a new King, being assembled together at *Paris* to that end, where it being propounded, who should bee called to the Crowne, the Duke of Feria did insist for the eldest daughter of Spaine, who he sayd had most right, the realme falling to the Masculine line of *Capet*, the which hee maintained for many defects might not pretend, so as the *Infanta* comming of the sister, who was elder then *Henry* the third, shee should also bee preferred to the Crowne, and the rather for that shee should bee married to some Prince in France, so as it should not passe to a stranger, but this Prince should be chosen by the King of Spaine. This proposition was distastfull to most of the assembly, who sayd that it was against their Salike law.

1593.  
Duke of Feria  
sent to the  
league in  
France.

King *Philip* hauing conquered Portugall, which hee pretended to bee due vnto him in the right of his mother, and expelled Don *Antonio*, who was held base, hee gaue the government thereof to Cardinall *Albertus* of Austria, yonger sonne to the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, a Prince endowed with many great vertues, and therefore very acceptable to the Portugalls. In which government hee did so carry himselfe, as hee gaue great satisfaction both to the King and his subiects. *Philip* being now growne old, and vsfitted for the government of his realmes, his sonne *Philip* being yet too young, hee called the Arch-duke *Albert* out of Portugall into Spaine, who came vnto the King on the eleuenth day of September, hee being at the Monastery of Saint Lawrence (commonly called *Escoriall*) where hee gaue him an honourable reception. The King calling *Albert* vnto him, let him vnderstand with what cares and toyle hee had for so many yeares gouerned his hereditary kingdomes, and states, but being now broken with age, hee was no more fitt for command: hauing hetherto by all means sought to procure the peace and quiet of his subiects, but he had bin interrupted by the practises of some turbulent men, so as hee could not maintaine peace in all his Prouinces. Hee was therefore greued that hee could not deliuer vnto his sonne a quiet estate, and the rather for that his sonne being yong of yeares, was not yet fit to gouerne kingdomes, that his cousins wisedome and integritie had bene tryed vnto him, the which he had hetherto vsed among the Portugals, knowing it to be such, as hee durst safely commit the government of all his other realmes to his faith.

Hauing now resolved (after so many labours past, for the glory of God, and the quiet of

of his subiects) to giue ouer the gouernment, and to spend the remainder of his A  
dayes in contemplation, giuing God thanks for the prosperous course of his life, and  
the happines of his Estates, rettyring himselfe into some Religious place, and there pray  
continually for his soules health: And to resigne vp the gouernment of his Realme to  
Philippe his sonne, and to Albert his cousin, that with their ioynt Councils and cares  
they might gouerne his subiects, vntill his sonne grew to more yeares, and were capable  
of the sole commaund. That hee would also adde vnto their Councils five of the cheife  
Noble-men of the Kingdome, Spaniards borne, whose counsell, helpe, and authority,  
if need were, they should vse, but I doe not find that this resolution tooke effect.

Muley Xecq  
becomes a  
Christian.

Muley Mahomet sometimes King of Fez and Marrock, was expelled by his vncle B  
Muley Moluc, who, imploring ayde from Sebastian King of Portugall, they both dyed  
in battell, as you haue heard. Mahomet had a sonne called Muley Xecq, who had  
beene giuen in hostage with some Noblemen to Sebastian, who sent him to Mazagon.  
After the battell hee was coueayed with his company into Spaine, where hee was  
brought vpp vnder the protection of King Philippe, and this yeare beeing instructed  
in the Christian Religion, hee became a Christian, and was Christened in that fa-  
mous Monastery of Saint Laurence (called *Escoriall*) with his couzin and other Cour-  
tiers, all making profession of the Gospell.

1594

The Turke this yeare made all Italy to tremble, for that Cigala beeing come forth C  
with an hundred and threescore Gallies and other vessells, it seemed at the first, that  
hee had a desseyne to enter into the gulphe, but finding the Venetians to make great  
preparation, they fell vppon the coast of Calabria, where they did much harme vn-  
till the coming of Prince Doria into those Seas, who seeing the Turke gone rety-  
red himselfe, but the Turkes hauing fortified their Fleete with more Gallies, re-  
turned againe and threatned Italy: Wherevppon Carlo Spinelli, by commandement  
from the Viceroy of Naples, caused the City of Rhegium to be abandoned with  
some others vppon that coast.

Turkes invade  
Italy.

Cigala coming to Rhegium, and finding their goods carried to some safer place, D  
hee burnt it in disdaine, and threatned to passe farther into the country. The mi-  
sery which the poore people endured, and the cruelty which those Barbarians vsed  
was exceeding great, the spoyle they made were valued at many hundred thousand  
crownes: And for that the King of Spaine had need (if hee would defend his owne E-  
states, and the honour of the holy Church from the Armes of Infidells) of great summes  
of gold, he made request vnto the Pope, that the Cardinall and Archbishop of Toledo be-  
ing dead in Spaine, and hauing left a million of crownes to be employed in godly vses,  
he would make declaration that the said summe might be employed in those godly  
and important warres, wherein the Pope tooke deliberation, and did soone after satisfye the  
King, confirming the Cardinall Albert of Austria in the succession of the said Archbi-  
shoprick, hauing beene named by his Maiesty. But to treat more strictly with him of  
many affayres importing Christendome, he sent John Francisco Aldobrandini Ambassa-  
dour into Spaine, who was receaued there with royall magnificence and great shewes of  
honor and loue.

Albert of Au-  
stria Archbi-  
shop of Toledo.

1595

In the beginning of this yeare 1595. the warre began to grow hotte in the Franche  
Contry of Bourgundy, betwixt the French and the Spaniard, whether the King of Spaine  
resolved to send the Constable of Castile, who was Gouernor of the Dutchie of Milan,  
with 4500. souldiers of the Realme of Naples, and he gaue commission to Fernando de  
Toledo, Lodowicke Melzi, to Alexander Carraciola, and to Alexander Gonzaga, either of  
them to raise a troupe of horse, and that they should leauy a thousand foot in that estate,  
and three thousand in the Duchy of Vrbino.

Constable of  
Castile sent vn-  
to the French  
Court.

Protestation of  
the Spanish  
Ambassador at  
the absolution  
of the French  
King.

The French King hauing left the religion wherein he had beene bred, and fallen to the F  
Romish Church, was after great sute and instance, absolved by the Pope with the ac-  
customed ceremonies. Before the doing whereof, the King of Spaines Ambassa-  
dour made a protestation in the King his Masters name, that whatsoeuer the Pope  
intended for to doe in the said businesse, should not any way preiudice his Masters  
rights to the Realme of Nauarre, nor to the Duchy of Bourgundy, nor yet to the great

A great treasure hee had disbursed at the request of the Catholikes of France, where-  
of hee meant to bee repaid, and that hee would not desist from armes, vntill that  
Realme had satisfied him: which protestation being accepted by the Pope, the said  
embassadours Secretarie caused a publike instrument to be made with licence from  
his Holinesse. And this yeare died D. Antonio of Portugall at Paris, which newes  
were verie ioyfull to the king of Spaine, being freed from the apprehensions of daile  
troubles in that realme, by meanes of his pretensions.

Death of D.  
Antonio king  
of Portugall.

The Archduke Ernestus of Austria being Gouernour in Flanders for the king of  
Spaine, the earle of Fuentes commanded the armie by prouision vntill the coming  
of a new gouernour, the king resolving to send the Cardinall Albertus to succeed  
his brother: vpon whose dispatch (whether it proceeded from the kings own disposition,  
or a desire in him to make himselfe the more acceptable to the people of those Prouin-  
ces, at his first coming) there were many Ships of the East Countries, and the  
Netherlands, (which had beene staied in Spaine, to serue as men of warre, and to  
waite home the Indian fleets) discharged in diuers Hauens and Ports: And at Sevil-  
le the Duke of Medina Sidonia, told the Merchants and Masters of ships, that  
it was the kings pleasure and command, being mooued there vnto by the Cardinall  
of Austria, and that from thenceforth their ships should haue free passage into Spaine,  
and haue passports to goe and come if they would demand it, hoping they would  
C in time acknowledge the kings gracious fauours, and submit themselues vnto their  
naturall Prince: And the better to perswade the vnited Prouinces of the kings loue  
and fauour towards them, hee set Philip of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and Earle of  
Buren, at libertie, hauing beene long restrained in Spaine, which was thought to be  
done at the instance of the Prince of Spaine, and of the Archduke, to the end hee  
might haue him with him into the Low-Countries.

Ships of the v-  
nited Prouin-  
ces, discharged  
in Spaine.

Experience hath often taught that armes are more fortunate, and produce grea-  
ter effects in an enemies Countrie, than at home, and that there is no such triumph  
as that which is fetcht farre off. The French held that all their combustions had bin  
forged in Spaine, that the Iesuits had beene the chiefe workemen: The attempts a-  
gainst the French kings person, by John Chastell who had hurt him in the face, and o-  
ther their disciples, did verifie this opinion; Besides the French king, had by his ler-  
ters giuen the Estates of Arthois and Henaut to vnderstand, that if they did not des-  
ist from relieuing his rebellious Leaguers, vpon the frontiers of Picardie, hee was  
resolved to make warre against them, prefixing them a certaine time, to giue him  
answere, which they neglected: whereupon the French king grounding the necessitie  
of his armes, vpon these considerations, hee made a declaration at Paris, in Ianuary this  
yeare, by the which, for certaine reasons therein contained, he denounced war against the  
king of Spaine and all the Low-countrie Prouinces vnder his obedience, as his ene-  
mies, causing it to be proclaimed in all the frontier Townes of his Realme.

French king  
proclaims war  
against the king  
of Spaine.

E After the publication hereof, there was the like proclamation made at Brussels, in  
the name of the king of Spaine, against the French king (whome hee tearmed Prince  
of Bearne) and against all the French that held his partie: the Leaguers were ex-  
cepted, whome hee called the good confederate French Catholikes, and he pro-  
mised to aide and assist them with all the meanes which God had giuen him, pro-  
mising the like to all the French, of what qualitie souer: that should within  
two moneths after that proclamation forsake him, and giue good testimony that they  
are no enemies to the Romish, Catholike, and Apostolike Religion, nor to the king  
of Spaine. This Edict was made in March, and proclaimed in all the Low Country  
townes vnder the kings obedience.

King of Spaine  
proclaims war  
against the  
French.

F In the yeare one thousand siue hundred ninetie and sixe, the king of Spaine made  
an edict, complaining that the reuenues of his crowne and the treasure which came  
yearly from the Indies, were consumed by reason of his great charges, for the de-  
fence of his Estates, and of all Christendome, imputing the cause to the great inter-  
est which he paid for the exchange of money, and vpon other contracts made with  
the Merchants in his Majesties name, so as in a manner all his receipts and reuenues were  
A a a a a a ingaged

1596  
King of Spaine  
breakes with  
the Merchants.

ingaged to others, being without any treasure to supply his wants, for that the Bankers (who had been accustomed to furnish him by exchange) made now some difficultie to deale any farther, hauing in a manner all the reuenues of his Crowne in their possession: for the preuenting of which inconuenience, hee found no better meanes than to repaire the treasure, and to free it from the wrongs it hath suffered by interests, which hee hath allowed in his contraction, to auoid greater danger which might grow by the want of meanes, to supply the necessities of the warre, the which his meaning was to preuent by these meanes, being impossible to vse any other vpon those occasions: wherefore (to cut off the said interests) his meaning was to resume vnto himselfe all the assignements which hee had given vnto any Merchants and Bankers, for what summes or contracts soeuer, which haue bene made by his commandement, since the decree made by him the first of September, one thousand five hundred seuentie and five, and the sixt of December one thousand five hundred seuentie and seuen, vnto the twentieth of Nouember this yeare one thousand five hundred ninetie and sixe, which assignations hee suspended, so as the Merchants might not receiue them, but the reuenues should be brought into his Coffers, and all contracts for interest should cease; Confirming whatsoeuer had bene concluded by his royall Councell in this behalfe, as done by his expresse commandement.

Merchants  
broke by reason  
of the Edict

This Edict being published, it bred a strange alteration among the Merchants in Spaine, Italie, and the Low-Countries. The Cardinall *Albertus* having taken vp money at Andwerp for the payment of the annie, and sent his bills of exchange into Spaine, they were not accepted, but sent backe againe and protested, which was a blemish to his credit, and made many merchants to breake, imputing the cause vnto the Edict.

Titles forbidden  
in Italie.

The corruption of titles being brought out of Spaine into Italie, men honouring one another in their speaking and writing with affected courtesies in such sort, as they found not titles sufficient to satisfie their arrogant ambition, so as to tearme meane men, most worthy or excellent (which was due to Soueraigne Princes) they held it no flatterie, the which was growne so familiar among all sorts of people, as euen base and obscure men did arrogate it: the king hauing made a prouision in Spaine some yeares before for this abuse; this yeare *Henry de Guzman* Earle of Olivares, being Viceroy of Naples, did set downe an order for that realme, the which was in some sort obserued in the Duchie of Milan; ordaining that in their letters there should bee no title of courtesie giuen to any but onely the dignitie which hee held, as to the Duke; Prince, Marquess, Earle or Doctor, such a one, taking away all superfluitie or suspicion of flatterie, as well within as without the said letters: the which was rigorously obserued in the Realm of Naples. But the Court of Rome and the Clergie men, disliking to receiue a law from any other than from the Pope, would not suffer it to be obserued.

Inundation of  
the river of  
Guadalquivir.

The King of Spaine being desirous to be reuenged of the spoiles which the English made daily, as well in Spaine as in his other dominions, gathered all his sea-forces together, in the beginning of this yeare one thousand five hundred ninetie and sixe, appointing the *Rendes-vous* to bee at Seuille, but this sudden preparation was disturbed by diuers accidents. The first was the strange swelling and ouerflowing of the Riuer of Guadalquivir, to the great spoile of the neighbour Countie, for passing ouer her banks, there were many persons drowned, with much cattel, and very many buildings overthrowne; but the greatest losse was at Seuille, in which port there lying many Ships of the Fleet, they were staied long from making of their preparations. And in the meane time, whilst they proceeded slowly in this action, according to the custome of that nation, who perswade themselves to doe great matters with fame onely, and repose the chiefe of their most important enterprises, in tying the enemie, and consuming him at leysure, the English armie appeared vpon their coast, as you shall heare.

The charge of the English fleet and armie was giuen to the Lord *Charles Howard*, high Admirall of England (who at his returne from that seruice, was by the Queenes Maiestie

A Maiestie made Earle of Nottingham) and to the Earle of Essex, being ioyned together in Commission. Being vpon their going from the coast of England, they did publish in print in feuerall languages, the true, iust, and vrgent reasons which had moued her Maiestie to vndertake the sending forth of so great an Nauie, with a full declaration of her Majesties pleasure, and so they set saile from Plymouth vpon the third of Iune, this yeare, the whole English fleet consisting of some hundred ships of all sorts, the which was diuided into foure squadrons; of the which the Lord Admirall commaunded the first, the Earle of Essex the second; the Lord *Thomas Howard* (now Earle of Suffolke) the third, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* the fourth.

B On the tenth of Iune this fleet got sight of Caliz, or Cadiz, in Andalusia, but they kept not the order appointed for their coming in, by reason of the mistaking of their masters and their falling in the night with the West, sooner than they expected, which made them stand vpon another boord, and had somewhat disordered their fleet. The Lord Admirall (one of the Generals) was with the greatest part of the fleet ahead to the Windward of the other. General the Earle of Essex and his Squadron, the wind being then 'at South; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was by reason of some chase in the night to Leeward, and afterne.

The Spaniards which were to the number of fiftie and seuen saile, rod vnder the Towne of Caliz and the Gallies being seuentene lay in the mouth of the Bay, to couer the ships and to attend the landing of the English: The Lord Admirall came to an anchor before the South-west point of the Island, called Saint Sebastians, the Earle of Essex seeing the Gallies rowe towards the landing place which hee had chosen, bore with them vntill hee made them leaue their course, and then looft vp, and came with his Squadron to another anchor by the Lord Admirall, which the rest of the fleet seeing, came all vnto them, only the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the Sea-honor anchored between them and the shoare. The Generals called a Councell, where it was ioynly agreed vpon by them that their men should bee landed, and the Town presently attempted on the West side, which was next to the anchoring, for which purpose the Earle of Essex Lord General, Sir *Francis Vere* Lord Marshall, and Sir *Coniers Clifford* Sergeant Maior, went to draw together as many souldiers and Gentlemen as their boats could wel carrie at once: which being done, and all their boates about the Lord Admirals ship, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (who was but then arriued in the Due Repulse) came and protested against their landing, holding the attempt to be dangerous, and the performance (as the wind blew and billowe went) impossible, for indeed it was growne to a storme, whereupon it was resolved that the souldiers should bee returned to their ships, and the Spanish fleet first assailed, according to Sir *Walter Rawleighs* aduice.

English fleet  
enters into  
Cadiz roade

It was past noone before this later resolution was taken, and more than two houres after before the Souldiers could bee carried backe vnto their Shippes, some of their boates miscarrying before they could recouer their shippes: which being done, my Lord *Thomas Howard* weighed anchor first, to giue the other ships scope to cast about; then the rest of their principall ships, as they could get leaue of the smaller Vessels which rodde close by them, who also put themselves vnder saile; but the winde was so strong, and in such a place, as most of their ships had bene driuen too farr to leeward, if they had not come to anchour, which the chiefe leaders perceiuing, they came to a roade: Besides, the Sunne being not verie high, they thought that the bringing in of so great a fleet towards night, would so disorder them, as the attempt should bee made to their great disadvantage. So as the first day there was nothing executed by reason of these accidents. Onely, in the euening from the Bulwarke called Saint Philip, from the Ships of warre which lay at Anchor, and from the Gallies which did aduance a little towards them, some few Canon shot were bestowed vpon the Due Repulse, who answered them with the like, especially against the Gallies, when they approached, to make them know the English could entertaine them, if they came on.

That night the gallies coasting by the shore, betwixt S. Mary Port & Rotta, came to obserue what order was kept by the rereward of the English fleet, but they were soon turned backe.

A a a a a ij.

backe. On Munday early in the morning, there was a Councell held aboard the Lord Admirals Shippe, where it was resolved to weigh anchor presently, and to assaile the Spanish fleet, the which was accordingly performed, after this manner. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (for so the Generall had appointed it) bare right in the midst of the Chanell with the kings great ships which retred before them, scorning to bestowe a shot on the gallies, which discharged their Canon as they passed by them. The Lord Marshall, being in the Raine-bow, loost vp the Gallies, which lay vp with their sternes close vnder the Towne, and kept their prowes towards the Ships that should passe by them: The Raine-bow was a good while in fight, before that any other ship came vnto her, and was plyed with shot both from the gallies and from the Towne.

The Earle seeing her so ouer-matched, made haste vnto her, and so making the enimie a fairer mark than the Raine-bow (which was a farre lesser ship) caled her of many blowes. Some other ships shot, but farther off, and to lesse purpose. This encounter with the Gallies, was a verie great aduantage vnto the enemy, they hauing so many to so fewe, for in effect these two ships about mentioned performed this whole seruice. Besides, there were two Bulwarkes of the Towne on their side: all which notwithstanding, the Gallies were forced to sic before them into the Baie, two onely except, which Sir *John Wingfield*, comming then vp in the Vanguard, did keep so in as they durst not looke out.

During the fight with the Gallies, the wind calmed, and the English fleet went slowly ahead, most of the Spanish ships neuer staied vntill they came to Portreal which is the furthest part of the Bay, the ships moued themselves with their broad sides towards the English, that they might fight to their greater aduantage. The English masters of ships were generally of opinion, that they could not go neer without danger of running on ground; the which did much crosse the forwardnesse of the chiefe Commanders of the formost ships, led by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, whose desire being to draw as neere the enemy as they might, were notwithstanding insforced to come to anchour without the reach of Musket shot, and to attend the flood, where they fought with perpetuall volleys of the Canon, from fixe in the morning to eleuen of the clocke: the ships that followed them neereft were commanded by Sir *Francis Vere*, Lord Marshall, Sir *George Carew*, now Lord *Carew*, Vice-admirall of Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Squadron, and Generall of the artillerie, by Sir *Robert Dudley*, Viceadmirall of the Lord Admirals Squadron, by Sir *Robert Southwell*, Vice-admirall of the Lord Thomas Squadron, by Sir *Robert Crosse*, the Earle of Suffex being aboard him, and by Sir *George Gifford*. The Earle of Essex and the Lord Admirall came vp an houre before the flood, hauing beene all that morning soundly battered by the forts of Cadiz: And for that the Arke drew too much water for the narrownesse of the Chanel, where those ships did ride, who also took vp the whole breadth of the riuer, the Lord Admirall put himselfe into the Lord *Thomas Howards* ship.

Spanish ships  
vnto aground  
at Cadiz.

When the flood beganne to swell, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* determined to lay the Armadoes aboard with the Queenes ships, (for the hulkes filled with Muskietiers, which were promised, came not) but as soone as soe the Spanish Admirall perceiued that the said Leaders beganne to hoyle their top-sailes, they presently cut their Cables by the halfe, and draue a shoare, sauing as many of themselves as they could carrie at once in their boates; of the rest some were slaine in the furie, and the rest taken to mercie.

The Admirall of the Spaniards called the Philip, a goodlie and a powerfull ship, tooke fire before she could be entred, by an inch of a match fired, and laid in the mouth of a barrell of powder in her gunner roome: But the Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* saued the Mathew and Andrew, Viceadmirall and Rereadmirall of the Spanish fleet, the other ships were set on fire by certain Negros, who leapt into the riuer and saued themselves by swimming.

The India fleet of merchants being about 40 saile, were gotten vp 4 English miles into the riuer; for the redemption of which the K. officers in Cadiz offered the English 600 thousand

A thousand pounds sterling: The Earle of Essex was often prest to haue them first taken and then solde, but hee beleued that such as offered the composition had means how to pay the money from which hee could not bee dissuaded, vntill he saw the ships all in a flame, which the duke of Medina Sydonia commanded to bee done.

Spanish ships  
red by them-  
selves.

The number of the Spanish Fleet was fiftie seauen ships, foureteeen of the kings men of warre, and three great Fly-boats which brought the Treasure from Portricco, the rest were Merchants, all faire ships, full of good ordnance, and richly laden than euer any Fleet was that went to the West Indies. Here also I should remember, that during the fight, the gallies and Fort of Pontall, plaied continually vpon the English ships.

B The English hauing obtained this great victorie by Gods especial fauor, the earle resolved to follow it with all possible expedition; and so immediately hee dispatched the Sergeant Maior to get as many Gentlemen and old fouldiers into boates, as might well bee landed at once, which being performed, his Lordship and the Lord Marshall went to discover the landing, and finding it good, he put betwixt two and three thousand men on land, returning the boates to fetch my Lord Admirall with his seconds.

English land at  
Cadiz.

C These being put in battell, he commanded the Marshall to march directly with his regiment to the other side of the lland, which was halfe a mile from their landing, his Lordship with the rest that were on shoare following him speedily. Becing come to the Southside, the Earle diuided his troupes equally, sending the one halfe with Sir *Coniers Clifford*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, to breake downe a bridge called El Ponte del Suasso, at a streit, that keepes the passage from the maine, marching himselfe with the other halfe towards the Towne: the like directions hee gaue for the seconds, to bee equally diuided, and sent these two waies. When hee came within halfe a mile of the Towne, a cornet of horse, with some shot, made offer to skirmish, but they were soone put to flight: when they came within musket shot of the Towne, there sallied forth great troupes both horse and foot, vnder fauor of their walls, with their Cornets and Ensignes, which the earle discouering from a little hill as they fell out of the towne, hee gaue direction to the formost of the troups being some thirty pikes, and as many shot, to run away as soone as the enimie offered to charge them, the which they did, giuing the enemy courage to come farther on than they first intended, but the English charged them so fast, as they had scarce time to recouer the Port and shut it.

D The Horsemen which sallied out of the Towne, were called the Knights of hires: they could not get into the Towne being so closely followed by the English foot, whereupon they forsook their horses, & leapt ouer the walls at the west corner, by which the English also entred. The English in pursuing the Spaniards staied not vntill they came to the foot of their formost rampar, and then the Earle diuided his troupes equally, consisting of twelue hundred men, keeping the one halfe with himselfe on the Southside of the Port, and sending the Marshall with the rest to the Northside. The Earle of Essex, on this side, with much adoe found meanes for himselfe and some few others, to get vp, where he saw on the one side a Parapet of stone almost inaccessible, for that neither the bulwark nor any part of the Courtine was finished. There the English did first beate the enimie from the Parapet, yet they lay open to another square bulwark of stone, which flanked them within a pikes length, but they did so beate the bulwark with shot, as the enimie did them little harme: Notwithstanding, considering that they must quier the place for that their men lay vncovered, the earle sought for an entrance, which being found, the leape downe being a pikes length, hee commanded one *Ensign* which stood next him, being Lieutenant to the Earle of Suffex to enter, which after he and foure or five other fouldiers more had done, the like charge was giuen to Captain *Pooley*, who carried the Generals red Ensigne, whereupon Sir *Arthur Savage*, Captain of the Earles company, with diuers Gentlemen followers and seruants to his Lordship took the same course. In the mean time, whilst that thirtie or fortie were thus entred into the Towne, the Lord Marshall who besides his own soldiers had with him the generals gard of Partizans,

Cadiz entred by  
the English.

A a a a iij.

forced



forced the Port, which his Lordship espying, being not ten paces from it, hee presently turned from the leape, and entred that way, carrying with him all the chiefe Aduenturers of the armie, and worthy Sir *John Wingfield* (who before had slaine a Commaunder of the enemies with his pike, and was cast behind) hauing a shot in the thigh, but hauing recovered one of the enemies horses, hee came vp prefendly to second them, not staying for any dressing.

From the entrance of the English into the Towne, vntill they came vnto the Market place, the enemy fought with them continually, and kept them play about halfe an houre before they could recouer it, yet at the last hauing wonne the place from them, they notwithstanding so flanked it, and kept their houses (which were built like castles) as they slue many of the English, and among others that valiant gentleman Sir *John Wingfield*, who though vnarmed, offered himselfe continually to all daungers, so as hee was shot in the head from the castle which did continually play vpon those that made good this market place.

At length they got into the houses which annoyed them, and slue those they found in them: And as the Lord Generall before it was darke cleared all the abouts, but the castle, or that which they call the vpper Towne, so the Lord Marshall cleared all the other side towards the water, and brought those that were in the Fort and Bulwarke of Saint *Philip*, to sue for mercie: which done, the Generals entred the Towne-house, whither all the chiefe citizens came to kisse their feet.

The next morning, both the Castle and forts yeelded to their mercie, without any other conditions. The poore and baser sort were dismissed, and all women of qualitie whatsoeuer. The Corregidor deliuered his sword vnto the Generall, offering to bee his prisoner, and to giue for himselfe and some others of good place twelue thousand ducats: no man was slaine vpon cold blood: it was held there were about two thousand Spaniards slaine in the furie of the fight.

Besides the chiefe Commanders of the armie, who had giuen many proofs of their valor and experience in martiall affairs, there were many gallant gentlemen which serued worthily in this action, whome in the end the Generall rewarded with the honour of knight-hood. I may not forget to make particular mention of Sir *Samuel Bagdol* who receiued eight wounds with the pike, and sword, whome the Lord Generall (meeting in the market place all bloudie) knighted, to the encouragement of all others, before that either the castle was taken in, or the whole Towne wonne.

The towne was verie rich, and did much enrich the armie, but the worthiest men got least, for they were fighting, whilest the baser sort intended nothing but pillage and spoile. There was good store of brasse ordnance, and though no great, yet very happy sort of poulder, for the English hauing not about twelue hundred men, their poulder was spent, and they were ouerlaid on all sides, with the number of the enemies shot, who hurt and slue their men from the houses: when they had made them quit the streets, they found by chance by the market place, such poulder as they had brought for their owne defence, and the supply of their men that should fight there, with the which they serued their turnes, till their succours were entred and the Towne assured.

King of Spaine  
besides at Cadix,

The Prouisions of Sea for the kings fleet, as masts, pike-staues, deale-boards, caskes, and all kinde of shot, cables, anchors, wine, oyle, vinegar, rice, figs, and such like things, were of great value, and will not be supplied by the king of Spain in many yeares. And as for his losse in shipping, the kings Officers of his naue, who were then taken prisoners, did protest with sighes and teares, that nineteene of the ships which they had spoiled, with the *S. Mathew* and Saint *Andrew*, which they had taken, were able to bear the greatest part of ships that the king hath in all the world. So as laying together the running of the Kings Fleet, the enioying of some of his great ships of warre, which before had neuer bene done; the burning of the Indian fleet of Merchants, whose lading the prisoners confest to haue bene worth eight Millions; the impeaching him to send that yeare to releue his men at the West-Indies; and so by consequence to receiue no treasure from thence the next yeare; the taking of the Citie, wherein were foure thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse

A horse of the chiefe caualiers of Andalusia; the sacking of this place, from whence he is to set out all his fleets for the West Indies, and the spoyle of all his prouisions there: All this, I say, layed together, will proue one of the greatest blowes that euer Spaine receiued. Yet all this was done in one day, and without any great losse; for in the whole fleet there was not any man of note, but Sir *John Wingfield*, slaine. At the assault and winning of the towne many gentlemen were hurt, and some slaine; and yet not many, considering the strength of the place, and the nature of the attempt.

As soone as the English fleet was entred into the road, and that the Spaniards had discovered the Dutch squadron in the fight, immediately, both at Seuille, Saint Lucar, and some other places, they did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships as dealt with them friendly by way of trade and marchandise, but did confiscat their goods, and did imprison the marchants and owners of the same, and, as it was reported, did intreat many of them verie cruelly.

The English being masters of the towne of Cadiz, the two Generals had an especiall care for the well-intreating of all religious persons, both men and women, whom they caused to be freely transported out to port *Santa Maria*, without any ranfome or other molestation; and, giuing the bishop of Cusco free passage without ranfome, they let him vnderstand, that they came not to deal with Church-men, or vnarmed men, and men of peace, or with children; neither was it their intent to make this voyage for gold, silver, or any other riches; but that their onely comming was to meet with their dishonourable practises, and many injuries, and to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England; and to let them vnderstand, that whensoever they attempted any base and dishonourable practise against their Soueraigne *Queen* and *Majesty*, that it should be reuenged.

The day before the English departed from Cadiz, being the first of Iulie, the citie was burnt, the Ladies, Nunnes, and other women and children, being safely sent to Saint *Marie* port, with their apparell and Jewels, euery man being forbidden to search them vpon paine of death.

I haue thought good to annex vnto the end of this relation, for a remembrance to posteritie, the names of such as receiued the Order of Knighthood from the Generals, as a testimonie of their well-defending in this worthe action.

|                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sir <i>Samuel Bagdol</i> .      | Sir <i>Christopher Heydon</i> .   |
| Sir <i>Arbuthnot Savage</i> .   | Sir <i>Francis Popham</i> .       |
| The Earle of <i>Suffex</i> .    | Sir <i>Philip Woodhouse</i> .     |
| The Lord <i>Burke</i> .         | Sir <i>Alexander Clifford</i> .   |
| Com. <i>Lodowike</i> .          | Sir <i>Maurice Barkley</i> .      |
| Sir <i>William Howard</i> .     | Sir <i>Charles Blunt</i> .        |
| Sir <i>George Dennewe</i> .     | Sir <i>George Gifford</i> .       |
| Sir <i>Henrie Neneh</i> .       | Sir <i>Robert Crosse</i> .        |
| Sir <i>Edwin Rich</i> .         | Sir <i>James Esclandmore</i> .    |
| Sir <i>Richard Leuen</i> .      | Sir <i>John Leigh</i> .           |
| Sir <i>Peter Egmont</i> .       | Sir <i>John Leigh alias Lee</i> . |
| Sir <i>Anthonie Aspley</i> .    | Sir <i>Richard Weston</i> .       |
| Sir <i>Henrie Leonard</i> .     | Sir <i>Richard Wainman</i> .      |
| Sir <i>Richard Lewison</i> .    | Sir <i>James Weston</i> .         |
| Sir <i>Horatio Vere</i> .       | Sir <i>Richard Ruddle</i> .       |
| Sir <i>Arthur Thragmorton</i> . | Sir <i>Robert Alesfeld</i> .      |
| Sir <i>Miles Corbet</i> .       | Sir <i>William Monson</i> .       |
| Sir <i>Edward Conway</i> .      | Sir <i>John Bowes</i> .           |
| Sir <i>Oliuer Lambert</i> .     | Sir <i>Edward Bowes</i> .         |
| Sir <i>Anthonie Cooke</i> .     | Sir <i>Humphrey Druel</i> .       |
| Sir <i>John Townsend</i> .      | Sir <i>Amias Preston</i> .        |

Names of  
such as were  
knighted at  
Cadix.

Sir Robert Newington.  
Sir John Bucke.  
Sir John Morgan.  
Sir John Aldridge.  
Sir John Aschdown.  
Sir Mathew Browne.  
Sir John Alton.  
Sir Thomas Gates.  
Sir Gille Merricke.  
Sir Thomas Smith.  
Sir William Pooley.

Sir Thomas Palmer.  
Sir John Stafford.  
Sir Robert Louch.  
Sir John Gilbert.  
Sir William Harney.  
Sir John Gray.  
D. Christopher prince of Portugal.  
Sir John Vanderfuerd, Ad-  
mirall of the Hollanders.  
Sir Robert Dudley.

8 August.

Thus this triumphant English armie left Cadiz, hauing receiued from the duke of Medina Sidonia nine and thirtie English prisoners, which had bene slaues in the Spaniards hands: Which done, they past along the coast of Portugall, they tooke, spoiled, and burnt Farol, they marche into the countrey thereabouts, after which exploit they shap-  
 Farol burnt by the English.

Having done this great affront to the king of Spaine, they left him full of rage, and de-  
 Fleet of Spaniards prepared against England  
 fire of reuenge: whereupon presently after the returne of the English, he gaue commandement to the Adelantado of Castille, to prepare a mightie fleet; wherein he employed great care and diligence, so as it was readie the same yeare. But this fleet had a farre dif-  
 Spanish fleet cast away.  
 ferent successe to that of England. It consisted of fourescore ships, which went out of Lisbon the eighth of October 1596. They coasted along Galicia, to goe and joyne with the Generall of Biscaie, where they had leuiued some troupes of souldiers: the Adelantado comming to double cap S. Vincent in the night, it seemes he mistooke his reckoning, and fell short of the cap, where they were taken with a cruell storme, in the which five and foure of their ships were cast away, on Symon and Iudas day, and the rest were so shaken with the storme, as they had great difficultie to saue them: so as their enterprize proved vaine that yeare.

This ye also they treated in Spaine of the canonizing of blessed S. Raymond, the which was afterwards effected at Rome. They renewed their suit vnto the Pope, which had bin made many yeares before to diuers of his predecessors. After that instance had bin made vnto his Holinesse by the townes of the realme of Arragon, who had sent Paul Costabile, Generall of the preaching Priests, of which Order S. Raymond had bene also Generall, the Pope hauing pronounced that they should passe on to perfect this businesse, the Archbishop of Tarazona came to Barcelona with two bishops, and the Proctor generall of S. Dominicke, to reuiue Saint Raymond's boile: the which was done with great ceremonie, and authenticall writings sent to Rome to prosecute the rest. About the same time Luca Calmacanti, Chamberlaine to the Pope, arrived, being sent with two cardinals hats by him, to Francis d'Avila, Archdeacon of Toledo, and to Ferdinand Aluarez de Gueuara, President of the royall Councell, who had bene newly created cardinals, being exhorted by his Holinesse to passe withall speed to Rome, as they did that Winter: so as in the beginning of the next yeare they came into Italie, hauing a good opportunitie to passe in those galleys which were come from Genoua, whither the duke of Maqueda should also haue gone, being appointed by the king to be Viceroy of Sicile: but he was stayed many monethes by some smaller accidents. And there arrived also Alphonso Gariglia, who required a great aid of money for the prince of Transilvania, to maintain the warre against the Turke, who found the king verie well affected, notwithstanding that hee was enforced to maintain warre in diuers places, to his exceeding great toyle and charge. Yet he satisfied that princes desire with a bountifull hand, and gaue free libertie to the Popes Agents, to buy a quantitie of corn in his realmes, to saue the state of the Church. And then about the end of September, the Indian fleet arrived safely at Seuille, being verie rich, the which did much comfort the Spaniards after the great losses they had sustai-  
 Communication of S. Raymond desired by the Spaniards.  
 Quarrels in the Venetian embassadors house.

A sustained by the English armie. There was nothing did more afflict the minds of the Spaniards, than their hatred and disdain of the English, being not able to endure, not onely to be troubled in their traffique to the Indies, and their rich fleets to be layd for, piercing euen into the heart of America, but also to inuade the continent of Spaine with a royall armie, and to land there by by force, incountring, spoiling, and burning their ships euen in their ports. Being therefore tormented with a desire of reuenge, and grieved that the last yeares fleet, being ruined by tempest, could not effect what they had designed, there was a new order giuen, that many galleons should bee armed, and new troupes of souldiers should bee leuiued, not onely in Spaine, but also in Italie.  
 B The king therefore, touching matters of warre, gaue an extraordinary authoritie to the Cont Fuentes, who was newly returned from the gouernement of Flanders: They caused all ships of foreine countries to be stayed within their ports, with an intent to make vse of them in this armie: but the king falling verie sicke, this preparation was somewhat stayed, they being doubtfull of his life, both in respect of his great age, and the violence of his infirmities. And so the souldiers which were leuiued for this seruice, were sent to lodge, some in Galicia, and some in Biscaie, to bee fully imbarcked when time should serue.

The important cause concerning Marchants and Bankers, was now in question in Spaine; they hauing for many yeares furnished the king with money for his warres in Flanders, and other places, a businesse which troubled all the Bankes of Europe, as one depends vpon another, with their subalternall credits and interests. Wherefore some princes were moued by an act of true bountie, to helpe their subjects that were marchants, least they should faile in their credit. Besides the kings souldiers being, by reason thereof, in great want, they fell to mutinies. In this businesse therefore of so great importance, and wherein the king pretended to bee defrauded in diuers man-  
 C  
 D  
 E  
 F  
 gers, of many hundred thousands of crownes, this controuersie with the kings officers was long and tedious, the marchants at the last beeing well content to come to any reasonable agreement; the which at the length was made about the end of this yeare. And for that it had been discovered, that Girolamo Lomellino had sent great summes of money into Fraunce, the which had bene verie prejudiciall vnto Spaine, and forbidden, by reason of the warre which continued yet with France, he was subject to a rigorous punishment.

There fell out a great accident in the Venetian embassadours palace at Madrid, whose name was Augustine Nani, a man of great judgement, and of a generous spirit, in maintaining the dignitie of that charge which hee held neere the king: The Prouost Marshall of the citie would haue apprehended one who had retired into his palace, flying from the Sergeant which followed him, hoping hee should be safe there, as in a place of franchise, according to the vse of Courts: the Prouost carrying himselfe too imperiously (as such people are accustomed to doe) a gentleman of the embassadours, of the house of Badoero, and his Secretarie, comming at this noyse, could not endure it; so as from great words they fell to deeds, and the Prouosts wand was broken (the which they are accustomed to carrie, as a marke of their authoritie) with other accidents; so as most of the embassadours familie came running at the noyse: whereupon the kings officers complained. But matters were afterwards tempered by the king, with the equitie and respect which ought to bee had to the accident and person. Yet the State of Venice, being willing to take away all causes of distast, that might grow, made a speedie election of a new embassadour, which was Francis Soranzo; but hee past not into Spaine vntill the next yeare, all shadowes of dislike being in the meane time vanished away, taking all occasions to shew mutuall kindnesse betwixt them and the embassadour Nani, who was extraordinarily favoured by the king and prince; and at his departure hee was made a knight, and honoured with rich presents.

They were verie carefull this yeare in Spaine, to preuent the English, least they should haue some new opportunitie to annoy them, as they had done at Cadiz; which citie and

1597  
Spaniards in-  
censed against  
the English.

Preparation in  
Spaine for a  
new armie.

Controuersie in  
Spaine touching  
the Bankers.

Quarrels in the  
Venetian em-  
bassadors house.

1597

and castle they did fortifie better, with all other places vpon the coast, the earle of Fuentes lying continually towards the sea with great forces, and hauing good garrisons in the coast townes, hee sent his horsemen to runne along the coast, that they might bee free from feare.

*Marriage of the  
prince of Spain  
published.*

And for that the king of Spaine, by the continuall indisposition of his bodie, the great trouble of his mind, hauing such a world of weightie affaires, could not hope for any long life, he sought to prouide for the future gouernement of his subiects. Wherefore he did publish the future marriage of his sonne D. Philip vnto the eldest daughter of Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, whom some call *Gregoria Masimiliana*, others *Marie*. But whilest they made preparation for the solemnitie of this mariage, and sent to the Pope for dispensations, as well for this, as for the future mariage betwixt the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta D. *Isabella*, they had newes that the sayd princeesse was suddenly dead, hauing left the greatnesse of this world, to attaine vnto a better life in heaven.

*Preparation for  
the island voy-  
age.*

The fortunat successe of the English the last yeare at Cadiz, hauing affronted the king of Spaine at his owne doores, gaue them courage to make new attempts this yeare, and to send forth a goodlie fleet to sea, vnder the commaund of the earle of Essex, who was both Admirall at sea, and Generall of the land forces. This fleet consisted of an hundred and twentie saile, whereof there were threescore men of warre, the rest were victuallers, and ships for transportation of souldiers, and to attend the English fleet. The Estates of the vnited Prouinces sent ten tall flie-boates vnder the commaund of Monsieur de *Duniord*. This fleet was victualled for three monethes, with large allowance, with a supplie of apparell for the mariners and souldiers. It was diuided into three squadrons: the Admirals Squadron, the Lord *Thomas Howards* Squadron, who was Vice-admirall, and Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Squadron, being Rere-admirall. The Nederland flie-boats were commaunded by their owne Admirall. There were six thousand souldiers appointed for the land seruice, with ten peeces of ordnance for the field and batterie, with all necessarie prouisions. And there were in this fleet about five hundred voluntaries, of knights and gentlemen. The chiefe Commaunders of these land forces, were, the Earle of Essex Generall, the Lord *Montjoy* his Lieutenant generall, Sir *Francis Vere* Marshall of the field, Sir *George Carew* Master of the ordnance, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Sergeant Major of the armie, Sir *Christopher Blunt* Colonell generall of the foot, with all other officers necessarie in such an action. In all this great fleet there were not aboue eightene or twentie ships of her Majesties royall Nanie, the names of which, and of the Captaines that commaunded in them, I leaue to a particular discourse written of this voyage, by a worthie knight, who was an eye witness, and an actor in it; the which I hope hee will suffer to cometo the presse.

*Designes of the  
English fleet.*

This goodlie armie being readie, it seemed they had three seuerall designes, to defeat the king of Spaines fleet, commaunded by D. *Martin de Padiglia*, earle of S. Gadea, and Adelantado Major of Castille, if they met it at sea, or to ruine it in the harbour of Farol, if they found it there; and to take all fleets of treasure, or any East or West Indian fleets they should find at sea, in the way to Spaine: and lastly, that they would take the island of the Terceres, which they held to bee an action of great importance. With this resolution they put to sea with this gallant fleet; but neither of these enterprises succeeded: for bending their course directly for Farol, they were incountered with verie stormie weather, and contrarie windes, so as the whole fleet was scattered, and many of the shippes in verie great danger, a great part of the fleet beeing forced to put backe againe into Plymouth. The shippe wherein the Generall was, had a verie dangerous leake, and her mastes crackt in diuers places; yet hee held it out as long as possibly hee could, till in the end her vpper workes gaue way, and her maine beames did teare, so as they looked hourelly when the Oretoppe would fall, and the ordnance sinke downe into the Keele. Whereupon hee was forced to put backe to Plymouth, where hee found a great part of the

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A the fleet. There they repaired their shippes, and the earle tooke another, his owne being made vsueruiceable: But they were kept in by continuall stormes and contrarie windes, vntill their three monethes victuals was in a manner spent, and the sicknesse growne great in the flie boats which carried the land armie. Whereupon the Generall had order to discharge his land forces, all but a thousand old souldiers which had bene drawne out of the Low Countries; so as they were made vnable to land any forces at Farol. After which there was a project made by the earle, to send in certaine ships of fire, and to bumethe king of Spaines fleet as it should lye in the harbour, without any danger to the queenes ships. Which counsell being allowed of at Court, they put the second time to sea. But some of good judgement in the fleet; held this exploit vnseasable, they hauing not sufficient forces to performe it; neither could they attempt it without apparent daunger, as indeed it succeeded not; for that the Saint Mathew, one of the chiefe ships which should haue bene employed in that action, had lost her fore-mast, and was put backe into England, as they pretended: So as hauing no meanes to doe any seruice vpon the fleet at Farol, they concluded for the intercepting of the Indian fleet, and defeating of the Adelantado, if he did put to sea: for there was no meanes to take in the island of Tercera, their land forces being discharged. Whereupon they shaped their course for the islands, where they layed wait for the Indian fleet; but they escaped them, and got into Tercera road. What the reasons of the missing of this Indian fleet were, and what was else done at the islands by this armie, I leaue to an ample relation of him who was an eye witness, and did well obserue it. And so, hauing failed in all their designes, this fleet returned home into England.

The Spaniards did in like manner arme. There was the regiment of *Alexander de Monti*, consisting of 15 companies, embarked at Naples, the which had like to haue bene cast away in a storme vpon the coast of Romania: In the end they came to Genoua, and there joyned with the troupes of Gambalaita, all which were transported into Spaine in *Doria* gallies, passing from Barcelona to Cadiz, where a part of the fleet lay: there they embarked their land forces in certaine galleons, being six thousand Italians, going towards the Groine, with an intent (being joyned with the Adelantado, and the rest of the fleet) to make some attempt vpon England. But on the eight of September they had so cruell a storme, as they were scattered from their Admirall, and in exceeding great daunger, whereof some were cast away. A galleon, wherein *Alexander de Monti* was, and some of his companies, hauing lost her maine mast, was driuen to the Canaries, and after that to the coast of Africke, hauing lost his pilot with most of his mariners: there he ran her on ground, and recovered Mazagon, where he furnished himselfe of all that hee wanted; and then he past towards the strait, meeting with an English ship, which sought long with him; but in the end hee tooke her: Then joyning with D. *Pedro de Toledo*, with some other vessels, they scoured the coast of Barbarie, securing the coasts of Spaine, and in the end they came to winter in Saint Marie port. The rest of this Spanish fleet, after this cruell storme, for the most part, recovered Farol. Thus both fleets this yeare, without any fruits, put themselves to the hazard of the sea, and receiued great losses.

The warres hauing continued long betwixt France and Spaine, many princes desired to see the miseries of Christendome at an end. Pope *Clement* the eight as much affecting this generall peace as any of his predecessors, considering the great miseries which the diuisions of the French and Spaniards did cause, and that the Turke made his profit thereof, and had incroached farre into Christendome, hee resolved to reconcile these two kings of Spaine and France. Father *Bonauenture Calistagione*, a Sicilian borne, Generall of the Franciscanes (and whil after wards was made Patriarke of Constantinople) was sent by him into Spaine; vnder colour to visit the Conuents of his Order; but in effect it was to sound king *Philip* whether he had any inclination to a peace with France: where hee found all things well disposed, and the Spaniards desirous to change the doubtfull euents of a troublesome warre, with the assured and more profitable effects of peace; his old age, his son young, whom he desired to make, and to leaue him his Estates quiet, his eldest daughter, to whom he would give the Low Countries, marrying her to cardinal *Albert* of Austria, who like new Lords should haue need of the loue and good neigh-

*Spaniards pre-  
paration at sea.*

*Mediation for  
a peace betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.*

neighbourhood of a French king, the French being vnited, and their ciuile warres ended, they were likely to transport the warre into his countries; hauing taken Amiens by force, euen in view of his armie. All these considerations made the king of Spaine incline to a peace, not onely with the French, but with the Queene of England and the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands. *Calatagiron* being returned to Rome, assured the Pope that hee had found a disposition and desire of peace in king *Philip*, and that he was wearie of the warres. So the Pope continuing in this good desire, sent this Franciscan into France, to persuaide the king to peace and friendship with the king of Spaine. *Alexander* cardinall of Florence, his Holinesse Legat in France, vnderstanding the Popes pleasure, together with *Calatagiron*, persuaided the king to yeeld vnto a peace. And on the other side, by the exhortations of the Patriarke *Caietan*, his Holinesse Nuntio at Madrid, the king of Spaine referred the whole treatie of the said peace to his nephew cardinall *Albert*.

Whilest that *Calatagiron* went to Brussels, to sollicite the cardinall to send the deputies to Veruins, the French king aduertised all his allies, to the end they might be comprehended in this accord with the Spaniard, if they thought good. The queene of England (who had more annoyed the Spaniard than all the princes of Christendome) refused to be comprehended in the accord, and so did the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, who sent their embassadours to the French king, to dissuade him from a peace with the Spaniard. The king of Spaine did greatly desire a peace with them, and sought it by the meanes of his kinsmen and allies, who, at his request, sent their embassadours to that end into England, and the vnited Prouinces, but without effect. The king of Spaine hearing of all their answers, and being out of hope of a peace with the English and Hollanders, caused them to proceed in the treatie with the French: whereupon the deputies of either king came to Veruins: Who hauing long disputed, and being often ready to breake off, almost in despaire, in the end a peace was concluded, in Iune this yeare 1598. The deputies for the French king were, Monsieur *de Bellieuue*, Counsellor of State, and Monsieur *de Syllery*, Counsellour also of State, and President of the Court of Parliament at Paris: And for the Catholike king, *John Richardot*, knight, President of his priuie Councell, *John Baptista Taxis*, Commaunder of *los Santos*, of the Order of Saint *James*, and of his Councell of State and warre, and *Lewis Verreichen* knight, chiefe Secretarie and Treasurer of the Charters of the said Councell of State: who according to their Commissions concluded in the name of the said kings.

That the treatie of peace made at Castle Cambresis, in the yeare 1559, betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, should be newly confirmed and obserued.

That all hostilitie and quarels should cease, with promise not to annoy nor prejudice one another.

That their subiects should haue freetraffique.

That all places taken since the treatie of Castle Cambresis, should be restored of either part within two monethes.

That the said kings and the Infanta of Spaine, reserued vnto themselves all the rights, actions, and pretensions, by reason of the said realms, countries, or seigniories, whereunto they or their predecessors haue not expressly renounced, to make their pursuit by some friendlie course, or by justice, and not by armes.

The force and life of king *Philip* began to decline, which he foreseeing, hee was desirous to effect the promise which he had made to the Archduke *Albert*, his nephew, and if the marriage betwixt him and the Infanta *Isabella* his daughter were not consummated, yet they might be assured by the cession of the prouinces, which he meant to make in fauour of it. Whereupon, the sixth of May, he caused to be read at Madrid (in the presence of prince *Philip* his only son, who was then about 26 yerres old, of *D. Gomes d'Avila*, marques of Vellada, Lord Steward of the princes house, *D. Christopher de Mera*, earle of Castell, *Roderigo*, great Commaunder of the Alcantara; *D. John d'Idiaquez*, great Commaunder of Leon, all three Counsellours of State, and *Nicholas Diamant*, knight, President and Chauncellour of Brabant, with *La Zoo*, Secretarie of the affaires of the Low Countries) the contract, by the which he did institute the future spouses, and their heires, of what

sex

A of what sexe soeuer, soueraigne Lords of all the Prouinces of the Low-countries, of the franche countie of Bourgondie, and of the countie of Charolois, with condition that the donation and cession should be void, and of no force, in case the marriage were not accomplished. That the eldest of the lawfull children issuing of this marriage, should be preferred before the younger, and the male the female, jointly in all the Prouinces, without any diuision: That for want of lawfull heires it should returne to the Crowne of Spaine: And that they should not alienate any part thereof without the consent of the heires and successors of the king of Spaine. That the Princeesse, heire of the Netherlands, being a maiden or widow, should marrie the king of Spaine, or the prince his Sonne; and if shee haue neither will nor power to doe it with the Popes dispensation, shee shall not take any aliance but with the consent of the kings of Spaine: And so of the heires and descendents of the future Spouses. That al negotiation and traffik to the East and West Indies shall bee forbidden them and their subiects. That the Arch-duke suruiuing the Infanta, hee should hold those Countries during his life. That hauing children, their portions should bee assigned them, vntill that the elder after the decesse of the father should take possession of the whole. That onely the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion should bee maintained in the said Prouinces, and in case of contrauention by them or their descendents, they should lose their rights to the said Countries.

C Prince *Philip* did consequently ratifie this donation, more (as some thought) to please the king his father, than for any good liking hee had of it, for the depriued him of many goodlie and rich Prouinces: And the Infanta his Sister hauing accepted the transaction, sent her fathers and bothers letters Patents to the Gouvernours and Councels of the Prouinces, with their letters which promised all assistance for the warre, and her owne which contained a declaration of this accord. Thus the Archduke, as the Historie saith, married a great Princeesse, a troublesome quarrell, and a long sure, all in one day. From which time shee did write vnto him, as a wife doth vnto her husband, taking vpon her the titles of all those Countries and Prouinces, and sending him a procuracion to take possession in her name. The empresse, mother to *D. Albertus*, and sister to the king of Spaine, receiued the promise of marriage for her Sonne, and did also make a promise in the name of the Archduke *Albert*.

The king of Spaine would moreouer shew, that in giuing his daughter the Infanta to the Archduke, hee would not abandon them for want of money to continue the warre against the vnited Prouinces: hee made a new contract with *Camillo, Soniolla, Adaluenenda* and *Grimaldi*, to whome hee did reassigne and confirme the reuenues of Spaine, and reuoked the edict which had beene made at Pardo, vpon condition that for an ouerplus and new loane, they should furnishe him with seuen millions and two hundred thousand ducats, paying euerie month two hundred and fifty thousand ducats to the Archduke *Albert*, so supply the charges of the low countie warres, & that for the space of eighteen monethes, the first payment whereof should be due the last of Ianuarie, in the said yeare 1598, the whole summe for the Low countries amounting to foure millions and a halfe. The rest should be paid in Spaine, or where hee should command, after the rate of an hundred and fiftie thousand ducats monthly, for eightene monethes together: both which parties amount to 7200000 ducats.

The king of Spaine sent in the beginning of this yere 4 thousand Spaniards, Besognes, into the Low countries, to fortifie the Archduke *Albert*, whome as it seemed did not greatly trust the Wallons. *D. Sancho de Leua* was their chiefe commaunder ouer foure Colonels: they came by sea in 40 ships, the lesser got safely into Callice for that the Estates ships had bin forced by fowle weather to weigh anchor, yet they took one of the greatest; in the which was *Alonso Sanchez* of Villareal with 150 Spaniards, and made foure more to runne on ground to saue the foldiers.

The States of the vnited Prouinces, finding the number of thei shipping to bee great, & that they wanted employment for them, not daring to traffik into Spaine, where their ships and goods were daily arrested, and their men imprisoned, whereby in time their Navigation would decay, they resolued to seeke their fortunes at the East

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Articles of the  
cession.Donation ratified by Prince  
Philip.King of Spaine  
makes a new  
contract for the  
payment of his  
debts.Spaniards sent  
into the Low-  
countries.Vnited Prouin-  
ces saile vnto  
the Indies.Queene of Eng-  
land & Estates  
of the Low  
Countries refuse  
a peace with  
the Spaniard.Peace betwixt  
Spaine and  
France.Contents of the  
articles of the  
peace.Cession of the  
Low Countries  
to the Infanta  
of Spaine.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 31.

and West Indies, whether the Spaniards would neuer allow them to goe, whereupon they gave leaue, and assisted certaine priuat Merchants, to goe and seeke trade at the East Indies, and in those Ilands whereas the Portugals had no commaund, so as this yere there went to the number of eightie saile out of Holland and Zealand, towards the East and West Indies, Bressil, Castell de Mine, to the coast of Africke, and Guinee, whose successe was diuers. Many of these vnder the charge of *Baltazar Moucheron*, had commandement from Prince *Maurice* and the State, to meet at the Iland del Principe. *Julian* of Cleerhagen as Generall in the absence of *Moucheron*, and *Gerard Stribos* as Admirall, parted in March with fise Ships, one hundred and fifty Souldiers, and two hundred Mariners, who arriued somewhat late in August at the said Iland: where *Cleerhagen* found a ship, in the which a Nephew of *Moucheron* commanded, who being well knowne in the Iland by reason of his trading there, was a meanes that the Generall became Master of it without any opposition, for hee drew the Gouvernour and chiefe Officers of the place to come aboard, where they made them good cheare. After which the Generall acquainted them with his Commission, and to what end hee was come. The Ilanders seeing themselves surpris'd, feemed content, and yielded to their wils: then, having taken an oath to *Cleerhagen*, they all landed, whereas the Generall in *Moucheron*'s name was proclaimed Generall of the Iland.

Surprize of the  
Iland del prin-  
cipe.

Three daies after the taking of the oath, the Portugals and Ilanders conspired against the Hollanders, and came suddenly with great fury to charge *Moucheron*'s men, but they were repulst and scattered in the Iland; but vpon proclamation of a pardon they returned, and submitted themselves againe to the Hollanders; whereupon there was a new accord made betwixt them, but it continued not aboue fixe weekes, by reason of *Cleerhagen*'s disordered actions, who did not obserue the course that was prescribed him, neither was hee carefull to build the forts which had bene drawne, hauing good meanes. The Portugals and Ilanders seeing his carelesnesse, made a new attempt against him, which being discovered vnto the Hollanders, they seized vpon the *Padre Vicario*, meaning to execute him, but as *Francis Fort* with the Iudge *Steuens Quarlesmo*, went to visit this *Vicario*'s house, they were slaine by his slaues, which caused a new tumult, whereupon the *Vicario* was condemned and hanged with one of his confederates. This death made them send to *D. Antonio de Meneses* Gouvernour of the Iland of Saint Thomas for succours, who a month after sent the Gouvernour of Castell de Mine with fise hundred souldiers, by whose perswasion they were resolu'd to make warre against *Moucheron*'s men.

The Generall *Cleerhagen* fell into disgrace with his Companie, and died of griefe: *Stribos* the Admirall succeeded him, and dyed also with ouer-toiling himselfe in the fortifications. Whereupon the Hollanders erected a Councell of foure to gouerne the estate of their affaires in the Iland: but after a months sufferance, their Souldiers being somewhat wasted, they began to faint and to be out of hope of succours, so as they should not be able to maintaine themselves against so many enemies. Whereupon they abandoned the Iland, and setting their fort on fire, they imbarcked, there comming supplies of men and victuals vnto them from *Moucheron* within fiftene daies after, but it was too late: and so the Iland was soone wonne and as soone lost.

Coast of Spaine  
annoyed by the  
English.

This yere in the Spring the Spaniards began to apprehend some new attempt of the English vpon their coast, for that those Seas were full of Englishmen of warre: yea, there was a fleet set forth by the Earle of Cumberland, which after it had committed some spoile about Cascais, lay many daies in the mouth of the Riuer of Lisbon, keeping in the galleons of Portugal, which lay ready to go to the East-Indies, but it was without any fruits, the West-Indian fleet being safely arriued at Seuille, after that it had bene scattered by a storme neere vnto the Terceres.

The treasure which came in this Indian fleet gaue the kings ministers meanes to provide more commodiously for the great affaires of so many kingdomes, and to continue the war, which hee maintained in diuers places. Wherefore they leuied new men to send into the Low-Countries, and others to man certaine vessels which were sent forth to bri-

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## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 31.

A die the attempts of the Turkes vpon the coast of Spaine, and Africke: They were fise and twenty gallies vnder the charge of *D. Pedro de Toledo*, whereof some were of Spaine, and some of Naples: there were two regiments of Italians in them, the one was commanded by *Alexander de Monti*, the other by *Cesare d'Euoli*; but hee dying before at the Groine, they were both then commanded by *Monti*. These gallies hauing not met with any Pyrats at sea, past into Barbarie, where they landed a good number of their men, with the which *Monti* did presently march, & set vpon a towne, the which was taken by scaling making slaues, with great store of wealth: yet this could not be so soon executed, but many horsemen Moores, came posting thither from the neighbour places, so as *de Monti* was forced to make an orderly retreat, putting his men into squadrons & the rereward skirmishing still with the enemy, wherein they all in generall shewed such valour, as this action was more esteemed, although they lost some men, than the winning & spoiling of the town without any losse. The Colonel *de Monti* was still in the rereward, who with great iudgement and valour gouerned the retreat vntil they were all imbarcked, being so fauoured by the gallies ordnance, as the Moorish horsemen, being many in number, were forced to retire with great losse. The gallies after they had run along that coast, & made the Barbarians feele the spoils which they committed vpon the weaker parts of Spain, they were called home to lie in gard in the streit of Gibraltar, to hinder the enemies attempts. But the English fleet about mentioned hauing left the riuer of Lisbon, took many Easterlings, & other ships carrying victuals & other commodities into Spain, which being that yere verie scant of corn, which was then brought vnto them from other countries, & taken at sea, it bred a great scarcitie. Whilest that Lisbon was prest with this extremity, by great hap there was a Galeon of Tuscany got in, being laden with come and other commodities fit to relieue their wants. Yet the dearth of corn increased, notwithstanding that the Hollanders being greedy of gain did often attempt to bring some, and so they did in Sicile & other places. Some held that this dearth grew through the want of men to till the ground (whereunto that nation is nothing inclined) hauing been also constrained to send forth great troups of men to the wars of France & Fläders; besides others which went daily by thousands out of that realm vpon diuers occasions. They did also aleage another reason of the scarcitie, for that some yeres before Corne had bin set at an vnder rate, so as strangers had no care to bring in any, neither did the countrie men much care for tillage.

De Monty surpriseth  
a towne in  
Barbarie.

Marriage of  
the duke of  
Alcala.

King Philip  
grows towards  
his end.

During the great dearth of corn, Spaine felt a general ioy for the peace which had been concluded with France, the which was proclaimed at Madrid in the end of Iune, and it was increased with a priuat content by the marriage of the duke of Alcala, with the daughter of *Christopher de Mora*, being honored with the presence of the Prince *D. Philip*, & many Grandes of the court. And soon after were celebrated the mariages of two of the Marquesses of Pozzas daughters, the one vnto the eldest son of the duke of Sessa, who was then ambassador at Rome, & the other vnto the heire of Cordoua: but the ioy was much greater when the future marriage of Prince *Philip* with *Marguerit* of Austria, and of the Infanta *D. Isabella*, with the Archduke *Albertus* were published. Whilest that *Philip* ends as hee had begun his raig with the wars of the Low countries, behold many touches of the misery and pouerrie whereunto humanitie is subiect, made him remember that hee was a man. He could not feele that contentment in his soule, like vnto the first man of Greece in his time, who dying, held himself happy, for that neuer any Athenian had mourned by his occasion: yet at the least he hath this consolation, that after the experience of so much money, & the shedding of so much blood, hauing with so great rigour and bitternesse pursued the ruin, & hastned the destinies of the goodliest estate of Europe, he sees the two first monarchs of Christendome vnited by a firm bond, & common peace, and his children ready to enter into allyances; which content him. He now fees that his houre is come, & that he must leaue the ambitions of this world, and that the flesh striues in vaine against the spirit, when as the one must part company from the other. Wherefore carrying alwaies a great deuotion to the Monasterie of Saint Laurence, and being much affected to his most sumptuous and incomparable Palace of the Escoriall, 7 leagues from Madrid, his sicknes increasing daily, after the resignation of the Low countries, to his daughter *D. Isabella*,

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*Isabella*, he would needs be carried thither, to seek a safe rampar, against the assaults which G an intestine warre was readie to giue him vpon the troublefome dissolution of the soule and bodie. He, whom Histories obserue to haue beene greater than any one of his house, who without danger sitting in his Cabinet, hath disposed of more famous actions than any of his predecessors, finds now that the Soueraign Creator hath made the poorest cottager equal to the greatest king in many respects. He hath giuen them the earth for their abode, for they nurse and common mother, the same beginning of creation, one common heauen, one sunne, one Moone, the aire and water common; the soules of one and other haue one nature; they come all into the world naked alike, and all haue one issue out of this life. He finds now that death feares no gards; that he knocks as familiarly at Princes H Palaces, as at the cottages of poore Shepheards, hee laies hold of them, when as teares preuaile not, armes are of no force, prayers cannot moue him, nor presents corrupt him, the Phisitions art cannot stay him, nor drugs and receipts preuent his power: Yea, that sometimes he takes them away when they haue not leasure to deliuer their last will. Finally after this end they must all run one course, when as their bodies shall putrifie alike.

He had surmounted the crosses of fortune, and great accidents in his time, but hee could find no preseruatiue, to make him insensible of griefe. The gout, a feuer, a filthy Phthiriasis, an apostume on his right leg, foure other, wonderfull foule and stinking, on his breast, an infinit number of lice, breeding of that corrupt & stinking matter, & dispersing themselves ouer his whole bodie, gaue him to vnderstand, that nature could make a wretched Anatomie of his bodie, as well as of the meanest of his subjects. Being come to the Escuriall, and his paines increasing, hee prepared himselfe for death, and after hee had receiued the Sacrament, hee desired to see D. Garcia of Loyola solemnly consecrated Archbishop of Toledo, by the Popes Legat, it being resigned vnto him by the Archduke Albert.

His feuer and infirmities increasing in the beginning of September, hee called for D. Philip his sonne, and the Infanta *Isabella* his daughter; where in the presence of the Archbishop of Toledo and some others, he shewed his body vnto the Prince, and said vnto him, *Behold prince the greatnesse of this world, see this wretched carcasse, whereas all human help auails nothing.* He then caused a brasen coffin to be brought, and a death head to be set vpon a cupbord with a Crowne of gold by it. He then commanded D. Lewis de Velasco a gentleman of his Chamber to fetch a small Casket, wherein there was a rich Jewell, the which he gaue vnto his daughter in the Princes presence, saying, *This Jewell was your mothers, keep it in remembrance of her;* And forthwith he drew out a paper which he gaue vnto the Prince, saying, *That it was an instruction how he should gouerne his estate.* After which, he drew forth a whip, at the end whereof appeared some markes of blood, and holding it vp he said, *that it was blood of his blood,* although it were not his own blood, but the emperor his fathers who had vsed it: which done hee disposed of the order of his funerals. After which, in the presence of the Popes Nuntio, he recommended the Sea of Rome, the Pope, and the Catholike Apostolike and Romish Religion to his children, desiring the Nuntio to giue him absolution of his sinnes, & to blesse his children. He did recommend the Infanta vnto the Prince his Son, and the good estate of her Countries. He did not remember the children of D. *Catherina* duchesse of Sauoy his other daughter, to whom before he died he had bequeathed for a remembrance the picture of our Lady of Lorette. He was so resolute and ready to die, as his Confessor did with that he might die of that disease, and in that estate, least that his recouerie should alter that good & happy disposition. The continuall feuer, whereof he had languished three yeres, and the violent torments of the gout, had prepared him for death, long before he was ready to take him. He gaue no care to any discourse but touching his departure. A gentleman of his chamber seeing him to haue some intermission of his pains, aduised him to remoue into some other chamber that was more chearefull, the Phisitions warranting that hee might liue two yeaeres longer; Giue (said hee) this picture of our Ladie, to the Infanta, it was the Empresse my Mothers, and I haue worn it fifty yeaeres: He spake of his departure, as of a royall entrie into goodliest Cities vnder his obedience; and of his funeral, as of a Coronation. I will (said hee) haue this Crucifix hung at my neck, and resting vpon my breast: I will

A will haue that in my hand with the which my father dyed. Hold a candle of Mont Sarra readie, and giue it me when I am in the Agonie. Goe (said hee) to two Religious men, and measure my fathers Herse, obserue how hee is laid: I will be so; and with no more ceremonie than the poorest Monke in this Monasterie. They that were about him, spake of his constancie, as Saint *Augustin* did of the admirable resolution of a holy Spaniard. The violence of his paine was great; but the force of his courage was greater, the one suffered, and the other sung, the flesh suffered and the spirit spake. Nothing liued more in him than a feeling of his sinnes, the which toucht him so neere, as after that they had made an incision in his knee, and the Prince his Sonne asking him if he felt not the paine of his grenewound, I feele (said the king) the wounds of fifty sinnes much more.

Approaching towards his end, hee commanded that the Marquesse of Mondejar should bee set at libertie, but restrained from coming to court; and that the wife of *Anthony Perez* (sometimes his Secretarie) should bee set at libertie, vpon condition that hee should retire himselfe into some Monasterie. Hee receiued the extreme vnctions from the Archbishop of Toledo, after that hee had demanded the manner of the administration thereof, for that hee had neuer scene it giuen: Hee had resolved to send the Prince and the Infanta to Madrid, for that they should not bee present at the pitifull spectacle of the ruine of his bodie; but hee changed his opinion, and would haue the Prince present when they gaue him the extreme vnctions: after which hee commanded them to leaue him alone with his Sonne, to whom hee spake these words: I was desirous my son you should assist at this last actio, to the end you should not liue in ignorance, as I haue done, how this holy Sacrament is administered, & that you might see the end of kings, and whereunto their Crownes and Scepters are reduced. Death is readie to snatch the Crowne from my head, and to set it vpon yours. Therein I recommend two things vnto you; the one is, that you remaine alwaies obedient vnto the Church; the other that you doe iustice to your subjects. The time will come when this Crowne shall fall from your head as it doth now from mine: you are young, I haue beene so, my daies are numbred and are ended, God keeps the account of yours, and they shall likewise end. They say that hee did enioyne him, with passion, to make warre against Heretikes; and to entertaine peace with France.

The Prince thinking that his end approached, demanded the golden key of the Cabinet from D. *Christopher de Mora*, meaning to grace the Marquesse of Denia his fauourite therewith: but hee desired the Prince to pardon him, saying that hee might not leaue it whilst the king was liuing, but by his expresse commandment: whereat the Prince was offended.

D. *Christopher* complained hereof vnto the king, who neither commended the demand being too sudden, nor allowed of his refusall, commanding D. *Christopher* to carrie it vnto the Prince, and to craue his pardon: who returning to visit his father, D. *Christopher de Mora* kneeling downe, kiss the key and deliuered it vnto him; the which the Prince tooke and gaue to the Marquesse of Denia: And as the prince and the Infanta stood before his bed, hee said vnto them; I recommend vnto you D. *Christopher de Mora*, the best seruant I euer had, with all my other seruants: And forgiving them his last farewell, and embracing them, his speech fayled him; continuing two daies in that estate vntill hee died, being seuentie and one yeaeres old; and hauing reigned fifty.

He was borne at Vailledolit the five and twentieth of April, in the yeare one thousand five hundred twenty and six, and dyed the thirteenth of September 1598. He was but little of stature, yet of a pleasing aspect, but no goodlie man by reason of his great nether lip, which is hereditarie in the house of Austria, otherwise he was faire of complexion, rather resembling a Fleming than a Spaniard: of so sound a constitution of body, as he was sildome or neuer sicke. He was sometimes troubled with faintings: and did neuer eat any fish: he was of a constant resolution, and of a great spirit, apprehending presently the ends of things, and foreseeing them with an admirable wisdom and iudgement.

Pope Clement the eight, hearing newes of his death; assembled the Consistorie, Pope Clement the eight, hearing newes of his death; assembled the Consistorie, B b b b b iij. where

King Philip's last speech vnto his Sonne.

Birth and stature of the king of Spaine.

1598  
Popes iudgment  
upon the death  
of King Philip.

where after audience given vnto the Cardinalls, hee told them in a graue speech full of passion: That if euer the holy Sea had cause of greefe and affliction, it was for the death of that Prince, the Church hauing lost a great Protector, and her persecutors a mightie enemy. That his whole life had benee sothing but a wayfare against infidelities, heresies, and errors. That two things did comfort them in this losse: the one, that being dead with an admirable conformitie in the will of God, an incredible patience in his paines, and an vnchangeable constancie in his Religion, he held him rewarded in heauen with immortall glorie: the other, that hee had left a Sonne which made them hope that it was rather a resurrection of the father than a succession of the Sonne. In the end hee recommended them both to their prayers, paying thereby for what the one had done, and what the other offered to doe by his letters for the good of the Church.

Virtues of King  
Philip.

His pietie.

To speake of his vertues: it is said that all good Princes may bee written in a ring. Philip had great vertues, it were a rare thing to haue all. The seedes of such princes as haue no defects are in heauen. Hee was great in pietie, Religion, justice, liberalitie and constancy. As for his pietie and religion, hee hath bene heard to say, that if the prince his Sonne became an Heretike, or a Schismaticke, hee would bring fagots himselfe to burne him. He alwaies protested that his desires in warre, and his exercises in peace did onely tend to the advancement of Religion. The last words he pronounced with his last gaspe, were, That he died a Catholike. He respected the Pope as hee that carried the keyes of heauen in his hand, the prince of the Church, and Gods Lieutenant generall ouer mens soules. The Popes respected him as the chiefe supporter of the peace and vnion of the Church: Pius 5. did so terme him when they made the league against the Turke: and his successeur Gregorie 13 answered him that caused his health to be prayed for at Rome, My life imports the Church little, the which after me may haue a better Pope: Recommend the king of Spaines health vnto God, for it is necessarie for all Christians to stand on. And he himselfe held his assistance necessarie for the affaires of Christians, for being sicke, and the Physitian doubting to let him bloud by reason of his weaknesse, *Fear not (said he) to let me bloud, the estate of Gods Church permits not that I should die of this disease, nor of this bloud letting.* Euerie man knowes in what credit hee was in the Consistorie, to haue his intention approued, and likewise in the Conclau for the election of Popes. Hee held Rome by the thaire and the throat, being in his power to famish it, refusing the commodities which they may draw at need out of his estates which inuiron it.

Speech of the  
king of Spaine.

This is spoken  
for the persons  
of Cardinalls  
which are at the  
deuotion of  
Spaine.

His curiostie to  
find out Heretikes

As he honoured the Pope, so did hee much esteeme the Prelates of the Church, and had a great care to preferre men of vertue and merit to ecclesiasticall dignities. There was a great controuersie betwixt the archbishop of Valencia, and the Viceroy, to know to whom they should first present the Pax and the Censor: the which hee ended, commanding that hee that presented vnto his Maestie, should giue it first vnto the archbishop, thinking that the honour that hee did vnto Gods Ministers was an infinit glory vnto him, and that a prince should affect no other commendation, than the care and zeale of Religion, when it is without dissembling or hypocrisie. Hee did witness his zeale and passion in the seeking out of many rolikes of Saints, especially to haue the body of Saint *Eugenius* Bishop of Toledo, hauing to that end sent ambassadors expresse to the duke of the Cardinall of Lorraine, Abbot of Saint Denis: hee went to receiue it at Toledo, and caused it to bee conducted to the Escoriall. How much did he spend for the canonizing of Frier *Diego* of Alcalá of the order of Saint *Francis*, and of Frier *Raymond* of Pégnafort a Iacobin, famous among learned men, for that he gathered the decretales into one bodie, and through out all Spaine, for that hee past like another *Elixeus* vpon his cloake from Majorca to Barcelona, and that which is very rare in our age, refused the Archbishopsrick of Arragone. Wee find not any now that hide themselves in causes from spirituall dignities, or that out off their nose and eares to make themselves incapable of church preferments, which requires sound bodies and sanctified soules. No affaires could interrupt him in the course of his deuotion, and we in the relations of *Antonio Perez* that hee did often referre the care of businesse to another day,

En este dia no  
haqe mal uisal.

A day, when he was preparing of his conscience, or among his Monkes at the Escoriall. He went bare headed in the procession of the Sacrament, and being on that day at Cordoua, some one did aduertise him, that the Sonne was offensive: to whom he answered, *That the Sonne that day would doe him no harme.* Being a religious prince, hee loued no new religions. He neuer received the Capuchins. They of his house haue built many colledges of Iesuites in diuers places, at Vienna in Austria, at Tumaat in Hungarie, at Prague in Bohemia, at Hal, at Grats, at Munch, at Inspruck, and he alone of his house is dead without any memorie of his bountie towards them. Speaking against that great multitude of religions, and the increase of regular Orders, hee said, That they should reduce the new to the auncient, and maintaine those in the first integritie of their institution, and that it was to be feared the world would abound more in religious Orders than in pietie. Hee vied them of Saint *Dominicke* in his confessions, and in his other deuotions the Ieronimists, to whom he gaue that rich temple of the Escoriall. He did so respect *Dominicke de Chanet*, his Confessor, as he caused him to be visited in his cell by the President of Castille, when he was in doubt of any point of conscience or of penance.

He had a Councell of conscience for the direction of his enterprises. This Councell hath often drawne him out of many difficulties, and hath freed him from the bond of his promises. The historie of Portugall doth furnish a memorable example. The duke of Ossuna, and D. *Christopher de Móra*, had promised mountaines of gold to them that should be opposit to D. *Antonio*, and should fauour the kings right to the Crowne of Portugall. He being expelled, these men demanded the effects of those promises, and that their bills should be discharged. The king commanded that all should bee sent to the table of conscience. The Iudges payed them with this sentence: Seeing that king Philip is heire to the realme of Portugall, the petitioners could not compound for his right for money, gifts, or promises, and haue deserued death, for that they did not willingly yeeld it vnto him: If the realme did belong to *Antonio*, they could not then deliuer it. And therefore king Philip is no way bound to performe those promises which his ambassadors and agents had made vnto the petitioners: But vsing his clemencie and mercie, he freed them from the paine of death, which they had vpon this occasion desired.

Councell of  
conscience.

Adiuce of the  
king of Spaine  
Councell of  
conscience.

As for his justice, the example of his son is sufficient to shew his rigor. It is true, that in many actiōs he hath proceeded more by his absolute power than by the ordinarie courfe. These great motions cannot alwayes be ruled by the ordinarie formes, nor subiect themselves to the iudgement of reason, nor to humane discourse. Yet hee protested, being neere his end, That he had not done wrong nor injustice to any one, but through ignorance, or false impression. It is an act of justice in a prince, to suffer them to tell him of the vnjust actiōs of his gouernement. It is true, that it cannot be tearmed an act of justice, to haue made his creditors so often to loose that which they had lent him, nor to reduce the 18 millions of gold, which he did owe the Genouois, to 12.

King of Spaine  
a seuerer iusticer

His liberalitie. His liberalitie hath appeared in recompensing the merits of many of his seruants. He made his Schoolemaster Primat of the Church of Spaine, as his father had advanced his vnto the Popedom. There are few such princes now, that vse such requitals. There are no more *Alexanders*, who gaue eight hundred talents to his Schoolemaster *Aristotle*. Kings haue long hands, but few haue them so large after this proportion. The king of Spaine did neuer leaue any goodlie action either of learning, justice, or warre, without reward. Hee did not onely doe good vnto the good, to make them better, but also to the bad, lest they should grow worse. But he did neuer aduance them hee, loued to fauours disproportionable to their condition: He did much for *Ruy Gomes*, for the loue of his wife the princeesse of Eboly: Yet this liberalitie did neuer make a passage for him to great affaires. He was verie circumspect in the distinction of great charges, especially of such as concerned the administration of justice, whereon, as *Plato* said, depends the safetie and ruine of an Estate. And although that the earle of Chinchon, being bred vp with him in his youth, should haue expected more than any other, yet he obtained nothing but what he held fit for his qualitie. He was wont to say, That all stomackes were not fit

His liberalitie.

That is 480000  
crownes.

Honours ruine  
them that de-  
serue them not.

1598

His constancie.

His great moderation in prosperitie.

His constancie in aduersitie.

Vices of the King of Spaine.

King of Spaine valiant and distrustfull.

to digest great fortunes, and that ill meat did not corrupt sooner, and tume to bad humors, than honour in a soule without merit.

As for his constancie against afflictions, fortune could neuer shake him. In two diuers accidents, happening at two diuers times, he shewed the constancie of his mind, and the equalitie of his affections; neither puffing him vp insolently in prosperitie, nor deiecing himselfe basely in aduersitie. When the post brought him newes of the victorie of Lepanto, he thought to see him much transported with joy, but hee made no shew of any alteration; and hauing vnderstood the order and successe of the battell, hee spake these words coldly; *D. John hath hazarded much.* Now, when another post did bring him newes of the losse of that great nauie at sea, thinking it would haue plunged him into a gulph of cares and perturbations; at the report of so fatall an accident, hee was not a whit moued; saying onely, That hee had sent it against men, and not against the windes and waues. Vulgar spirits are transported with choler at euerie grosse accident, this vnmatchable losse doth not trouble this prince, who continued his deuotion in his Oratorie. Some other would haue torne his haire, and haue whipt the Ocean, as *Xerxes* did. The duke of Medina Sidonia, Generall of this armie, sending to know his pleasure, if hee would haue him come and giue an account of his charge, he answered, That hee should first goe home to his house, to refresh and rest himselfe before he came to Court.

It were fit we should see the backside of this Medaile, and speake something of the errors and vices of this prince, as well as of his vertues, seeing it is fit to speake all for examples sake; yet it is not good to trouble the rest of the dead. *Nijons* image overthrew him that strooke it with a staffe: A dead stone did reuenge the iniurie that was done vnto a dead man. It is sufficient to say, That as this prince was commended for many great vertues, so hee was blamed, in his youth, of great dissolution to voluptuousnesse, and a violent propension to crueltie. These two vices doe seldome abandon one another: Euerie voluptuous prince is cruell, if necessitie constrain him. This plague doth infect and blemish the glorie of vertues, how bright soeuer they be in the life of a prince. *Victorinus* might haue bene compared to the best Emperours, yea hee should surpasse *Traian* in bountie, *Antonine* in clemencie, *Nerva* in grauitie, *Vespasian* sparing of his treasure, *Pertinax* and *Seuerus* in the integritie of his life, and in the severity of militarie discipline: but all these vertues were so quenched by voluptuousnesse, as no man durst speake vnto him. The king of Spaine hath put many to death in the excessive and first fits of his choler. He was as suspitious, distrustfull, and cruell, as euer any was. He did not allow the prince his sonne to speake with the Infanta his daughter, but by permission, and in the presence of their gouernors. The jealousy of Soueraigne power makes no distinction of persons, nor spareth not his owne blood, as appeared by his owne sonne: and Sultan *Solyman* caused his sonne *Mustafa* to bee strangled, for that the Ianizaries made great acclamations of joy at his returne from the warres of Persia.

Some write of him, That, besides the aboue named vices, he was fearefull, doubtfull, close, and a dissembler, ambitious, and proud beyond the condition of man, and nothing religious of his word in matters of Estate; the duke of Vilhermosa, and the marquisse of Fuentes, are good witnesses; he put them to death after that he had pardoned them the reuolt of Arragon. And those words which he spake in his last instruction to his sonne, speaking of the Low Countries, doe verifie it; *it is true* (said hee) *I haue giuen them to your sister, but it imports not; you haue an hundred euasions, which you may vse in time.*

His ambition appeared, in that he affected the Empire by all possible meanes, which not able to obtaine, he sought the title of Emperour of Spaine: yea some write, That he was resolu'd to goe vnto the Indies, to take vpon him the title of Emperour of America. After all his ambitious proiects against Africke, his attempts against England and Ireland, and his intelligences with the Turkes, Barbarians, and Persians, whom hee hath sought to diuide, and to make vse of, even against Christian princes, yet in the end he was forced to confesse, *That all the power and pompe of this world was meere vanitie.*

He

A He had foure wiues, but he was vnfortunat in the first, the which was *Marie* princeesse of Portugall, who bare him one sonne, whose name was *Charles*; but his life was short and vnfortunat, and his end violent, being charged by the Inquisition to haue thought ill of the Faith, and to haue had intelligence with *Chastillon* Admirall of France, and with the prince of Orange touching the Low Countries. His second wife was *Marie* queene of England, by whom hee had no issue. His third was *Elizabeth* of France (surnamed by the Spaniards, the Queene of Peace) who brought him two daughters, the Infanta *D. Isabella Clara Eugenia*, now Archduchesse of Austria, and Ladie of the Low Countries, and the Infanta *D. Catharina Michelle*, who was duchesse of Sauoy. His fourth wife was *Anne* of Austria, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and his owne neece, by whom he had three sonnes and one daughter, of the which, at his death, there remained onely the prince, who was then called *Charles Laurence*, but at his comming to the Crowne he was surnamed *Philip* the third.

He ended his dayes with an act of wisdome worthie of his long experience. Princes cannot enter into their realmes by a better port, than the loue of their subjects. If their fathers be dead, desired, and lamented; they must doe some great matter to mollifie this sorrow. Painters are no more bound to represent the true lineaments of the face, than princes are to represent their fathers vertues, whose liuelie images they are. Before his death hee made an Edict which could not be pleasing vnto his subjects, who began to murmur, and it seemed that they would not be so satisfied, if they proceeded to execution. It was not made for that the king of Spaine had any desire to haue it executed and obserued, but to the end he might giue the prince his sonne a good occasion to win the peoples hearts; for he sayed presently, that hee would neuer allow of the execution of that Edict, and that he would breake his head that should first speake it; the which hee spake so lowd, as euerie man thought himselfe happie to liue vnder the command of such a prince, who would proue better than his father.

We haue formerly made mention of a paper which the king drew out of a casket, and deliuered to his sonne, the which contained this instruction following.

D My sonne, I haue bene euer carefull to leaue you your Estate settled and in peace; but neither the many yeares which I haue liued, nor the assistance of princes my allies, could euer purchase it. I confesse that I haue spent in lesse than thirtie three yeares, fye hundred ninetie and foure millions of ducats, all which haue bred me nothing but cares and troubles. It is true, I conquered Portugall, but as France did easily escape me, so may this be wrested from me. I would to God I had followed the aduice of the Emperour *Charles*, my deceased father, of famous memorie, or at the least that you would belecue and follow mine. I should then beare my crosses more willingly, and should die with more content, leauing you in this vallie of miseries. Behold then what I leaue you for an euertlasting testament, besides so many kingdoms and Estates, that you may see, as in a glasse, after what maner you shall gouerne your selfe after my death.

E Be alwayes verie watchfull of the alteration and change of States, to make your profit thereby according to occurrents. Haue a vigilant eye ouer them that are most familiar with you in counsell. You haue two meanes to entertaine your realmes of Spaine, the one, the present gouernement, the other, the trade to the East and West Indies. As for the gouernement, you must either relie vpon the nobilitie, or vpon the Clergie. If you leane vnto the Church-men, keepe the other in awe, as I haue done; but if you fortifie your selfe with the nobilitie, shorten the reuenues of the Clergie as much as you may. If you seeke to countenance them alike, they will consume you, and trouble your realms, whereof you shall neuer see a final conclusion. If you will make good vse of the nobilitie, my aduice is, that you keepe good correspondencie with the Low Countries, for they are friends to the French English, and some princes of Germanie: therein you can haue little assistance from Italie, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, or Scotland. The king of Scotland is poore, Denmark drawes his reuenues from foreine nations, Sweden is euer in faction, and not well situated, the Polonians are alwaies masters of their kings, Italie, although it bee rich, yet is it far off, and the princes are of diuers humors: On the other side, the Low Countries are populous, rich in shipping, constant in labour, diligent in search, hardie to vnder-

1598

His wiues and children.

Wisdome of the King of Spaine.

Instruction of the King of Spaine to his sonne.

Consideration of Fortaine Princes.

1598 " take, and willing to endure. It is true, I haue giuen these prouinces to your sister, but it G  
 " imports not, there are an hundred euasions whereof in time you may make your profit:  
 " The chiefe are, that you keepe your selfe alwaies gardian to her children, and that there be  
 " no alteration concerning religion: for these two points taken away, you are quite depri-  
 " ued of those countries: And then will some other princes present themselves, and bind  
 " them vnto them by some meanes, which may proue your ruine. If you thinke to fortifie  
 " your selfe against this by the Clergie, you shall purchase many enemies: I haue tried: yet  
 " keepe good correspondencie with the Popes, be bountifull and kind vnto them; entertain  
 " such cardinals as they fauour most, and labour to beare a sway in the Conclau. Keepe H  
 " friendship with the bishops of Germanie, but commit not the distribution of their pen-  
 " sions to the Emperor. Let them know you, they will serue you the more willingly, and will  
 " receiue your presents more thankfully. Draw not any neere vnto you that are of base con-  
 " dition, neither respect the nobilitie and commons alike: for, seeing I must now speake the  
 " truth, their pride is great, they are verie rich, they must haue what they desire, they will be  
 " burthen some vnto you, and in the end will be your masters.  
 " Serue your selfe then with such as are of the noblest families, and aduance them to pre-  
 " ferments of great reuenues: the common sort are not so needfull, for they will procure  
 " you a thousand discontents, which will consume you. Beleue not any of them, if  
 " they be not of qualitie. Free your selfe from English spies, and French pensions. Employ  
 " some of the noblemen of the Low Countries confidently, whom you shall haue bound I  
 " vnto you by fealtie. As for the Nauigation of the East and West Indies, therein consists  
 " the strength of the kingdom of Spaine, and the meanes to curbe Italie; from the which  
 " you shall with much difficultie restraine France and England: their power is great, they  
 " haue many mariners, the seas are spacious, their marchants too wealthie, their subiects too  
 " greedie of gaine, and their seruants too faithfull.  
 " I haue excluded the Low Countries, but I feare, in time, mens humors may change; and  
 " therefore you must often change your ministers at the West Indies. Such as you call  
 " home make them of your Councel for the Indies, and so, in my opinion, you shal neuer be  
 " circumuented, but both the one and the other will acquaint you with the gaine, aspiring K  
 " to more honour. See how the English seeke to deprime you of that commoditie: they are  
 " mightie at sea both in men and shipping. As for the French, I doe not much feare them.  
 " Fortifie your selfe with them of the Low Countries (although they be partly heretikes,  
 " and would continue so) with this prouiso, That they shall freely sell their marchandise in  
 " Spaine and Italie, paying the kings customes, and other duties. And in taking papiers to  
 " saile to the East and West Indies, let them put in caution, & take an oath to discharge their  
 " goods in Spaine at the returne of their ships, vpon paine of punishment if they infringe  
 " this order: the which I think they will willingly offer to obserue. By this means the riches  
 " of the Indies and Spaine shall haue free commerce with the Low Countries, whereby  
 " both France and England shall be disappointed.  
 " My son, I could prescribe you greater designses for the conquering of kingdoms, but you L  
 " shal find in my studie such aduertisements & discourses as haue bin giuen me: commaund  
 " *Christopher de Mora* to deliuer you the key presently, least those secrets shold fall into some  
 " strangers hands. I did cause some briefs of those instructions to be burnt the 7 of Septem-  
 " ber; I doubt all are not suppressed, be carefull to seeke for them. I haue this day added, if you  
 " can, win *Antonio Perez*, that he may serue you in Italie, or in some other of your Estates,  
 " but suffer him not to returne into Spaine, nor to go into the Low Countries. Touching  
 " your mariage, the instructions are in the custodie of the Secretarie *la Loo*. Read this often  
 " that is written with mine owne hand. Haue a watchful eye ouer your most secret counsel-  
 " lers, acquaint your selfe with cyphers, discontent not your Secretaries, keep them alwaies  
 " employed, be it about matters of importance or otherwise; make triall of them rather by M  
 " your enemies than by your friends. If you discouer your secrets to any familiar friend,  
 " keepe alwaies the most important within your owne bosome.

The king of Spaine fearing that in his life time the mariage of his daughter with the  
 Archduke *Albert* would not be consummated, and that after his death the Infanta *Isabella*  
 would like better of the donation than the mariage, hee tied her vnto it with strict con-

Advice touch-  
ing the  
Pope.

Council touch-  
ing the In-  
dies.

Archduke  
Albert gets  
into Spaine.

A condicions, desiring about all things, that she should liue vnder the protection of the  
 Crowne of Spaine, whereunto this new alliance did particularly bind her. Where-  
 upon the Archduke gaue order for the gouernement of the Low Countries, and pre-  
 pared himselfe to goe into Spaine, to marie the Infanta. But the king of Spaine, before  
 his death, had concluded a mariage betwixt prince *Philip* his son, and *Marguerite* daugh-  
 ter to the Archduke of Austria of Gratz, being younger sister vnto *Marie* (who had bin  
 promised vnto the prince, but dyed before the consummation of the mariage.) Where-  
 fore the Archduke *Albert* had commaundement to goe and receiue the said ladie *Marg-  
 guerite* at Gratz, and to conduct her into Spaine. Being readie to goe on his journey,  
 B hee receiued newes of the death of the king of Spaine; yet hee went on his journey,  
 and passing by the countrey of Treues, the Palatinat, and the duchie of Wirtemberg, in-  
 to the limits of Bauaria, he came into the countie of Tyrol, being receiued in all places  
 with great pompe and presents, and his traine discharged. In this countie hee met with  
 the ladie *Marguerite* of Austria, and *Marie* of Bauaria, her mother, neere vnto the place  
 whereas the Emperour *Charles* the fit, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of Romans, met,  
 in remembrance of which happie enteruiew there was a table of brasie hung vp for a mo-  
 nument, and is yet to be seene; which table doth represent them as they imbraced one a-  
 nother. This ladie was attended on by 500 gentlemen of high Hungarie, whereas the  
 Archduke her father makes his chiefe residence.

C Hauing joyned their troupes, being about two thousand horse, and three thousand  
 five hundred foot, they past by Bolsene, and came to Trent the nine and twentieth of Oc-  
 tober, where they spent some dayes, to visit the reliques of Saints. Then entering into the  
 territories of Venice, which was neere, they were honourably receiued by two Senators,  
 at a village called Delce, vpon the riuer of Adde, where there was a bridge made by com-  
 maundement of the State, for them to passe ouer. They went on by small journeyes  
 through the Venetians countrey, who defrayed the charges of them and their whole  
 traine ten dayes together.

Hauing past Verona, they entred the duke of Mantouas country, who came in post with  
 ten noblemen to Ostia (a small village vpon the riuer of Po) to salute the queene; where  
 D there were many boats made readie, among others there was a nuptiall barge, verie sumpt-  
 uously made, and covered with tapistrie of siluer, the which was diuided into chambers,  
 halls, and cabinets. The future queene, her mother, the Archduke *Albert*, with some no-  
 blemen and ladies, entred this barge, where they found the tables readie furnished with  
 all exquisite meats. The rest of the traine past the riuer in three great boats, vnto the other  
 side, whereas Rouere stands, a towne belonging to the duke of Mantoua, from thence  
 going downe the riuer they were carried to Ferrara, whereas the Pope was, with many  
 Cardinals (whither he came after the composition of Faence, with *D. Cesar* of Este.)

The Pope being certified of the queenes comming neere the towne, hee presently  
 sent forth two Cardinals Legats, which were, *Aldobrandin* and *Saint Clement*, with a  
 E great number of Prelats and gentlemen. Hauing gone three miles, they receiued the  
 queene verie honourably, at a place called the islands, euen as she landed, in the name of  
 the Apostolike Sea, and of the Pope, presenting vnto her, in his name, a rich caroch, wher-  
 of all the yron-woke was gilt, being drawne by six white horses, in the which the queen,  
 her mother, and the Archduke, entred into Ferrara.

Without the citie gates the duke of Sessa, ambassador for the king of Spaine, presen-  
 ted vnto her, in his masters name, a litter covered with cloth of gold, and richly appoin-  
 ted, both in the yron-woke, which was of siluer and gilt, as of all other royall furniture,  
 hauing two white mules, and the muleters, in the like liuerie, and withall a caroch, with  
 six pied horses, and two coach-men clad in cloth of gold, which made a glistering shew.  
 F At the port called Angels gate, shee was receiued by two other Cardinals, *Sforza*  
 and *Alantato*, and conducted into a house artificially made, where shee was seated  
 in a royall throne, where she staid vntill the rest of the Cardinals came to visit and re-  
 ceiue her.

After this reception the queene was mounted vpon a white horse, and the princeesse her  
 mother vpon the like (which the Pope had sent them) & in that maner she entred the city,  
 being

He meetes with  
the future  
Queene of  
Spaine.

Venetians de-  
fray the charge  
of the future  
Queene of  
Spaine.

Duke of Mäto-  
ua entertaines  
the Queene of  
Spaine.

Pope sends a  
present to the  
Queene of  
Spaine.

Present sent by  
the King of  
Spaine to his  
Queene.

Arriuall of  
the Queene  
of Spaine into  
Ferrara.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 31.

being late, vnder a canopie of cloth of siluer, and betwixt the two Cardinals which had receiued her at the port. There were a great number of coaches and wagons which went before with much baggage; then followed two companies of horse, hauing mourning weeds vpon their armes, by reason of the late death of the king of Spaine: after whom followed a troupe of courtiers on horsebacke, then two other companies of horse sent from the Pope to receiue the Queene, followed by such as serued the Cardinals, and other noblemen: After whom came a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, verie gallantly appointed. Such as carried maces of siluer (which is the marke of a Cardinall) being mounted vpon mules, with solemne ornaments, marcht before the companie of Cardinals, who were attired in violet, which is their accustomed habit to mourne in.

The Queene went betwixt the two Cardinals *Sforce* and *Montalto*, hauing her Dutch gards about her, and her mother, with the Archduke *Albertus* following her: After whom followed the great Constable, gouernour of Milan, the duke of Aumale, the prince of Orange, the earles of Egmont, Gand, Barlamont, and Ligny, with many other lords and ladies of great state, and a great number of carroches and coaches full of ladies and gentwomemen. In this order they came to the Emperours embassadours lodging, passing vnder many triumphant Arches that were set vp in euery street.

The king of Spaines spouse being come vnto the palace, shee mounted vp betwixt two images of the two Apostles *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, princes of the Church, which were set at the staires foot; and then she retired her selfe into a chamber, joyning vnto the which was the sacred Consistorie, where the Pope was set in his Pontificall throne, with his whole colledge of Cardinals, where she stayed vntill the Oration was ended, which was pronounced by *Bernardin Lesot* of Milan, in prayse of the house of Austria, and of the happie arriual of the said future Queene: After which, she with her mother and the Archduke, were brought in, and suffered to kisse his Holinesses feet: who receiued them graciously, and gaue them his blessing. After which the said future Queene was conducted to her cabinet, which was prepared for her after a royall manner. The next day, hauing assisted at a Masse which the Pope himselfe did say, the Queene, her mother, and the Archduke, were feasted at the Popes owne table. But the Sunday, being the fifteenth of Nouember, was the day appointed for the celebration of the mariage, at which time they all left off their mourning weeds, which they had worne for the death of the king of Spaine, and put on their nuptial robes, where both princes and princesses, and the whole Court, shewed themselues so rich and sumptuous, euery one seeking to note his familie by the inuention of his liueries, as the like had neuer been seene in Ferrara.

On the day appointed for this great ceremonie, the Pope went before to the Cathedrall church, being set in his throne with his Pontificall robes and diadem, readie to say Masse. The Queene being attired all in white, after a royall manner, and glistering with pearles and pretious stones of inestimable value, being followed by her mother, the Archduke, and all the princes, noblemen, and ladies, was so conducted as a bride vnto the same church, by the Cardinals of *Santiquatro* and *Farnese*, the which glistered, being hung with cloth of siluer.

The Queene being set in a throne of cloth of gold, vnder a cloth of Estate of the same, and her mother with her, the Archduke being also set in one of the same, the Pope began the Masse. After the Canticle had bene song, the Queene was conducted neere vnto the Pope, by the said Cardinals, with her mother, and a great troupe of ladies, and in like manner the Archduke approached, being followed by the princes and noblemen. The king of Spaines procuration directed to the Archduke, being read, the Pope did consummate the mariage, betwixt *Philip* the third, king of Spaine, in the person of *Albert*, his vnckle, deputed by him to that end, and appearing in his name, on the one part, and Queene *Marguerite*, being present, on the other. She being conducted backe vnto the throne, there was an acclamation of all the princes, congratulating the mariage with wishes of all happinesse.

The

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

- A The Archduke staid still before the Pope, vntill that the duke of Sessa came with the like procuration from the Infanta *D. Isabella Clara Eugenia*: which commission being read, the said Infanta was married by her Proctor to the Archduke *Albert*, by the Popes hands. Masse being ended, the Pope caused the married queene to approach neere the altar, to whom he presented a consecrated rose all of gold, the which his Holiness doth commonly giue to queenes and princesses, as a sword and a hat hath bene vsually sent by Popes to the chiefe princes of Christendome. After which all the citie of Ferrara was full of feasts and joy, for the solemnization of this mariage. All places, streets, waies, and houses, both publike and priuat, did ring with acclamations of joy, the citie was full of masks and dauncings, and there was nothing omitted that might in any sort giue delight and contentment.

Hauing passed those few dayes which they remained at Ferrara in great joy and feasting, they made preparation to goe to Mantoua. The duke attended them at Rouere, hauing sent foure companies of men at armes before, who conducted the queene to Gouberne (which is a castle situated vpon the riuer of Mince:) there the queene going into the Buccinaure, which was a verie stately gallie, she was carried downe the riuer within a mile of Mantoua; where landing, she was entertained by the princes, and then entred the citie in a Carrosse with her mother, being honoured with pleasing fights in all places as she past. The palace wherein she was to lodge, was royally appointed; but the Sunday after her arriual there was a tragicall comedie represented vnto her beyond all admiration. The duke of Mantoua entertained the queene so royally, as besides the rich presents which he gaue, he defraied 5000 foot and 4000 horse for the space of nine daies together.

The queene, her mother, and the Archduke, going from Mantoua past by Cremona to Milan. It were tedious to make repetitions of all the honours that were there done vnto the queene. And for that Milan is now held by the king of Spaine, they resolved to stay there, and to attend the kings good pleasure, being vnfit to passe into Spaine during the Winter season, where the duke of Sauoy came to visit the queene with a gallant traine.

- The greatest Monarches of the world are forced to giue time to time, and to refer vnto it the accomplishment of their desires: Their power (be it neuer so absolute) cannot make the seasons subiect to their wils, neither aduance nor keepe them backe according to the commoditie of their designs. If this could haue bene effected, the queene of Spaine had not staid so long in Italie, the desire she had to see the king *D. Philip 3.* would haue giuen her wings to flie from Milan to Vailledolit: but the vnseasonable Winter made her to stay vntil the Spring, from whence they went to Genoua, where they embarked in the beginning of March: they past to Sauone, where, for the discommoditie of the sea, they were forced to stay some dayes, at the end whereof they went along the shore by Monaco and Villa-franca, and came to Nice in the countie of Terra-noua, which at this day the duke of Sauoy holds, but in former times was belonging to the countie of Prouence. After which they came and cast anchor in the port of Marseilles, where they rested to ease the queene.
- E The duke of Sauoy had entertained and feasted her verie royally: neither did the duke of Guise (who was the kings Lieutenant in Prouence) omit any thing, being so commanded by the king; where he refreshed the gallies with victuals and all other necessaries. The queene would not land but onely to heare masse in a tent which was pitcht vpon the key, in forme of a chappell. The Archduke landed there with two gallies, and went to visit the reliques of *S. Victor*, and other venerable reliques: which done, hee returned presently vnto the queene, and so they parted from Castle Ifz in a cleere and calme day, but there followed a present storme, the which had cast them vpon the sands, whereas the riuer of Rhosne dischargeth it selfe into the sea, if the wisdom and foresight of *Doria* had not preuented it. He knew the place and the danger, and doubting of the inconstancie of the weather, he would not passe without the aduice of the mariners, who were all doubtfull in their opinions. Prouidence is alwayes better than repentance. In this suspension of judgement a mariner passing by, wisht them not to proceed, for in lesse than three houres they should haue a contrarie wind which would carrie them directly to the danger, which they would willingly auoyd. *Doria* beleued him, against the opinion of some, and the shewes of the weather, being loath to attend vntill he were forced to

Ccccc

take

Entrie of the  
Queene of  
Spaine into the  
Popes Palace.

Marriage of  
the King of  
Spaine.

The queene of  
Spaines entrie  
into Mantoua.

Entrie into Mil-  
lan.

1599  
Queene of  
Spaine imbarke  
for Spaine.

Lands at Mar-  
seilles.



*Queene of  
Spaine arrives  
at Binaros.*

take some daungerous resolution. Wherefore he retired his gallies into a place of safetie, and the storme did arise sooner than the mariner had told them. They thought at Marceilles that all had bene lost; and their beliefe had not bene vaine, if *Doria* had not giuen credit to that which the best aduised could not beleue. The daunger being past, they continued their voyage along the coast of Cattelonia, they saluted Barcelona, and came to the port of Rode, they surmounted the Promontorie of the Moone, and came to Alsagues, which is at the strait of Gibraltar, on Africke side, and in the end they put in at the port of Binaros, in the realme of Valencia: from whence the queene sent prince *Doria* sonne to the Catholike king, to aduertise him of her happie voyage, and safe arrival. The last of March they came to S. Mathew, whereas the marquisse of Denia came to salute the queene, in the behalfe of the king her husband, and to acquaint her with his Majesties speciall intentions. Passing from thence to Gabanes, and Villa-reall, they went and stayed at Moliuedro, a village built of the ruines of Sagunt, an auncient towne allied to the Romans. The Archduke *Albertus* tooke post there, and went with all speed to kisse the kings hands, and to visit the Infanta, his spouse: from whence hee past to Madrid, to see the Empreffe, his mother, where hee stayed foure dayes, and then returned to Valencia.

The king in the meane time burning with an amorous desire to see his new queen, came in a disguised habit like one of his noblemen, making his pretence to be sent from the king to kisse her hands, but he was discovered by the princeesses and ladies which then attended the queene, where he was receiued with an incredible joy and content to them all.

*Magnificence  
at Valencia at  
the king of  
Spains marriage*

In the meane time they made wonderfull preparation at Valencia, for the celebration of these mariages, all which being readie, on the seuenteenth day of Aprill the queene made her entrie into Valencia, with so goodly a traine of princes and noblemen there assembled, as the glistering of their glorious and sumptuous apparel, the varietie of colours, and the shining of the gold, did dazle the eyes of the beholders. Before this royall assemblie there marcht fise companies of men at armes, after whom followed thirtie kettle drummes on horsebacke, with trumpets, claires, and hautbois, which did found continually: then came the courtiers in troupe, without any precedence or prerogative of rank: among which there were foure hundred young noblemen like vnto pages of honour, gallantly attired, attended on by their pages and footmen, some having six, others eight, some ten, yea twentie, twentie foure, twentie six, and more, attired in their lueries of diuers colours, richly appointed. There were moreover 700 knights of honor in the queens colours, which were white and crimzon gilt, the ground fatten. Then there followed foure knights, carrying royall maces; after whom followed the Stewards of the queenes house, and then sixteene of the Grandos of Spaine. Next marched the heraulds with their cassockes richly imbrodered with the kings armes: after whom went the Lord Steward and the Master of the horse: and last of all came the queene on horsebacke, vnder a canopie of cloth of gold, the which was carried by twentie of the chiefe nobles of Valencia, and thereines of her bridle, being of silke and gold, were held by the greatest lords of that kingdom. The queenes gowne was of cloth of gold, the ground siluer, very richly imbrodered with pearle and precious stones, so as there could be no more added. The queenes mother and the Archduke *Albert* followed with the queenes cabinet, and a great number of princes and noblemen, and to finish their nuptiall pompe, the princeesses and ladies came last of all in their carroches and coaches. Some thought that there were spent in this nuptiall pompe three millions of ducats.

The queene hauing entred the port, where there was a stately triumphant Arch made, shee was led vnto the church, which was hung with cloth of tissue. The high altar was royally appointed, before the which there was an Oratorie erected, couered with cloth of gold, able to containe three persons: there was also another which might hold fise, which was seene by them all, and was verie commodious to kneele in: thither the queene went, after that shee had kist the Crosse, which was wonderfully enriched with reliques, being presented vnto her by the Patriarke, who was Archbishop of Valencia.

The Catholike king came downe into the church with his sister the Infanta, by a priuie

A uie way, which was made of purpose, where the Popes Nuncio (the solemnitie of the ceremonie being ended) demaunded of the king first, and then of the Archduke, if they did ratifie the mariages which had bene contracted before by their embassadours, and celebrated by the Pope: Which either of them confirming, they all went vp vnto the altar, where kneeling downe, they assisted at the last blessing of their marriage. The prayers being ended, they went from the church vnto the palace, where the nuptiall feast was made with all the pompe and state that could be deuised. Two dayes after the king made three knights of the Golden fleece, which were, the Archduke *Albert*, the Constable of Castille, and Prince *Doria*. For the space of eight dayes there were all sports and fights that mans wit could inuent. There was a Theatre built, able to containe threecore thousand persons, fit to behold all kind of sports, as baiting of the bull, Ioco di Canna, after the African manner, tilts, turneyes, and all other exercises wherein the Spaniards delight.

This nuptiall pompe being ended, the king and queene went to Vailledolit, whereas the king settled his Court, after the example of *Charles* the fift, his grandfather, and not at Madrid, which, after the death of king *Philip* the second, was abandoned. The king, after his marriage, gaue himselfe wholly to the exercises of peace, and left the managing of affaires to his Councill, retiring himselfe in a manner from the sight of all the Grandos of Spaine, being loath to see, or to be seene of any, but of the marquisse of Denia, whom he made duke of Lerma. Since that this prince tooke the scepter in hand, he hath made them change their conceits they had of him, and hath shewed more vigour than they did attribute vnto him. That which he wants by reason of his youth, abounds in his Councill, to whom he commits the conduct of his Estates. A prince must be wise, or else gouerne himselfe by them that are wise. They did not like that he should wholly giue himselfe to the duke of Lerma. The Grandos of Spaine could not endure this vnequall distribution of the kings fauours, vpon one onely object, and were grieved, that this common Sunne should haue no light but for two eyes; that this fountaine should haue no water, but to quench one mans thirst: which made them to grow in to great discontentes, and the rather, for that his wife was made chiefe Ladie of honour

*King of Spaine  
settles his Court  
at Vailledolit.*

D to the queene, wherewith the greatest house in Spaine would haue thought it selfe much honoured, being impossible that so grear and sudden preferments should not be enuied and maligned. Hence grew complaints and murmuring, wherein the best wits imployed their tongues and penes to write freely. This discontentment was seene in all the sorts that malecontents could discouer it. They made images to speake at the kings coming to the Crowne, and at the entrie which hee made at Madrid, they set vp *Jupiters* statue, carrying a globe of the world vpon his shoulders, and discharging the one halfe vpon king *Philip*, with an inscription, That the Empire was diuided betwixt *Jupiter* and *Cesar*: they found in strange characters, and an vnknowne hand, at the foot of *Jupiters* image, these words; *This is the duke of Lerma*. They also made *Pasquin* to speake. The king of Spaine made request vnto the Pope, to grant him the tenthes of the Clergie-livings, besides that which his predecessors had bene accustomed to take: The feare they had the Pope would not grant it, made them to write this on the palace gates at Vailledolit: *An unkind Pope, an innocent King, and an insolent Duke*. They made counterfeite letters, both without name and subiect, hauing nothing but a superscription. The king comming one day from walking, he found vpon his table a letter sealed vp, with this direction: *To king Philip the third of that name, king of Spaine, being now at the seruice or deuotion of the duke of Lerma*: The post which brought it had not returned without an answer of hee had stayed. The king, who knew that there is nothing makes such brutes vanish sooner than contempt, nor that requies them more than a feeling and apprehension, laugh at it, and turning to the duke of Lerma, said, *See here what they say of vs*.

*Fauors of princes  
full of enuie*

*Diuisum Imperium cum  
Ioue Cesar  
habet.  
Pasquins.*

E They spake vpon stages, and in publicke Scenes. They made a Tragedie at Vailledolit: the adors were the King, the Constable of Castille, the Duke of Lerma, and the people: The Argument was the complaints and insolencie of the duke of Lerma: the Catastrophe, the duke of Lermas death, who was torne in peeces by the furious multitude.

1599

They made fooles to speake, who are about kings onely to tell truth, and to make wise men, which dare not speake it, to blush. A ieafter passing betwixt the king & the duke of Lerma, iustled him in such sort as he made the duke to stagger, and said vnto him, Stand fast, for if thou fallst thou wilt neuer rise again. The king taking the word, answered presently, We will then fall both together. The Grandes, who smiled at the ieasters speech, were much amazed at the kings answer. All Spaine admires his fortune. The most happie hold, that who so will be fortunat, must bee borne vnder the same Planet. But no man knowes how long this happinesse will continue: And in the end the great fauors of princes are prejudiciall and ruinous to their fauourites. One sayes, That we must approach neere vnto kings, as vnto fire, neither standing too farre off, least we take cold, nor approaching too neere, for feare of burning. This fauour is a fire, as it shines, it burnes. Courtiers flie vnto it, and burne themselves like Butterflies. Hee is not wise that vseth it as a fountaine, and drinkes as much as he can, for the thirst that is past, for the present, and that which is to come: but he is wise that drinks of these fauors as dogs do of the riuert of Nol, passing and running, least they be deuoured of Crocodiles by enuie and jealousie.

The Archduke having brought the kings wife into Spaine, and receiued the Infanta his wife, to condu& her into Flanders, & to take possession with her of those countries, which the king had giuen her in dowrie, hauing taken leaue of the king, queene, and empress, his mother, he took his way towards the sea, which was so fauorable vnto them, as imbar- king at Barcelona the seuenth of Iune, they arriued in 18 daies at Genoua, where they remained the rest of that moneth in prince Dorias palace. From thence they past to Pauia, where the duke of Parma came to see them. Then they came to Milan; thither the Pope sent cardinall Dietestain to visit them, who presented a sword vnto the Archduke, in his Holinesse name, and a rose of gold to the Infanta: and so they past on their journey through the Grisons country.

At the conclusion of the peace of Veruins, betwixt the French and the Spanish, the queene of England was not comprehended in that treatie. The king of Spaine desired to enter into a particular treatie with her, the French king being willing to further this good motion, offered the towne of Boullen for their Commissioners to meet at: whither they came, but it was of no effect, by reason of the precedence, which neither would yeeld to other: for the English refusing to yeeld to the deputies of Spaine, they returned without any fruits of this meeting, neither was there any one of them but thought it vnreasonable to purchase a peace with so great a disadvantage to his masters seruice.

The king of Spaine being at peace with France, he thought him much wronged, & the treatie infringed, that the French went to serue the vnitd Estates: wherefore he gaue commandment to his embassador in France, to make complaint vnto the French king, That contrarie to the conditions of the treatie of Veruins, and contrarie to the publike faith, the French went to serue prince Maurice, and by the fauor of their arms did countenance the vnitd prouinces of the Netherlands in their rebellion: that a friendship in words without effects, was more prejudiciall, a peace which doth not obserue the conditions, was more hurtfull vnto him, than the acts of open war. The French king desiring to obserue the articles of the treatie sincerely, & without any just exception, disauowed all his subiects which caried armes in that qualitie, commanding them to returne home within six weeks, vpon paine of confiscation of body and goods, forbidding all others to goe thither to that intent: yet hee grew jealous, for that there was an armie newly imbarked in Portugal, which made him suspect some designe either against France or England: whereupon he commanded his seruants to stand vpon their gard.

This yere the marquisat of Saluces was in question betwixt the French K. and the duke of Sauoy, who in his proceedings seemed so discontented with the Spaniards, for sundrie reasons, and made them so jealous of him, as the Councell of Spaine demanded the prince his eldest son, and his eldest daughter, vnder a colour of bringing them vp after a royall manner, in the Court of Spaine, whereas they might one day hope to raigne. The duke was much discontented herewith, seeing that it proceeded rather from suspicion than affection; yet by the aduice of his Councell, hee gaue the king of Spaine to vnderstand, That hee could not lodge his children better, being the true cymment of per-

Archdukes  
pass for Flan-  
ders.

Treaty at Bou-  
llen betwixt the  
deputies of  
England and  
Spaine.

King of Spaine  
complains that  
the French  
serue this ene-  
my.

King of Spaine  
demands the  
Duke of Sauoy  
children.

1599

A feet friendship, yet he resolved to send one to make his excuse, pretending, That the estate of his affairs would not suffer him to send them at that instant, nor to provide them a train and things necessary for their voyage. But the king of Spaine, to preuent all excuses, gaue order that money should be provided at Milan, persuading the duke to send the cont la Morte as gouernour to the prince. But hauing the money, he kept his children still, say- ing, That the ayre of Spaine would not agree with his children, and that their indisposi- tion and young yeares, would not suffer him to expose them to so long and daungerous a voyage. At which refusall the king of Spaine was much discontented.

The Estates of the vnitd Prouinces not content to make head against the forces of B Spaine within their country, they sent forth a goodlie fleet, in the which were about 8000 souldiers and mariners, with all other necessarie prouisions for such a preparation. They set saile on the 25 day of May, hauing for Generall Peter vander Does, and went to affront the Spaniards at their owne doores. On the eleuenth of Iune comming neere the Groine, they met with two small boats, which were sent forth to discover them: in one of them they found a Spaniard, by whom they vnderstood, that they had beene aduertised of their comming vpon that coast, where they stood vpon their gard, and that in the Groine there were foure thousand foot, and some horse: which made the Generall (ha- uing called all the captaines to counsell) to thinke it not expedient to attempt any thing in those parts. Which made them to hoise saile, and to bend their course towards Cap S.

C Vincent: so passing the islands of Lancerote, Allegeance, and Forte-aventure, they disco- uered the great island of the Canaries, whereas the Generall vander Does came with his whole fleet before the towne of Alegoena, the 26 day of Iune, where he cast anker vnder the great castle, which is on the Northwest part of the towne; and causing those ships to approach which had the greatest ordnance, he began in like maner to batter the castle of Gratiofa. The Spaniards and islanders hauing three peeces of ordnance, resolved to hin- der their landing, after some great shot from the castle, which did much annoy the Hol- landers. In the meane time the Generall put part of his armie into boats, to row to land, but not able to come vnto the shore, for want of water, he leapt first into the sea vp to the girdle, being followed by all the rest, who marched resolutely to land, notwithstanding all the attempts of the Spaniards and islanders, who kept their ground, and defended the landing verie valiantly: yet the Hollanders forced them, not without some losse of their men. At this charge the Spaniards lost some fortie men, before they would quit the place: among others the gouerniour (being on horsebacke) had a leg shot off with a great peece. The Generall of the Hollanders was hurt in the leg with a pike, and had three light hurts on the bodie, and if one of his souldiers had not slaine the Spaniard which in- counted him, he had beene in daunger of his life. The islanders leauing their artillerie fled to the towne with their lame gouernour, and the Hollanders landed at their ease.

E They of the castle of Gratiofa seeing foure and twentie companies of Hollanders lan- ded, and put in battell, and their colours flying, there came three mariners running from towards the castle, who told the Generall, That they of the castle would yeeld, if they might haue their liues and goods saued: whither hee presently went with some cap- taines, to whose mercie the place was yeelded, they leauing their armes, nine pee- ces of brasse ordnance, and six of yron, with all the prouision and munition. There were eight and fiftie prisoners, all the rest hauing beene slaine by the canon, all which he sent home in a Spanish ship which the fleet had taken, reseruing onely three of the chiefe for his better instruction.

The Hollanders meaning the next day to besiege Alegoena, they were much annoyed by the canon of another castle which was neere vnto the towne, so as being forced to fetch their canon to batter it, they spent foure houres, the great ordnance playing of either side: in the end they within the castle being beaten from their defences, their ordnance dismounted, and their men slaine, the Generall hauing also set one of the towne gates on fire, which they of the towne, castle, and a mountaine which shot with some great ord- nance, seeing they abandoned both towne, castle, hill, and artillerie, and fled to rockes and caues in the mountaines, carrying their plate, jewels, and the richest of their mouables with them, with their wiues and children.

Success of the  
Estates army at  
the Canaries.

Castle of Grati-  
ofa yeelded to  
the Hollanders.

Towne and ca-  
stle of Alegoena  
abandoned.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 31.

After this the Generall caused some ladders to bee brought, with the which they entered the towne, finding no opposition. His men ran directly to the castle, where the Spaniards, at their retreat, had left a mine, with a match burning, the which tooke fire before the Hollanders were entred, so as it did them no harme. They found five peeces of ordnance in the place, the which, with all the rest of the bootie which they found, was carried into the Admirals ship, as the Estates had commaunded. The towne and castle being taken, the Generall put his men in battell, as if hee would muster them, in a plaine within the towne. The souldiers brought a Flestringer vnto him, whom they had drawne out of prison: whereupon the Generall went vnto the prisons, and freed some six and thirtie persons, who told him, that the inhabitants flying away, they had carried two prisoners with them, the one an English man, the other a Dutch, who were condemned by the Inquisition to bee burnt. Towards night the whole armie was quartered, and lodged within the towne, except such as were appointed to bee in gard towards the mountaines, whereas the islanders did sometimes shew themselves in great troupes. The towne was spoyle of all that remained, the best being carried away; and then the Generall caused a proclamation to bee made, That no man should appropriate any goods vnto himselfe, for such was the will of the Estates.

Estates men  
slaine in the  
mountaines.

On the nine and twentieth of Iune some mariners went vp into the mountaines to get some bootie, but the islanders intercepted them, and slue some twentie. Towards euening the Generall sent three hundred men to a small castle; halfe a league from the towne, but the garrison seeing them approach abandoned it presently, and fled to the mountaines; whereas the Estates men found three peeces of ordnance, and leauing a squadron there, the rest returned to the towne. The last of Iune the Generall commaunded that the wine, oyle, and all other goods, should bee imbarked. The Spaniards that were in the mountaines did often make offer to treat, but the Generall hearing their first demands, which hee held impertinent, dismissed them, and would giue them no more audience. The Hollanders being master of the towne, the Generall caused the bells, artillerie, munition, and all other commodities which the islanders had left behind them, to be shipt, and then he sent two thousand to charge them that were fled into the mountaines, who at the first made head, and fought valiantly, where, although the Spaniards had great aduantage, yet they retired into the mountaines, where the Hollanders not knowing the passages, durst not pursue them, but returned to the towne with the losse of seuentie men, and one sea captaine.

Alegoena burnt  
by the Hollan-  
ders.

The next day the Generall blew vp the castle of the towne, and burnt all the churches and religious houses, both within and without it: then, being readie to make his retreat, he drew forth his men in battell, and caused the towne to be fired: Then they marcht to Gratiofa, some halfe mile from the towne (which castle they also blew vp) where their boats attended them to carrie them aboard. They were no sooner imbarked, but the islanders came running from the mountaines to quench the fire. The Generall being at sea, hee called all the captaines to counsell, asking their aduice what was to bee done, and to informe himselfe of the situation of other islands in those parts. At this time there came certaine Spaniards to the shore, which desired a parley. Whereupon the Generall sent forth a boat to fetch them: Their coming was onely for those prisoners which had beene taken in the castle of Gratiofa; whose ransomes being payed, they were let goe.

Gomora taken  
by the Hollan-  
ders.

Leauing this island, within few daies after the fleet discovered the island of Gomora, one of the Canaries, whereas they landed without any resistance, the Spaniards and islanders being fled to the mountaines and caues, as they had done from Alegoena. The Hollanders hauing taken Gomora, and seeing the islanders flee to the mountaines, there were foure companies, which landed first, pursued them, to cut off their passage: but being ignorant of the passages, they were charged by the Spaniards, who slue 80 of their men. The Generall hauing caused the ordnance, bells, wine, and such other commodities as he found there, to be imbarked, hee set fire of the towne, which the islanders came running downe to quench, as they had done at Alegoena.

Behold

Lib. 31.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

1299

1599

- A Behold how these two Ilands of the great Canarie and Gomora, which in a hundred yeares had not seene any enemies, were spoyle and burnt by the States armie, the which diuided it selfe into two parts; and twenty ships were sent homeward with the spoile they had taken, vnder the command of the Admirall *John Gheerbrantsen*, who arrived scatteringly about the middest of September. The Generall *Vander Does* bent his course with thirty and sixe ships towards the Iland of *Saint Thome*, which is vpon the coast of Guinee, directly vnder the Equinoctiall line. This Iland is inhabited with naturall Portugals, and abounds with Sugars, which is their greatest trade: whereof they became Masters vpon their first approach, without any resistance or losse. But the Hollanders being more accustomed to the cold blasts of the Northerne Region, than to the violent heat of the burning Zone, they were not long Masters thereof, but there fell a contagious sicknesse among them, whereof they died in very great torments. The Generall seeing this, caused them to imbarke the spoile with *Francisco de Mences*, Gouverneur of the said Iland, his prisoner: but this infection did not leaue them being at sea, for they dyed in so great numbers, as the Generall *Vander Does*, and all the Captains but two or three, with three parts of the Mariners & Souldiers had no other Sepulchres but the Sea, so as they had scarce men to gouerne their ships, yet in the end they got home safely by one and one.

Saint Thome  
taken by the  
Hollanders.

- In the beginning of this yeare began the Iubile at Rome, which although it doth not directly concerne this Historie of Spaine, yet haue I presumed to make a little digression to relate the maner of this ceremony. This action of Iubile was in old time so rare, as few men might see it twice in their times. *Bonifacius 8* ordained first of all that it should be celebrated at Rome euerie hundred yeares, and made it to be past in forme of a law, which before was done but by deuotion. *Clement 6* abridged it to fiftie, to reduce it to the prefixed time of the ceremoniall law, which yeare all debts and iniuries were abolished, and the trumpets and cornets did sound lowder than of custome. *Urban 6* had another consideration: Our Sauour had liued thirty and three yeres in the world, and therefore he wold that men reuerencing the yeare which fell out at the end of that space, should sanctifie it with the celebratio of the Iubile. *Paul 2* finding the time yet too long, diuided the hundred into foure parts, that as the Bulls are proclaimed at the foure corners of Rome, and bind the that pretend to obtaine the pardons which are granted in this reuolution of yeres, to visit the foure principall Churches, so the foure parts of the world should bee inuited to frequent this Iubile, so called of the Hebrew word *Iobel*, which signifies a Rammes home, for that it was published that yeare by the sound of the Cornet with reioicing. It doth commonly begin on New yeares eue, with a solemne procession, in the which the Pope, the Cardinals, the Embassadors of Christian Princes, the Prelates, Clergie and Officers of the citie of Rome, march according to their ranks, with a world of people, vnto the doore called Holy, which finding walled vp, and neuer open but the yeare of Iubile, they put a candle into one of the Popes hands, and a little siluer hammer into the other, with the which hauing strooke thrice vpon the wall, it is presently beaten downe by men appointed to that purpose, whereupon the people carrie away the peeces with great prease and deuotion.

1600  
Iubile at Rome.

- Clement* had presidents for the deferring of this day *Iulio 3* began his Iubile in the yere 1550, on *S. Mathias* day, for that the Sea had been void vntill then. The importune paine of the gout should haue made *Clement* delay this ceremony: but the concourse of people was greater at Rome than had bin in the memory of man: the Pilgrimes were exceeding poore, and a longer stay wold haue bin very hurtfull vnto them. Which inuited the Pope not to frustrate their expectation: wherefore hee was carried in a chaire according to the custome, and gaue his first blessing to this worke the first day of the yeare.
- F The French king hauing long expected restitution of the Marquisate of Salusses, which the duke of Sauoy detained from him, or some recompence, was forced to seek it by arms: whereupon he came in person with an army into Sauoy, and tooke the chiefe places of strength. The earle of Fuentes Gouverneur of Milan fortified the duke with foure thousand Spaniards. The Ministers of Spaine murmured much at the French kings approaching so neare Italie, saying, that the Marquisate of Salusses was the pretext, but Milan

Spaniard ap-  
prehends the  
French kings  
taking of Sauoy

or

or Naples was the true cause of this warre. Italie was in alarme, who thought that the idlenesse of the French at home would make them trouble their neighbours: The Pope feares that these first sparkles will set all their neighbours on fire: The duke of Sicilia, king Philips embassador at Rome presses him; hee cries out of the miseries & calamities which the continuance of this warre would cause; hee doth intreat, beseech, and coniure the Pope to send Cardinall *Aldobrandin* his nephew to the most Christian king to quench the fire of this great diuision, and to exhort them to come vnto the effects of the treatie of Paris: which the Pope did willingly yeeld vnto.

Spanish forces  
keep Christen-  
dome in alarme

After an accord made betwixt the French king and the duke of Sauoy, all things seemed quiet, but suddenly both Italie and France were in alarme, hauing intelligence that both the duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuentes, kept their forces together, and increased them daily, and that they had some great designe which could not be yet discovered, they threatned many, to strike but one, but no man knew where the chance would fall: that all the Princes of Christendome had cause to doubt him, and that the king of Spaine would make himselfe fearefull by armes in the beginning of his reign: but they knew not whether his designe was against Asia, Africke or Europe. Men spake diuersly of this preparation; In France some said that the king of Spaine would reuiue the pretensions of his Grand-father, *Charles* the fifth, against the Venetians: others said, and with some reason, as the issue will verifie, that hee threatned to enter the estates of the great duke of Tuscany, with this mightie army, if he deliuered not into his hands that man which for some years had qualifed himself, *D. Sebastian* the true and lawfull king of Portugal, who being banished from Venice vpon this occasion, had bene staied at Florence as hee past, thinking to imbarke at Liorno to get to Marseilles, and so come vnto the king during the warre of Sauoy. The Venetians gaue order for their Gulphe, and did thinke to demand *Frances de Bonnes* Lord of Des Diguers from the French king, to be their leader, if they were invaded; to the end that as France had lately furnished the Emperour with a Lieutenant General, and Malta with a great Master against the Infidels, it might also supply them with a great Capitaine against the Spaniards, if hee did attempt to trouble the quiet of their estate.

At Rome it was bruted that Geneva was in danger, and that the Marquesse of Aix was sent thither to intreat the Pope to blesse the enterprise, and to fortifie it with his meanes. In England they thought that some great men had some practises in Castille; and the yeares following will shew that their jealousy was not vaine. The Flemings said that it was to make king *Philip* to be declared king of Romans: but it were not conuenient to breed new factions among the Princes of Germany, when as the Turke was so powerful in Hungarie.

All these erred in their iudgements, time had discovered that this great armie which so troubled mens affections, was entertained for an enterprise which they had vpon Marseilles, but one of them which should haue deliuered the Towne to the Earle of Fuentes, discovered it to the duke of Guise, and so they were disappointed.

Gentlemen of  
Venice executed.

During the stay of this army in Italie, a Venetian Gentleman of the house of *Donati*, appointed to be gouernour of Creme, was conuicted to haue intelligence with the Spaniard, and publicly executed; hee testified that this army had many and diuers designes at one instant, of the which if any one had succeeded, it may be they had not lost their time and paines at sea, as they did at land. But seeing all their designes proue vaine both in Italie and Prouence, the army imbarked at Vada, in the State of Genoua, in two troupes, the one vnder the command of *D. John Andrew Doria*, and the other vnder *Charles Doria* his Son, and so they bent their course towards the Turkes, being in all seuentie gallies, to the which the Pope, the king of Spaine, the great duke of Tuscany, the duke of Sauoy, and the great Master of Malta had contributed. The Venetians would not infringe the peace they had with the great Turke, and yet they provided for all things necessarie for their defence, both by sea and land, if any did quarrell with them.

Enterprise iust  
but not blessed  
of heauen.

The enterprise was iust and worthy of the first stratagems of a Prince, who desires to begin his raigne by some worthy act; the opportunity of doing well being so fauourable, as if Christendome could haue made her profit by the diuision which was then

A in *Mahomets* estate, by the mutinies of the Ianifaries, and the reuolts in Asia, they might in shew haue aduanced the accomplishment of that prophecy; whereof the Turkes doe not speake but with sighes, That by the common armes of the Christians they shall be rooted from the face of the earth.

This armie being imbarked they came, in the beginning of Iuly, to Naples to make prouision of great store of armes; and a good number of Petards, which made the world thinke that hee would both arme some of the Turkes subiects, which were ready to reuolt, and that he had intelligence in some place to surprise it suddenly. And for that footmen are alwaies weake if they bee not seconded by some horse, they made prouision also of fiftene hundred, or two thousand armors for horsemen.

B The Venetians seeing them bend their course towards Messina, entred into new apprehensions, that if they attempted any thing in Albania they should bee troubled in their gulphe, but being come to Trepany, which is the promontarie of Sicile next to Africke, they were freed from this feare. Hauing past the Ilands of Baleares, they then thought it was for Alger. But *Cigala* of Sicile was come from Constantinople with fifty gallies to crosse his designes, and to watch him vpon his retreat, being loth to fight at one instant against the Christians and against the Moores, their slaues and rebels; for it was giuen out that the Christian army should be assisted with eight or ten thousand Moores, and some Christians. Wherefore *Cigala* had drawne all them that dwelt along the Seacoast, and might fauour this army into the Towne, and did shut vp about tenn thousand slaues in caues, tyed with double chaines, and straitly garded.

C There was great hope of good successe of this enterprise; and the Spaniards said, that the King would giue good testimony of his affection to Christendome. Prince *Doria* the better to fauour this designe, had intreated the great Master of Malta, in the king of Spaines name, to send some gallies to spoile in the Levant seas, and to make a diuersion of the Turkes forces, and to aduertise him of their course. They were verie fortunate in the designe, for passing into Morea with fife gallies, *Beauregard* a French knight had commandement to set a Petard to the gate of Chasteau-neuf, which the Turkes call Passana; and in the meane time some other knights should attempt it by Scalado on the other side. As nothing is easie to cowards, so the valiant find nothing difficult: where they entred with such furie, as they forced the second Port, and yet it was valiantly defended by seuen or eight hundred Turkes, where they tooke many slaues, cloyed their ordnance, spoyled and burnt the Towne and countrie about it, and returned with speed.

Chasteau-neuf  
in Morea taken  
by the knights  
of Malta.

The Sea armie of Spaine recouered the coast of Africke, but both men at land, and windes at Sea were banded against it. God would not blesse this enterprise although it were iust and holie, the reasons remaine in the Register of his justice and infinit wisdom: against the which wee may not murmure, as the Romans did against the conduct and gouernment of their gods, when as they saw that *Pompey*, doing nothing according vnto justice, was fauoured with their assistance; and when as he fought for their laws and countrie, yea for the gods themselves, he was most vnfortunate. Prince *Doria* seeing that both heauen, earth, and sea did crosse his designes, resolved to retire and not attempt any thing.

F The Prince of Parma did serue as a voluntarie in this army: who grieuing to see this great armie returne without any employment, desiring rather to erre in iudgement than in the greatnesse of his courage, told Prince *Doria*, That hee should not suffer so goodlie an armie to returne without some attempt, the which had done nothing but incense a mightie enemy, who to bee reuenged of a dead enterprise ready for execution, would seeke to annoy the king of Spaine in all his estates. To whome the old man made this present answer: I know my charge, my head is growne white in learning this experience. Your excellencie is accountable vnto the king my lord but for your pike onely, and I for a whole army, wherein although I haue bene vnfortunate, yet will I not that other parts belonging to my charge, as courage, authoritie and experience shall faile mee, or that any shall obiect vnto me that I haue erred therein. A gallant and worthy answer, to teach a young Prince how great

Prince of Parma  
speech to  
Prince Doria.

Prince Doria  
his answer

Prince Doria  
his answer

Prince Doria  
his answer

Prince Doria  
his answer

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great fouer hee bee in an armie) that hee must onely studie to obey, and not to lead and commaund which was the Generalls charge.

So Prince *Doria* having discharged his armie went towards Genoua, chosing rather to giue them cause to speake disgracefully of his retreat, than to haue attempted an impossible enterprize in vaine. The Popes Gallies attended the Prince of Parma at Barcelona, who was gone into Spaine to kisse the king of Spaines hands. Those of the great duke of Tuscany went to Genoua, and from thence to Li-uorne.

Politic of the  
earle of Fuen-  
tes.

Most of the Souldiers came and lodged in the duchie of Milan, to the vtter ruine of the Countrie. But the Earle of Fuentes, who neuer forceth the people when hee can persuaide them, found an inuention to make this burthen sweet and supportable. Hee sought to drawe their commerce by water from Milan to Paulia, and caused them to digge Trenches, to bring the Riuer together which are betwixt those Townes.

The people seeing commodities that might well recompence their losses with aduantage, seasoned the remembrance of their present harme, with the hope of so great a good. Many haue attempted the like, but in vaine, who in the end haue bene forced to giue ouer the worke, and to leaue the world as it was made.

The Emperour *Charlesmaigne*, sought to ioine the Riuer of Rhin to the Danowe, and the Morelle to the Rhin, to the end the French might traffike by water throughout all Europe, and to this end hee caused great and deepe Trenches to bee made, but finding lets, not fore-seene nor thought off, they remained vnprofitable and filled of themselves.

And the Earle of Fuentes encounters great difficulties in this designe, which did frustrate their worke, and renewed the peoples complaints, when as they sawe themselves surcharged with the ruines of this last Ship-wracke, and that the Souldiers which came from the armie of Alger, liued in Lombardie at discretion and without discretion: wherefore to giue the Millanois some ease, hee entreated the duke of Sauoy to lodge the Regiment of *Barbo*, in the Marquise of Salusses, but knowing how difficult a thing it is to make the Spaniard leaue his lodging, he excused himselfe vpon the ruine and miserie of his estates.

Ten shillings  
sterling.

In the end the king of Spaines Commissaries cast those companies of Italians that were in Alexandria, they wrapt vp their colours, disarmed them, and left them in a manner naked, giuing to euerie one but five liuers of that Countrie money; the King of Spaine hauing no meanes to doe better, his Treasure beeing much wasted in the charges of this last sea armie, being also to furnish money for the Suisses and Germanes.

Infanta of  
Spain borne.

This yeare the Queene of Spaine was brought in bed of her first Childe, the which although it were a Daughter, yet were the Spaniard as full of ioy as the French were for their new borne Daulphin, saying they had rather their Queene should beginne with a Daughter than with a Sonne, least they should fall into those difficulties which jealousy and ambition doe breede, when as the Sonne growes vp so soone and sollicit his father to be gone, when as their ages are in a manner confounded, the one being in the flower, the other in the season of frutes, the which is fittest for gouernement; and that the desire to succede may not trouble the order of Nature, which makes the one repent that they are fathers, and shewes the other vnworthy to be children.

This Daughter was borne on Saint *Maurice* day, the second of September, and was afterwards Christned *Anna Maria Mauricista*.

Outrage done  
vnto Rochepot  
embassador in  
Spaine.

There fell out an accident this Summer, which had like to haue drawne the two great Monarchs of Christendome into armes. The Maiestie of kings is so interested in the wrong which is done vnto their Embassadours, as there is nothing more sensible, nor a iustier subiect to quarrell with them that doe the wrong: And this pretext is so nice, as the Prince which suffers the wrong unpunished, is no lesse culpable than they that doe it.

This

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A This accident did trouble the mindes of many, and transported their imaginations beyond the Pyrenes, if hee who quencht the last combustions of France; had not speedily cast water vpon this new fire which began to kindle. A nephew of the earle of Rochepots, embassadour in Spaine for the French king, bathing himselfe at night with some other Gentlemen after the manner of the French: certaine Spaniards looking on them, vsed some iesting speeches, which were as suddenly answered, wherewith the Spaniards being moued; cast the French mens clothes into the water, the French attired themselves with all speed, and from words they fell to swords, in which conflict there were some Spanish Gentlemen slaine, and some hurt. The kinsmen of the dead made complaint vnto the king of Spaine, who commanded his officers to doe justice as the cause required. And they, not remembering that the name of an embassador is inuolable; euen among enemies, forced the doores of his lodging without any respect, and drew forth his Nephew, and some other Gentlemen to prison.

The French king, being aduertised of this affront, was much offended, and demanded satisfaction from the king of Spaine, else hee should not take him for his friend, and withall hee called home his embassadour, forbidding all his subiects to traffike into Spaine and Portugall, vpon paine of corporall punishment, and the losse of goods, protesting to bee reuenged if reason were not done him by some mild course: whereupon hee went presently towards the frontiers and came to Calais. The iniury done vnto Rochepot, the defence of traffike, and the kings approach, made all men thinke that this goodlie Sunne of peace, which began but to spread his beames ouer both realmes, would be soone eclipsed, at the least it would bee over-cast with clouds, from whence would grow many great and ruinous stormes.

Traffike forbid-  
den into Spaine

The Archduke tooke an alarme at the kings approach, being then at the sege of Ostend: wherefore hee sent the Earle of Sora to beseech his Majestie not to suffer his enemies to preuaile against him, and presume to find a support in him, which would be of dangerous consequence for all other people that would shake off the yoke of obedience, and an odious example to princes from whom they should receiue a law.

Archduke ieal-  
ous of the  
French king.

And for that many thought the king would embrace this occasion of the sege of Ostend, whereby it seemed he should haue good meanes to enter into Artois, without any opposition, he sent the duke of Esquillon to assure the archduke that he had no other designe but to maintaine peace with all his neighbours; that his coming to Calais, was to view and to prouide for that which should bee necessarie to assure the frontiers against all dangers. That he desired peace, yet would not endure a wrong: And as he did hope, the king of Spain would do him reason for the affront done vnto his embassador, so he would not seeke any reuenge vntill it were denied him. But the Pope fearing that this violence offered to the French embassador, would not passe without some reuenge, and that it might kindle a warre betwixt these two great kings, hee sent into Spaine for the prisoners, the which were sent vnto him, and hee presently deliuered them into the hands of *Monsieur de Bethunes*, embassador for the French king at Rome: and so the peace was continued.

French king  
sends to the  
Archduke.

I must now make some mention of a wonder or miracle in Spain, wherof the Spaniards brag much, but I leaue it to the iudicious Reader to beleue what he please: it is a bell in Arragon, which they say, doth sometimes ring without any mans help, and therefore they call it, The miraculous bell.

Bell in Arragon  
miraculous.

Neere vnto the riuer of Ebro, whereas in old time was a colony of Romans, called Curia Celsa, from whence they brought goodly vessels of Alabaster, as *Titus Livius* and others doe witnesse, there is a place, the ruines wherof shew that there hath been a great town which is now demanteled, and did stretch from Villila vnto a place called Celsa, which keeps stil the old name though it bee corrupted.

Neere Villila there is a little hil, on the top wherof there is a little church dedicated to S. *Nicholas*, where among other things there is a square stone of alabaster, very ancient, on the



the which there are many personages cut in stone, kneeling before a Bell, which hangs in a Tower of that steeple. But now the Church hath a Tower vnderpropt with three pillars, in the which there hangs two bells, one a little one, which calls the neighbours daily to diuine seruice, and the greater is commonly called by them the miraculous Bell, the which is ten spannes about, and there is printed on it on two places, The picture of Christ crucified, with that of the Virgin Mary and Saint *Iohn*, the one towards the East, and the other towards the West; and in like manner two crosses, one towards the South, and the other towards the North, and about it there are Letters grauen which containe this Sibilline prophesie: *Christus Rex venit in pace, Deus homo factus est.* This bell by ancient tradition, as they affirme, hath often sounded of it selfe, and hath foretold strange and vnexpected euents.

This yeare one thousand sixe hundred and one, on the thirteenth day of Iune, this bell did sound without the helpe of man, and without any shaking, the knepple striking sometimes on one side alone, and sometimes on both sides of the bell; at the first it gaue fixe stroakes, then nine, and afterwards twelue, fiftene, and in the end thirty stroakes, continuing striking after this manner for the space of two houres; and the greatest blowes were for the most part giuen towards the East, and towards the South: and diuers daies following it strooke sundrie times in the presence of the Curate of the place, and of an infinite number of people, vntill Saturday the sixteenth of that moneth: So as the bruit of this noueltie was spred ouer the whole Countrie, and in the end it came vnto Sarragossa the chiefe Towne of the Realme of Arragon, whereas D. *Garcia* of Villiapando, Lord of Quinto and Villila, was at that time, who hearing these news went with his wife, and daughters, and many others of good accompt, presently to Villila, being desirous to see that with their eyes which had bene reported: and for that after their arriual the bell stood still some daies, they held themselues very vnforgunate, that they came not in time, fearing it would sound no more.

But the next day which was Thursday, being *Corpus Christi* day, about fixe of the clocke in the morning, when they were ready to goe in procession, it beganne to sound very lowd, and so continued diuers times, vntill the day after Saint *Iohn Baptists* day, that it stayed for a time, and afterwards as if the clapper had bene guided by ones hand, it gaue twenty great stroakes towards the East verie melodiously, and so it ceased.

They say that they haue autentike testimonies in their Annales, that this bell did sound of it selfe, when as *Alonso* the fift, king of Arragon, went into Italie, to take possession of the Realme of Naples; and when as the Emperour *Charles* the fift, died: In like maner when as D. *Sebastian* king of Portugall went into Afrike; and when as king *Philip* the second was extreamely sicke at Badajos, at which time his wife Queene *Anne* dyed; from which time vntill now it had neuer sounded. This Bell did sound (as I haue said) when as D. *Sebastian* went into Afrike, and the Portugalls (who alwaies produce some Prophecies,) assure that this bell did sound this yeare for the retume of their king D. *Sebastian*.

The accident of a man which termed himselfe D. *Sebastian*, sometime king of Portugall, is so common throughout all Christendome, as there is not any Nation but talks of him, yet diuersly: The verification thereof would not onely giue pleasure and profit, but would rauish many of them with admiration, who beleue him to be so, as well as the others, who hold him to bee an Impostor, or a Magitian: And with all it might serue for an example, as well to those that are now or shall come heereafter, in matter of wilfull and malicious incredulitie, as well as in too indiscreet and light beleefe.

The Spaniards in this beleefe are contrarie to the Portugalls, for they hold him for an Impostor. Some among them say, that he is a Calabrois, borne at Tauerne: others maintaine that he is Monke, which had renounced his order: And others hold that it is one *Mark Tulle Catizon*, born in a town of Apulia, & that he hath a wife liuing at Messina, being induced by some Portugalls enemies to the Spaniards, who by this pre-

D. Sebastian  
king of Portu-  
gall.

Opinion of the  
Spaniards of D.  
Sebastian.

text

- A text would seeke the deliuerie of the realme of Portugall; which they say, is held by the violence of the Kings of Castille: That it is most certaine the king D. *Sebastian* was slaine at the battell in Afrike: That he being dead, his bodie was knowen and deemed by king *Philip* the second for a hundred thousand etownes. Others say, that the Moores deliuered it without any money, by reason of the accord made betwixt *Muley Mahut*, and king *Philip*: it is true that king *Philip* did sollicite them for it by reason of his pretensions. That hee was honourably interred at Belem by Lisboners. That foure kings, accompting the election of D. *Antonio*, haue reigned since his death. That it is not likely that king *Sebastian* should haue continued two and twentie yeeres a prisoner, and a wanderer about the world, and not haue a desire, nor find any means to make himselfe to be knowen for him who this Impostor saies he is. Moreover, the miserable estate wherein this affronted hath long liued among poore people, and in the end was scene in Italie before hee sailed who hee was, having not written vnto any of the Princes of Christendome: That hee could not answer pertinently to all the demands made vnto him by the Seigniorie of Venice, who had deliberately examined him both in prison and at liberty. And that he had not all the marks which the deceased king D. *Sebastian* had. That the king D. *Sebastian* was flaxen haired, and this Impostor is blacke. That he doth not speake good Portugall. That in all Ages there haue bene some seene to resemble one another in countenance, to be of the like stature, and to haue like marks. That it is not now alone that there haue bene such Impostors which said they were the king D. *Sebastian*; yea a Mason borne in the Island of Tercere, was so impudent as to assume himselfe to be the same, who was followed by some Portugalls armed, and if he had entred into Lisbon on Assention day, as he had resolved, and had written vnto the Gouverneur, he had bene receiued by all the Portugalls for their king D. *Sebastian*: but others say, that onely some peasants of the countrey followed him, and that he had written vnto the cardinall *Albert* to leaue Portugall; but being taken and knowne for an Impostor, he was hanged. That also in a Prouince of Portugall called Beira, a certain Portugall of bale condition maintaine himselfe to be the king D. *Sebastian*: the which was giuen out to be so true, as *Albert* Cardinall of Austria then Viceroy of Portugall, was resolved (as the Portugalls themselues say) to retire himselfe into Castille; yet by the aduice of the true Gouvernors of Portugall, which gouerned the realme ioyntly with him, he sent to captaine *Gill de Mesa* (who at this day is one of the French Kings chamber) to go and apprehend him with his companie of two hundred men, and to bring him with honour and respect: for if haply hee were the same whom he vaunted himselfe to be, hee would deliuer vp into his hands the scepter and crowne of the kings of Portugall, with his realmes. *Gill de Mesa* went into the prouince of Beira, and came to the towne of Pena macor, where he tooke him easily, and carried him to Lisbon, who being knowne for an impostor, he was publicly whipt and sent to the gallies; which Impostor liued of late yeeres, and was called *Sebastian* in derision, who was not hanged notwithstanding, for that in his processe hee was not found charged with any other crimes than with that of his intention: But one who termed himselfe Bishop of La gard was hanged, for that hee had persuaded this man: And as for the cardinall *Albert*, he would not retire, but when as the King D. *Antonio* came into Portugall with his sea armie. That there haue not onely bene such Impostors, who termed themselues to be the king D. *Sebastian*; but that lately in Castille, there was a pie baker at Madrigal, who gaue it out secretly, that he was D. *Charles* prince of Spain, whom king *Philip* his father had put to death twenty yeeres before, who being knowne for an abuser was hanged: Others say, that this pie baker termed himselfe king *Sebastian*, being incited thereunto by *Nicholas de los Sanctos* an Augustine Frier, Preacher to Queene *Katherine*, who was hanged in his religious habite: That in like maner other ages had furnished the like Impostors which had taken vpon them the name of Kings and Princes.

The Portugalls on the other side maintaine, that this is their true king by many and sundry great markes, which he carries like vnto those of the true *Sebastian*, wherein they are the better confirmed, for that the Spaniards (say they) ground onely vpon simple, common, and light presumptions, the which doe in no sort ballance so many marks and

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reasons

Portugalls opi-  
nion touching  
D. Sebastian.

1801

Birth of D. Sebastian king of Portugall.

reasons which iustifie this to be the true king: And moreover, that the Spaniards, who say that he is a Calabrois, a Monke, or *Marc Tullio Catizon* of Apulia, haue not yet produced any apparent proofes of his life and means whom they call an Impostor. The which they may so easily doe; by the authoritie and absolute power which they haue in those Prouinces, as the Portugalls doe not receiue their negatiue, but for a meere slander: but on the other side they repeat the life of *D. Sebastian* from his birth, vnto his coming to Saint Lucar of Barameda, with many prophesies, signes, and predictions: the which we haue added, that it may serue as an example to posteritie.

*D. Sebastian* (as you haue heard) was the onely sonne and after-birth of the Prince *D. John* sonne to the king *D. John* the third, who died young, leaving *D. Joane* of Austria, princess of Castille, and daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the first with child, who was deliuered of *D. Sebastian* on Saint *Sebastians* day, eightene dayes after the fathers death, whib as it seemes was in a maner wrested out of the hands of God, by the great prayers which were made generally throughout the realme of Portugall, to the end the crowne should not be left without lawful heires males in the succession of great *Alphonso* the first king of Portugall. They were induced hereunto by the predictions and reuelations which had beene giuen to the said *Alphonso* the first founder of the said realme: by the which it was promised them of God, *To warrant his posteritie in such sort as it should not faile vpon the earth, yet, at the sixteenth descent from him, it should haue great tribulations and afflictions.*

By this Oracle it appeareth it was spoken of his birth, for the which also the Portugals made such praers, and shewed such deuotion, for that they feared to fall vnder the Spaniards yoke, who are their naturall enemies: either for that the Portugals had in olde time their beginning from the French, as the name doth shew, for that the French coming into those parts did inhabite that country, and gaue it their name; or else for that the Spaniards being enuious of their prosperities, seeking alwayes to raigne ouer them, are become their enemies without cause.

The king *D. Sebastian* being ouerthrowne at the bartell of *Alcaferquibir* in Afrike, the Spaniards say that some noblemen of Portugall which followed him, seeing all lost, aduised him to retire, but he answered that he had rather die, and so thrust into the midst of his enemies, where some noblemen entred with him, where they beleue he died, whose bodie they say was buried at Belem.

But the Portugalls say, that they did neuer beleue that it was *D. Sebastians* bodie, or that he was dead, but that he imbarqued (as you shall heare) and that he went into *Algarue*, and put himselfe into a monasterie of Ieronimits, or according vnto some, of *S. Francis*, whom they called *los Descalcos*, or the bare footed, and there hee caused his wounds to be cured; the which they say had beene verified by a seruant to Cardinall *Henrie* the Kings vnckle, who was a Church man and trusty to his master, and brought an A& signed by the Gardian and monks of the said monasterie of Ieronimits: this seruants name was *Mannuel Antonex*: But cardinall *Henrie*, who was acknowledged king, did not then speake, neither did the said *Mannuel Antonex*: the which (as they say) was afterwards the cause of great miseries in Portugall: for the cardinall dying, notwithstanding that the Portugalls did after him choole *D. Antonio* a prince of Portugall for their lawful king, yet the king of Castille seized vpon the Realme, and held it by force. Afterwards the said *Mannuel Antonex* reuealed this A&, seeing that in the yeere 1598, it was said that *D. Sebastian* was recovered, who being sent for by king *Philip*, hee went vnto him, but no man knew what was become of him, some said he was dead.

The Portugalls beleue, that the king *D. Sebastian* seeing the battell lost, that hee was in daunger to be taken, but that defending himselfe valiantly, hee slew some which sought to take him, and hid himselfe amongst the dead carcases vntill night, at which time hee went towards the sea, where the rest of his armie lay in the roade. There hee met with the Duke of Auerio *Christopher de Tanora* his great fauourite, the Erie of *Redonde*, and other noblemen, with whom he imbarqued, and went into *Algarue*, as you haue heard, sending his shippes away: where hee resolved with the said noblemen to wander ouer all Europe, Afrike, and Asia, into *Ethiopia* to *Pete Ian*, and into *Persia*, where he was in battells against the Turke, and receiued many wounds.

Being

How the Portugalls beleue that D. Sebastian answered himselfe from the battell.

1601

A Being wearie of running, and tired with the vanitie of the world, hee came vnto an Hermitage, where hee continued vntill hee had visions and reuelations both to himselfe, and to an Hermit with whom hee liued: so as after many delayes he left him: which was in the yeare 1597. And that being in Sicilie he sent letters into Portugall, by *Marc Tullio Catizoni* a Sicilian, who neuer returned, and was neuer seen since. That king *Sebastian* after hee had attended him long, parted from Sicilie, with an intent to manifest himselfe vnto the Pope. But there fell out an other accident, his seruants robbed him, and ranne away, so as he remained naked and without meanes, being forced to begge vp and downe Italie: and in the end hee came to Venice in Iune 1598, hauing but one gazette, which is not a peny of our English mony: being there, he got into a Cooks house, and lodged in a poore cockelost or garret, the Cookes name was *Francisco*, borne in Cyprus, who (being but a poore man and charged with wife and many children) entertained him as well as he could, for the vertues and good parts which he seemed to haue, being continually at his prayers.

Within few dayes he was discovered by the Portugals to be *D. Sebastian* king of Portugall, whereupon some of them carried him to Padoua, whether it were vpon hope to be aduanced by him, or otherwise, so as there was a great bruite of him. The Embassador of Spaine made his complaints, and the Seigniorie sent to the gouernors of Padoua to chase away this man, who called himselfe *D. Sebastian* king of Portugall, within 3 daies out of their towne. This sentence being signified vnto him, touched him so neere as hee fell sicke. Being recovered, he resolved to go in person to Venice to yeeld an account of himselfe. He presents himselfe vnto the Senate, relates the historie of his life, his rout in Afrike, his retreat into Calabria, his resolution neuer to haue shewed himselfe in anie place of knowledge for the shame of his disgrace, and the punishment of his rashnesse, if the Spirit of God had not inspired him with another will, and giuen him a certaine assurance to make him known for him that he was borne. He added moreover, that among all the soueraigne Estates of Europe, he would not haue recourse to any, but to the common weale of Venice, to iudge the truth of his condition. And for a prooffe, hee remembered vnto them with all circumstances, the Embassadors which they had in former times sent vnto him, the answers and dispatches which they had brought backe from him, and the difficulties that were of either side. The Senate caused their records to be searcht, and found them conformable to his words. They questioned with him, with great wisdom and iudgement, of many other matters of importance; whereunto hee answered so pertinently, as many held him to be the true king *D. Sebastian*, and others tooke him to be a magician, for that no other but himselfe could be informed of such secret matters, without the spirit of *Pithon*.

Then grew there a great rumour in Venice, the people fauoured him with their wishes and praers, euery man desired to see him seated againe in his throne. But hee had a violent enemy, the Embassadour of Spaine, who maintained for his master, that hee was an impostor, charging him moreover, with many horrible and detestable crimes (which being prooued could not haue deserued lesse than fire) he made himselfe partie against him, and got him to be committed. Being in prison, the Senat deputed Iudges to make his processe, who vsed all diligence to informe vpon the crimes imputed vnto him by his aduerserie partie, but they found him innocent. They examined him eight and twentie times, at all the which he shewed such an vndaunted courage and countenance, as he seemed rather capable to iudge the Iudges, than to vndergoe their censures. In the end, imagining that their demands were more curious than iust, and that they fauoured the greedinesse of the Spaniard more than the truth of his cause, hee would not answer any more, but did insitt vpon his first request, That they would let him be scene vnto the Portugals, and to such strangers as had knowne him before he past into Afrike, and if he were a counterfeit, hee was in their hands to doe that iustice on him which an impostor deserved.

This Seducer (said the Embassadour of Spaine) is borne in Apulia, and married at Messina, we haue the depositions of his wife, that his name *Marc Tullio Catizoni* is, that he had beene procured & instructed by certain Portugals, enemies to the Estate of Spaine,

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Reasons of the Embassadors accusing D. Sebastian.

who



fares, and conclusions beeing taken the 16 of December, 1600, he was called vnto the Senat at ten of the clocke at night, where there did assiste aboute 200 of the chiefe men of that State; where the same inuention which had beene made vnto him by the Podesta of Padoua, in the year 1598, was againe intimated vnto him by foure Deputies of the Seigniorie, all standing vp bare headed, with great respect: where they pronounced this sentence vnto him, and he still couered, if we shall beleue the Portugals.

Going forth of the Senat many presented themselves to accompanie him to his lodging, but he would not suffer them. The Portugals which were at Venice, *D. Christopher, D. John de Castro, Diego Manuel, Roderigo Marques, Sebastian Figueyra, Francisco Antonio, Sampayo* and *Chrysostome* Monkes, with many others, whereof some had seene him often in Portugal, and siace in Barbarie after the defeat, protest that at the first sight of him they were much amazed, for that they saw him differ so much in age and haire; but hauing well obserued his countenance, his forehead, his eies, his nose, his lippe of Austria, that is to say, greater than the ordinarie, the which most of the Princes of that house haue (from whence he was descended by his grandmother *Catherine*, sister to the Emperour *Charles* the first, and by his mother *Joane* daughter to the said Emperour) his stature, his speech, his writing, all the visible markes of his bodie, whereby they did know him infallibly; the left parts, as his arme, hand, leg, and foot, shorter than the right; his wart vpon the little toe of the right foot, which was almost like vnto a sext toe; the moles of his face and hands, his hurt vpon his right brow & head, the place where he wanted a tooth in his right jawe beneath, the which *Sebastian Nero* his Chirurgion had once pulled out: all which markes, with many other, did rauish them with wonderful admiration, & forced them to confesse that he was their true & naturall king, who was miraculously preferred for the restoring of Portugal, and for the benefit of Christendome, and they liue yet in this expectation.

*Sampayo* a Doctor and professour of Diuinitie at Tolouza, and a Iacobin by profession, to giue an indubitable beleefe to this new manifestation, and to make the world thinke that it were Atheisme not to beleue it; writing to Paris, presumed to deliuer these words: I assure you that Iesus Christ is no more the sonne of the true and eternall God, whom I call to witnesse, than this is *D. Sebastian* our true and naturall king and Lord. A bold speech, although it were an vndoubted truth, confest by all the world; the comparison is vnlawfull, the which I doubt cannot be made without blasphemie, seeing there is no proportion betwixt the Creator and the Creature.

Beeing at libertie, the Portugals which were at Venice besought him to speake vnto them, to the end they might see if his speech would giue them as much knowledge of his qualitie as his countenance had done, not being able to iudge of the inward man by the outward parts: wherupon he spake vnto them after the Portugal manner, proudly & royally, telling the what he was, & what his life had bin since his ouerthrow in Afrique, which forced teares from him in speaking, and from them in hearing. Being thus resolved, they were much troubled how they should saue him from the ambushes of the Spaniards, for they were aduertised that the Embassadour of Castille laid wait for him at euery passage. The duke of Sauoy & the Earle of Fuentes had the like charge. The Archbishop of Spalato offred to conduct him safely in his Caroeche vnto the frontiers of Germany, but they would not trust him, & yet they knew not what to resolve: some would carry him to Lions, where they treated of a peace with the duke of Sauoy: whereas when they saw any troupe of horse a far off, they ran to meet them, with acclamations, hoping to see *D. Sebastian* king of Portugal, & thereupon built goodly castles in Spaine. Others desired he should rather passe by Florence, to imbarke at Liuerne, & so get to Marceilles. But as euery one in particular sought to haue the honour to preserve the king, their obstinate disagreement spoiled all. They made choice of the worst, & followed the aduice of *Sampayo*, who was a turbulent & cholericke man: they attire him like a monke of the Order of *S. Dominike*, & imbarke him in a gondole in the night, from whence he goes to Padoua: there he changed his habit for a cloake and a rapier, & so went to Florence, whereas the duke caused him to be stayed, by the aduice of the Archbishop of Pisa, where he kept him vntil the 23 of Aprill.

The king of Spaine beeing aduertised that he was at Florence, prest the great duke

Prefumption of  
Doctor Sam-  
payo.

D. Sebastian  
kaid prisoner  
at Florence.

A to deliuer him vnto the Viceroy of Naples, and to his entreaties he addes threats. But why should he deliuer him, seeing that the Venetians seeme rather by their sentence to giue their prisoner means to seeke justice elsewhere, than to take knowledge of his cause? Shall he violate the law of nations, in deliuering him that trusted vnto his protection? Being thus in suspence betwixt the feare of threats, and the reason of demall, they represent vnto him a great armie, at the king of Spaines deuotion, the which affrightes all Italie, and threatens his estates. He desires rather to auoid the storme, than to incense a mightie Prince, and to draw a waire vpon him, the end whereof must needs be ruinous: Whereupon he sent him to Orbello, where some, appointed by the Viceroy, receiued him, and conducted him safely to Naples.

He is deliuered  
to the Viceroy  
of Naples.

B Seeing himselfe in the Castillans power, and that he had nothing free but theayre and his tongue, he poured forth all that might be spoken against one that may be taxed of treason, inhospitalitie, and treacherie; as the violence of choler thrust him on to strange imprecations against them that do so deliuer vp the poore, vnjustly afflicted, which commit themselves to the safegard of another. Notwithstanding these violent humors, he presented himselfe before the earle of Lemos, Viceroy of Naples, with as settled a countenance as he had done to the Senat of Venice, and the great Duke; yea (the Portugals say) with as great maiestie, as if he had beene sitting in his royall throne at Lisbon: For at his coming in, to a great hall, seeing the Viceroy bare headed, whether it were to respect the title of a king, which he did attribute vnto himselfe, or by reason of the heat, *Cuer* you Earle of Lemos, said he, with such a hardie grauitie, as it amazed the whole companie. The Viceroy demanded of him, *Whence comes this authoritie to command me?* To whom he answered, *It is borne with me. You seeme not to know me, I know who you are: doe you not remember that the deceased king Philip mine vnckle sent you twice vnto me when I reigned in Portugal?* Declaring vnto him euery particular so precisely, as it bred some scruple in the minds of the hearers, and did much distemper the Viceroyes thoughts: who dying some moneths after, charged his sonne and successor to carrie himselfe discreetly and moderately to this prisoner, as indeed he had intreated him (as the Portugals say) with little rigour and much courtesie. But this new keeper, whether that he had a contrarie commaundement from his Soueraigne, or to insinuate more into his fauor, or else fearing the corruption of some Portugals, who followed him a farre off, to see his successe, he restrained his prisoner, and doubled his guards, giuing him no more libertie than to many others, to goe out on Sundayes and festiual daies to heare Masse in a chappell within the castle. Yet the Viceroy, who would not publicly seeme to consent to the affliction of this vnfortunate man, dispensed with himselfe to call him Impostor: who finding himselfe much toucht with this reproch, fell to those armes which his condition did furnish him, which were as bitter words as might be giuen to any one that would not respect his qualitie. These violent words did not free him from a hard prison in the castle d'Ouo, in the which he did not find any thing (according to the report of the Portugals) but a cord, and a long knife, fit instruments for some desperat malefactor, who would free himselfe from some exemplarie punishment. There he continued three daies without bread, wine, water, or bed. On the fourth the Auditor generall being followed by two Registers, came to visit him, and finding him safe and well (for there was no great likelihood that with such cruell vsage he should seeke to prolong his life, especially hauing such fit instruments to end his miseries, and to free himselfe from a more sensible ignominie before men) he said vnto him, That if he did not forbear to say and maintaine himselfe to be *D. Sebastian* king of Portugal, they had not any thing to sustaine his hunger nor thirst, nor to giue him rest. Doe what you please, said the prisoner, for I am *D. Sebastian*, the true king of Portugal, and no other. God forbid that I should fall into so great a mischiefe, and so contrarie to my soules health, that for feare of men I should denie the truth, and confesse that which is not. I am that *D. Sebastian* king of Portugal, who in the year 1578 past into Africke against the Infidels: he who to augment the number and power of Christians, put his life in hazard: that vnfortunat man who for his sinnes lost a battell, which was the cause of so great alterations in Christendome. This is the very truth, and I can say no other.

D. Sebastian in  
the castle d'Ouo.

The

The Auditor and the Registers departed with this answer: from which time they gaue him bread and water for his diet; but some dayes after he had five crownes a moneth giuen him, and a man to serue him, without any further proceeding in his cause, vntill the seuenteenth of Aprill 1602. Vpon which day the Viceroy sent to know if he persisted in his first deposition, and that he should be now well aduised to answer pertinently. This is not (said he) the right course they should take to examine and judge my proceffe: present me vnto the Portugals, who haue bred me, knowne me, and serued me; vpon whose saying and testimonie the whole profe and verification of my cause doth depend. If I should liue a thousand yeares, yea more, I would neuer answer otherwise. If you be resolu'd to put me to death without any other profe, I take God for my onely judge, who knowes the truth of my cause. I am *D. Sebastian* the true king of Portugall: you may now deale with me as you haue heretofore pretended. After which he disposed himselfe to die, made a generall confession, and receiued the Sacrament, still maintaining, that he was as he had said.

Whilest that he attended the houre of his death, they sent againe vnto him to make his last answer; that is to say, he should sing a new song, and recant the former: but he made the same answer: And vpon this last answer he was at the instance of the Castilians exorcised by the Bishop of Rhegium, as a Magitian, for that he had answered very pertinently to all they had demanded of him. During which action hee shewed vnto the Bishop with a cheerefull countenance a Crucifix, which he carried at his breast: Behold (said he) the Image of the Master in whom I trust, and for whom I would die. Wherewith the Bishop went away, confounded with his conjurations, as some report, who say they were then present. After which he was set vpon an Ass, the last day of Aprill, and carried publickly through the streets, hauing three trumpets going before him, and proclayming his sentence, by the which he was condemned to be led ignominiously through the streets of Naples, and then put into the galleyes, for that he had called himselfe *D. Sebastian* king of Portugall, being but a Calabrois. At this crie when he pronounced this word King, he answered with a loud voice, *So am I; and when he added, being but a Calabrois, he said, That is false.* Neither did any of the officers or people hinder him, or once moue: Euerie man heard him with admiration crying at the corners of the streets: *I am in my enemies hands, let them doe with my bodie what they please, I recommend my soule vnto God, who hath created it, and knowes the truth, that I am as I say.*

Hauing thus led him through the citie, they put him into the royall Galley, where they attired him like a slaue, and cut off the haire both of his head and beard, which some gathered vp, either through reuerence or superstition, as a matter of great esteeme, and then they fastened him to the chaine, yet aduising them that they should not force him to rowe.

The galleyes passing from Naples to Barcelona, arrived in August 1602, at the port of S. Lucar of Barameda, whereas the Duke of Medina Sydonia and his wife were desirous to see him: who hauing deuised long with him, he demanded of the Duke if he had the sword which he had giuen him, when he embarked to goe into Barbarie. The Duke answered, It is true *Don Sebastian* king of Portugall presented me with a sword, which I keepe among others. Seeing you haue it yet, said the Gallerien, I pray you let me see it: for although it be foure and twentie yeares since I gaue it you, yet will I know it. Whereupon the Duke caused a dozen to be brought, but it being not among them, he sent for others. The Gallerien seeing it in the bringers hand: behold (said he vnto the Duke) the sword which I gaue you when as I undertooke my voyage into Africke. Then, turning vnto the Duchesse, who was *Anna de Silva*, daughter to the prince of Eboli; Cousin, said he (after that he had told her what secrets had passed betwixt them when he tooke his leaue of her at Cadis) I remember that I gaue you a jewell, haue you it also? The Duchesse made the like answer vnto the Duke her husband, That the

*D. Sebastian led ignominiously through the streets.*

*He is put into a Galley.*

*His discourse with the Duke of Medina Sydonia and the Duchesse.*

A the king *D. Sebastian* had giuen her a jewell: he then replied, Shew it me; I shall know it well, and shall tell you of a secret which it may be you know not: then hauing chosen it out from among many, he said vnto her, That to proue his saying true, she should cause the stone to be taken out, vnder which she should find his name and cypher grauen. There was a Negro in the Duchesse's companie, whom he knew, saying, that the had serued him for the washing of his linnen, when he reigned in Portugall. The Duke and Duchesse seeing these apparent things, and so conformable to truth, went away with heauie countenances, and as it were weeping for compassion to see this miserable prince in so wretched an estate. Many old Portugals saw him, knew him, and did aduow him to be the true *D. Sebastian*, king of Portugall. Finally, the Portugals (if wee may beleue them) report so many particularities touching this man, as it would require a whole volume to relate them all: adding, that they that haue seene him, and knowne him, haue giuen this testimonie, that he is the same, or a deuill incarnate.

But besides these probabilities, which they take for truth, they arme themselves with certaine predictions or prophecies, which they say must needs haue relation to the aduentures of this poore *Gallerien*, whom they maintaine with an obstinate constancie to be their lawfull king. *S. Isidore*, sonne to *Seuerian*, the sonne of *Thierry*, king of the East Gothes, and of Italie, did leaue in writing aboute a thousand yeares since, *That a hidden king, twice giuen by prayers and deuotions, shall come into Spaine vpon a horse of wood, whom many seeing, shall not beleue that it is he, &c.* And for the vnderstanding of this prophecie, which they attribute particularly vnto king *D. Sebastian*, they say, that he was twice giuen; first, by the intercession of the people of Portugall for his birth, when they saw his father die, leauing no other issue but what might be hoped for from a woman with child: the second by the acknowledgement they haue made of him at Venice, after that he had wandered twentie yeares vnkowne throughout the world: That the wooden horse is the galley vpon the which he came from Naples into Spaine.

*Sampayo* swears, that he found this other prophecie at *S. Vectors* Librarie at Paris: *That the king D. Sebastian shall goe out of Naples vpon a horse of wood: that out of the Mediterranean sea he shall enter into the Ocean, and that his horse shall stay at S. Lucar of Barameda.* The which is accomplished, when as the galley passing from Naples to Barcelona, entred into the Ocean sea.

This other was found in a Castilian Author, in his language: *The vnkowne shall come, yea without doubt he shall come: he shall enter into the garden by the gate which is most on this side the wall: and that which seemes obscure, shall be seene clearly and plainly.* By this garden they vnderstand the countrey which is on this side Mont Calpe vnto the riuer of Guadalquivir, which they call the garden of Spaine, for that it is pleasant and fruitfull: the wall is Cadiz, the gate S. Lucar of Barameda.

That the labourers of Portugall did hold for a most auncient tradition, That a time will come, when as a King, whose name shall be as *Bestia*, shall vanish out of sight, and that after he and his realme haue suffered many great afflictions and miseries, the same king, whom all the world held for dead, shall rise againe, and recover his throne with incredible prosperitie. Which they say must needs be applyed to their king *D. Sebastian*, for that the peasants in Portugall, in stead of *Sebastian*, say *Bestiam*.

And as they hold these predictions to be accomplished in the person of this prisoner, so it is not possible to root out this beleefe, That he is the true and naturall *D. Sebastian*, king of Portugall. *Sampayo* after he had proclaimed this miraculous aduenture ouer all Christendome, and runne into a thousand dangers for his sake, he went againe into Portugall with *Frier Bonauenture*, a Franciscan: where publishing this opinion as a most certaine truth, they bred such a mutinie among the people, as they were ready to make a generall revolt, if they had found any assistance with strangers: but being in the end discovered at S. Lucar, they were degraded of their Orders, and hanged at Lisbon, with horrible torments, the which notwithstanding could not stop their mouthes, but

*Predictions alledged by the Portugals in fauour of D. Sebastian.*

*Sampayo and Bonauenture hung for this Gallerien.*



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but they tooke earth, heauen, and all heauenly creatures, yea and God himselfe, to whom the most hidden secrets are knowne, to witnesse of their innocencies and words, the which they maintained vnto the last gaspe to be as true as the Gospel; so as through compassion of their cruell tortures, and the firme beleefe which they had setled in the hearts of their countymen, they drew many thousands into danger. Some retired themselves vnto their friends, to escape the search which was made for the adherents of this noueltie: some got them away disguised, and escaped into diuers prouinces here and there. Some coming to Paris presented a petition vnto the king in the name of the Portugals oppressed by the tyrannie of the Castilian, beseeching his Maiestie to succour them onely with two thousand men, commaunded by a Prince, or some great man of Fraunce, such as he should please to name, and some store of armes to disperse among the people at their arriual, being assured (said they) of money for their entertainment, and other munition of warre both by sea and land, which the Queene of England and the Estates should furnish them, to restore their lawfull king, and free them from the command of strangers. Moreouer, they gaue hope, in case they might recouer their king D. Sebastian, vniuersally detained prisoner, whenas they should cause him to be duely acknowledged, and restore vnto him his inheritance, to marrie the duke of Vendosme with the daughter of D. Catharina duchesse of Braganca, who had right to the succession of the realme of Portugal, and to crowne him king of Portugal, if it should so please the most Christian king his naturall father. But God hath not blest the voyages made into Portugal, with a desire to drawe it from the Spaniard, who hath enioyed it quietly for many yeares; and a wise man will not prouoke the wrath of a mightie prince, by drawing him into warre, the end whereof must needs be doubtfull and ruinous.

The Spaniard considering the attempts of the Portugals, who would willingly trouble heauen, earth, yea and hell it selfe, to free themselves from his subiection, hee caused their pretended king to be taken out of the royall galley of Naples, and to be brought to Seuille in the galley of D. Pedro de Toledo the Generall, there to be more safely kept. But afterwards, to take all knowledge from the world, hee caused him to be shut vp in the castle of S. Lucar. The Portugals hope that hee shall come forth in despite of all his enemies, and fulfill all the prophecies that are made of him, and recouer possession of his realmes. It is in the power of the king of Spaine, but it is not likely that hee will seeke to verifie the qualitie of this person by any other meanes: for if hee catcheth him to be declared an impostor, and to be punished, the Portugals who had procured him to maintaine himselfe to be their king, might hereafter suborne another to the same end; whereas so long as they shall beleue this man is aliue, they will not attempt any thing in fauour of another, and this man being detained perpetually in prison, or in the galleys, shall daily feele the paines of death, without dying: And if he were duely proued to be such as he qualifies himselfe, reason and equitie would require that he should bee restored to the iust and lawfull possession of his Estates, which is the fairest rose of the Spaniards girland, and the rarest pearle of his cabinet.

Whatsoever hee bee, Donatus and Delphinus Procurators of Saint Marc at Venice, being sent to congratulate the French kings victories, and his marriage, they were demanded by the Prince of Conde, what iudgement the seignorie of Venice made of him who called himselfe king of Portugall; to whom they made no other answer, but that the State had done what it might in his cause; and that he had bene ill counselled and conducted.

This yeare the Queene of England was much troubled with her rebels in Ireland, by reason of the aide and support they receiued from Spaine: the king sending D. John d. Aguilar vnto them, with about two thousand old souldiers in sixe ships: they came to Castel-hauen, Baltemoore, and Beer-hauen; all three important places; here they landed their men, with an intent to fortifie them, being then about the end of September. Sir Richard Lemifan, who was Admiral of some of the Queens ships, lying then in the haue of Kinsale, & hearing of the Spaniards coming into the aboue named ports, he drew forth his ships both against wind and weather, & went & fought with the Spaniards within Castel-hauen, where he did so batter them, as he made 5 of their 6 shippes vnseruiceable,

Gillien put  
in the Castle of  
S. Lucar.

Politic of the  
Counsell of  
Spaine.

Spaniards sent  
into Ireland.

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A seruiceable, most of their men were landed before he came, by reason of the weather, who played dangerously vpon him with their ordnance from the land, whereof they were wel furnished with great store of munition. Presently after, D. John d. Aguilar put himselfe into Kinsale with most of his Spaniards, where he fortified himselfe: whither in October after, the Lord Montjoy, Lord Deputie of Ireland; and Generall of her Maiesties forces in that kingdome, came with an armie to besiege him; the which continued long, in a very vnseasonable time, and was in the very dangerous for the English: for they within the towne were for the most part old souldiers, well armed, and in no want, as was supposed, and without the rebels were all in armes, and had drawne their forces together, which were the greatest that euer had bin seene together in Ireland, being sixe thousand foot (whereof there were sixe companies of the new arriued Spaniards) and five hundred horse, and began to march towards Kinsale, with an assured hope to releue the towne, raise the siege, and defeat the English, if they of the towne did fallie forth when as Tyrone and Odonell should giue charge vnto the campe: they had great reason to hope for good successe, for the English were scarce so many in number, all in a manner tyred with the miseries of a long winters siege, their horses weake and decayed, and likely to want victuals.

Notwithstanding, continuing their approaches still towards the towne, as if they regarded not the rebels, on the twentieth of December at night, the Lord Deputie had intelligence that Tyrone and the rebels would campe the next night within a mile and a halfe of them, with all their forces; and so on the 21 day at night he shewed himselfe, with most of his horse and foot, vpon the toppe of a hill, within a mile of the English campe.

I must craue pardon if I make a relation of this battell, and the ouerthrowe of the rebels armie in this historie of Spaine, both for that they were then relieved by the king of Spaine, with money, men, and munition, and supported in their rebellion; and also for that the yeelding vp of Kinsale by the Spaniards, depended wholly vpon this action.

Tyrone (shewing himselfe as I said before) and seeing two regiments of foot, with some horse, drawne out of the campe, and marching towards him, he retired to the other side of the hill, where he camped that night, being fortified both with woods and water. One the three and twentieth day the Lord Deputie was advertised, and had also intercepted letters, written from D. John d. Aguilar Generall of the Spaniards, and commaunded within the towne, by which he did presse and importune Tyrone to make an attempt vpon the English campe intimating his wants, and likelihood to be soone forced, putting the rebels in mind of their faithfull promises to succour him, and of the easinesse of the enterprise, and vndoubted successe, assuring them that the English were much decayed in numbers, and that those which remained were much weakened with that long winters siege; so as it was not possible they should be able to maintaine so much ground as they had taken when their strength was full: if they on the one side, and he on the other, charged them at one instant, which he for his part promised to doe whensoever they should giue the attempt. It seemeth that vpon this aduice they resolved to put it in execution, that night, or the next following.

In the meane time they gaue the English continuall alarmes, and made sallies from the towne, keeping them still in action, that they might be the lesse able to make resistance when they were charged. But the Lord Deputie provided for all inconueniences, making forts, barricadoes, and trenches, and fortifying all the approaches to the towne, keeping good guards, and his armie ready vpon all occasions. On the 23 day at night hee was assured that the next day the rebels would charge his campe, whereupon he commanded the whole armie to be in readinesse.

Tyrone had an intent early in the morning to put all his Spaniards into the towne, with eight hundred of his best Irish, vnder Tyrrell; but seeing at the breake of day some of the English troupes aduance, hee made a stand, and then retired to the body of their armie. The Lord Deputy giuing the charge of the camp to Sir George Carew then L. President of Munster, to attend the Spaniards within the towne, hee drew forth part of his forces, being about foure hundred horse, and a thousand and two hundred foot, and hearing that the enemy retired disorderly, hee aduanced towards them, who still retired with feare. In the end, (omitting euery particular circumstance touching the marshalling of the English armie, to them that write that historie) they

they

Kinsale besieged  
by the Spaniards in it.

Reason why  
this is inserted  
into the history.

Letters from  
D. John d. Aguilar  
to the  
L. Deputie.

Rebels and  
Spaniards de-  
fended in Ire-  
land.

they ouertooke the rebels, charged them, and put them to rout. The Spaniards (being abandoned by the Irish) were almost all slaine. *D. Alonso d'Ocampo* their colonell, with three Captaines, sixe Alferes, and fortie souldiers were taken prisoners. There were found (of Irish onely) twelue hundred bodies dead vpon the place, and about twelue hundred hurt, whereof many died that night. The rebels lost two thousand armes which were brought forth, all their munition, their drummes, nine ensignes, whereof sixe were Spanish: the English had but one man slaine, and not aboute tenne hurt. Thus they got a miraculous victorie, to the great honor of the Lord Deputie, and of all that commanded vnder him.

After this glorious victorie, the Lord Deputie posted that present day vnto the camp, lest the Spaniard should haue made some sally in his absence, but they had not attempted any thing: the next day he commaunded the approaches vnto the towne should be aduanced nearer: But after fise or sixe daies worke, *D. John d'Aquilar*, who commanded the forces within the towne, offered to parle, and sent a drumme with a letter sealed vp to the Lord Deputie, by the which he demaunded that some men of qualitie and sufficiencie might be sent into the towne from his Lordship, to conferre with him, whom hee would acquaint with such conditions as hee then stood vpon: whereunto the Lord Deputie consented, imploying *Sir William Godolphin* in that busines; the which was managed after this maner, according to the originall.

*D. John d'Aquilar* speech.

*D. John* told *Sir William*, that hauing found the Lord Deputie (whom hee termed Viceroy) although a furious and powerfull, yet an honourable enemye, and the Irish not onely weake and barbarous, but (as he feared) treacherous friends, he was so farre in his affections reconciled to the one, and distastd with the other, as it did inuite him to make an ouerture of such a composition as might be safe and profitable for the state of England with least prejudice to the Crowne of Spaine, by deliuering into the Viceroyes power the towne of Kinsale, with all other places in Ireland held by the Spanish, so as they might depart vpon honourable termes, fit for such men of warre, as are not enforced by necessitie to receiue conditions, but willingly induced vpon iust respects, to disingage themselves, and to leaue a people, by whom their king and master had bin so notoriously abused; if not betrayed: That if the Viceroy liked to entertaine further parley touching this point, he would first be pleased to vnderstand them rightly, and to make his Propositions such as might be sutable to men thoroughly resolute, rather to bury themselves aliue, and to indure a thousand deaths, than to giue way to one article, that should taste of basenesse or dishonor, being so confident of their present strength, and the royall succors of Spaine, as they should make no doubt of yielding a good accompt of themselves, and of their interest in this kingdome, but that a just disdain and spleene conceiued against the nation, dissuaded them from being farther ingaged for it, than of necessitie they must.

*Sir William Godolphin* hauing charge from the Lord Deputie, only to receiue *D. Johns* propositions and demands, hauing made this relation to his Lordship, and the Council, he was sent backe by them with this answer following.

Answer from the Lord Deputie to *D. John*.

That although the Lord Deputie hauing lately defeated their succours, did so well vnderstand his owne strength and their weakenesse, as it made him nothing doubt of offering them within a short time, whom hee knew to be preft with vnresistible difficulties, how much sooner they laboured to couer and conceale them: yet knowing that her sacred Maiesie out of her gracious and mercifull disposition, would think the glorie of her victorie blemished, by a voluntary effusion and obstinate expence of blood, was content to entertaine this offer of agreement, so as it might be concluded vnder such honourable Articles for her Highnesse, as the aduantage she had against them gaue reason to demand. The which were the same that are set downe in the Articles of Agreement following, signed by the Lord Deputie, *D. John* and others: sauing that there was an Article more in them, for the leauing of his treasure, munition, ordnaunce, and the Queens naturall subiects to her disposition; all which points he did peremptorily refuse: Protesting that both he and all his would rather indure the last of miseries, than be found guilty of so foule a treason against the honor of his prince, and the reputation of his profession, although

A although hee should find himselfe vnable to subsist, much more now when as hee might not onely hope to sustaine the burthen of the warre for a time, but with patience and constancy in the end ouercome it. That hee tooke it so ill to be misunderstood in hauing articles of that nature propounded vnto him, as were they but once againe remembered in the capitulation, the Viceroy should from thenceforth vse the aduantage of his sword, and not the benefit of his former offer: adding, that the Viceroy might rather thinke to haue made a good and profitable purchase for the realme of England, if with the expence of two hundred thousand ducats hee had procured *D. John* to quire his interest and footing but in Baltemore alone, speaking nothing of Kinsale, Castel-hauen, &

B Beerhauen: for said he; suppose that all wee with the rest of our places here had perished, yet would that Peninsula being strong of its owne nature, bettered by our art and industrie, (furnished as it is with vittuals, munition, and good store of ordnance) preferue vnto the king of Spaine, a safe and commodious Port for the arriual of his fleet, and bee able to maintaine it selfe against a Land armie of tenne thousand, vntill Spaine (being so deeply ingaged) did in honour releue them: which would drawe on a more powerfull inuasion than the first, being vnderaken vpon false groundes, at the instance of a base and barbarous people, who in discouering their weakenesse and want of power, haue armed the king my master to relie vpon his owne strength, being bound in honour to relieue his people which are ingaged, and to cancel the memorie of our former misfortunes. But this is spoken, said he, in case the Viceroy be able to force this town, as I assure my selfe hee cannot, hauing vpon mine honour, within these walles at this instant, about

C two thousand fighting men, which are strong and able, besides which some hauing been sicke and hurt recouer daily; the greatest part of these consisting of old Soldiers, which fall not but by the sword, and those that were new, being now both trained to their arms, and acquainted with the clymate, are more able to endure than at the first: our means as good as they haue bene any time these two moneths, such as Spaniards can well indure, and able to suffice vs three moneths more: wee lodge in good warme houses, haue store of munition, and (which is best of all) stand well assured, that our succour will be here shortly. To bee plaine, wee preferue our men, and referue our strength the best we

D may, hoping to front you in a breach, which (if our hearts faile vs not) wee haue hands and brefts now to stop, against treble your forces: but I wil giue the Viceroy this right, that his men are passing good, yet spent and tyred with the miseries of a Winter seage, which hee hath oblatinately maintained beyond my expectation, but with such caution, and vpon so good gard, as hauing nicely watched all aduantages, I could neuer fasten a falley yet vpon him, but with losse to my selfe: wherein I must confesse my hopes were decciued, that grounding vpon some error in his approaches, I promised vnto my selfe the defeat of at least a thousand men at one blow. But when wee meet vpon a breach, I am confident vpon good reasons, to lay fise hundred of your best men on the ground, and rest hopefull that the losse of those will make a great hole in an army, which hath already suffered so much extremity.

E But to conclude our business: the king my master sent me to assist the Condees, *Omeale* and *Odonnell*, presuming on their promise, that I should within few daies after the arriual of our forces haue ioyned with them: I expected them long in vaine, sustained the Viceroyes armie, saw them drawne to the greatest head they could possibly make, lodged within two miles of Kinsale, fortified with certaine companies of Spaniards, euery houre promising to releue vs, and being ioyned together to force your campe: At last wee saw them broken with a handful of men, and disperfed into diuers parts of the world, *Odonnell* into Spain, *Omeale* into the farthest parts of the North: so as now I finde no such Condees in *verum natura*, as I came to ioine with: and therefore haue moued this accord

F the rather to disingage the king my master from assisting a people, so vnable in thefelues, as the whole burthen of the warre must lie vpon him, and so perfidious, as perhaps they might be drawne in the end to betray him.

Vpon relation made, by *Sir William Godolphin*, to the Lord deputy & Council, of these offers made by *D. John*, it was thought good, for many important reason to proceed roundly to an accord, there being nothing propounded by him that admitted any exception,

Ecccc

but

Articles of the  
accord as Kin-  
sale.

but that he demanded to carrie away his ordnance, munition & treasure, which did not so much import, as it should breake off the treatie which concerned the common good and safety of the kingdom: whereupon a composition was made vpon these articles following.

1 That said D. *John d. Aguilar* shall quit the places which he holds in this kingdom, as well the towne of Kinfales, as those which are held by the Spaniards, or other souldiers vnder his command in Castell-hauen, Baltemore, and in the Castell of Beerhauen, or other places, to the Lord deputy, or to whome he shall appoint, giuing him safe transportation & sufficient shipping and victuals for his said Souldiers, with the which the said D. *John* may passe with them into Spaine, if he may, at one time, if not at two shippings.

2 That the Souldiers which are at this present vnder the command of the said D. *John* in this kingdom, shall not beare armes against the Queenes Maiesty of England, whensoever supplies shall come from Spaine, vntill the said Souldiers be vnshipped in some of the Ports of Spaine, being sent away as soone as may be by the Lord Deputy, as hee promisseth vpon his faith and honour.

3 For the accomplishment whereof, the Lord deputy offereth to giue free: passport to the said D. *John* and his army, as well Spaniards as other nations whatsoever, that are vnder his command, and that he may depart with his armes, munition, money, ensignes displayed, artillerie, and any other prouisions for warre, or other things, both that which is in Castell-hauen, Kinfales, and other places.

4 That they shall haue ships and victuals sufficient for their money, after such rates as they vse here to pay. That all the Souldiers and the said things may be shipped if it bee possible at one time, if not at two, and that to bee within the time aboue mentioned.

5 That if by contrarie winds, or any other accidents, there shall come into any of the ports of Ireland or England, any of those ships wherein the said Souldiers shall passe, they shall bee intreated as friends, and may ride safely in the harbour, & be victualled for their money, & shall moreover haue such things as shall be needful: to furnish the for their voyage.

6 That during the time they shall stay for shipping, victuals shall be giuen to D. *Johns* people, at reasonable rates.

7 That there shall be cessation of armes of either side, & security giuen that no wrong be offered to any one.

8 That the ships wherein the said Souldiers shall be transported for Spaine, may passe safely by any of the queenes Maiesties ships, of England, and so shall the said Queenes and her subiects by those that shall go from hence: and the said ships being ariued in Spaine, shall return as soone as they haue vnshipped their men without any impediment giuen the by his Maiestie, or any other person in his name, but rather they shall shew them fauour, and help them if they need any thing: and for securitie thereof they shall deliuer into the Lord deputies hands three Captaines, such as he shall chuse.

9 For assurance of the performance of these articles D. *John* promisseth that hee will confirme and sweare to accomplish this agreement, whereunto some of the captaines vnder his charge shall in like maner sweare.

10 That the said D. *John* shall remain within the realme of Ireland, where the Lord deputy shall appoint, vntill the last shipping, vpon his Lordships word, & if it happen that his souldiers be shipped all at once, the said D. *John* may go in the same fleet without any let, but rather the Lord deputy shall giue him a good ship wherein he may passe, and if his men go in two shippings, then he shall go in the last.

11 And in like maner the said Lord deputy shall confirm & sweare the same, & giue his word in the Q. Maiesties behalfe & his own to keep & accomplish this accord, & that the chiefe officers of the camp, with the counsell of state, & some nobles should sweare the like.

These were the articles of the accord made before Kinfales, for the sending the Spaniards out of Ireland, & freeing this kingdome from an imminent danger. They were signed & sworn accordingly on both parts the 2 of Ianuary, and the towne yeelded vpon the ninth.

At such time as the duke of Biron's treasons were discovered in France, the king of Spain had an army ready to passe at Pont de Grefin, vpon the frontiers of Bourgundy vnder color of passing into Flanders: but the passages being kept by the marshal *Lanerdim*, *Taxis* ambassador for Spain demanded passage of the king, beseeching him to think that the king

Answer made  
by the French  
king to the em-  
bassador of  
Spaine.

A his master had not sought to draw the duke of Biron from his obedience. To whome the king answered, you would haue me believe that the king your master was not acquainted with the practices which the marshal of Biron had with the Count *Fuentes*, & I tel you that it is impossible his treasure should haue bin so freely distributed, without the consent of his counsell: I haue no reason to leaue my frontiers disarmed vntill that all the marshalls conspiracy be discovered by his proceesse. In the mean time I do not mean to hinder the commerce according to the treaty.

The Count of *Fuentes* not able to dissemble his discontent, to see matters fall out so contrary to his designs, he discharged his rage vpon the marquesse of Final, sometimes pretending a donation of the said Marquisate to the king of Spaine, when as the Marquesse was verie sicke: and sometimes that he should haue a principality in the realm of Naples in exchange, but he first seased vpon the place, and then published his pretensions: Hee sent D. *Diego Pimentel* his nephew, & D. *Sancho d. Luna* with some troupes of souldiers, who surprised Final, hauing corrupted the Lads knits which were there in garrison with a promise of 16 moneths pay, assuring himselfe both of the countrie and Port by a garrison of 200 Spaniards vnder the command of D. *Pedro de Toledo*. Milefimo a place nere vnto it was by the same right purchased by the king of Spain. The Marques of Final, who is vassall to the emperor, made his complaints vnto the pope, & vnto his imperial maiesty, but they had no other effect, but that he had a pension giue him during his life, & so was forced to yeeld vnto the stranger. By this prise the Genouois did hereafter reap no profit by their Commerce with Spain, but what pleased the gouernor of Final. Doubtlesse that seruant loues his masters greatnes with passion, which doth rauish another mans inheritance without any lawfull cause, or precedent wrong, neither respecting reason nor equitie, nor considering that God is offended with such violences. But king *Philip* did not limit and bound his hopes with so small a purchase. That great leuie which was made at Naples, in Sicile, in the dutchie of Milan, and in many estates of Italy, witnessed that his designs shue a higher pitch. It was thought they would either renew the enterprise of Alger, or make head against *Cigala*, who they said was comming out of Constantinople with a fleet of 100 saile. As the designe was secret, so was it not known who should be generall. *Andrew Doria*

D had demanded leaue to retire himselfe, he had been vnfortunat the yeare before, & therefore he thought the Spaniards would not willingly employ him againe. The duke of Sauoy seemed willing to accept of this charge, if it were offered; but it was giuen to D. *John de Cordona*, who shall be no more fortunate in his enterprises than *Doria*. The chief designs of this army were rather against the Christians than the Turks & Moors, although it were giuen out that the king of Fez had intelligences vpon Alger, & that he had promised the K. of Spain to make him master therof: yet this army did not forsake the sight of Europe, & some thought it lay houerling to see what would become of the treasons which were practiced in France. But want of money & some other discommodities made them to giue ouer

E al attempts for this yeare against the Turks. These were the opinions of the king of Spains designs, & withall they added that *d. Albigny* was gone to Milan to the earle of *Fuentes*, that the marques of Aix had past into Spaine, and that the duke of Sauoy was ready to ingage himself wholly to the wil of the counsell of Spain, to whom he did consign his 3 Sons; That he had made them knights of his order, to prepare the for the voyage, & had sent an extraordinary embassador to Rome to beseech the Pope to send them his blessing.

There were 8 great gallies made ready this yeare at Scuile, the which were appointed to be sent into Flanders to the Archduke, vnder the command of *Frederic Spinola*, to annoy the coast of England, Holland & Zeland. There were 400 men in either of these gallies, besides the slaues, and 800 souldiers more which they tooke in passing by Lisbon. Two of these gallies called the Trinity & the Ocaion were sunk by sir *Rich. Leuison* vpō the coast of Portugal, the rest a while after went on their course towards the low-countries. Comming betwixt England & France, they were first discovered & pursued by sir *Robert Mansel*, being then admiral of the queens maiesties ships in those seas, who lay there of purpose to attend them, he hauing them in chase, the States ships which lay in the downs vpon his aduertisement came in, & in the end the said gallies were defeated, some were sunk and the rest made vnseruiceable. This great seruice was diuersly reported according to the humors & passions of men. The Hollanders did challenge all the honor of this action, & did pub-

Eeeccij

lish

Earle of Fuen-  
tes takes the  
Marquesate of  
Final.Armie of Spani-  
ards at Sea.Duke of Sauoy  
resolues to send  
his sonnes into  
Spaine.Gallies sent out  
of Spain into  
the Low coun-  
tries.

lish it in print in diuers languages. Sir Rob. Mansel finding the state interested, & his reputation somewhat blemished by their pamphlets, made a true relation of the whole seruice, the which he presented vnto the lord admirall, vnder whose comand he was, & published it to the view of the world, with an offer to maintaine it by any course fit for a gentleman that professed arms. And for that the Statesmen haue left their assertions recorded in their history, & haue made the French to write it after the same manner, I haue thought good for the better satisfaction of posterity, to insert it in this history, in the same words and phrase as hee himselfe hath set it down, speaking in his own person as followeth.

On the 23 day of September, being in the Hope, & hauing in my company, the Advantage only of the Q. ships, which captain Jones commanded, & two other Dutchmen of war I rid more the half chanel over, towards the coast of France, vpon a northwest & southeast line, my self being next that coast, captain Jones next vnto me, & the Dutch men of war a sea-board, & to the Westward of him. The final force at that time present & with me remaining, thus disposed for the intercepting of the gallies, hauing dismissed the Dutch men of war that serued vnder me, vpon their own intreaty to reuiscual & trim: & hauing employed the rest of the Q. ships vpon especial seruices, I desired from my top mast heads, 6 low sailes, which some made for gallies, others affirmed the to be small barks that had strooken their top-sailes, being bound from Diep towards the Downes. To which opinion (though I inclined most) yet caused I the master to waite and to stand with them, that I might learne some news of the gallies, which by your Lordships aduertisement sent me, I knew had either past me that night, or were nere at hand, vnto the sea had swallowed them vp in the stormes which had raged 3 daies before. Hauing set my selfe vnder saile, the weather waxt thick, which caused me to lask some two points fro the wind, towards the English coast, least the continuance of that dark weather might giue them power to runne out ahead of me. About 11 of the clock the weather cleared, when I discoursed them plainly to be the Spanish gallies so long time expected; at which time with the rest, I plied to receiue them by crossing their forefoot as they stood alongst the Chanell: which they endeoured, till they perceived that by the continuance of that course, they could not escape the power of my Ordnance.

All this time these two Fly-boats were betwixt them and me, and as the slaues report that swamme ashore at Douer, they determined with three gallies to haue boarded each of those ships, and would haue executed that resolution, but for the feare of her Maiesties great Gallion (as they reamed the Hope) whose force that they shunned in that kind (considering the disadvantage that twice fixe of the best gallies that euer I saw, hath by fighting against one ship of her force) I doe as much commend, as otherwise I doe detest their shamefull working, in that, full of cowardinesse and weakness, they rowed backe to the Westward, and spent the day by running away, in hope that the darkenesse of the night would giue them liberty sufficient to shun the onely ship they feared, or that was indeed in the sea at that time, to giue them cause of feare, I meane betwixt them & Dunkerke or Newport. This error only of theirs bred their confusion, as you may perceiue by the sequel. For they no sooner began that course of rowing backe again; but I instantly made signes for Captaine Jones in the Advantage of the Queenes, to come vnto me whom I presently directed to repaire to Calais road, & thence to send the alarm vnto the States army prepared before Sluce: and to aduise such men of warre as kept on the coast of Flanders, vpon any other occasion, to stand off to the sea, to meet with the gallies in the night, which shold be chased by me with my lights in my top-mast heads & a continual discharging of my ordnance. Captain Jones hauing shapt his course according to my directions, I gaue order for hoysing & trimming of my sailes by the wind, to keep sight of the gallies: the two Fly-boats being stil aweather of me, did the like. Which chafe we held til sunne-setting, obseruing this course following all the day. They being a weather of me, kept their continuall boords, that the gallies were alwaies betwixt the. And my self being to leeward, made such short turns, as I kept all the afternoon in a manner, euen in the verie eye of their course, betwixt the & the place of their design: euer discharging my best ordnance to warn the Answer of her Maiesties, that rid by my directions at the Downes, vpon important seruice as your Lordship knoweth; and the Flemings that were there, hauing left the Sea vpon vnknowne groundes to mee (yet sent from Portsmouth

A Portsmouth, by the most prouident direction of her sacred Maiestie, to awaite the comming of the Gallies, vpon aduertisements that her Highnesse receiued of their being put to sea, to set saile, who else had receiued no vnderstanding of the Gallies, neither came they within shot of them, till after night, how soeuer the reputation of the seruice is wholly chalenged by them.

Hauing giuen your Lordship an accompt how this day was thus spent by me, from eight of the clock vntill the euening, and with these onely helps: I beseech your Lordship to be pleased to vnderstand, that with the setting of the Sunne, I could both discern the ships last mentioned vnder saile at the downes, and the Gallies to haue set their sailes: directing their course close aboard our shoare, each of them being out of sight of the other, and my Dutch consorts by this time to haue beene left by the Gallies to a sterne chase. When I perceived them to hold that course, which would bring them within shot of the Answer, and the rest that were in the Downes: I held a cleane contrarie course from them towards the coast of France, to confirme the secure passage they thought to find on our coast, which I continued, vntill the report of their battery gaue me assurance of the Gallies being engaged vnto them.

How the batterie began, who began it, how it was continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the seruice is due, I leaue to be considered by your Lordship, by the perusal of the true discourse following. The Answer of the Queenes, which Captaine Bredgate commanded, as she rid more Southerly at the Downes than the Flemings, so came she first to the Gallies, and bestowed 28 peeces of Ordnance on them before the Flemings came in, who at length seconded him with verie many shot.

During this batterie of ours vpon the gallies (which I so terme, because they neuer exchanged one shot) at the very first report of the Answers ordnance, I directed the master of my ship to bear vp with the south end of the Goodwin, with which directiō I deliuered my reasons publicly, as I stood on the poope of my ship, viz. That if I stood directly into them, the gallies, before I could recouer the place, would either be driuen ashore or sunk and so would there proue no need of my force; or else by their nimble sailing they would escape the ships, of whom (once getting ahead) they could receiue no impediment: for

D there was no one ship but the Advantage in the sea that could hinder them to recouer any port in Flanders or the East countries (Sluce onely excepted) vnlesse I staid them at that sand head. Hauing recouered as neere that place as I desired, I staid at least a quarter of an houre, before I could either see galley, heate or see any of those ships, their lights or report of their ordnance, which made me and all my company hold opinion that they had outsailed the Answer, and the rest of the Flemings, and shunned sight of mee by going ashore of my ship, which I so vtrily beleueed, as I once directly determined to saile for Sluce, with hope onely that the preparation which I knew the States had there, would be able to preuent their entrance into that place. Whilst I remained thus doubtfull, or rather hopelesse to hinder their recouerie of Dunkerke or Newport, in case they had bin ashore of me, some of my company desired a single galley plying from the shoar to get ahead of my ship. When she approached within caluer shot, I discharged about 30 peeces of Ordnance of my lower and vpper tire at her alone, my selfe with many other in my ship saw when her maineyard was shot asunder, heard the report of many shot that hit her hull, heard many their most pitifull outcries, which when I perceived to continue, & instead of making way from me, to neer me what she could, I forbore shooting, & commanded one that spake the Portugal language, to tel them that I was contented to receiue them to mercy: which I would accordingly haue performed, had not the other 5 gallies offered to stand out ahead of me at that very instant, & thereby would haue left me as they had both the first two Dutch ships, and afterwards the Answer with the rest of the Flemings, had I omitted any small time of executing the aduantage I had of their being on my broad side, which as appeares was so effectually employed (howsoeuer the night wherein this seruice was performed, might hinder the particular mention of their hurts) as none can deny but that God pleased thereby onely to worke their confusion. For since that time none hath said or can speake of any one shot made towards them: yet foure of them are sunke and wrecked, the fift past doing the enemy seruice, and

and the first they are forced to new build at Dunkerke, where (if I be not much deceived) G she will proue more chargeable than profitable, if the default rest not in our felues.

The disagreement betweene the Dutch captaines themselves touching the stemming and sinking of the gallies (whereof one challenged before your Lordship, and in many other publike places, to haue stemmed and sunke two himselfe) and the printed Pamphlet containing the stemming and sinking of three Gallies, giueth the reputation thereof to three seuerall Captaines, amongst whome no mention is made of the first; and whereas there are but two in all sunke; I leaue to bee reconciled amongst themselves, and to your Lordshippe, whether that the same of right appertaineth not to her Maiesties ship the Hope, in respect of the allegations before mentioned, euerie particular whereof being to bee proued by the oathes of my whole company and mainained with the hazard of my life with that which followeth.

1 As the shooting of the single Gallies mainyard asunder, my bestowing about thirtie peeces of ordnance vpon that one Gallie, within lesse then Caliuier shot.

2 That they in the Gallie made many lamentable out-cries for my receiuing them vnto mercie.

3 That I would accordingly haue receiued them, but for giuing them ouer to encounter with the other siue Gallies, which else had left me to a sterne chase.

To these reasons I adde the assertions of the Viceadmiral himselfe, who told me (whatsoever he spake in other places) that one of the Gallies, which he stemmed, had her mainyard shot asunder before his comming aboard her: by whomsoever she was then stemmed, your Lordship may iudge, who ruind her, considering she made no resistance, by his owne report, but by crying to him for mercy.

Touching the other galley stemmed and sunke, I haue already proued how shee (as all the rest) had got ahead the Answer of the Queenes not named, and the rest of the States men of warre with her, who challenge the whole credit of this seruice. They (as all other Sea-men) cannot deny but that the gallies will outsaile all ships, in such a loome gale of wind and smooth sea, as we had that night.

The Gallies being then quicker of saile than they, how could they by any means possible fetch them vp, but by some impediment? impediment they receiued none, but by my ordnance: which amounted to fiftie great shot at those siue which came last from the shoare, when all the ships were about a mile asseme.

Some notwithstanding out of their detracting dispositions may perchance say, that the two which were wrecked at Newport would haue perished by storme, though they had not bene battered. Whereunto though I haue sufficiently answered, first in shewing that they might haue recovered any of the places thereabouts before eight of the clocke that night but for mee; and then the second time before the morning, had they not bene encountered by me alone, at the South-sand head: Yet for further prooffe that they miscaried by our batterrie onely, I say that if one of the gallies which receiued least damage by our ordnance did out-live Fridaies storme, continuing till L Saturday noone, being driuen among the Ilands of Zealand to recover Calais; then surely those two (vnlesse they had bene exceedingly torne) would haue made shift to haue recovered the ports of Newport, Graueling or Dunkerke; especially sith from the place where I battered them, they might haue bene at the remotest of those places about foure houres before any storme beganne. But such seemed their hast to saue their liues, as their thought ran of a shoare, and not of a harbour.

Now that I haue deliuered vnto your Lordship the whole & true discourse of this businessse, I shall forbear to trouble your patience with any further relation of that night & next daies spending my time (though the same in their chase had like to haue cost her Maiestie her ship, and the liues of as many as were in her) and conclude with admiration of their not holding her Maiesties ship, nor I (her vnworthiest seruant) and then and yet by her Highnesse grace and your Lordships fauour, Admirall of the forces in that place, are not once mentioned: especially sith the sixe Gallies might safely haue arrived before seuen of the clock that night at any of the Ports of Flanders to the Westward of Ostend. And that the Dutch ships had not come fro an anchor in the Downes, but for the

A the signes they receiued from me. Then that the force of her Majesties ship, wherein I was, enforced them to keepe close aboard the English shore, whereby those ships in the Downes had power giuen them to come to fight, which fight was begun by the Answer of the queenes.

And lastly, sith the gallies escaped their batterrie, and had gotten ahead those ships, about a mile at least, and neuer receiued any impediment after, but onely by me, who lingered them (as you haue heard) vntill the comming vp of those ships that challenge to stemme them: which being granted, I cannot see how any other credit can rightly be giuen them (for that stemme I meane) than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead bodie B which his master had slaine.

Thus much I haue set downe out of his owne mouth, touching the seruice that was done vpon those six gallies of Spaine.

This yeare there was a new fleet made readie in Spaine, the which bred a jealousie in the French, and made them to stand vpon their gard in Languedoc and Prouence. This fleet was readie to set saile, the which vnder colour of renewing the enterprise of Alger in Affrike, might frame some designe vpon that coast. Prince *Doria*, and *D. Iohn de Cordova*, had bene both vnfortunat in their charges. The honour of Christendome made all men with, that this execution might proue more succesfull than the rest. But as bad designes do manie times prosper better than good, the successe depending commonly on the blindness of fortune, this enterprise of Alger was no more succesfull than the two former.

C It was managed by a Franciscan Frier, called Father *Mathew*, who promised as great glorie vnto himselfe, in chasing away those pettickings of Affrike, as *Aratus* had of freeing Sicyonia of tyrans. He had negotiated with the king of Cycco, who promised (that for a certaine summe of money, whereof he should receiue fortie thousand crowns in hand) not onely to fauour any designe, but to declare himselfe openly against the king of Alger, and to reduce the towne to what condition they would: but there is a great difference betwixt saying and doing: And it is a great simplicitie to giue credit to an Infidell, seeing that treacherie is inseparable from his soule. The Viceroy of Majorca, who was Generall in this action, and with whom the king of Cycco had promised to

D joyne, approached with foure gallies vpon this assurance, and landed about an hundred men, to deliuer fortie thousand crownes vnto the Moores; who receiued the money, and deliuered the men into the hands of the Viceroy of Alger, where the Frier was slaine, and the Viceroy retiring, freed their neighbours from jealousie. They of Barcelona (who are subiect to the king of Spaine) did no lesse apprehend this armie than the Moores: they feared that the Catholike king would take their priuiledges from them, as hee had done from them of Arragon; yet the passage of the three princes of Sauoy into Spaine, renewed their jealousie in France. The duke came with them to Nico, where they attended the commoditie of their imbarcking, the princeesse *Marguerite*, his eldest daughter, commaunding in Piedmont, and from thence they past to Barcelona, where they attended the kings pleasure, and were entertained with all the honours that might be done vnto princes of that alliance. The king of Spaine rejoyced at the dukes resolution, and seemed to haue a great desire to see them. He sent *D. Henriques de Guzman* to congratulate their arriual, and to commaund them to take small journeyes, by reason of the heat of the season. Being come to Court, he made prince *Vicior*, the dukes second sonne, Viceroy of Portugall: the which did much content the Portugals, to see the fruits of *D. Beatrice*, his great grandmother, who was daughter to *D. Emanuel* king of Portugall and married to *Charles* duke of Sauoy. The third sonne was afterwards made Archbishop of Toledo, and then cardinal.

The queene of England being dead this yeare, and the king of Scotland come to the succession of that Crowne, the king of Spaine sent *D. Iohn Baptista Taxis*, earle of Villa Mediana, his embassadour into England, to witnesse vnto the king the great contentment hee receiued by his happie comming to the Crowne, who after his first audience of congratulations and ordinarie complements, made a speech vnto the king to this effect.

The king of Spaine, my master, assuring himselfe to find the same effects and affection

1603  
Armie of Spaine  
at sea.

Moores treache-  
rous.

Passage of the  
prince of Pied-  
mont into Spain

King of Spaine  
sends an embaf-  
sador into Eng-  
land.



1603  
Speech of  
the embassa-  
dor of Spaine  
to the king  
of England.

ons of friendship in you, being king of England, which you haue alwayes made shew of G  
vnto him being king of Scotland, hath sent me vnto your Maiestie, to confirme the since-  
rity, to desire the continuance, and to preserve it by all the proofes of friendship and affi-  
stance which he offers you, which is the same that many great princes haue desired, and  
could not obtaine, and for that it is offered is no lesse necessarie, and to be wished for of  
your Maiestie. If the king D. Philip the second, of glorious memorie, hath attempted  
any thing against England, and queene Elizabeth against the Estates of Spaine, it was  
more vpon some priuat spleene, than for any reason of State. But one tombe should  
interre both their bodies and their passions. The successours doe inherit the great-  
nesse and power of their predecessors, but they are not tied to their designes, which haue H  
no end but the ruine one of another.

The Catholike king hath such rich and goodlie Crownes in Europe, Asia, and A-  
fricke, and at the East and West Indies, as they are sufficient to settle the desire of his am-  
bition within the bounds of his owne greatnesse. If hee hath dealt in the affaires of a-  
ny other princes, it was to support them and keep them from ruine, time hauing disco-  
uered how many things were readie to fall, if they had not bene vnderpropt by the  
hand of D. Philip. The enemies of the house of Spaine haue published, That the am-  
bition of this prince was to make himselfe Monarch of all Christendome, and that hee  
had left these designes hereditarie to his posteritie. But the wiser sort may easily judge, I  
that if hee had bene so affected, he would haue carried himselfe otherwise, and begun  
the execution of the enterprise by Italie, in the which hee is the stronger, the conquest  
whereof would be easie, hauing such aduantages.

But as hee is contented to preserve his owne, and desires no lesse to raigne justly,  
than long and happily; so is hee grieved to see his friends crosse him in a thing that is  
so just and reasonable. Complaints are free for all men, but they are more affection-  
ate among neighbours. My master, who holds you in this qualitie of a friend, and  
will doe what possibly hee may that you bee neuer other, complains to you of your  
selfe. Hee cannot dissemble how much hee thinks himselfe wronged, for that your  
Majestie doth affect the defence and protection of the rebels of the Low Countries,  
against their lawfull Lord, and that you haue lately graunted them a great leuie of Scot- K  
tish men. Hee assures himselfe of all friendship and justice from you, and hee in-  
treats you, that in calling home these Scottish men you will punish them as they  
haue deserued. Hee desires to treat sincerely with you, and beleeueth that your Maiestie  
(considering how much the friendship of so mightie a prince should bee deere vnto you,  
and will be profitable) will seeke and embrace it, and will neuer be so carelesse of his good,  
as to wish him ill.

The king returned him many good words, to witnesse the alliance which hee desi-  
red to entertaine with the king of Spaine, vpon the like termes hee had with him asking  
of Scotland. But aduowing the Scottish troups which were sent to the generall Estates  
of the vnited Prouinces, to be leuied by his commaundement, he said they had not deser- L  
ued any punishment; giuing leaue to king Philip to make vse of Scottishmen, if hee plea-  
sed: and letting him know, that he had not transgressed the lawes of neutralitie. And as for  
their protection, he desired he should vnderstand, That the great interests which Eng-  
land hath with the vnited Prouinces, as well in regard of their townes which they haue  
ingaged, as for the succours which they haue received from thence, did bind him to as-  
sist them, and to haue a care of their preservation, and to second the intentions of the de-  
ceased queene, and to build vpon the foundations which she had laied; yet he desired to  
see them all well reconciled with the king of Spaine.

The ambassador (as my Author sayes) answered, That whosoever knew the power of M  
the king of Spaine, were not ignorant that he can easily bring the rebelled Prouinces vnder  
the yoke of his obedience, when hee shall please to make an enterprise equall to his  
power: That no man should doubt, that hee that had passed the Hellespont, will easily  
passe the riuer of Granique; and that a prince which triumphes ouer so many nations,  
so many islands, so many seas, and so much firme land at the new-found world, will  
not adde the islands of Holland and Zeland to his triumphant chariot: the wife will  
alwayes

Spaniards think  
none so power-  
ful as their own  
king.

A alwaies giue the counsell which Phocion gaue vnto the Athenians, either to make them  
selues the strongest, or to be obedient vnto them that were so. He then desired leaue to en-  
ter into conference with some of his Maiesties Councill, and to consult of the meanes of  
some treatie; which would be no lesse profitable and honourable to England, than to  
Spaine: the which was granted him. After some meetings, the lords finding that he had  
no power to treat, they attended other deputies, who came the next yeare with an ample  
Commission, as you shall heare.

There fell out two accidents, which had like to haue troubled the quiet of those two  
great Monarchs of France and Spaine. The yeare before king Philip and the Archdukes  
B had imposed thirtie in the hundred vpon all marchandise which came in or went out of  
the countries that were vnder their obedience: the which did seeme directly to infringe  
the treatie of Veruins. The French king commanded his ambassadors to deale with those  
princes touching this imposition, and to aduertise him of their resolutions. But their an-  
swers, and the force they vsed afterwards to the kings subiects, to make them pay the im-  
position, did witnesse sufficiently, that they had no will to exempt them. Whereupon the  
French king made a defence, That no marchandise should bee carried out of France into  
Spaine, or the Low Countries, that were vnder the Archdukes obedience, nor any bee  
brought from thence into France, vpon corporall punishment, and losse of goods. But  
this did not alter the peace, onely there were complaints made by the two kings one of  
another. King Philip began: He tooke it ill that the French going voluntarily to serue C  
the Estates, did prolong their rebellion, and did hinder the reduction of Ostend: that the  
king did succour them with men and money; and that hee had forbidden his subiects to  
traffique into Spaine and Flanders. But the king disauowed them that went to serue  
the Estates: If hee sent them money, it was (sayed he) but to pay that which hee had  
borrowed: And the defence of traffique tended to no other end, but to force the king  
of Spaine and the Archduke to take away that intollerable imposition, and to let him  
know, that France can liue better without the commodities of Spaine, than Spain with-  
out those of France.

The second accident, or cause of jarre betwixt these two princes grew also from D  
Spaine; the French king complaining, and justly, That the secrets of his cabinet were  
discovered to his enemies. Will the king of Spaine neuer cease (said he) to withdraw  
my subiects from their due tie and loyalties? Will hee still entertaine some traytor  
within my realme? My embassadour complains vnto me by his letters, that hee is so  
slowly aduertised of our affaires, as the king of Spaines ministers know them before  
him.

The king being much troubled to find out the spring from whence this pestilent li-  
quor of Infidelitie did flow, behold God discovered the treacherie of Indus, by such  
meanes as the wisdom of man could not find out. Villeroy, the chiefe Secretarie  
of State, who managed the greatest secrets of the kingdome, had an vnder clerke,  
E called Nicholas Loft, in whom hee reposed much trust, and the rather, for that his fa-  
ther had serued him long. This young man hauing attended on Monsieur de la Roche-  
pot, being embassadour in Spaine, there laied the plot of this treason, whereof you may  
read the whole discourse at large in the historie of France.

There was some likelihood of a new enterprise this yeare vpon Africke. The king  
of Cusco, who had promised the last yeare to ioyne with the Spaniards against Alger,  
had receiued fortie thousand crownes vpon the bargain, and treacherously betrayed  
them that brought the money vnto their enemies, this yeare hee sent an embassa-  
dour vnto the king, who gaue him audience at Valencia: Which made many  
thinke, that hee would make another attempt vpon Alger, for that he caused him to  
be conducted home by a Master of the campe, and an Engineer, giuing him great store of  
F munition, and fire-works, laden in three fregats.

The king of Spaine being aduertise out of England, from his embassadour Taxis,  
of the successe of his embassage, and of the expectation of a treatie, hee appoin-  
ted the Constable of Castille to vnder take this charge, giuing him an ample  
Commission, to treat and conclude a Peace betwixt England and Spaine: hee  
past

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Imposition exa-  
cted by the Spa-  
niards.

Treason of Loft.

Embassadours  
from the king  
of Cusco at Va-  
lencia.

Constable of Ca-  
stille sent into  
England.

past through France, where he was verie honourably received, and so came into Flan-  
ders to the Archdukes, from whence he went into England, for the conclusion of the  
peace.

There were Commissioners appointed on either side: For the king of great Britaine  
were named, the earle of Dorset, high Treasurer of England, the earle of Nottingham,  
high Admirall of England, the earle of Devonshire, Lieutenant of the kingdome of  
Ireland, the earle of Northampton, and the lord *Vicomte Cranborne*, principall Secretarie,  
and now earle of Salisbury, and high Treasurer of England; being all of his Majesties  
privie Councell.

For the king of Spaine there were deputed D. *John de Velasco*, Constable of Castille  
and Leon, Duke of Frias, Earle of Haro, &c. D. *John Baptista Taxis*, Earle of Villa Me-  
diana &c. and *Alexander Rowidius*, a Lawyer, and Senator of Milan. The Archdukes sent  
for their Commissioners, *Charles* Earle of Aremberg, Counsellor of State, and Admirall  
to the said Archdukes, *John Richardos* Knight, President of the privy Councell, and Coun-  
sellor of State, and *Lodowike Verreiken*, Knight, their principal Secretarie. All these Com-  
missioners, after many consultations and conferences, in the end concluded a peace, on  
the 18 of August, betwixt the two kings, their Estates and subiects, vpon certaine articles,  
whereof I have set downe the contents.

Articles of the  
peace betwixt  
England and  
Spaine.

1 First it was concluded, That from thenceforth there should be a sincere and firme  
league and peace inuolubly obserued for euer, and in all places, betwixt the most renow-  
med king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. and the most renowned king of  
Spaine &c. and the most renowned Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Bourgondie, their  
heires and successors, their countries, dominions, and subiects, of what condition or de-  
gree soeuer they be, or may be.

2 That all acts of hostilitie should cease, and all wrongs and injuries done, during the  
troubles, be forgotten, so as there should be no action pretended for any depredations or  
spoiles committed, but all should be freely abolished, except such depredations as had  
beene committed since the 24 of Aprill 1603: and that from thenceforth they and  
their subiects should forbear from all depredations and spoiles, and cause restitution to  
be made of any that should be after that time committed.

3 That neither of the above named princes, their heirs or successors, by himselfe or a-  
ny other, should do, treat, or attempt any thing against the other, or against their king-  
domes or dominions, vpon any pretence, nor assent or consent vnto any warre, attempt, or  
treatie, to the prejudice one of another.

4 That they should neither themselves giue, nor consent to be giuen by any of their  
vassals, subiects, or inhabitants, any aid, fauour, or supplie, vnto the enemies or rebels of ei-  
ther part, (whether they shall invade their countries, or withdraw themselves from their  
obedience and subiection) of souldiers, victuals, money, ordnance, and munition, or any o-  
ther aid to maintaine warre.

5 That the said princes should, and did, renounce all leagues, confederations, and intel-  
ligence, made to the prejudice one of another, which did or might impugne this peace, &  
the contents thereof: all which they shal disannull, and declare to be of no force.

6 That the said kings and Archdukes should restrain their subiects from doing any  
wrong, and should reuoke all Commissions and letters of Reprisall and Mart, of what na-  
ture soeuer, being to the prejudice of the said princes, or of their subiects, to whomsoever  
they haue beene granted: the which they shall declare to be void and of no force. And  
that whosoever should do to the contrary, should be punished criminally, and compelled  
to make restitution to the parties damnified.

7 That as concerning the townes of Fleissingue, Brill, Ramekins, and other forts  
thereunto belonging, in the which the souldiers of the king of England did remaine in  
garrison, forasmuch as the said king affirmed, that by contracts formerly made betwene  
queene *Elizabeth*, of famous memorie (vnto whom his Maiestie did succed) and the Es-  
tates of the vnited Prouinces, hee stood bound not to redeliuer the said townes and  
forts to any, but to such as had deliuered the same for caution; so as by the said contracts  
his Maiesties faith & honor (which he resolved to keep religiously towards all men) being  
inga-

A ingaged, he might not then restore those places vnto the Archdukes; yet hee promised  
to enter into treatie with the said Estates, wherein his Maiestie would assigne them a  
conuenient time to accept of conditions conformable to justice and equitie, for a paci-  
fication with the renowned princes, his deere brethren: which if the Estates should  
refuse to accept, then his Maiestie, as beeing freed from the former conuentions,  
would determine of those townes as hee should thinke most iust and honoura-  
ble, wherein hee would doe all good offices for the said Princes, his louing bre-  
thren.

8 That the renowned king of England &c. would commaund the garrison souldi-  
ers not to serue the Hollanders, nor to succour them with victuals, armes, or any mu-  
nition for warre, or other the king of Spaine or the Archdukes enemies, vpon any co-  
lour or pretext soeuer, nor doe any act of hostilitie against the king of Spaine, the  
Archdukes, or their subiects: And in like manner the king of Spaine and the Archdukes  
did promise, that no act of hostilitie should be done against the said garrison souldiers,  
nor against the king of England &c. or his subiects.

9 That betwene the said kings, their kingdomes, vassals, inhabitants, and sub-  
iects, there should bee free commerce in all places where it hath beene formerly vsed be-  
fore the warres, according to the auncient leagues and treaties; so as the subiects of ei-  
ther partie might goe and enter freely into the others countries and dominions both  
by sea and land, without any Safeconduct, or other licence, and depart from  
thence with their goods and marchandises, paying the ordinarie customes and im-  
posts.

10 That it should be lawfull to haue acesse vnto the ports of the said princes, there  
to make stay, and with the like libertie to depart, not onely with ships for marchandise,  
but also for warre, whether they come thither being forced by foule weather, or for  
the repairing of their ships, or for prouision of victuals, so as they exceed not the  
number of six or eight ships, when they come in voluntarily, nor stay longer in the ha-  
uens than they shall haue cause, for the repairing of their ships, or to make prouision  
of necessaries, least it should cause an interruption of free traffique with other nati-  
ons in amitie. And if any greater number of ships of warre than is aboue mentioned,  
shall happen to haue acesse into those ports, then it shall not bee lawfull for them to  
enter without the priuite and consent of the prince. Prouided, that they should  
not commit any act of hostilitie within the said ports, to the prejudice of the princes:  
and that there should be an especiall care had, that vnder the pretext of traffique there  
should be no victuals, armes, or munition for warre, carried by the subiects of those  
kingdomes, to the enemies of the one or other king. And whosoever should attempt  
the contrarie, should bee punished as seditious persons, and breakers of the peace.  
It was also prouided, That the subiects of the one should not bee worse intreated  
in anothers dominions in his sales and contracts of marchandise, than his owne naturall  
subiects.

11 That the king of England &c. after the conclusion of these articles, should forbid  
by proclamation, That none of his subiects, or any inhabiting within his realme, should  
carrie ouer in his owne name, directly or indirectly, or colour any ships, marchandise, or a-  
ny other thing going out of Holland and Zeland into Spaine, nor any Holland or Zeland  
marchant, vnto the sayd ports, vpon paine of punishment. And to auoyd fraud, all mar-  
chandise to be sent out of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the dominions of the  
king of Spaine and Archdukes, was to bee sealed with the Towne or Citie Seale from  
whence they should be laden: and that which was not so sealed, should bee taken for  
good prize, and confiscated, and all Hollanders and Zelanders found in the sayd ships,  
F should be also taken.

12 That all English, Scottish, and Irish marchandise, might bee transported out of  
those countries into the dominions of the king of Spaine, without paying the imposi-  
tion of thirtie in the hundred, largely imposed, but onely the customes and tolls vsually de-  
maunded before the said imposition of thirtie in the hundred.

13 That

13 That for such marchandise as the English, Scottish, or Irish marchants should G buy in Spaine, or other the king of Spaines dominions, and should carrie in their owne ships, or in ships hired or lent them (except they be of Holland and Zeland) they should on- ly pay such customes as were accustomed to be paid before the imposition of thirtie in the hundred: provided, that they should carrie the said marchandise to the realmes of the king of England &c. or to the ports of those provinces which obey the Archdukes. And to prevent the transportation of the said marchandise to any other places, and espe- cially to Holland and Zeland, it was agreed, That the marchants should enter bond at such time as they did lade their ships in Spaine, or in any of the king of Spaines domi- ons, before the magistrat of the place where they should lade, to pay the said impositi- on of 30 in the hundred, in case they carrie the said marchandise to any other countries: H and that they should bring a certificat, within one yeare, from the magistrat of the place where they should unlade the said goods, testifying that they haue discharged in the king of Englands dominions, or in those provinces which are vnder the Archdukes obedi- ence; exhibiting of which certificats their bonds should be deliuered vp.

14 That the king of England &c. soone after the confirmation of this accord, should forbid his subiects to export any marchandise out of the K. of Spaines dominions, to any other places but to his Majesties kingdoms, and the said ports of Flanders, vpon paine of the confiscation of all their marchandise, to the vse of the king of England &c. wherof the Informer is to haue the one halfe, the imposition of thirtie in the hundred being first deducted, the which shall be payed to the king of Spaines officers: the proofes being lawfully receiued in Spaine, and sent into England in authentical forme, should be cre- dited. I

15 That the magistrats of any townes or cities within his Maiesties kingdoms, which should make certificats of the unlading of ships, and giue testimonie of the registring of marchandise, should not commit any fraud therein, vpon paine of the losse of their offi- ces, and the kings displeasure: With this prouiso, That when as the king of Spaine and the Archdukes shall agree with the French king, or any other, touching the last Edict of thirtie in the hundred, and the commerce betwixt them be restored, then it should bee lawfull for the subiects of the said king of England &c. to transport their marchandise into K his or their dominions vnto whom the commerce shall be restored, without the payment of thirtie in the hundred, paying onely the former vsuall customes.

16 That there should be free commerce betwixt the subiects of the king of England &c. and the Archdukes, in all places where they had beene formerly accustomed to trade, both by water and land, hauing free libertie to enter into the dominions, townes, and ports one of another, and to buy, sell, carrie and recarrie their marchandise, repaire their ships, provide victuals, and all things necessarie, at reasonable prices, and should depart with the like libertie with their goods and marchandise, paying the vsuall customes. Pro- uided, that the subiects of the king of England &c. should not vse the shipping of the L Hollanders, or the vnited Prouinces, nor bring any of their manufactures into the Arch- dukes countries, nor any other thing for the which any tribute was payed in Holland, neither should they transport any thing from the Archdukes Prouinces, vnto the vnited Prouinces, vntill a pacification were made; neither should they receiue any goods be- longing to the vnited Prouinces, into their ships, nor put any of them into the vnited E- states ships, nor fraudulently colour the goods of any one of the vnited Prouinces: the which being found, it should be held to be good and lawfull prize.

17 That the former Prouisos should not onely be vnderstood of ships laden for mar- chandise, but also of ships of warre, which the said princes should send forth to prevent the attempts of their enemies: which ships of warre, not exceeding the number aboue mentioned, might freely enter into one anothers ports, being driuen by tempest, or to M repaire their ships, or buy necessities, and there stay, so as they committed no act of hostili- tie, with the like cautions and exceptions as is contained in the tenth article.

18 As the said kings and Archdukes did religiously promise, not to giue any warlike succours to any of the others enemies, so it was provided, that the subiects or the inhabi- tants

A tants of their realmes, of what nation or qualitie foeuer, should not vnder colour of com- merce, nor vpon any other pretext, giue any aid to the enemies of the said princes, or sup- plie them with money, victuals, armour, munition, ordnance, or other warlike prouision: and those which should do the contrarie should be seuerely punished, as breakers of the league, and seditious persons.

19 And for the greater benefite and good of their subiects, it was agreed, that the king of England &c. and the Archdukes, should do their endeours, that their subiects should haue the passages open vnto their ports and dominions, so as they might freely come and go with their ships, marchandise, and carriages (paying the ordinarie customes) to all the B said ports, kingdoms, and dominions, & depart when they please with the like libertie.

20 As touching the ancient treaties of commerce and traffique betwixt the realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions of the dukes of Bourgondie, and prin- ces of the Low Countries, the which during the late troubles had beene intermitted, and it may be in some parts impaired: It was concluded by way of prouision, That they should remaine in their auncient force, and be vsed on either side, as they had beene be- fore the warre. And if it happen, that by both parts, or by any one, any breach thereof be pretended: or that the subiects shall complaine, that the conuentions were not ob- served, or that more grieuous burthens than were accustomed were imposed on them, then there should be deputies appointed on either part, which should meet, and treat C friendly, and restore such things as should be found out of course, or to haue beene alte- red by the injurie of time, or by corrupt custome.

21 And to make this peace fruitfull to the subiects of the king of England &c. it was concluded, That such as had recourse to and from the realmes and dominions of the king of Spaine and Archdukes, and should remaine there for trade, should not be molested in the cause of conscience: wherefore to the intent their traffique might be safe and without danger both by land and sea, the said king of Spaine and Archdukes should prouide, that vsing their trade and commerce, they should not be called in question nor molested for their consciences, so as they gaue no scandall.

22 If any goods or marchandise prohibited to be carried, should be conueyed out of D the realmes and dominions of the said kings and Archdukes, by the subiects of the one or the other, that in such case the person offending shall onely incurre punishment, and only the goods prohibited shall be confiscated.

23 That the goods of subiects dying within the realmes and dominions of either, should be preferred for the right heires and successors of the deceased, alwaies reseruing the right of any third person.

24 That graunts and priuiledges giuen by the princes to marchants of either of the kingdoms, comming to their realmes, which priuiledges, by reason of the warres, haue ceased, should from thenceforth be reuiued, and stand in their full force and vertue.

25 And if hereafter any vnkindnesse should grow betwixt the king of England &c. E and the king of Spaine, or the Archdukes, whereby there might grow any interruption of entercourse and traffique, the subiects of either prince should be so aduertised thereof, as they might haue six monethes from the time of the admonition, to transport their mar- chandise, without any arrest, disturbance, or molestation in the meane season, to be offe- red or done them either in their persons or goods.

26 That neither of the said princes should imbarre or stay for their prouision in war, or for any other seruice, to the prejudice of the owners, the ships of the others subiects, ly- ing in their ports or roads, vnlesse one of those parties to whom the ships do belong, bee first aduertised thereof, and yeeld his consent thereunto.

27 It was also accorded, That if during this peace and league of friendship, any thing F should happen to be attempted, or done, against the force and effect thereof, either by wa- ter or by land, by any of the said princes, their heires and successors, their vassals and sub- iects, or by their allies comprehended in this league, or by the heires & successors of any of those allies, their subiects or vassals, yet notwithstanding this peace and amitie, should re- maine in his full strength and vertue, and the attempters and such as doe offend onely shal be punished for their attempts.

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28 That all prisoners taken in the warres, or condemned to the gallies, should be released and set free, the charges of diet, of such as were not in the gallies, being first paid, and the ransomes of such as had before compounded for the same, being discharged.

29 It was concluded, That all ciuile actions which were in force at such time as the last warre begun, should be continued and pursued, notwithstanding any lapse of time during the same warre, so as they should not be any way prejudiced by the continuance of the warre: those onely were excepted which were already come to the princes treasure or Exchequer.

30 If any action should be commenced in the realmes and dominions of any of these princes, by any person not being subiect to the same prince, touching any depredations or spoiles, the cause should be remitted to the Iudge of the jurisdiction vnder that prince, against whose subiect or subjects the suit is commenced.

31 If the Hollanders and the other confederat Estates, would accept of conditions of pacification with the Archdukes, or their successours, by the meanes of the king of England &c. the said Archdukes and their successours would alwayes willingly hearken vnto that which should be propounded therein, and would desire, that by the helpe of the king of England &c. they might be brought to imbrace equall conditions; wherein they should well vnderstand how much the said Archdukes did attribute vnto the king of England.

The last three articles were for the comprehending of the allies, friends, and confederats of the said princes in this present treatie, the which they did seuerally and particularly name: and for the ratification, confirmation, and due obseruation of the said treatie.

There was also an order set down touching marchandise of high Germanie to be transported into Spaine, and free from the imposition of thirtie in the hundred, whereby the Constable of Castille, hauing speciall procuration from the Catholike king, did promise that it should be lawfull for the subjects of the king of England &c. to conuey marchandise out of high Germanie, being subiect to the imposition of thirtie in the hundred, and could not without payment thereof, be carried into Spaine, the same marchandise being first conueyed into England, and there discharged and custumed, and from thence to be afterwards transported into Spaine, or any other of the king of Spaines dominions, without payment of thirtie in the hundred, so as the said marchandise had not paid any thing to the Hollanders and Zelanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the Archdukes: which marchandise they should conuey in their owne ships, and not in any belonging to any other prince or nation. And, to auoid fraud, the marchandise of high Germany, which should be transported out of England, Scotland, and Ireland, into the dominions of the king of Spaine and the Archdukes, should be registred and marked with the seale of the towne from whence it came, and a certificat sent from the magistrat of the said towne, testifying, that the said marchandise were discharged in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and that they had paid custome there; vpon paine of the kings displeasure, & the losse of their offices, and other punishments, to be inflicted at the kings pleasure vpon the magistrats of townes vnder the obedience of the king of England &c. which are to certifie the vnlading of ships, and the registring thereof, if they shall herein commit any fraud. And what marchandise foucer of high Germanie, shall not be discharged in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and yet to be transported into Spaine, and other the dominions of the king of Spaine, all such marchandise shall be confiscated, and reputed good prize.

There were also three articles concluded, concerning a moderation to be had in the proceedings in the Inquisition in Spaine, against the king of Englands subjects.

First, If they exceeded in any thing before their entrance into Spaine, they should not be called into the Inquisition for the same, neither should they be molested for any of those things so committed out of Spaine, neither should any account be demanded of them for the same.

2 That no man should compell them to enter into churches, vnlesse they would, but if they did enter, they should performe those dueties and reuerence which are vsed towards the holy Sacrament of the Altar, being there; and if they should see the Sacrament comming towards them in any street, they shall doe reuerence by bowing their knees

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A knees, or else they shall passe aside by some other street, or turne into some house.

3 If any of the said persons being masters or masters mates, or any other officers of ships which be not their owne, doe exceed in any of these things, the Inquisition proceeding against them by office, is onely to sequester their own proper goods, and are to leaue the ships and all other goods, not belonging to the offenders, free: and the same was to be vnderstood for all traders and factors.

During this treatie betwixt England and Spaine, the defence of traffique betwixt France and the dominions of the king of Spaine and the Archdukes, was verie troublesome. The French suffered great discommodities, and the Spaniards found this restraint heauie and insupportable, for that all things grew exceeding deere, and the tradesmen murmured, and grew almost desperat. The Pope commaunded his Nuntio to deale in this businesse, and to reconcile these princes; but the French king would not yeeld to any thing, vntill that the Spaniards, who had first troubled the water, had cleared it againe, in reuoking the imposition of thirtie in the hundred, which made the libertie of traffique a meere seruitude, and the profit an assured losse. This was verie seuer and rigorous. It is in euerie kind bitter vnto the marchant, couetousnesse hauing changed the first cause, as well as the quantitie of customes and imposts. At the first they were paid onely to haue free libertie and assurance of passage from one place vnto another; and for that princes haue vnder their protection the highways (for the which they are called Royall) they did acknowledge this right of protection with some duetie. Such impositions for so necessarie causes are just, others are noe; and yet they must be borne, being not lawfull for the subiect to murmure against the customes and imposts wherewith the prince doth charge him. They said, That the Spaniards, which are long in their consultations, and constant in their resolutions, would neuer reuoke this imposition, for that they would not loose the reputation of constancie in their lawes, and bee noted of inconstancie and lightnesse, by applying themselves to the time and affaires. But there was no remedie, the deputies of the two kings and Archdukes meeting, tooke off the imposition, and set the commerce free.

Discomodities  
for the cessation  
of traffique.

Commerce set  
at liberty in  
France.

The peace being fully concluded betwixt England and Spaine, and sworn by the king of England in the presence of the king of Spaines Commissioners, the Constable of Castille hauing receiued great honour in England, both in his entertainment and presents giuen him from the king, returned into Flanders, much satisfied in himselfe, to carrie home with him such joyfull tidings. From thence hee past into France, where the French king vsed him so royally, as hee afterwards said, That hee had entertained him as a king, and intreated him as a kinsman.

Constable of Castille  
returns into  
Spaine.

In the yeare a thousand six hundred and foure the king of Great Britaine sent the earle of Nottingham, high Admirall of England, into Spaine; to take the Catholike kings oath, for the confirmation of the peace, as hee did the earle of Hartford vnto the Archdukes, to the same end. The sayd earle of Nottingham, being attended on by a gallant traine of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, arriued at the Groine, where hee was no sooner discovered from the land, but D. Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, marquisse of Carascena, Gouverneur both of the towne and of the countrey of Galicia, gave order for his entertainment, the which was verie royally performed.

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Earle of Nottingham  
sent into Spaine.

At his comming into the harbour, a fort vpon the North side of the towne, did first salute him with twentie peeces of ordnance: then a fort lately built vpon a rocke, with six and thirtie peeces; and lastly from the towne and castle with aboute thirtie peeces of ordnance: And the earles ship, with the whole flect, being at an anchor, requiuted them with all their ordnance. Presently after the Gouverneur sent foure chiefe officers of the towne, with D. John de Pacheco, his brother, and D. Lewis de Carilla de Toledo his onely sonne, to welcome the earle: After some time spent in complements, the Gouverneur himselfe came aboard the earles ship in charge, the mariners and rowers being in blew silke cassocks and capps, and the barge covered with blew velvet. After hee had saluted the earle, he told him, That the king his master had giuen vnto him an especiall charge to haue a respect

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who

who he was that came embassadour, from whom hee came, and to whom hee was sent: G and that he should doe euerie thing for the honour of these three persons, not sparing any thing that might be fit for his Lordships entertainment. Wherefore hee did intreat the earle to goe to land, the which he did forbear vntill the next day; so as that night hee sent vnto his Lordship a present of fish, fruits, bread, and such commodities as the country yielded.

He lands at the Groine.

On Tuesday, the sixteenth of Aprill, the earle of Nottingham prepared to goe to shore, to his lodging, which was appointed in the gouernours house. The gouernour hauing taken care to receiue his Lordship in most honourable manner, had (vpon notice of his comming to the Groine) caused a bridge of timber, being aboue fortie yards H long, to be built and painted, the which was garnished with many penciles of filke of diuers colours. The way into the towne was set on either side with boughes of bayes and Orange trees, and strewed with rushes and flowers. The whole garnison of the towne, and other companies that were drawne out of the countrey, were there readie to make a gard for him.

His Lordship being readie to land, the gouernour sent diuers of the Commaunders to let him vnderstand, that he and the magistrats of the towne would attend him on the bridge. Whereupon the earle tooke his barge, and (being followed by his whole traine) went vnto the bridge, where the Spaniards entertained the English as they landed, the haultboyes and shagbotts playing all the while. Being all landed, they entred into the towne an English man and a Spaniard marching together in verie good order. At their entrance into the towne they were saluted with a great volley of shot, both great and small, and so they went on foot to the gouernours house, where, when the earle entred, there were many chambers shot off.

During the earle of Nottingham's stay at the Groine, hee solemnized Saint Georges feast, the which was performed with the greater state, for that the people came thither in troups to see that ceremonie; and it was thought the gouernour (being inuited) would haue dined with his Lordship, but hee fearing to heare something that might touch the king, his master, in honour, excused himselfe, and so retired, hauing scene his Lordship set downe: But hearing, after dinner, by his owne brother, that there was not any thing that might giue cause of offence, or exception, hee was forie, and did accompanie his Lordship at supper, whither many ladies and gentlewomen came to see the order of that State.

On the foure and twentieth of Aprill D. Blasco d'Arragon, nephew to the duke of Terranova, who had bene in England the yeare before with the Constable of Castille, came from Court, being sent from the king his master, to salute his Lordship, and to acquaint him with such preparations as were made for him and his traine for that journey. There was also D. Gaspar de Bullion, the kings chiefe Harbinger, who came with commission from the king, to provide all things necessarie for his Lordships journey. After some conference (notwithstanding they had promised there should be no want of any thing) they found, that the whole countrey would not furnish mules ynow, there being six hundred and fittie persons, besides the carriages, which were verie many. Whereupon his Lordship resolved to leaue some of his owne companie aboard his ships vntill his retume. There were foure coaches and foure litters attended them at Villafraanca, besides their riding mules, whereof there was a coach and a litter for his Lordships owne vse, another coach and a litter for six Charles Cornwallis, who was then sent to be embassadour leager in Spaine, and the rest for the knights and gentlemen which should be sicke.

During his Lordships stay at the Groine, hee was entertained with sundrie sports, the which were performed in a square made of purpose on the market place; as assaulting of a castle by armed knights, and freeing a ladie from foure monsters which defended it, fighting at barriers, and in the end verie rare fire-works, the which were generally commended for their strangeness. After which his Lordship, hauing all his traine furnished with mules, began his journey towards the Court the 3 of May; the gouernour and magistrats bringing him out of the town with musick & shot. He was accompanied by D. Blasco d'Arragon, & D. Gaspar de Bullion, chiefe harbinger to the K. who had the charge of the conduct. His

Earle of Nottingham goes from the Groine

A His Lordship past from the Groyne to Bytance, to Villa Alua Lugo, Terra Castella; Cebrera, Villa Franca, Bubibre, Astorga (where his Lordship saw a fayre castle belonging to the marquesse of Astorga) Banefa, Benauent, Villa Garcia: and from thence hee had order to goe to Simancas, which was as farre as Vailledolit: To which towne his Lordship came in twelue dayes, hauing bene honourably receiued in all places where he past. His Lordship comming to Simancas on Tuesday the 14 of May, he had order from the king, not to come to Court till Thursday. On the Wednesday after dinner there came D. Pedro de Suniga, or Estuniga, newly appointed embassadour for England, and D. John de Taxis, sonne to the earle of Villa Mediana, then embassadour in England; B who hauing saluted his Lordship, departed againe.

On Thursday, his Lordship being appointed to goe to Court, there came to attend him the marquesse of Camerata, D. Pedro de Suniga, D. John de Taxis, D. Blasco d'Arragon, with diuers other knights and gentlemen of the kings house and chamber, bringing diuers coaches with them. Simancas was not aboue six English miles from Court. Vpon the way the earle of Nottingham was perswaded to goe into a banqueting house which stood vpon the highway, and to see the delicacie of their orchards and gardens, and to tast of the fruits: but it was rather to stay for the noblemen which were appointed by the king to meet him. During his stay in this garden, there was a horse presented vnto him from the king, which he did vsually ride on. After an houres stay, there came diuers

He goes to Court.

C Grandoes, and other noblemen, the chiefe whereof were, the duke of Frias Constable of Castille (lately embassadour in England) the duke of Infantaigo, the duke of Albuquerque, the duke of Cea, the duke of Sessa, the duke of Pastrana, the marquesse of S. German, the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Punno en Rostro, the marquesse of Baneza, the earle of Aguilar, the earle of Berosa, the earle of Nieua, the earle of Corunna, the earle of Paredes, the marquesse of Carpio, the marquesse of Tauera, the marquesse of Villanoua, the earle of Salinas, the marquesse of Seralua, the marquesse de Fuentes, the marquesse of Alcanices, the earle of Galues, the Admirall of Arragon, with many other lords and knights. The earle with all these nobles, and his whole traine, being vpon the way, the weather being exceeding hor, there fell a verie great showre, which continued vntill they came into the towne, where his lodging was appointed in the house of the earle of Salinas, not farre from Court. There was a multitude of people, and eight hundred coaches (as it was thought) full of ladies and gentlewomen, gotten out of the towne to see the earle and his companie. I omit the manner of their marshalling with the Spanish knights and lords. They entred by a gate called Puerta del Campo, and passed through the chiefe parts of the towne, by the Court gate, the king, queene, and ladies, standing (as they said) at certaine windowes, to take view of the companie. That night there came diuers noblemen, and the queene sent her Major Domo to visit his Lordship: which caused some admiration in the Spaniards, who saied, they neuer knew the like fauour done to any embassadour.

Noblemen that meet the Earle of Nottingham.

E The day after, his Lordship comming to Vailledolit, D. Francisco Gomes de Sandomal, duke of Lerma, the kings great fauourite, being accompanied by many dukes and earles, came to visit him, and so consequently all embassadours, and most of the Grandoes and noblemen of the Court, came to visit him, and congratulate his comming. He had his first audience on Saturday the eighteenth of May. In the morning the king sent the earle of Galues, and diuers of his priuie chamber, to visit his Lordship. In the afternoone the Constable came accompanied with aboue twentie noblemen, whereof three or foure were of the Grandoes, bringing many coaches with them, to conduct his Lordship and his companie to Court. The kings gard made a way for them them to the prefence chamber doore, they being three hundred in number, Suisses, Spaniards, and Wallons, attired in red and yellow veluet, but of feuerall fashions. At the palace gate stood the duke of Infantaigo, and the marquesse of Vellada, with diuers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, to receiue his Lordship, & to conduct the companie into the prefence, where the king sat vnder a rich cloth of Estate, and by him eight Grandoes of Spaine covered. His Lordship hauing deliuered his message by his interpreter, & his letters into the kings own hands, coming from his chaire, he gaue his Lordship a very kind & honorable entertainment.

The Earle goes to Court.

His Audience.

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tainment



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tainment, causing him to sit neere vnto him: which fauour was much obserued, as a thing (sayd the Spaniards) neuer vsed to any embassadour before that time. After some conference, the noblemen and gentlemen hauing kist the kings hand, his Lordship was conducted by the Constable and others, to the queenes presence, where shee sat vnder a rich cloth of Estate, and the Infanta by her: hee was receiued by the Major Domoto the queene, and conducted to her presence: where hauing ended his complements, being somewhat late, he tooke his leaue, and returned with those dukes and lords vnto his lodging.

King of Spaine  
goes in processi-  
on.

On the nineteenth of May, being Sunday, the king went in procession, going first to S. Paules church neere the Court, and then through the town to S. Maries, after this maner. H First went the Monkes and religious Orders singing, and bearing crosses, banners, and other church reliques, the Sacrament being also carried by foure officers of the Church. Then followed diuers noblemen in their ranks, according to their degrees. And next before the kings owne person went the younger of the princes of Sauoy. After king followed the cardinall, being Archbishop of Toledo, and with him the prince of Sauoy his elder brother. Then followed the prince of Maroc, with the Emperours embassador, the embassador of France, and he of Venice: after whom followed diuers gentlemen of the kings chamber, and the rest of the traine.

Christening of  
the prince of  
Spaine.

After dinner the same day there was preparation made for the Christening of the prince. There was a large scaffold made for their passage at the end of a long gallerie, and joynted to the church; the timber of which scaffold was couered with rich cloth of gold. They came vnto the church after this manner. The trumpets were set in feuerall companies neere vnto the church, still sounding, and answering one another. About foure of the clocke there past by this scaffold, to go into Saint Paules church, the Knights, Lords, and Grandoes going before, and some Dukes of especiall name bearing sundrie ceremonies, as the salt carried by one, a wax taper by another: then came the Constable, who carried the Crowne, before whom went the king at Armes. The duke of Lerma bare the prince in his armes, being tied vnto him with a rich scarf; he was assisted by the prince of Sauoy, and the earle of Miranda. Then followed the Infanta in a chaire, the which diuers gentlemen of the kings bed-chamber, and priue chamber, carried on their shoulders, the younger prince of Sauoy going by. At the church doore the cardinall attended them in his pontificall robes, hauing three bishops, and other officers of the Church with him; and so they conducted them with singing vnto the Font, the which was richly couered with a canopie of cloth of gold. The cardinall performed the ceremonie; the which ended with church musicke, sounding of trumpets, and other wind instruments: and so they returned as they came, being accompanied by most of the great Ladies of the Court and kingdome. The prince was Christened by the name of Philip Domingo Victor. The elder prince of Sauoy was his godfather, of whom he tooke the name of Victor, and the Infanta, his sister, was his godmother. The Lord embassador of England was placed in the earle of Ribadauias house, both to see the procession in the morning, and the prince going to the Christening: after which he was conducted by a priuat way into the church, to see the ceremonie.

Churching of  
the queene of  
Spaine.

The next day, being Monday, the embassador leger was presented to the king, and graciously allowed of by him. On Tuesday the Lord embassador was conducted to S. Maries church by D. Blasco d'Arragon, to see the ceremonie of the queenes Churching, whither the king and queene came together, the king being on horsebacke, and the queene in a verie rich carroch of cloth of gold, drawne with foure horses, hauing their furnitures of cloth of gold, with whom the Infanta sat. After which, in another carroch, came the yong prince, in the armes of an auncient ladie: and then followed two other carroches of blacke velvet, with diuers duchesses, countesses, and other great personages, widows. Then came foure other carroches, all of one fashion, with diuers ladies, the queenes maides. This was the first day of the queenes going abroad, and as it was held, her Churching day.

Earle of Nottingham  
sestified  
by the Constable

That day the Lord embassador was invited to dine with the Constable, where he was accompanied by the dukes of Albuquerque, & of Sessa, & others: where there wanted not any

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A any thing that the countrie could yeeld for his entertainment. On Friday being the 20 of May there were certaine presents, sent by the king of England, deliuered, the king and Queene comming themselves into a priuat garden to receiue them. They were fixe hoes, three for the king, and three for the Queene, with saddles and clothes verie richly imbrodered, two Crosse-bowes with sheafes of arrowes, foure fowling peeces, with their furnitures, all verie richly garnished and inlaied with plates of gold, and a couple of lime-hounds: which presents were kindly receiued, the king and Queene admiring the fashion and richnesse thereof.

Presents sent  
to the king and  
Queene of Spaine

On Tuesday the eight & twentieth of May, the Lord embassador, with all the English were invited to dine with the duke of Lerma, where they were verie honorably entertained to their great contentment: he was accompanied at the table by the duke of Lerma, the duke of infantago, and the duke of Albuquerque. They were attended on at the table by Marqueses, Earles, Knights, and gentlemen of the kings priuy-chamber, and few others.

Embassador  
sestified by the  
duke of Lerma.

Having receiued what pleasure could be deuised at the table, they were afterwards carried down into a faire Court, paved with square stone, in the midst whereof was a fontaine of cleere water; the whole Court was couered with canuas to keep them from the heat of the Sunne: There was a stage set vp in this Court with all things fitting for a play, which the embassadour and the rest were invited to see. The king and Queene were also in priuat to see this Comedie.

The day appointed for the taking of the kings Othe, was vpon Thursday the thirtieth of May, being Corpus Christi day, on the which the king went in procession; and for that hee would bee seene by the English, hee appointed to passe by the gate where the embassador was lodged, after this manner.

King of Spaine  
goes in processi-  
on.

First there came eight great Giants, three men, three women, and two Moores, with a Taber and pipe playing, and they dauncing: Then followed certaine Pilgrimes clad in blew: After whome hue and twenty or fixe and twenty crosses, belonging to feuerall Churches, with many pictures and holy reliques, Monkes, Morris dancers like Gipsies, Beastes with fire workes, wild men, and such like vanities, as it should seeme, to draw the people more readily to admiration: After these followed diuers other Church-reliques, with certaine Augustine and Franciscane Friars, with their reliques. Many Church-men had Tapers in their hands: the kings Pages bare Torches: Then followed the Sacrament carried by foure Church-men in rich Copes, after whome came the Noblemen, and Grandoes of Spaine; and then followed the king with a Taper light in his hand, of white Virgin waxe: after whome came the Cardinals, the embassadors to the emperor, French, and Venetians, the Prince of Sauoy, the Prince of Maroc, with others, euerie one carrying a Taper light.

The same day D. Blasco de Arragon brought word vnto the Lord embassador that the king expected his comming presently vnto the Court for the taking of the othe: wherefore there was order taken that the Noblemen and Gentlemen which should attend him thither, should be furnished with Genets out of the kings stable. Being all mounted, the Constable D. Pedro de Suniga, with many other Lords and Knights, were sent to accompany him: And at the court gate the duke of Lerma and some other of the Grandoes staid to receiue him; by whome hee was conueied through a long gallerie into a presence, and so into an inner chamber, where the king staid his comming, and receiued him with a kind salutation, and so took him along with him. The kings Sergeants at armes going first, then followed the Noblemen and Grandoes of Spain, then the foure kings at armes, in their coats of armes; after whome came the duke of Lerma, bearing the sword naked, not vp-right, as the custome is in England, but lying vpon his left shoulder; and in this order the king marche to a verie faire banquetting house, newly built, the embassadour leger, the Lords, and diuers others following.

King of Spaine  
takes the othe.

The king being set in his estate, the Lord embassadour & the Leeger were placed vpon his left hand, the Grandoes and other Noblemen of Spaine, being on the right, but two degrees lower. There was a little table set before the king, wheron lay the Bible and a Crucifix vpon it. The Archbishop of Toledo red the othe: at one part of the othe the embassador





## Observations touching the state and government of Spaine.

**O**r as much as my Authour in the beginning of this Historie hath made an exact description of Spaine, setting downe the number of leagues the whole continent doth containe in circuit, describing the principall rivers within the Countrey, with their Springs and courses, setting downe the mountaines and hills, and distinguishing the Prouinces, within the countrey, as they lye at this day, and by whome they were in ancient time inhabited, with a declaration of the fertilitie, riches, and commodities of the Countrey: I haue thought good to adde something touching the government of that state, with some other observations concerning that subiect, the which I haue collected out of such as haue bene curious to see, obserue, and write thereof.

The king of Spaine, as hee is a potent Prince and Lord of many countries, so hath hee many Councils for the managing of their affaires, distinctly & apart, without any confusion, euery Councell treating only of those matters which concerne their Iurisdiction & charge, and meddle not one with anothers businesse: with which Councils and with the Presidents, being men of chiefe note, the king doth conferre touching matters belonging to the good government, preseruacion, & increase of his Estates, and hauing heard euery mans opinion, he commands that to be executed that shall be held most fit and conuenient. The first is,

The Council of state; wheron the rest depend. They name Viceroyes for all the king of Spaines countries, and prouide for many things for the preseruacion of his realms. The king himselfe is President of this Councell: the Counsellours, who are the chiefe men in the court, haue no fees.

The Council of warre. It prouides for Generals, Colonels, Captaines, the Generall of the gallies, and for whatsoeuer concerne the war, with the aduice of his Majestie, who is president of this Councell. They punish all commanders and officers at warre that doe not their duties. And in like maner they dispose of the companies of men at arms appointed for the gard of the kingdom, and they giue order for the artillerie, munition, and fortifications, or any thing that is necessary for the warre. The counsellours haue no wages.

The royall Council of iustice. Here they treat of the good government of all Spaine, they determine controuersies betwixt Noblemen, and ease the greouances of other Courts. This councell is of great preheminance: the president names all Iustices of Spaine, the Prouosts of the kings house, with many other Counsellours and Iustices. They take information how euery one hath behaued himselfe in his charge, punishing and changing as they shal thinke good, but with the kings priuie. There is a President, and sixteen counsellours, who haue all wages.

The Council of Italie: which treats of matters concerning the realms of Naples and Sicile, and the Duchie of Milan. The Constable of Castille is President: there are fixe Counsellours, three Italians, and three Spaniards. In this Councell they dispose of the government of Italie, and giue aduancement to the Souldiers that serue in those Countreies; they appoint Gouvernours, and Iudges in cities, and giue titles to Noblemen: but they first acquaint the king with their consultations.

The

**A** The Council of the Indies. The President is of greatest esteeme next vnto the Councell royall: there are eight Counsellours, and haue all wages. They appoint Viceroyes, for Peru, & Noua Hispania, and a general of the army that goes into these parts, with all other Offices and Spirituall liuings. In this Councell they also treat of all greouances and complaints, that come from the Indies, by way of appellation. All which things they impart vnto the king. They also appoint Visitors to goe into those Prouinces, to examine howall Officers carrie themselves, and to heare the peoples greouances; and they punish or dismisse as they shall see cause.

**B** The Councell of Orders. It hath a President, and foure Counsellours, with wages, which must be Knights, of the Order of Saint Iames, Calatrava, or Alcantrara. In this Councell they treat of suits; which happen in Prouinces belonging vnto these orders, and to see that the Knights weare their habits nearly. This Councell appoints two and twentie Iustices in their Prouinces, wherewith the royal Councell hath not to deale. They punish the Commanders and knights which obserue not their orders: They dispose of many Benefices, Vicarages, Chappels, and other Offices, in the Prouinces of their Orders, but all with the kings priuie, and allowance.

**C** The Councell which they call de Camera. It hath a President and three Counsellours, of the most ancient of the Councell Royall, which haue no wages. In this Councell they provide superiour officers for the Realme, and they dispose of Bishopricks, Chanonries, and other Ecclesiastical liuings, the king hauing the nomination from the Pope of Rome.

The Councell of Hazienda: wherethere is a President and three Counsellours, without fees, wherewith they treat of the kings reuenues, and of all dueties, entries & accompts, like vnto our Exchequer in England.

There is a Councell of accompts: which consists of foure Counsellours, in the which two of the kings chiefe Auditours haue place, and the most ancient Counsellor presides. In this councell they determine of sutes touching the subsidies and taxes, and giue order to Collectors, for recouerie thereof.

**D** The Council of Cruzada. It hath a President, two Counsellours and three Auditours: Their charge is onely to diuide the Cruzado by the bishopricks, and to send forth Commissaries to gather it.

The Council of Arragon, Valentia and Cattalogia. It hath a President, who is called Vicechancellour, with fixe Counsellours, which haue wages. They treat of the government of those Realmes, and of the Islands of Maiorca, Minorca, & Sardinia: they appoint gouernors and Iudges, and determine suits from those places by way of appeale, and heare their greouances, and to giue rewards in the kings chamber of those realmes; all with his Maiesties approbation.

**E** The Council of the Inquisition. The President is called Inquisitor Maior, an Office of great dignitie, which most commonly the Archbishop of Toledo holdes: hee hath fixe counsellours, or Inquisitors, they appoint all the Inquisitors, Prouosts, and Secretaries in all the Inquisitions within the Realme, which are aboute twentie, in either of which are three or foure Inquisitors: who deale in matters of Heresie, & with such men as do or say any thing against the church of Rome. And before they condemne any offender they send him to this Councell to determine of him.

The Council of Descargos, treats of the paying of the old kings debts, and the execution of their last wils.

**F** There are two Chanceries in Spaine, one at Vailledolit, and another at Granado, either of which hath a President and twelue Counsellours. They take knowledge of all ciuill causes which come vnto them by way of appeale from other inferiour courts. They also take knowledge of sutes, for the estates and inheritances of Noblemen, from the which they may appeale to the Councell royall, if the matter in question exceed the value of foure thousand ducats. There are foure Alcaldes or Prouosts of the Chancery, who determine of all ciuill and criminall causes, within fixe leagues; from whome they appeale to the counsellours of the Chauncerie.

There is a Councell for the realme of Nauarre, wherethere is a Regent, fixe Counsellors, and foure Alcaldes, or Prouosts, they take knowledge of suites, both ciuill and criminall

Council of  
state.

Council of war

Council of  
iustice.

Council of Italy.

The Council of  
the Indies.

The Council of  
Orders.

The Council of  
Orders.

Council de  
Camera.

Council of Hazienda.

Council of Accompts.

Council of the  
Cruzada.

Council of Arragon.

Council of the  
Inquisition.

Council of Descargos.

Chanceries of  
Spaine.

Council of Nauarre.

minall within that Realme, and end them there, of what qualitie soeuer they be without  
appeale, whereof they consult euery weeke with the Viceroy, who determines what they  
shall doe.

*Council of Galicia.* There is also a Regent, 4 Councillors, and 4 Prouosts in the realm of Galicia, who end  
all suits within that realme; but they deale not in questions of Nobilitie and Gentrie,  
which goe to the Chancerie of Vailledolit.

*Council of Seuille.* The Citie of Seuille with the dependances, hath a Regent, 6 Councillors, and 4 Pro-  
uosts, who take knowledge of all ciuill and criminall matters, whereof the iudges of the  
said citie or realm haue giuen sentence. There is an appeale from them to the royal coun-  
cel: all questions of Nobilitie goe to the Chancerie of Granado.

*Power of the President of the Council royall.* The President of the Councell royall of Iustice appoints all the Councillors, Pro-  
uosts, Presidents, & Regents of the Chanceries, & changeth them from one to another,  
& draws them to be Councillors of that Court: Moreover he names sixty and sixe Go-  
uernors of Cities and Prouinces, changing them as occasion shall require. These Gouer-  
nors or Iudges, haue commonly two or three Lieutenants in the townes of their gouern-  
ment. They or their Lieutenants, gouerne the cities or prouinces which are vnder their  
charge, with twelue or more Aldermen which hee hath in euery citie and towne: which  
Aldermen doe onely deale with the maintenance of the citie, and with the publike works  
wherein they haue a voice, but the gouernors or their Lieutenants determine of al mur-  
ders, thefts, or other misdemeanors: and punish according to the qualitie of the fact, e-  
uery Gouernour hath as much power in these matters, as the king himselfe, the matter  
being iustificable, and they may deale in al matters for that their Comissions are vrie am-  
ple, representing the kings person, from whome they doe appeale to the Chanceries of  
Vailledolit or Granado.

*Reuenues of the king of Spaine.* I am afraid to enter into any discourse of the reuenues of this king, men write so diuer-  
ly therof: some write that he hath but 14 millions of ducats, comming in yearly, others  
say eighteen Millions, and some bring it to 23 millions, which differences may haply with  
some limitations bee reconciled: But whatsoeuer it bee, it is most certaine, that during  
the warres of the Low-countries, it was too little to mainteine his charge, for although  
that Naples, Sicile, Milan, Sardinia, Maiorca and Minorca, Flaunders and Burgondie,  
yeeld him aboute fise Millions yearly, yet there comes little of all this to his cofers,  
being employed in the entertainment of Viceroys, Gouernors, Capitaines, Garrisons, Of-  
ficers, and other charges in those countries. The kings reuenues in Spaine, rise not from  
his demeanes, as in some other Countries, but from the great impositions which hee ray-  
seth vpon the ports of the Sea, and from his drie Ports, which bee the passages from one  
kingdome to another: and of all Merchandize which is sold, hee takes ten in the hundred,  
and how often soeuer it be sold. A great part of which Gabelles & Impositions in Spaine  
stands ingaged vnto the Genouois & other merchants for the paiement of the kings debts.  
Some hold that he hath not aboute fise millions of ducats comming in cleerly to mainte-  
taine the charges of his court, and all other extraordinary expences of war, gifts, pensions,  
voyages and such like.

The Impositions which are raised in Spaine, are not laid equally vpon all his Countries,  
but they lie most heauie vpon the two Castilles, Leon and Andaluzia, for in the  
realmes of Valencia, Arragon, and Cattelonia, hee imposeth little, but mainteineth their  
priuiledges which be great, and they themselues redeiue the Gabelles and customes, &  
not the king: the profit which growes there by confiscations and pecuniarie fines, doth  
scarce entertaine his Viceroys and other officers. So as it seemes hee hath but *merum im-*  
*perium* in those three countries, they being also bound to serue him in his warres.

The king reapes great commoditie, by the popes fauor, from the Clergie, he giues him  
Buls of Croyfadoe; he enioyes the masterships of S. James, Calatrava, Alcantara, & dis-  
poseth of the Comanderies; he hath the first fruits of Ecclesiasticall liuings, and a part of  
the tythes, which comes yearly to three millions of ducats at the least; & he hath the no-  
mination of all Archbishops, Abbots and Priors, yet he may not giue any benefices, but  
to naturall borne Spaniards, or to such as haue bene formerly naturalized.

The

## The Realmes which they number in Spaine, are these:

The Realme of Seuille.  
Cordoua.  
Iaen.  
Toledo.  
Leon.  
Nauarre.  
Valencia.

The Realme of Gibraltar.  
Granado.  
Murcia.  
Castille.  
Gallicia.  
Arragon.  
Cattelognia.

In these Realmes (besides Arragon, Valencia, and Cattelognia) there are some Cities,  
which are called to the generall Estates, and haue voices for the Prouinces in which  
they are; the which be these:

Seuille.  
Granado.  
Cuenca.  
Madrid.  
Soria.  
Auila.  
Cordoua.  
Iaen.  
Toledo.

Guadalajara.  
Segouia.  
Salamanca.  
Zamorra.  
Vailledolit.  
Burgo.  
Toro.  
Leon.  
Murcia.

## The names of all the chiefe Cities in Spaine and Portugal, and in what Prouinces they are:

*In Galicia.*  
Compostella.  
Tuye.

*In Asturia of Oviedo.*  
Mondenedo.  
Leon.  
Pomperado.

*In Asturia S. Ellene.*  
S. Ellene.

*In Biscaie.*  
Victoria.

*In Nauarre.*  
Pampelone.

*In Cattelognia.*  
Barcelona.  
Tarragone.  
Moufon.  
Seguença.

*In Arragon.*  
Saragossa.  
Tarrel.  
Dutago.  
Valencia.

*In Valencia.*  
Cuenca.  
Segouia.  
Oraguella.

*In Mancha.*  
Alacantye.  
Segure.

*In Granado.*  
Granado.  
Almeric.  
Carthagena.  
Murcia.  
Guadix.

*In Andalucia.*  
Seuille.  
Cadiz.  
Medina Sidonia.  
Esica.  
Iaen.  
Mallega.  
Xeres.  
Cordoua.  
Vbeda.  
Bacsa.  
Andujar.  
Gggggg

*In the Countie.*

Aymonte.  
Auyta.

*In Castille.*

Burgos.  
Tarragone.  
Guadalajara.  
Segouia.  
Calohorra.  
Zamora.  
Toro.  
Medina del Campo.

*In Spaine there are 57*

*Cities.*

Salamanca.  
Valentia.  
Astorgo.

*In Toledo.*

Cuidad Royall.  
Alcala de Henares.  
Toledo.

*In Extremadura.*

Placentia.  
Auyta.  
Badajos.  
Merida.

*In Portugall.*

Lisbone.  
Euora.  
Coimbra.  
Porto.  
Braga.  
Bragance.  
Cuidad Roderigo.  
Beiria.  
Cono.  
Oliuensa.  
Eluas.  
Guarda.  
Settuual.  
Selues.  
Leria.

*In Portugall there are 15*  
*Cities.*

Some haue obserued in their late trauels, that the King of Spaine hath alwaies within that continent 36000 foot, which are mustered and enrolled, and are bound to be readie in armes at the ringing of a bell, or the sound of the drumme. The Grandos, Nobilitie, and Prelats of the Kingdome are charged with horse, and they amount to the number of 16000. Besides, the inhabitants of the sea coasts, and of diuers other Ports of his dominions within land, are bound to find horse, which come to 12000 at the least, all which must be readie at a moneths warning. This I had from the relation of a yong nobleman, wherein he hath shewed great industrie and judgement, but it may be there was some mistaking in the writing of these great numbers of horse.

*A note of all the Hauens, Ports, and Fisher Townes vpon the coast of Spaine, from Fontarabie in Biscaye, to Barcelona in the Mediterranean sea.*

*In Biscaye.*

Fontarabie, a bard hauen.  
Passage and Renderie, an open hauen.  
S. Sebastians, a bay hauen.  
Sumaye and Guittario, bard.  
Montrica and Deua, fisher townties.  
Mondac and Alequito, Fishers.  
Vermeo and Placentia, Fishers.  
Bilbao and Portugalete, bard hauen.

*Asturies.*

Aluredo, a key hauen.  
S. Ander, an open hauen.  
S. Vincent de la Barkera, fisher towne.  
Aryba de Sella, Fishers.

Villaviciosa, Fishers.  
Chynchon, a kay.  
Torre, Fishers.  
Pena, Fishers.  
Loarca, bard hauen.  
Auiles, bard hauen.

*Gallicia.*

Ribadeo, bard hauen.  
Vuiero and Sidera, Fishers.  
Farrol, open hauen.  
The Groyne, an open hauen.  
Mongea, bard hauen.  
Corcauiana, bard hauen.  
Muros, bard.  
Porta viedra, bard hauen.  
Vigo and Bayone, open hauen.

*In**In the Countie.*

Aymont, a bard hauen.  
Selua and Palos, Fishers.

*In Andalusia.*

S. Lucar de Barameda, it stands in the mouth of the riuer of Guadalquivir, which goes vp to Seuille, Fisher boats.  
Seuille, bard hauen.  
Rora, a kay.  
Cadiz, an open hauen.  
S. Marie Port, barred hauen.

*Streits toward Barcelona.*

Gibraltar, an open roade and kay.  
Grand Malega, a kay roade.  
Maruela, an open roade.  
Velez Malega, a kay roade.  
Almerie, Fishers.  
Carthagena, a hauen.

*In Valencia.*

Alicante, which is the Port of Valencia, a hauen.  
Valencia, a Creeke.

*In Castile.*

Barçullas  
Tarragona  
Palamos  
Empurias  
Bajas

All Fisher Townes.

Barcelona, an open hauen.

*In Portugall.*

Camina, a barred hauen.  
Viana, barred.  
Villa de Conde, barred.  
Auro, barred.  
Porto de Portugall, barred.  
Cascas, Fisher Townes.  
Lisbone, an open hauen.  
Sesambrie, barred hauen.  
Setun, an open hauen.  
Lagos, a kay.  
Villanouas, a barred hauen.  
Farouillas, barred.

Figera  
Fauilla  
Cathromarin } Fisher Townes.

I will not trouble my selfe nor the Reader in setting downe what shippes and parkes belong vnto these Ports and Hauens, as some haue done, being very variable and vncertaine: but I will onely make some mention of the king of Spaines forces at sea, as I haue learned from those that haue curiously inquired thereof, at their being in the countrey. The king maintaines vpon the coast of Spaine and Portugall some 40 good shippes and galleons, with 32 galleyes, besides smaller vessels. And besides all these, he hath at Naples 25 galleyes, in Sicilie 16, and they of Genoua, which he entertaines continually, but the galleyes are none of his.

Gggggg ij

A





A Catalogue of the Princes which haue raigned in  
Spain since the euersion of the Romane Empire,  
with their Alliances and Successions.

The Kings of the Gothes.

|    |   |     |    |                                     |     |
|----|---|-----|----|-------------------------------------|-----|
| 1  | <b>V</b> Allia, <i>first King of the Gothes, which<br/>settled himselfe in Spaine about the<br/>yeare of our Lord</i> | 420 | 15 | Ricarede.                           | 585 |
| 2  | Theodoric <i>the first.</i>   | 440 | 16 | Luiba <i>the second.</i>            | 601 |
| 3  | Torismond.  | 453 | 17 | Viſteric <i>vsurper.</i>            | 603 |
| 4  | Theodoric <i>the second.</i>  | 458 | 18 | Gundamir.                           | 610 |
| 5  | Henry or Euric.   | 471 | 19 | Sizebuth.                           | 612 |
| 6  | Alaric.   | 483 | 20 | Suintilla.                          | 621 |
| 7  | Genſalaric or Geſſelaric.   | 508 | 21 | Sizenand.                           | 631 |
| 8  | Amalaric.   | 511 | 22 | Cinthilla.                          | 637 |
| 9  | Theude.   | 526 | 23 | Tulca.                              | 641 |
| 10 | Theodisſcle.  | 524 | 24 | Cindaſiunthe, <i>and his sonne.</i> | 642 |
| 11 | Agila.  | 546 | 25 | Reccesiunthe.                       | 652 |
| 12 | Aranagilde.   | 551 | 26 | Bamba.                              | 672 |
| 13 | Luiba <i>the first.</i>   | 565 | 27 | Eruinge.                            | 681 |
| 14 | Leonigilde.   | 567 | 28 | Egica.                              | 688 |
|    |   |     | 29 | Vitiza.                             | 701 |
|    |   |     | 30 | Roderic.                            | 711 |

During the raigne of R O D E R I C, last King of the Gothes,  
the Arabians, Saracens, or Moores inuaded or conquered Spaine;  
againſt whom did riſe many Chriſtian Potentates, whose  
lines and deſcendant follow: that is,

|                              |           |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| The Line of Ouiedo and Leon. | Fol. 1345 |
| The Line of Caſtille.        | 1349      |
| The Line of Nauarre.         | 1355      |
| The Line of Arragon.         | 1362      |
| The Line of Cattelogne.      | 1367      |
| The Line of Portugall.       | 1369      |

The names of the Archbiſhops of Toledo. Fol. 1374

Moreover, the names of the Kings and Princes }  
Moores which haue raigned in Spaine, } Fol. 1375.

The



The Line of Ouiedo and Leon.

I.  
Pelagius first king of Ouiedo, ſonne to Faſila, Gouverneur of Biſcaie.  
Gaudioſa his wife.

Lawfull children { Faſila.  
Ormiſinda.

II.  
Faſila ſonne to Pelagius, in the yere 735, raigned two yeres, and died without children.  
Ormiſinda his wife.

III.  
Alphonſo firſt of that name, ſonne to Peter, Gouverneur of Biſcaie, in the yere 737: he  
raigned 19 yeres.

Ormiſinda, daughter to king Pelagius, his wife.

Lawfull children { Froila.  
Kimaram.  
Aurelius.  
Odeſinde, a daughter.  
Mauregat, a baſtard.

IV.  
D. Froila the firſt of that name, ſonne to king Alphonſo I. in the yere 756: he raigned  
11 yeres, 6 moneths.  
Menine or Momerane, daughter to the Duke of Aquitaine, his wife.

Lawfull children { D. Alphonſo.  
D. Bermund, or Veremund.  
D. Ximena, mother to Bernard del Carpio.

V.  
D. Aurelius brother to Froila, in the yere 768: he raigned 6 yeres, and died without  
children.

VI.  
D. Sillo husband to Odeſinde, daughter to king Alphonſo the firſt, in the yere 774: he  
raigned 9 yeres, and died without children.

VII.  
D. Mauregat, baſtard to king Alphonſo the firſt, an Vſurper, in the yere 783: he raigned  
ſixe yeres and ſix moneths, and died without children.

VIII.  
D. Bermund, or Veremund, ſonne to king Froila, and firſt of that name, in the yere 789:  
he raigned two yeres alone, and ſoure with Alphonſo his brother.  
D. Imelona his wife.

Lawfull children { D. Ramir.  
D. Garcia.

IX.  
D. Alphonſo ſecond of that name, ſonne to king Froila, called the chaſt, in the yere 795:  
he raigned 29 yeres after the death of D. Bermund.  
D. Berſia his wife, with whom he had no companie; and therefore he had no children.  
G g g g g g iij D. Ramir

X.

D. Ramir and D. Garcia, sonnes to king *Bermund*, raigne together in the yere 824 :  
 D. Ramir who suruived, held the realme fix yeres.  
 D. *Vrraca* of Castille wife to D. Ramir.

Lawfull children { D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*,  
 D. *Garcia*.

XI.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, first of that name, and sonne to the king D. Ramir, in the yere 831 :  
 he raigned 10 yeres.  
 D. *Nugna* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Alphonso*.  
 D. *Bermund*.  
 D. *Nugno*.  
 D. *Odoaire*.  
 D. *Froila*.  
 D. *N*, a daughter.

XII.

D. *Alphonso* third of that name, sonne to king D. *Ordogno*, in the yere 841 : he raigned  
 46 yeres.

D. *Amelina*, or as some say, *Ximenis* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Garcia*.  
 D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*.  
 D. *Froila*.  
 D. *Gonsal* the Archdeacon.

XIII.

D. *Garcia* first of that name, sonne to D. *Alphonso* the third, in the yere 886 : he raigned  
 three yeres, and had to wife the daughter of D. *Nugno Fernandes de Castille*, and died with-  
 out children.

XIIII.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, second of that name, brother to D. *Garcia*, in the yere 889 : he  
 raigned eight yeres.

D. *Nugna* or *Eluira*, as some say, his first wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Sancho*.  
 D. *Alphonso*.  
 D. *Ramir*.  
 D. *Garcia*.  
 D. *Ximena*.

D. *Arrogande*, or it may be *Radogande* of Galicia, his second wife, repudiated.  
 D. *Sancho*, Infanta of Nauarre, third wife to this king D. *Ordogno*.

XV.

D. *Froila* second of that name, and third sonne to king *Alphonso* the third, an vsurper,  
 in the yere 897 : he raigned one yere six moneths, surnamed the cruell.  
 D. *Nugna* or *Manina* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Alphonso*.  
 D. *Ordogno*, or *Fortun*.  
 D. *Ramir*.

D. *Froila*, a bastard, father to D. *Pelagius* the Deacon.

XVI.

D. *Alphonso* fourth of that name, sonne to the king D. *Ordogno* the second, in the yere  
 898 : he raigned 6 yeres.

D. *Vrraca Ximenes* Infanta of Nauarre his wife.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, called the bad.

D. *Ramir*,

XVII.

D. *Ramir*, second of that name, brother to D. *Alphonso* the fourth, in the yere 904 : he  
 raigned 20 yeres.

D. *Theresia* Infanta of Nauarre, his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Bermund*.  
 D. *Ordogno*.  
 D. *Sancho*.  
 D. *Eluira*, a Nun.

XVIII.

D. *Ordogno* 3 of that name, sonne to D. *Ramir*, in the yere 924 : he raigned 5 yeres.  
 D. *Vrraca*, daughter to D. *Fernand Gonsales* Earle of Castille, his wife repudiated.  
 D. *Eluira* his second wife, by whom he had

D. *Bermund*.

XIX.

D. *Sancho*, brother to D. *Ordogno*, in the yere 929 : he raigned 12 yeres, the first of  
 that name, and was surnamed the Grosse.

D. *Theresia* his wife, of whom was borne

D. *Ramir*.

XX.

D. *Ramir* third of that name, sonne to D. *Sancho*, in the yere 941, he raigned 24 yeres.  
 D. *Vrraca* his wife, by whom he had no children.

XXI.

D. *Bermund* second of that name, sonne to king D. *Ordogno* the third, in the yere 965 :  
 he raigned 17 yeres.

D. *Velasquita* his wife, of whom came

D. *Christina* married { D. *Alphonso*.  
 to D. *Ordogno* the { D. *Ordogno*.  
 blind, & had issue { D. *Pelagius*.

D. *Eluira* 2 wife, mother to { D. *Adencia*, who was wife { D. *Pedro Ordogno*.  
 to D. *Pelagius* the Dea- { D. *Pelagius*.  
 con aboue named, and { D. *Nugno*.  
 D. *Theresia*, a Nun. { had by him { D. *Theresia*.

Oftwo sisters Concubines, he had

D. *Ordogno* by the one:  
 D. *Eluira* by the other.

XXII.

D. *Alphonso* fifth of that name, sonne to king *Bermund*, in the yere 982 : he raigned 46  
 yeres.

D. *Eluira* daughter to D. *Melendo Gonsales* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Bermund*.  
 D. *Sancho* married to D. *Ferdinand* first king of Ca-  
 stille.

XXIII.

D. *Bermund* third of that name, sonne to D. *Alphonso* the fist, in the yere 1028 : he raig-  
 ned 9 yeres.

D. *Theresia* his wife, daughter to *Sancho* Earle of Castille, who brought him

D. *Alphonso*, who died an infant.

XXIIII.

D. *Sancho* heire to the realme, sister to D. *Bermund*, was married to king  
*Ferdinand* the first of Castille, and 24 of Leon, in the yere 1037 : he raigned 30 yeres.  
 Children

Children after she came to the  
Succession of Leon

Children after she came to  
the Crowne

## XXV

D. *Alphonso* sixth of that name, son to D. *Sancho*, in the year 1067 he reigned 41 years in Leon, and came to the crowne of Castille: he had many children by many wiues, specified in the line of Castille, and among others,

D. *Constance* his fourth wife, a Spaniard, brought him  
D. *Vrraca* who was Queene of Leon and Castille, married first to D. *Raymond* of Burgundie, of whom came D. *Alphonso Raymond*, king.

## XXVI

D. *Vrraca* had to her second husband, D. *Alphonso* king of Navarre and Arragon, number of the sequence of that name among the kings of Leon in the year 1108: they had not any children.

## XXVII

D. *Alphonso Raymond* eighth of that name, sonne to D. *Raymond* of Burgundie, Earle of Galicia: he reigned in the place of D. *Vrraca* his mother 35 years, in the year 1122.

D. *Berenguela* daughter to D. *Raymond* Armoiré Earle of Barcelone, by whom among other children named in the line of Castille, he had

D. *Ferdinand* his second sonne, king of Leon.

## XXVIII

D. *Sancho* second of that name, and second sonne to king D. *Alphonso* the eighth, in the year 1157: he reigned 31 years.

D. *Vrraca* of Portugal, his first wife.

D. *Alphonso*.

D. *Theresia* his second wife, of the house of Lara.

D. *Vrraca Lopes* his third wife, mother to

D. *Sancho* Ferdinand.

D. *Garcia*.

## XXIX

D. *Alphonso* ninth of that name, sonne to D. *Ferdinand* the second, in the year 1188: he reigned 42 years.

D. *Theresia* of Portugal his first wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Ferdinand*.  
D. *Sancho*.  
D. *Dolce*.

D. *Berenguela* Infanta of Castille, his second wife, mother to

Lawfull children { D. *Ferdinand*, king.  
D. *Alphonso*, Lord of Molina.  
D. *Constance*, a Nunne.  
D. *Berenguela*, Countesse of Brenne, and Queene of Ierusalem.

Of a Concubine whose name is vnknowne,  
D. *Roderigo Alphonso* of Leon.

## XXX

D. *Ferdinand* the third, he reigned at Leon after his father D. *Alphonso* the ninth, but he first seized vpon the crowne of Castille, by the diligence of D. *Berenguela* his mother: in him the two realmes were vnited, and neuermore diuided, in the year, 1230.

D. *Beatrice* daughter to the Emperour *Philip*: their posteritie is in the line of Castille.

Line

## Line of Castille.

D. *Nugno Fernandes* Earle of Castille, vnder the Soueraignie of Leon, father or grandfather to

D. *Ximena* married to D. *Gonsal Inste*.

D. *Diego Porcello* Earle also, or gouernour of Castille vnder the same Soueraignie.

D. *Sulla* married to D. *Nugno Bellides*.

These two gouernours were flaine by king *Ordogno* the second of Leon, in the prison of Leon.

D. *Nugno Bellides* Earle of Castille.

D. *Sulla* daughter to *Diego Porcello* his wife.

Lawfull children. { D. *Nugno Rasure*.  
D. *Inste Gonsales*.

D. *Nugno Rasure* father to

D. *Gonsal Nugnes*.

D. *Eluira* or *Theresa Nugnes*, surnamed the Faire.

D. *Eluira* Caluo husband to *Eluira*, whence comes the race of *Cid Ruy Diaz*.

These gouerned the countrie of Castille, in qualitie of Iudges: after that it was drawn from the obedience of the kings of Leon, during the raigne of D. *Froila* the second, about the year 896.

D. *Gonsal Nugnes* sonne to D. *Nugno Rasure*, sole gouernour of Castille.

D. *Ximena* daughter or grandchild to D. *Nugno Fernandes*, whom wee set in the first place in this Line, mother to

D. *Fernand Gonsales* their sonne.

## First Soueraigne Earle.

D. *Fernand Gonsales* first Earle proprietarie of Castille, in the year 910: he gouerned 32 yeares.

D. *Vrraca*, his first wife, mother to

D. *Vrraca*.

D. *Sancho* Infanta of Navarre, second wife to D. *Fernand*, daughter to D. *Sancho Abarca*.

Children { D. *Gonsal Fernandes*.  
D. *Sancho Fernandes*.  
D. *Garcia Fernandes*.  
D. *Pedro* father to two sonnes. { D. *Gonsal Nugnes*.  
D. *Baldwin*. { D. *Fernandes Gonsales*.

It is doubtfull by which of his wiues he had these fiue sonnes.

## II.

D. *Garcia Fernandes* the third sonne to D. *Fernand Gonsales*, in the year 942: hee held the Earldome 48 yeares.

D. *Argentina* his first wife, a French woman.

D. *Sancho*, Ogna, or *Abba*, his second wife, mother to

Children { D. *Garcia Roland*.  
D. *Sancho Garcia*.  
D. *Vrraca* a Nun.

## III.

D. *Sancho Garcia* the second sonne to D. *Garcia Fernandes*, in the year 990: he gouerned Castille 38 yeares.

D. *Vrraca* his wife, mother to

Children { D. *Garcia*.  
D. *Nugna* Queene of Navarre.  
D. *Theresia* Queene of Leon.  
D. *Tigrida* a Nunne.

D. *Garcia*

## Castille.

## IIII.

D. Garcia second of that name, floure at Leon before he was married, so as the Earldome fell to his sister.

D. Nugna Queene of Nauarre by the right of proximitie.

## V.

D. Nugna sister to D. Garcia, married to the king.

D. Sancho fourth of that name of Nauarre, in the year 1028, they held the Earldome sixe yeares, then they gaue it to D. Fernand their second sonne, with the title of a King.

D. Fernand, second sonne.

The other children of this marriage are named in the line of Nauarre.

## First King of Castille.

D. Fernand, second sonne of D. Sancho, fourth of that name of Nauarre, had Castille for his portion, with the title of a king, being the inheritance of his mother D. Nugna: in the year 1034 he vniued Leon vnto it, by his wife D. Sancha, and raigned 32 yeares.

D. Sancha sister to D. Bermund, third king of Leon, mother, among other children, to

D. Sancho Fernandes.

D. Alphonso.

Their other children are named in the line of Leon.

## II.

D. Sancho Fernandes, whom we will call the second of that name, in regard of the Earle D. Sancho Garcia, in the year 1067: he raigned 6 yeares, died without children, and left his realme to his brother D. Alphonso king of Leon.

## III.

D. Alphonso brother to D. Sancho, first of that name in Castille, and sixt in Leon, in the year 1073: he raigned 34 yeares 8 moneths.

D. Ines or Agnes first wife to D. Alphonso a Spaniard.

D. Constance, second wife, a Spaniard, and mother to

D. Vrraca Queene of Castille married to D. Raimond

D. Sancha.  
of Burgondie first, by whom shee had  
D. Alphonso Raymond.

D. Maria other wife called Caida, a Moore, third wife to D. Alphonso, mother to

D. Sancho.

D. Berthe fourth wife, an Italian.

D. Isabell, fift, a Spaniard, mother to

D. Sancha.

D. Eluira Queene of Naples.

D. Beatrix a French woman, sixt wife to D. Alphonso.

By D. Ximena Nuges de Guzman a Concubine, he had

D. Eluira, Countesse of Toloufa.

Of another Concubine whose name is not knowne,

D. Theresa, first Countesse of Portugall.

## IIII.

D. Vrraca beeing the eldest, widow to D. Raymond Earle of Burgondie, was hereditarie Queene of Castille and Leon, shee tooke to her second husband, D. Alphonso king of Nauarre and Arragon, first of that name, from whom beeing diuorced, and liuing loosely in her countie, shee did choose D. Alphonso Raymond her sonne for their king, during her life: yet we will set her in the fourth place.

D. Alphonso husband to D. Vrraca, fourth king of Castille, in the year 1108, where hee raigned eight yeares.

## V.

D. Alphonso Raymond, sonne to Raymond of Burgondie, and to D. Vrraca, in the year 1122, he raigned 35 yeares, and is numbred for the third of that name.

D. Berenguela

## Castille.

D. Berenguela, daughter to the Barke of Barcelona called D. Raymond Arno, his wife, mother to

D. Sancho king of Castille.

D. Fernand king of Leon.

D. Isabel or Constance Queene of France.

D. Sancha or Beacia Queene of Nauarre.

D. Garcia.

D. Rica 2 wife to D. Alphonso Raymond, aunt to the Emperour Frederic 1, mother to

D. Sancha Queene of Arragon.

D. Marie a concubine, mother to

D. Estienne, wife to D. Fernand Roderigo el Castellan, whose sonne D. Pedro Fernandes de Castro was.

D. Goutrude sister to Diego Apricio, a concubine also, mother to

D. Vrraca Queene of Nauarre.

## VI.

D. Sancho, sonne to D. Alphonso Raymond, in the year 1157: he raigned two yeares, the fourth of that name.

D. Blanche of Nauarre his wife.

D. Alphonso their sonne.

## VII.

D. Alphonso sonne to D. Sancho 4 of that name, in the year 1159: he raigned 55 yeares, D. Leonora daughter to Henrie the second king of England.

D. Blanche Queene of France.

D. Berenguela Queene of Leon.

D. Sancho died an infant.

D. Vrraca Queene of Portugall.

D. Fernand died young.

D. Malfade died a virgin.

D. Constance a Nunne.

D. Leonora Queene of Arragon.

D. Henrie King of Castille.

Two daughters which died in their infancies.

## VIII.

D. Henrie first of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso 4, in the year 1214: he raigned about three yeares.

D. Malfada of Portugall his wife.

The king D. Henrie beeing dead without children, his sister D. Berenguela second daughter to king D. Alphonso seized vpon the realme of Castille, to the preiudice of D. Blanche mother to Saint Lewis king of France, who was the elder, and there leised D. Fernand sonne to her, and to D. Alphonso ninth king of Leon.

## IX.

D. Ferdinand third of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso ninth king of Leon, and to D. Berenguela of Castille, obtained the realme of Castille, to the preiudice of Queene Blanche, mother to Saint Lewis, in the year 1217, and raigned 35 yeares.

D. Beatrix daughter to the Emperour Philip, of whom was borne

D. Alphonso.

D. Frederic.

D. Ferdinand.

D. Henrie.

Lawfull children

D. Philip.

D. Sancha.

D. Emanuel.

D. Leonora not married.

D. Berenguela a Nun.

By

By *Isabella* or *Adella* as some write, of the house of Poitiers, his second wife, he had

Lawfull children {  
D. Ferdinand.  
D. Lewis.  
D. Leonora.

In this King the two Realmes of Leon and Castille were vnited, and were no more diuided.

X. King of Castille. 31. of Leon.

D. ALFONSO sonne to D. Ferdinand 3, numbred for the 5 of that name, and 10 in Leon: but they that joyne these two Lines, accompt him the 11, adding his great grandfather *Alfonso* 4 of Castille, who had no interest in Leon.

D. Violant of Arragon his wife, by whom he had

Children {  
D. Ferdinand called de la Cerda, who married D. Blanche daughter to S. Lewis of France, and had  
D. Sancho 3. sonne  
D. Pedro 3. sonne  
D. John 4. sonne to  
D. Alfonso the wife, who married D. Maria Lopez Diaz, heire of Biscaye, and had D. John the blind, father to one Daughter married to D. John Nugnes de Lara.  
D. James 5. sonne.  
D. Berenguela.  
D. Beatrice.  
D. Isabella.  
D. Leonora.

D. Maior de Guzman a Concubine, mother to  
D. Beatrix Queene of Portugall.

XI. King of Castille. 32. of Leon.

D. SANCHE second sonne to the King D. Alfonso, seized vpon the realme in his fathers life time, to frustrat the children of his elder brother D. Ferdinand deceased in the yeare 1284, and reigned about 11 ycares: wee number him for the 4 of that name in Castille.

D. MARIA of Castille, daughter to D. Alfonso Lord of Molina, his wife.

Lawfull children {  
D. Isabella Duchesse of Britaine.  
D. Ferdinand.  
D. Alfonso on Philip.  
D. Henry.  
D. Pedro.  
D. Beatrix.

XII. King of Castille. 33. of Leon.

D. FERDINAND sonne to D. Sancho the 4 of that name, in the yeare 1295: hee reigned 17 yeares.

D. Constance of Portugall his wife.

Children {  
D. Alfonso.  
D. Leonora.

D. Alfonso

XIII. King of Castille. 34. of Leon.

D. Alfonso 11 of that name, sonne to D. Ferdinand in the yeare 1312: he reigned 38 yeares.

D. Maria of Portugall his wife.

Lawfull children {  
D. Ferdinand, died in his infancie.  
D. Pedro King.

By Leonora de Guzman a Concubine he had

Bastards {  
D. Pedro.  
D. Sancho.  
D. Henry.  
D. Frederic } Twins.  
D. Ferdinand.  
D. Tello.  
D. John.  
D. Joane, who was wife to Ferdinand de Castro.

XIII. King of Castille. 35. of Leon.

D. Pedro the cruell, in the yeare 1350: he was lawfull sonne to D. Alfonso, or as some hold, supposed by the Queene D. Maria, who was icalous of the fruitfulness of D. Leonora de Guzman: he reigned tyrannously 18 yeares.

D. Blanche of Bourbon his wife.

D. Maria de Padille his Concubine.

Bastards {  
D. Beatrix.  
D. Constance Duchesse of Lancaster.  
D. Alfonso.  
D. Isabella Countesse of Cambridge.

D. Joane de Castro, whom he married in the life of Queene Blanche, mother to D. John.  
D. Isabella an other Concubine, mother to

Bastards {  
D. Sancho.  
D. Diego.

D. Theresa of Ayala, vpon promise of marriage, brought him D. Maria.

XV. King of Castille. 36. of Leon.

D. Henry 2 of that name, base sonne to Alfonso 11: being persecuted by the king D. Pedro, he had recourse vnto the French, by whose ayde he conquered the Realme of Castille, and slew the king D. Pedro in the yeare 1368, and reigned 11 yeares.

D. Joane Manuell his wife, mother to

Lawfull children {  
D. John king of Castille.  
D. Leonora Queene of Navarre.

D. Leonora Ponce, some call her Beatrix, a Concubine: by her he had

D. Frederic duke of Benauent.  
D. Eluira Iniques an other Concubine, mother to

D. Joane married to D. Alfonso sonne to the Marquesse of Villena.  
Of vncertaine mothers were borne

D. Alfonso Earle of Gijon.

An other daughter married to D. Pedro sonne to the marquesse of Villena.

XVI. King of Castille. 37. of Leon.

D. John 1 of that name, sonne to D. Henry the second, in the yeare 1379: hee reigned 11 yeares.

D. Leonora of Arragon his wife, mother to

Lawfull children {  
D. Henry.  
D. Ferdinand.

A daughter which died young.  
D. Beatrix of Portugall, his second wife.

H h h h h

XVII.



## Castille and Leon.

XVII. King of Castille. 38 of Leon.

D. HENRY third of that name, sonneto D. John the first, in the yere 1390: he raigned 16 yeres.

D. KATHERINE of Lancaster his wife.

Lawfull children { D. Marie, Queene of Arragon.  
D. John, King of Castille.  
D. Katherine.

XVIII. King of Castille. 39 of Leon.

D. JOHN sonneto D. Henry the third, in the yere 1406: he raigned 48 yeres.

D. MARIA of Arragon, daughter to D. Ferdinand his vncle, his wife.

Lawfull children { D. Katherine, died yong.  
D. Leonora.  
D. Henry king of Castille.

D. ISABELL of Portugall his second wife, daughter to the infant D. John, Master of S. James.

{ D. Isabell, Queene of Castille.  
D. Alphonso.

XIX. King of Castille. 40 of Leon.

D. HENRY fourth of that name, called the vnable, in the yere 1454: he raigned 21 yeres.

D. BLANCHE of Nauarre, daughter to the king D. John, his first wife, put away.

D. IOANS of Portugall his second wife, mother to  
D. Ioane, a supposed child.

XX. King of Castille. 41 of Leon.

D. ISABELL of Castille, sister to king Henry the fourth, was Queene of Castille, as next of the blood, and lawfull, she married with

D. FERDINAND, Prince of Arragon, King of Sicile: they began to raigne in the yere 1474, and had

Lawfull children { D. Isabell, Queene of Portugall, mother to D. Michel,  
who had beene heire to all the realmes of Spaine, if  
he had liued.  
D. John, who died yong.  
D. Ioane Queene heire.  
D. Maria Queens of Portugall.  
D. Katherine.

XXI. King of Castille. 42 of Leon.

D. IOANE, daughter to the Queene D. Isabell, and D. Ferdinand her husband: she was married to the Archduke

D. PHILIP of Austria: they succeeded to the Realmes of Castille and Leon, in the yere 1504, and raigned together two yeres, they had

Lawfull children { D. Leonora, Queene of Portugall and of France.  
D. Charles King and Emperour.  
D. Isabell Queene of Denmarke.  
D. Ferdinand Emperor.  
D. Marie.  
D. Katherine.

XXII. King of Castille. 43 of Leon.

D. CHARLES by the decease of his father D. Philip, succeeded to the right of the Crowne of Castille, vnder the gouernment of the King D. Ferdinand his grandfather, after

## Castille and Leon.

after whose death hee tooke vpon him the gouernment of the realme, by reason of the incapacitie of the Queene D. Ioane his mother, in the yere 1516: hee raigned 45 yeres in Castille, Arragon and Nauarre.

D. ISABELL daughter to King Emmanell of Portugall his wife.

Lawfull children { D. Philip king.  
D. Marie Emperesse.  
D. Ioane married to the Prince of Portugall.  
D. Ferdinand who died yong.

By Concubines he had

Bastards { D. Marguerite duchesse of Florence, and Parma.  
D. John d. Austria.

XXIII. King of Castille. 44 of Leon.

D. PHILIP, 2 sonneto to the Emperour Charles 5, in the yere 1558: he raigned fortie yeres.

D. MARIE of Portugall his first wife, mother to

D. Charles.

D. MARIE Queene of England, died without children.

D. ISABELL of France, his 3 wife, mother to

{ D. Isabella Clara Eugenia.

{ D. Catherine.

D. ANNA of Austria his 4 wife, by whom he had

D. Charles.

D. Laurens, some say Ferdinand.

Lawfull children { D. Diego, or James.

D. Philip.

D. Na daughter.

XXIII. King of Castille. 45 of Leon.

D. PHILIP 3 now raingong, sonneto Philip 2, in the yere 1598.

D. MARGUERITE of Austria daughter to the Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz, his wife.

## Line of Nauarre.

First King in Sobrabre and Nauarre.

D. GARCIA Ximenes in the yere 716: he raigned 42 yeres.

INIGA his wife, mother to

Garcia Inigo.

II.

D. GARCIA INIGO, second of that name, in the yere 758: he raigned 44 yeres: the name of his wife is vnkowne.

D. FORTUN Garcès his sonne.

III.

D. FORTUN GARCÈS, sonneto D. Garcia Inigo, in the yere 802: he raigned 13 yeres.

D. THEVDA of Arragon daughter to D. Galinde.

D. Sancho Garcès.

III.

D. SANCHE GARCÈS, first of that name, sonneto D. Fortun, in the yere 815: hee raigned 17 yeres.

The name of his wife is not found.

D. Ximen Inigo, it may be their sonne.

Hhhhhh ij

D. Ximen

## Nauarre.

V.

D. XIMEN INIGO, in the year 832: he reigned 8 yeres.  
D. NVGN his wife.

D. Inigo Arista.

VI.

D. INIGO ARISTA, in the year 840: he reigned 27 yeres some hold that hee was not sonne to D. Ximen, but issued from the Lords of Bigorre, and elected.  
D. THEYDA, daughter to Zeno Earle of Biscaie.

D. Garcia Inigo.

VII.

D. GARCIA INIGO, third of that name, sonne to D. Inigo Arista, in the year 867: he reigned 18 yeres.

D. VERRACA, heire of Arragon, his wife.

D. Fortun.

Children { D. Sancho Abarca.  
D. Sancho Queene of Leon.

VIII.

D. FORTUN, in the yere 885: hee reigned 6 yeres in Nauarre and Arragon, which was a small thing then, and vnder the foueraignty of Nauarre. This king made himselfe a Monke, and left the realme to his brother.

IX.

D. SANCHO ABARCA, 2 of that name, in the year 901: reigned 19 yeres.  
D. TODA, or THEYDA his wife.

D. Garcia Sanchez.

D. Vrraca Xenuenes, Queene of Leon.

Children { D. Marie Countesse of Barcelona  
D. Theresia Queene of Leon.

D. Sancho Countesse of Castille.

D. Blanche married to the Lord of Biscaie.

Some hold this King had 3 sonnes more,

D. Ramir.

D. Gonfal.

D. Ferdinand.

X.

D. GARCIA SANCHES, 4. of that name, sonne to D. Sancho Abarca, in the year 920: he reigned 49 yeres.

THERESIA his wife.

D. Sancho Garcies.

D. Ramir.

Children { D. Vrraca.

D. Ermeilde.

D. Ximena.

XI.

D. SANCHO GARCIES, third of that name, sonne to D. Garcia Sanches, in the year 969: he reigned 24 yeres.

D. VERRACA his wife.

D. Garcia.

Children { D. Ramir father to D. Sancho.  
D. Gonfal. D. Garcia.

XII.

D. GARCIA the shaking sonne to D. Sancho Garcies 5. of that name, in the yere 993: he reigned 7 yeres or thereabouts.

D. XIMENA

## Nauarre.

D. XIMENA his wife.

D. Sancho their sonne.

XIII.

D. SANCHE 4. of that name, sonne to D. Garcia the trembling, in the year 1000: hee reigned 34 yeres.

D. NVGN daughter to D. Sancho Earle of Castille, which by some is called D. Mena heire of Castille.

D. Garcia King of Nauarre.

Children { D. Ferdinand king of Castille.

D. Gonfal king of Sobrarbre and Ribagorça.

Of D. Caya the Ladie of Ayuar, a Concubine

D. Ramir King of Arragon.

XIII.

D. GARCIA, 6 of that name, sonne to D. Sancho 4, in the yere 1034: he reigned 20 yeres.

D. ETTIENETTE a French woman, of the house of Carvassone, and of Beziers, his wife.

D. Sancho Garcia King.

D. Ramir.

D. Ferdinand.

Children { D. Raymond.

D. Ermeilde.

D. Ximena.

D. Mena.

D. Vrraca, or Ogneda.

XV.

D. SANCHO GARCIA, 5 of that name, sonne to D. Garcia, in the yere 1054: hee reigned 22 yeres.

D. PLAISANCE his wife.

D. Ramir Sanchez of D. Elvira

daughter to Cid Roy Diaz had

D. Garcia the elder.

D. Garcia the second.

These children did not succeed.

XVI.

D. SANCHE RAMIRES, who was 2 king of Arragon seized vpon the realme of Nauarre, and is nombred for the 4. of that name, in the yere 1076: he reigned 88 yeres.

D. FRANCESCA, daughter to the Earle of Vrgel, his wife, mother among other children named in the Line of Arragon to

D. Ramir.

D. Alfonso.

D. Ramir a Monke.

XVII.

D. PEDRO, 1 of that name, sonne to D. Sancho Ramir, in the yere 1094: he reigned 10 yeres & more.

D. BERTHA or INES of Tuscaine his wife.

D. Pedro, died an infant.

D. Isabell, died also before the father.

XVIII.

D. ALFONSO, brother to D. Pedro 1 of that name, united all the Christian realms of

of Spaine together by his marriage with *D. Vrraca* heire of Castille and Leon, he came to the Crowne of Nauarre, in the yere 1104, and reigned 34 yeres.

*D. Vrraca*, daughter to *Alfonso* 6 of Leon and Castille, his wife, by whom he had not any children.

## XIX.

*D. Garcia Ramires*, 7 of that name, sonne to *D. Ramir Sanchez*, & grahd-child to *D. Sancho Garcia*, 5 of that name, he was chosen by the Estates, in the yere 1134, and reigned 16 yeres.

*D. Margellina* or *Marguerite*, as some say, daughter to *Rotrou* Earle of Perche, his wife.

Children: *D. Blanche.*  
*D. Sancho* king.  
*D. Alfonso Ramires.*  
*D. Marguerite* Queene of Naples.

*D. Vrraca*, base daughter to *D. Alfonso*, 8 king of Leon and Castille, his second wife, mother to

*D. Sancho*, Vicountesse of Bearn, and then wife to *D. Pedro de Molina*, of which second marriage came *Americ* Vicont of Naboma, for *D. Pedro* his father was sonne to *Ermiscinda* Vicountesse of Naboma.

## XX.

*D. Sancho*, 7 of that name, called the wife, sonne to *D. Garcia Ramires*, in the yere 1150: he reigned 46 yeres.

*D. Beacia* or *Beatrix*, or as some say *D. Sancho*, daughter to *D. Alfonso Raymond*, king of Castille and Leon, his wife, by whom he had

Children: *D. Sancho* King of Nauarre.  
*D. Ferdinand.*  
*D. Ramir* Bishop of Pampelone.  
*D. Berenguela* Queene of England.  
*D. Theresa*, or *Constance.*  
*D. Blanche* Countesse of Champagne and Brie.

## XXI.

*D. Sancho*, 8 of that name, called the strong, sonne to *Sancho* 7, in the yere 1194: he reigned 40 yeres.

*D. Clemence*, daughter to *Raymond*, 4 Earle of Tolouza, his wife *D. Ferdinand*, who died before the father.

Of a Concubine whose name is vnknowne, this king had *William* a bastard.

By the death of the king, the Crowne of Nauarre past into the house of Champagne, *D. Blanche* his sister, wife to Count *Thibaud*, remayning sole of the race, hauing issue.

## XXII.

*D. Thibaud*, 1 of that name, sonne to *D. Blanche* of Nauarre, succeeded his vnclie *D. Sancho* 8, in the yere 1234, and reigned 19 yeres.

His first wife was of Metz.

The 2, was daughter to *Guichard* Earle of Beaufieu, and had

*D. Blanche* Duchesse of Britaine.  
The third wife, was daughter to *Archambaud*, Earle of Foix, named *Marguerite* mother to

Children: *D. Thibaud.*  
*D. Henry.*  
*D. Leonora.*  
*D. Pedro.*

*D. Thibaud*,

## XXIII.

*D. Thibaud*, second of that name, sonne to the first, in the yere 1253: he reigned 18 yeres.

*D. Isabell* of France, daughter to *S. Lewis*, by whom he had not any children.

*D. Marquise Lope de Rada* a Concubine, brought him

*D. Marquise* a bastard, who was wife to *Pedro Fernandes* of Ixar, base sonne to *D. James* the first, King of Arragon.

## XXIIIIL.

*D. Henry*, brother to *Thibaud* the second, in the yere 1271: he reigned three yeres, the first of that name.

*D. Ioane*, daughter to *Robert* Earle of Artois.

*D. Thibaud*, died an infant.

Children: *D. Ioane* Queene.

By a Concubine of the house of *Lachrya*, he had

*D. Henry*, bastard, Marshall of Nauarre.

## XXV.

*D. Ioane*, sole daughter to *D. Henry* the first, married to *Philip* the faire, king of France, and reigned in Nauarre, in the yere 1274, the space of 31 yeres: of which mariage issued

Children: *D. Lewis* Hain.  
*D. Philip* the long.  
*D. Charles* the faire.  
*D. Ioane.*  
*D. Isabell* Queene of England.

## XXVI.

*D. Lewis Hain*, King of France and Nauarre, first of that name, in the yere 1305: he reigned 10 yeres in Nauarre.

*D. Marguerite* daughter to *Robert* of Burgundie.

*D. Ioane* of Nauarre.

His second wife was *Clemence*, daughter to the King of Hungarie.

*D. John* an after-birth, who liued but eight dayes.

## XXVII.

*D. Philip* the long, king of France and Nauarre, second of that name, in the yere 1315: he reigned five yeres.

*D. Ioane* daughter to *Othelin* Earle of Burgundie.

Children: *D. Ioane* Duchesse of Burgundie.  
*D. Marguerite* Countesse of Nemours.  
*D. Marie*, wife to the Daulphin *Humbert*.  
*D. Blanche*, a religious woman.

## XXVIII.

*D. Charles* the faire, first of that name, king of Nauarre and France, in the yere 1328: he reigned about eight yeres.

*D. Blanche*, daughter to *Othelin* Earle of Burgundie, his first wife.

*D. Marie* of Luxembourg his second wife, mother to

*D. Blanche* Duchesse of Orleans.

A sonne, which died in his infancie.

*D. Ioane*, daughter to *Lewis* Earle of Euxux, by whom (some say) *D. Blanche*, was borne.

## XXIX.

*D. Ioane*, daughter to King *Lewis Hain*, heire of Nauarre, in the yere 1328: she reigned with her husband 21 yeres.

*D. Philip*

D. PHILIP Earle of Eureux, husband to D. Joane, the third of that name, among the kings of Nauarre: of which marriage descended

Children {  
 D. Charles king.  
 D. Philip Earle of Longueville.  
 D. Lewis Earle of Beaumont. This D. Lewis married the heire of the house of Beaumont le Roger in Normandie, and were the stemme of the Earles of Lerin.  
 D. Joane Countesse of Rohan.  
 D. Marie Queene of Arragon.  
 D. Blanche Queene of France.  
 D. Agnes Countesse of Foix.

XXX

D. CHARLES second of that name, sonne to D. Philip the third, in the yere 1349: he raigned in Nauarre 37 yeares, and was surnamed the bad.

D. IOANE of France, daughter to king John, his wife: of which marriage descended these following.

Lawfull children {  
 D. Charles King.  
 D. Philip died yong.  
 D. Pedro Earle of Mortaign, from whom descended D. Pedro of Peralta, Constable of Nauarre, the stemme of the Marquesse of Falses.  
 D. Blanche.  
 D. Joane, Duchesse of Britaine, and Queene of England.  
 D. Marie Countesse of Denia: it is doubtfull whether she were daughter to this Queene.  
 D. Leon or Lionell a bastard, the beginning of the Marquesse of Cortes, Marshals of Nauarre.

XXXI.

D. CHARLES third of that name, sonne to Charles the second, in the yere 1386: he raigned 39 yeares.

D. LEONORA of Castille his wife.

Children {  
 D. Joane Countesse of Foix.  
 D. Marie.  
 D. Blanche Queene of Sicile and Nauarre.  
 D. Beatrix Countesse of Marche.  
 D. Isabell.  
 D. Charles.  
 D. Lewis.

By a Concubine whose name is unknowne.

Bastards {  
 D. Godfrey Earle of Cortes.  
 D. Joane married to D. Inigo d'Ortiz of Bluniga.

XXXII.

D. BLANCHE, daughter to D. Charles the third, had to her second husband D. John of Arragon, and began to raigne in the yere 1425, and lasted 17 yeares: then after her decease D. JOHN, who was king of Arragon and Sicile, continued his raigne vnto the yere 1479, who had by D. Blanche

Children {  
 D. Charles.  
 D. Blanche Queene of Castille.  
 D. Leonora, Countesse of Foix, and afterwards Queene of Nauarre.

This King John had a second wife, and other issue which is set downe in the Line of Arragon.

XXXIII.

D. LEONORA, Countesse of Foix, wife to D. John the fourth, came to the Crowne of Nauarre, suruiuing her brother and sister, in the yere 1479, and died the same yere.

D. GASTON,

D. GASTON Earle of Foix, called Prince of Viana, husband to D. Leonora, by whom he had

Children {  
 D. Gaston, of whom and of Mar- Francis and guerite of France descended Katherine.  
 D. John, Vicount of Narbona.  
 D. Pedro, Cardinall.  
 D. James.  
 D. Marie, Marquesse of Montferrat.  
 D. Joane, Countesse of Armaignac.  
 D. Marguerite, Duchesse of Britanie.  
 D. Katherine, Countesse of Candalle.  
 D. Leonora died a maid.

XXXIII.

D. FRANCIS, sonne to Gaston, surnamed Phebus, and grandchild to D. Leonora, his father being dead before her decease, he succeeded her in the realme of Nauarre, in the yere 1479, and raigned foure yeares: he died without any children.

XXXV.

D. KATHERINE, sister to Francis Phebus, raigned after her brother in the yere 1483: she married with

D. JOHN of Albret: of which marriage issued

Children {  
 D. John.  
 D. Andrew.  
 D. Henry king of Nauarre.  
 D. Charles, or rather Francis, who died at Naples in Monsieur de Lautrecs voyage.  
 D. Katherine.  
 D. Anne.  
 D. Quiterie.  
 D. Magdelaine.  
 D. Isabell.  
 And five other children which died young.

During the time and raigne of these Kings, D. John of Albret and D. Katherine, D. Ferdinand and D. Isabella his wife, kings of Castille and Arragon, seized on the realme of Nauarre beyond the Pyrenees, and joyned it to Castille.

XXXVI.

HENRY, the second, of Albret, successor to the rights of Nauarre, second of that name, in the yere 1517.

MARGUERITE of France, sister to king Francis the first, his wife.

Joane, whom Bertrand Helie calls Charlotte.

XXXVII.

IOANE, daughter to Henry the second, succeeded in her fathers rights, married to ANTHONIE, Duke of Vendosme, of the noble house of Bourbon.

Henry.  
 Katherine.

XXXVIII.

HENRY the third of that name in Nauarre, and the fourth in France, in the yere 1572, and raigned 38 yeares.

MARGUERITE of Valois, from whom he was diuorced, hauing no children.

MARIE de Medicis, daughter to the duke of Florence, his second wife, by whom he had Lewis, with diuers other children.

XXXIX.

LEWIS now rainging, the second of that name in Nauarre, and the thirteenth in France: he succeeded to his fathers rights in the yere 1610.

Line

## Line of Arragon.

## I.

There is mention made about the yeare 775, of *Aznar* the sonne of *Aznar*, and grand-child to *Eude*, Duke of Aquitaine, who had two sonnes.  
*Galinde* and  
*Ximenes Garcet*.

## II.

*D. Galinde* obtained some lands of the Soueraignie of Nauarre, and had his dwelling and seat at Iaca: This was the beginning of Arragon.  
*D. Theuda*, who was Queene of Nauarre.  
*D. Ximen Aznates*.  
*D. Endregot*.

## III.

*D. Ximen Aznates*, sonne to *D. Galinde*, the third Earle of Arragon.

## IIII.

*D. Ximen Garcet*, brother to *D. Galinde*, fourth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 803.  
*D. Garcia Aznates* his sonne.

## V.

*D. Garcia Aznates*, sonne to *D. Ximen Garcet*, fift Earle of Arragon.  
*D. Fortun Ximenes* his sonne.

## VI.

*D. Fortun Ximenes*, sixt Earle of Arragon.  
*D. Vrraca*, as some say daughter to this *D. Fortun*, and others to *Endregot* about named, vnited the Earledome of Arragon to the Crowne of Nauarre, bringing it in dowrie to the King *D. Garcia Inigo*, second of that name.

## VII.

*D. Garcia Inigo* king of Nauarre, and seuenth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 867.  
*D. Vrraca* about named, his wife.  
*D. Fortun* their eldest sonne: the rest are named in the Line of Nauarre.

## VIII.

*D. Fortun* king of Nauarre, second of that name, and eight Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 885.

## IX.

*D. Sancho Abarca* king of Nauarre, and ninth Earle of Arragon, brother to *D. Fortun*, in the yeare 901.

## X.

*D. Garci Sanchez*, sonne to *D. Sancho Abarca*, king of Nauarre, and tenth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 920.

## XI.

*D. Sancho Garcet*, sonne to *D. Garci Sanchez*, eleuenth Earle of Arragon reigning in Nauarre, in the yeare 969.

## XII.

*D. Garcia the Shaking*, sonne to *D. Sancho Garcet*, king of Nauarre, and twelfth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 993.

## XIII.

*D. Sancho the Great*, sonne to *D. Garcia the Shaking*, thirteenth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 1000. This king of Nauarre erected the Countie of Arragon to a Realme, and gaue it to his baird sonne *D. Ramir*, as appears by the discourse by the Historie.

First

## First King of Arragon.

*D. RAMIR*, first of that name, sonne to *D. Sancho* the great, king of Nauarre, was the first king of Arragon, in the yeare 1034: and raigned 42 yeares.

*D. ERMISSENDE*, daughter to the Earle of Bigorre, by some named *Guberge*, his wife.

Children  
*D. Sancho Ramires*.  
*D. Garcia* Bishop of Iaca.  
*D. Sancha* Countesse of Tolousa.  
*D. Theresa* Countesse of Prouence.

He had by a concubine

*D. Sancha* Lord of Ayuar, Atares, and Xauierre.

## II.

*D. SANCHE RAMIRES*, king of Arragon, in the yeare 1076: he raigned 18 yeares, and vsurped the realme of Nauarre.

*D. FALICA* daughter to the earle of Virgel, his wife.

Children  
*D. Pedro* king.  
*D. Alphonso* a king.  
*D. Ramir* a Monke, and then a king.

By a concubine, whose name is not extant,

*D. Garcia*, Bishop of Iacca.

## III.

*D. PEDRO*, first of that name, sonne to *D. Sancho Ramires*, in the yeare 1094: he raigned 14 yeares.

*D. BERTHE*, or *IGNES*, his wife, an Italian.

Children  
*D. Pedro* 2.  
*D. Isabell* } They died both before the father.

## IIII.

*D. ALPHONSO* first of that name, brother to *D. Pedro*, in the yeare 1108, and raigned 26 yeares: he married *D. Vrraca* the heire of Castille, and died without children: after him Nauarre was seperated from Arragon.

## V.

*D. RAMIR* a Monke, sonne to *D. Sancho Ramires*, and brother to the last kings, was king of Arragon, in the yeare 1134, by election of the Estates: his raigne was vncertaine: for hauing for the most part led a Monkish life, he gaue ouer the gouernment of the realme vnto his sonne in law, *D. Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelona.

*D. AGNES* sister, or daughter, as some hold, to *William* Earle of Poitiers, his wife, mother to

*D. Petronilla*, heire of Arragon.

*D. Petronilla*, daughter to *D. Ramir*, did not raigne, as some hold, but her sonne *D. Raymond*, whom she had by the Earle of Barcelona.

*D. Raymond Berenger*, who gouerned the realme in qualitie of a Regent, and was called Prince of Arragon, who had by his wife *Petronilla*, among other children which are named in the line of Cattelogne, this sonne

*D. Raymond*, who changed his name, and was called *Alphonso*.

## VI.

*D. ALPHONSO*, second of that name, called before *Raymond*, sonne to the Earle *D. Raymond Berenger*, and of the Princess *D. Petronilla*, in the yeare 1162: he raigned 34 yeares.

*D. SANCHA*, daughter to *D. Alphonso Raymond*, king of Castille and Leon, and of *D. Rica*, she was mother to

*D. Pedro*,



## Arragon.

D. Pedro king of Arragon.

Children

|   |  |
|---|--|
| D. Alfonso Earle of Prouence, who had to wife<br>D. Maria de Folcaquier, whence descended<br>D. Raymond Berenger who was married to Beatrix daughter to Thomas Earle of Morienne, who had | Marguerite queene of France.<br>Leonora Queene of England.<br>Sancha Queene of England & Empreffe.<br>Beatrice Queene of Naples.<br>Joane, who had the countie of Provence, as the Arragonois say. |
|---|--|

D. Ferdinand a Monke.  
D. Constance Queene of Hungarie and then Empreffe.  
D. Leonora Countesse of Toloufa.  
D. Sancha Countesse also of Toloufa.  
D. Douce a Nunne.

## VII.

D. Pedro 2 of that name, sonne to D. Alfonso the 2, in the yeare 1196: he raigned about 18 yeares.

His first wife was of the house of Folcaquier, by whom he had

D. Raymond Berenger.

D. Marie daughter to the Earle of Mompellier, who had beene married to the Earle of Cominges: by this second wife he had

D. James king.

By a Concubine not named

D. Constance married to William Raymond of Moncado, Seneschall of Cartelogne.

## VIII.

D. James first of that name, sonne to the king D. Pedro the first, in the yeare 1213: hec raigned 43 yeares.

D. Leonora of Castille, daughter to king D. Alfonso the 9, by whom he had

D. Alfonso, who dyed before the father.

D. Violant daughter to the king of Hungarie his second wife, mother to

D. Pedro king of Arragon.

|          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| Children | D. James king of Maiorca, who married Esclermond of Foix, who brought him   | D. James a Monke.<br>D. Sancho king of Maiorca.<br>D. Ferdinand.<br>D. Philip.<br>D. Sancha. |
|          | D. Sancho Archbishop of Toledo.<br>D. Isabel Queene of France.<br>D. Ferdinand.<br>D. Violant Queene of Castille.<br>D. Constance wife to D. Manuel.<br>D. Sancha.<br>D. Maria. |  |

Of D. Ferdinand 3. sonne to D. James of Maiorca, and of Isabel heire of Morea, issued

D. James king of Maiorca.

D. Frederic.

And of his 2. wife of Cyprus

D. Ferdinand.

D. James sonne to D. Ferdinand had by Constance of Arragon

D. Isabel Marquesse of Montserrat.

D. James heire of Maiorca.

King James had also by D. Theresa Gil de Bridauwe, whom hee had married secretly,

D.

## Arragon.

D. Pedro, Lord of Ayerbes.

D. James, Lord of Xerica.

D. Berenguela, a concubine.

D. Pedro Fernandes, Lord of Ixar.

Of the daughter of D. Sancha d. Anelles, a concubine,

D. Ferdinand Sanches.

## IX.

D. Pedro, third of that name, son to D. James 1, in the yere 1276: he raigned 9 yeres.

D. CONSTANCE, daughter to Manfred, bastard to the Emperour Frederic 2 his wife, mother to

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| Children | D. Alphonso, King of Arragon.<br>D. James, King of Sicile, and then of Arragon.<br>D. Frederic, King of Sicile.<br>D. Pedro.<br>D. Isabel, Queene of Portugall.<br>D. Constance or Violant, queen of Naples. |
|          | D. Maria Nicolosa, a concubine, brought him<br>D. James Perex.<br>D. Anne Zapate, a concubine, mother to<br>D. Ferdinand.<br>By another concubine not named,<br>D. Sancho.                                   |

## X.

D. ALPHONSO, third of that name, sonne to D. Pedro, in the yeare 1285: he raigned six yeares, and died without children.

## XI.

D. JAMES, second of that name, brother to D. Alphonso, in the yeare 1291: he raigned 36 yeares.

BLANCHE, daughter to Charles King of Naples, called the Lame, his wife, mother to

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| Children | D. James, who became a Monke.<br>D. Alphonso.<br>D. Pedro, Earle of Ampurias.<br>D. Raymond Berenger, Earle of Prages.<br>D. John, Archbishop of Toledo.<br>D. Constance, wife to D. John Manuel.<br>D. Maria, wife to D. Pedro of Castille.<br>D. Blanche, a Nunne.<br>D. Violant, Princess of Tarentum.<br>D. Isabel, wife to the Emperour Frederic the third. |
|          | This King had first of all married D. Isabel, daughter to D. Sancho King of Castille, but the Pope dissolved this mariage.<br>D. MARIA of Cypres was his third wife<br>D. ECLISENDE, sister to Othon of Moncado, his fourth wife.<br>By a concubine, not named,<br>D. James of Arragon, Earle of Luna.   |

## XII.

D. ALPHONSO fourth, sonne to D. James 2, in the yere 1328, and raigned 8 yeres.

D. THERESA ENTENZA, Countesse, heire of Vrgel, his wife.

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| Children | D. Pedro, King.<br>D. James, Earle of Vrgel.<br>D. Constance, Queene of Majorca.<br>Some write hee had fute other children which died. |
|          | D. LEONORA of Castille, his second wife, mother to<br>D. Ferdinand, Marquesse of Tortosa.<br>D. John.                                  |

Iiiii

D. PEDRO,

XIII.

D. PEDRO, 4 of that name, son to D. *Alphonso* 3, in the yere 1236: he reigned 51 yeres.  
D. MARIA, second daughter to *Philip* 3, King of Nauarre, his wife.

Children {  
D. *Constance*, Queene of Sicile.  
D. *Ioane*, Countesse of Ampurias.  
D. *Maria*.

A sonne which dyed young.

D. LEONORA, or ELVIRA of Portugall, his second wife.  
D. CONSTANCE, of LEONORA of Sicile, sister to King *Lewis*, his 3 wife, mother to

Children {  
D. *John*, King.  
D. *Alphonso*.  
D. *Martin*, who was King.  
D. *Leonora*, Queene of Castille.

D. SIBILLE FORTIA, widow to *Artol de Foset*, his 4 wife, by whom he had  
D. *Isabel*, Countesse of Virgel.

XIII.

D. JOHN, 1 of that name, son to D. *Pedro* 4, in the yere 1387, and reigned 8 yeres.  
D. MATTHEA, daughter to the Earle of Armagnac.

D. *James*, who dyed.

D. *Ioane*, wife to *Mathew* of Castelbon, Earle of Foix.

D. VIOLANT, second wife to D. *John*, mother to

Children {  
D. *Violant*, wife to *Lewis* {  
of Anjou, mother to {  
One sonne, who dyed young. {  
Charles, Earle of Mayne.

XV.

D. MARTIN, brother to D. *John* deceased, for want of heires male by him, succeeded by election of the Estates, and by will, to the realme of Arragon, to the prejudice of D. *Ioane*, Countesse of Foix, and against her matrimoniall conuentions, and the promises made by her father and grandfather to *Mathew* of Castelbon, her husband.

D. MARIA de Luna was his first wife, before he came to the Crowne, by whom he had  
D. *Martin*, who was King of Sicile, and dyed before his father,

without any children.

D. MARGVERITE de Prades, his 2 wife, by whom he left no issue.

XVII.

D. FERDINAND, 1st of that name, brother to *Henrie* 3, King of Castille: hee obtained the realme of Arragon by election of the Estates, all other pretendants being rejected, in the yere 1412, and reigned about foure yeres.

D. LEONORA d'Albuquerque, a Princess of the blood of Castille, his wife, mother to

Children {  
D. *Alphonso*, King of Arragon.  
D. *John*, King of Nauarre and Arragon.  
D. *Henrie*, Master of S. James in Castille.  
D. *Sancho*, Master of Alcantara.  
D. *Pedro*.  
D. *Maria*, Queene of Castille.  
D. *Leonora*, Queene of Portugall.

XVIII.

D. ALPHONSO, 5 of that name, sonne to D. *Ferdinand*, in the yere 1416: he reigned 42 yeres.

D. MARIE of Castille, his wife, but without children.

By

By concubines not named, he had

D. *Ferdinand* King of Naples.  
D. *Maria* Marquesse of Ferrara.  
D. *Leonora* Princess of Rossano.

XVIII.

D. JOHN second of that name, brother to king *Alphonso* 5th, for want of lawfull heires, succeeded to the Realme of Arragon, in the yere 1458: and reigned one and twentie yeres and sixe moneths.

D. BLANCHE of Nauarre his first wife, in whose right he was king of Nauarre, and had by her three children

{  
D. *Charles*, who died before his father, and had these base children,  
D. *Blanche* Queene of Castille.  
D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauarre.

D. *Ioane* daughter to D. *Frederic Henriques* Admirall of Castille, his second wife, mother to

{  
D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, Castille, Nauarre, &c.  
D. *Ioane* Queene of Naples.

By concubines whose names are vnkowne,

Bastards {  
D. *Alphonso* Earle of Vilhermosa.  
D. *John* Archbishop of Saragosse.  
D. *Leonora* Countesse of Lerin.  
D. *Ferdinand*.  
D. *Maria*.

XIX.

D. FERDINAND second of that name, sonne to king *John*, in the yere 1479: he reigned 37 yeres in Arragon.

D. ISABEL Queene of Castille his wife, by whom the realmes of Arragon and Castille were vnited.

D. *Ioane* mother to the Emperour *Charles* the 5th.

The other children of D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Isabel*, are mentioned in the Line of Castille.

D. GERMAINE second wife to king *Ferdinand*.

D. *John*, who died an infant.

The Vicountesse of Eboli a concubine, mother to

D. *Alfonso* of Arragon Arch-bishop of Saragosse.

Of another concubine

D. *Ioane* of Arragon wife to D. *Bernardin de Velaasco*, Constable.

Of D. *Tota* of Bilbao, a concubine

D. *Maria* of Arragon a Nun.

By a Portugall of the family of *Pereira*.

D. *Maria* of Arragon a Nun.

### Line of Cattelogne.

BERNARD, Earle, Duke and Marques of Spaine vnder *Charles* the great, confirmed by *Lewis* the gentle, gouerned Cattelogne about the yere 795.

D. GEOFFREY d'Arria Earle of Barcelona, vnder the French, in the yere 839.

D. ALMIRA his wife, a French woman, mother to

D. *Geoffrey* the hairie.

D. SALOMON Earle of Cerdagne, an vsurper, in the yere 878.

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First

## First proprietarie Earle.

D. GEOFFREY the haire obtained Cattelogne in proprietie, vnder the Soueraigntie of France, in the yere 884, of Charles the Grosse.

D. N. a Fleming, his wife.

Children { D. Rodolphus, Abbot of Ripos, and Bishop of Vrgel.  
D. Geoffrey.  
D. Myr.  
D. Seniofrid, Earle of Vrgel, { D. Borel, Earle &c.  
who was father to { D. Armingol, Bishop of Vrgel.  
One daughter.

## II.

D. Myr, sonne to D. Geoffrey, in the yere 914: he held the Countie 15 yeres: his sonnes were

Children { D. Seniofrid, Earle.  
D. Oliban, called Cheurette, earle of Cerdagne & Besalu, father to  
D. Myr, Earle and Bishop of Gironne.  
Bernard, called Breake-yrone, father to  
D. Geoffrey, earle of Cerdagne, who had siue sonnes.  
D. Oliban, Bishop of Vic, of Ossone.  
William the fat, earle of Besalu, father to  
Bernard Guillel, also Earle of Besalu.  
Raymond Gefroy, earle of Cerdagne, father to  
D. Geoffrey Guinard, Arch-bishop of Narbone.  
D. Berenger Geoffrey, Bishop of Gironne.  
D. William Geoffrey, Bishop of Vrgel.  
D. Geoffrey, Earle of Bergade.  
William Raymond, earle of Cerdagne, father to  
D. William Jourdainne, Earle of Cerdagne.  
D. Bernard.  
D. William.

## III.

D. SENIOFRID, sonne to D. Myr in the yere 919: he ruled vnder the gouernment of his wile the Earle of Vrgel, and alone, about 38 yeres.

D. MARIA, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to the King D. Sancho Abarca, his wife, by whom he had not any children.

## IIII.

D. BOREL, sonne to D. Seniofrid, Earle of Vrgel, succeeded his cousin D. Seniofrid in the Countie of Barcelona, by right of intrusion: yet some pretend an insufficiencie in D. Oliban, brother to the deceased, in the yere 967.

D. LAODEGARDE, his first wife, mother to

D. Raymond Borel.

D. ARMERUDE, or as some write, Engelrade his second wife.

{ D. Ermengauld, Earle of Vrgel.

Children { D. Borella, a Nunne.

## V.

D. RAYMOND BOREL, sonne to the Earle D. Borel, in the yere 993, and held the Earldome 24 yeres.

D. SANCHIA his wife, mother to

D. Berenger Borel.

## VI.

D. BERENGER BOREL, sonne to D. Raymond, in the yere 1017: he ruled 18 yeres.

The name of his wife is vncertaine.

{ D. Raymond Berenger.

Children { D. William Berenger.

{ D. Sancho Berenger, a Priest.

D. RAY-

## VII.

D. RAYMOND BERENGER, sonne to D. Berenger Borel, in the yere 1035: he ruled 41 yeres.

D. RADALMVS his first wife.

D. Pedro Raymond.

D. Berenger Raymond.

D. ALMODIA, a French Ladie, descended from those Lords which ruled then in Languedoc, by whom the house of Barcelona got the rights it hath had to Carcaffone, and other lands in that countrey: by her D. Raymond had

{ D. Raymond Berenger, Earle.

{ D. Lucia, Countesse of Paliars by her marriage with the Earle of Arsal.

## VIII.

D. RAYMOND BERENGER the Young, and third of that name, sonne to D. Raymond Berenger 2, in the yere 1076: he held the Earldome of Barcelona six yeres.

D. ALMODIA, daughter to Robert Guichard, Duke of Ponglia, his wife, mother to

D. Raymond Arnould.

## IX.

D. RAYMOND ARNOULD, sonne to D. Raymond Berenger, and 4 of that name, in the yere 1082: he ruled 48 yeres.

D. DOVLCE, Countesse of Prouence, daughter to Cont Gilbert, or Gibert, his wife, mother to

{ D. Berenguela, Queene of Castille.

{ D. Raymond Berenger, Prince of Arragon.

{ D. Berenger Raymond, Earle of Prouence.

{ One daughter, married to Ameri, Vicont of Narbone.

{ Another daughter, married to Cont Roger, some call him Bernard de Faux.

## X.

D. RAYMOND BERENGER, fift of that name, sonne to D. Raymond Arnould, in the yere 1131: he ruled 31 yeres.

D. PETRONELLA, daughter to the king D. Ramir the Monke: by which marriage the realme of Arragon and the Earldome of Cattelogne, or Barcelona, were vniued, they had

{ D. Raymond, who was afterwards called Alphonso, king of Arragon.

{ D. Pedro.

Children { D. Sancho.

{ D. Adoncia, Queene of Portugall.

{ One daughter, married to the Earle of Vrgel.

D. RAYMOND, afterwards Alphonso, sonne to D. Raymond Berenger the fift, king of Arragon, and Earle of Barcelona, in the yere 1162: his posteritie is in the line of Arragon.

## Line of Portugall.

HENRIE of Befanson, or of Lorrain, was first Earle of Portugall, about the yere 1090, by his marriage with D. THERESA, daughter to D. Alphonso the sixt, king of Leon and Castille, to whom that countrey was given in dowrie: Their children were

{ D. Alphonso Henriques, King.

{ D. Theresa Henriques.

{ Another daughter, married to D. Ferdinand Mendes.

## First King of Portugall.

D. ALPHONSO HENRIQUES succeeding his father in the Earldome of Portugall in the yere 1112, tooke vpon him the title of King about the yere 1139, and held that country 72 yeres.

D. MAFADA MANRIQUE de Lara, his wife.

Children { D. Sancho, King of Portugall.  
D. Vrraca, Queene of Leon.  
D. Theresa, Countesse of Flanders.  
D. Malfada.

Bastard D. Pedro Alphonso.

## II.

D. SANCHE, first of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso, in the yeare 1184: hee raigned 28 yeares.

D. ALONCIA, or DAVICE, daughter to D. Raymond Berenger, Earle of Barcelone, mother to

Children { D. Alphonso, King.  
D. Ferdinand, Earle of Flanders.  
D. Pedro, Earle of Virgel in Arragon.  
D. Henrique.

D. Theresa, wife to D. Alphonso of Leon.  
D. Malfada, Queene of Castille.  
D. Sancho, a Nunne.

D. Blanche.  
D. Berenguela.

By D. Maria Aires, a concubine, he had

Bastards { D. Vrraca.  
D. Martin of Portugall.

By D. Maria Peres of Ribera, another concubine,

D. Theresa Sanches.

Bastards { D. Gil Sanches of Portugall.  
D. Constance Sanches.

D. Ray Sanches of Portugall.

## III.

D. ALPHONSO, second of that name, son to the King of D. Sancho, in the yeare 1212: hee raigned 11 yeares.

Children { D. Sancho.  
D. Alphonso.  
D. Ferdinand.  
D. Leonora, Queene of Denmarke.

By a concubine, a Moore,

D. Alphonso Martines.

## IIII.

D. SANCHE, called Capello, second of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso the second, in the yeare 1223: hee raigned in troubles vnto the yeare 1257: for then by reason of his incapacie, D. Alphonso, his brother, was called to the gouernement of Portugall.

D. MENCIA LOPES, his wife, by whom he had no children.

## V.

D. ALPHONSO, third of that name, brother to D. Sancho, of a Regent and Gouernor he made himselfe king of Portugall, about the yeare 1257, and raigned two and twentie yeares.

MAHAYLT, OF MATILDE, Countesse of Boullen, his lawfull wife, mother to

D. Ferdinand, or Peter.

D. Robert.

This king D. Alphonso, to be supported in his designes to raigne by the fauour of Castille, his lawfull wife Mahault Countesse of Boullen, and married, in her life time, with the daughter of D. Alphonso, called the Wife, king of Castille.

D. BEATRIX

D. BEATRIX, a bastard, his wife, by whom he had

D. Denis, king.  
D. Alphonso.  
D. Blanche, a nun.  
D. Constance.

By a concubine, or by diuers, he had

D. Leonora.  
D. Ferdinand Alphonso of Portugall.

## VI.

D. DENIS, sonne to D. Alphonso the third, in the yeare 1279: hee raigned 46 yeares.

D. ISABEL of Arragon, daughter to the king D. Pedro, his wife, mother to

Children { D. Constance, Queene of Castille.  
D. Alphonso, king of Portugall.  
D. Pedro, Earle of Portalegre.  
D. Alphonso Sanches, a bastard.

Some write, that the lawfull children of D. Denis and D. Isabel, were,

Isabel.  
Constance.  
Alphonso.

By concubines,

Bastards { D. Alphonso, author of the familie of Albuquerque.  
D. Peter, who gaue himselfe vnto learning, and made a booke of the great houses of Spaine.  
D. John.  
D. Ferdinand.  
A daughter married to D. John de la Cerde.  
Another daughter, a Nunne.

## VII.

D. ALPHONSO the fourth, sonne to D. Denis, in the yeare 1325: hee raigned thirtie two yeares.

D. BEATRIX of Castille, his wife, mother to

D. Pedro, King.  
D. Maria.  
D. Alphonso.  
D. Denis.  
D. John.  
D. Leonora, or Fluira, Queene of Arragon.

## VIII.

D. PEDRO, I of that name, son to D. Alphonso 4, in the yeare 1357: hee raigned 10 yeares.

D. BLANCHE, daughter to D. Pedro king of Castille, whom he put away, and then married

D. CONSTANCE, daughter to D. John Manuel, mother to

D. Lewis, who died an infant.  
D. Ferdinand, King.  
D. Marie, wife to D. Ferdinand of Arragon.  
D. Beatrix died young.

By AGNES de Castro, a clandestine marriage,

D. Alphonso.  
D. John.  
D. Denis.  
D. Beatrix, Countesse of Albuquerque.

D. Theresa Gallega, a concubine.

D. John, who was King.

IIIIII IIII

D. FERDINAND

## IX.

D. FERDINAND, sonne to D. Pedro, in the yere 1367: he raigned feuteene yeres.  
 D. LEONORA TELLES de Meufes, his wife.  
 D. Beatrix, queene of Castille.  
 By a concubine he had  
 Isabella Countesse of Gijon.

## X.

D. JOHN first of that name, base sonne to the king D. Pedro: he got the realme by his sword, and also by election, in the yere 1385, from D. John king of Castille and D. Beatrix his wife. He was before master of Auiz. He raigned 49 yeres.  
 D. PHILIP of Lancaster, an English woman, his wife, mother to  
 D. Blanche.  
 D. Alphonso.  
 D. Edward king.  
 D. Pedro duke of Coimbra, who married D. Isabel of Arragon, and had  
 D. Henrie duke of Viseo.  
 D. Isabel duchesse of Bourgondie.  
 D. John Master of Saint James, father to D. Isabel, who was queene of Castille.  
 D. Ferdinand Master of Auiz.  
 Besides these lawfull children, the king D. John had by D. Agnes a concubine,  
 D. Beatrix Countesse of Arundel.  
 D. Alphonso Earle of Oren and Barcellos, and duke of Bragance.

## XI.

D. EDUARD sonne to D. John the first, in the yere 1433: he raigned fve yeres.  
 D. LEONORA of Arragon, daughter to D. Ferdinand the first, his wife, mother to  
 Children {  
 D. Alphonso king.  
 D. Ferdinand Duke of Viseo, who married D. Beatrix, daughter to his vncle D. John Master of S. James, and had  
 D. Philip a daughter.  
 D. Leonora, wife to the Emperour Frederic the third.  
 D. Katherine.  
 D. Joane queene of Castille.

## XII.

D. ALPHONSO sif of that name, sonne to D. Edward in the yere 1438, and raigned 43 yeres.  
 D. ISABEL, daughter to his vncle D. Pedro Duke of Coimbra, his wife, mother to  
 D. John, who died young.  
 D. Joane.  
 D. John king, whom some call Ferdinand, and make him father to John which raigned, and adde a third sonne,  
 D. Henrie.

## XIII.

D. JOHN, second of that name, son to D. Alphonso the sif, in the yere 1481: he raigned foureteene yeres.  
 D. LEONORA, daughter to D. Ferdinand Duke of Viseo, mother to  
 D. Alphonso, who died before his father.  
 By D. Anna de Mendoza, a concubine,  
 D. George, Master of S. James and Auiz.

D. EMANUEL

## XIII.

D. EMANUEL Sonne to D. Ferdinand duke of Viseo, by right, and also by the nomination of king John, was king of Portugal, in the yere 1495, and raigned 26 yeres: he married first:

D. ISABELL, eldest Daughter to D. Ferdinand and D. Isabell Kings of Castille and Arragon, mother to

D. Michel who liued little.

D. MARIA, Sister to the said D. Isabell his second wife, by whome hee had

D. John king.

D. Isabell Queene of Castille, and Emperesse.

D. Beatrix Duchesse of Sauoy.

D. Lewis, father to D. Anthony the Bastard chosen king after Cardinall Henry his Vncle.

D. Henry Cardinall.

D. Alfonso Cardinall.

D. Catherine.

D. Ferdinand.

D. Edward husband to Isabell, daughter to John or Jaime, duke of Bragance, & had  
 { Marie duchesse of Parma.  
 Catherine duchesse of Bragance, wife to John second sonne to Theodosius.  
 Edward an after birth died in the yere 1576.

D. Anthony, he died soone after he was borne.

D. LEONORA, sister to the Emperour Charles the sif, mother to

{ D. Charles, he died an Infant.

{ D. Marie, who being 56 yeres old, died at Lisbone in the yere 1578.

## XV.

D. JOHN, 3 of that name, Sonne to D. Emanuel king of Portugal in the yere 1521: he raigned thirty and fixe yeres.

D. CATHERINE, sister to the Emperour Charles, his wife, mother to

D. Alfonso.

D. Marie Princeesse of Castille.

D. Catherine.

D. Beatrix.

D. Emanuel.

D. Philip.

D. John Prince, father to D. Sebastian, & husband to D. Joane, daughter to the Emperour Charles.

D. Anthonie.

## XXI.

D. SEBASTIAN Sonne to the Prince D. John, in the yere 1557, hee raigned one and twentie yeres, and died in Afrike, leauing no heires.

## XVII.

D. HENRY, Cardinall, Archbishop of Epora, sonne to the King D. Emanuel, in the yere 1578, he raigned about a yere and a halfe.

## XVIII.

D. PHILIP 2. king of Castille vnited the Realme of Portugall to Castille by force, after the Cardinals death, in the yere one thousand fve hundred and eighty, and held it eightene yeres.

## XIX.

D. PHILIP the third doth now hold this Realme.

Archbishops



## Archbishops of Toledo.

|  |                      |                                      |
|--|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Eugenius</i> , first Archbi-<br>shop. | <i>Campeius</i> .    | <i>Iustus</i> .                      |
| <i>Pelagius</i> .                        | <i>Cintuacinus</i> . | <i>Eugenius</i> 2.                   |
| <i>Patruuius</i> .                       | <i>Patron</i> .      | <i>Eugenius</i> 3.                   |
| <i>Turibio</i> .                         | <i>Paramacius</i> .  | <i>Illefontus</i> .                  |
| <i>Quince</i> .                          | <i>Peter</i> 1.      | <i>Quiricius</i> .                   |
| <i>Vincent</i> .                         | <i>Celsus</i> .      | <i>Julian</i> 2.                     |
| <i>Paulacius</i> or <i>Paulat</i> .      | <i>Montanus</i> .    | <i>Sesebert</i> or <i>Sicarius</i> . |
| <i>Natalis</i> .                         | <i>Julian</i> 1.     | <i>S. Felix</i> .                    |
| <i>Andens</i> .                          | <i>Bacchand</i> .    | <i>Gunderic</i> or <i>Guttiere</i> . |
| <i>Astur</i> .                           | <i>Peter</i> 2.      | <i>Sinderic</i> .                    |
| <i>Ificius</i> .                         | <i>Enfemius</i> .    | <i>Opas</i> .                        |
| <i>Maiozan</i> .                         | <i>Excipius</i> .    | <i>Vrbain</i> .                      |
| <i>Castin</i> .                          | <i>Adelphius</i> .   | <i>Peter</i> , ? In the time of      |
| <i>Melancius</i> .                       | <i>Anrasius</i> .    | <i>Cixilas</i> , the Moores.         |
|  | <i>Heladim</i> .     |                                      |

After the Conquest of the Citie of Toledo from the Moores.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>Bernard</i> Abbot of Sahagun.           | <i>Blasco</i> .                             |
| <i>Raymond</i> .                           | <i>Gomez Manrique</i> .                     |
| <i>John</i> 1.                             | <i>Pedro Tenorio</i> 4.                     |
| <i>Celebrun</i> .                          | <i>Pedro de Luna</i> 5.                     |
| <i>Gonsal</i> 1.                           | <i>Sancho de Roias</i> .                    |
| <i>Martin</i> .                            | <i>John de Contreras</i> 4.                 |
| <i>Roderigo Ximenes</i> .                  | <i>John de Cerezuela</i> 5.                 |
| <i>John</i> 2.                             | <i>Guttiere Gomez de Toledo</i> .           |
| <i>Guttiere</i> 2.                         | <i>Alfonso Carrillo de Acugna</i> .         |
| <i>Pascal</i> .                            | <i>Pedro Gonsal de Mendoza</i> , a Cardinal |
| <i>Sancho</i> 1.                           | <i>Francis Ximenes</i> a Cardinal.          |
| <i>Sancho</i> 2, Infant of Arragon.        | <i>William</i> of Croy.                     |
| <i>Gonsal</i> 2, Cardinal.                 | <i>Alfonso Fonseca</i> of Azeneda.          |
| <i>Guttiere</i> 3.                         | <i>John Tavera</i> , Cardinal.              |
| <i>Gonsal</i> 3.                           | <i>John Martines Sileco</i> , Cardinal.     |
| <i>John</i> 3, Infant of Arragon.          | <i>Frier Barthelmew Carranza de Mi-</i>     |
| <i>Ximene de Luna</i> .                    | <i>randa</i> .                              |
| <i>Gil Carrillo d Albornos</i> , Cardinal. |   |
| <i>Blaise</i> .                            |   |

76. Archbishops.

### Moores.

Gouernors vnder the Miralmumins or kings of Affrike.

|   |     |                       |
|---|-----|-----------------------|
| <i>Musa</i> in the yeare  | 714 | <i>Hieman</i> .       |
| <i>Tarif</i> .  |     | <i>Autuman</i> .      |
| <i>Abdulazis</i> tooke the royal diademe<br>at Seuille.                       |     | <i>Alhatan</i> .      |
| <i>Ainb</i> , who restored the ancient Bil-<br>bilis, and called it Calataub. |     | <i>Manes</i> .        |
| <i>Alabor</i> .   |     | <i>Mahumet</i> .      |
| <i>Adam</i> .   |     | <i>Abderrahamen</i> . |
| <i>Abderrahamen</i> .   |     | <i>Abdimelic</i> .    |
| <i>Iabca</i> .  |     | <i>Abnbacar</i> .     |
| <i>Adaisa Alcazazin</i> .   |     | <i>Redoan</i> .       |
|   |     | <i>Toaba</i> .        |
|   |     | <i>Joseph</i> .       |

Soue-

Souveraigne kings at Cordoua ouer the other Princes Moores, in Spaine, and  
did no more acknowledge the Miralmumins of Affrike.

|  |           |                       |      |
|--|-----------|-----------------------|------|
| <i>Abderrahamen</i> 1.                     | yeare 757 | <i>Zuleima</i> .      | 889  |
| <i>Hizen</i> his sonne.                    | 787       | <i>Mahumet</i> 3.     | 993  |
| <i>Haliabban</i> , sonne to <i>Hizen</i> . | 794       | <i>Hali</i> .         | 1001 |
| <i>Abderrahamen</i> 2.                     | 819       | <i>Caein</i> .        | 1003 |
| <i>Mahumet</i> .                           | 839       | <i>Higia</i> .        | 1007 |
| <i>Almundir</i> .                          | 874       | <i>Abderrahamen</i> . | 1007 |
| <i>Abdalla</i> .                           | 876       | <i>Mahumet</i> 4.     | 1007 |
| <i>Abderrahamen Almanzor</i> 3.            | 889       | <i>Hizen</i> 3.       | 1009 |
| <i>Hali Hatan</i> 2.                       | 939       | <i>Ioar</i> .         | 1011 |
| <i>Aizen</i> 2.                            | 956       | <i>Mahumet</i> 5.     | 1014 |

After these there were great alterations and changes among the Moores in Spaine, sometimes free, sometimes vnder the kings of Maroc and Fez: in the end the realme of Granado was erected, the which continued about two hundred and fiftie yeares vnder the kings which follow.

### GRANADO.

|   |      |                                      |      |
|---|------|--------------------------------------|------|
| <i>Mahumet Aben Alhamar</i> .                     | 1226 | <i>Joseph</i> his Sonne.             | 1392 |
| <i>Mahumet Mir Almus</i> his sonne.               | 1272 | <i>Mahumet Aben Balua</i> .          | 1396 |
| <i>Mahumet Aben Alhamar Aben Azar</i> .           | 1302 | <i>Joseph</i> .                      | 1407 |
| <i>Mahumet Azar Aben Leuin</i> .                  | 1309 | <i>Mahumet Aben Azar</i> .           | 1423 |
| <i>Ismael</i> .                                   | 2319 | <i>Mahumet the little</i> .          | 1427 |
| <i>Mahumet</i> Sonne to <i>Ismael</i> .           | 1322 | <i>Joseph Aben Almas</i> .           | 1432 |
| <i>Joseph Aben Amet</i> .                         | 1334 | <i>Mahumet Aben Ozmen</i> .          | 1445 |
| <i>Mahumet Lagus</i> .                            | 1354 | <i>Ismael</i> .                      | 1453 |
| <i>Mahumet</i> the Vermeil reigned two yeres, but |      | <i>Muley Alboacen</i> .              | 1462 |
| <i>Mahumet</i> whom he had expelled returned      |      | <i>Mahumet Boabdelin</i> the little. | 1482 |
| <i>Mahumet Guadix</i> .                           | 1379 | <i>Muley Boabdelin</i> .             | 1485 |

This king being expelled from Granado by *Mahumet* aboue named retained Malaga, Bafa, Almerie, Guadix, and some other places, which were taken from them by the kings *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Isabell*, some by force, some by composition, *Boabdelin*, remaining sole king of Granado, whereof he was dispossessed by the same kings.

### The Titles and families of all the Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles of Spaine.

**T**He duke of Lerma and of Cea, Marquess of Denia and Villamisar, Earle of Ampudia, of the Council of state, cup-bearer, to king *Philip* 3. and master of his horse, commander Maior of Castille, captain general of the horse of Spain, and of the holy church of Toledo, Adelantado, or Lord President of *Calabria*, the head of the house of *Rotas* and *Sandanal*: he holds his estate in Castille the old, and his house in Vailledolit, and in Denia.

2 The duke of Frias, Marquess of Berlanga, earle of Haro, Lord of the house of the seven Infants of Lara, Constable of Castille, Justice Maior and high Chamberlain, he is the chiefe of the *Velascos*: his house is in Burgos, & his estate in Castille the old, in the mountains of Biscaye, and the hills of Soria; hee is of the Council of State and President of the Councell of Italie, he had a daughter which was married to the duke of Braganca.

3 The duke of Medina of Riosecco, Marquess of Modica, earle of Melgar, Vicont of Esterlin, Admiral of Castille, head of the *Enriques*: he holds his house in Vailledolit, and his estate in the Prouince of Campos, Catalonia and Sicilia.

4 The

4 The duke of Alua and Guefca, marques of Coria, Earle of Saluaticria, Vicor of Sal-dices, & lord of Valde Comeia, the chiefe of the familie of the *Toledos*: he holds his house in Salamanca, and his estate in Castille the old, towards Portugal, and the realm of Granada, he is Constable of Nauarre, and a knight of the order of the Golden fleece.

5 The duke of Infantado, Marques of Cenete, and Santillana, earle of Saldanes, Lord of the royaltie of Manfanares, and head of the *Mendofas*: he hath his house in the cite of Guadalajara, and his estate in the kingdome of Toledo, and in the mountaines of Castille the old, and in the Prouince of Alaua, he is of the Councell of State.

6 The duke of Medina Celi, Marques of Cogolludo, Earle of Port Santa Maria, chief of the familie of *Los Cerdas*: his house is in Medina Celi, and his estate in the Realm of Toledo, & Seuille, he is of the bloud Royall of Castille.

7 The duke of Medina Sidonia, Marques of S. Lucar of Barameda, Earle of Niebra, head of the familie of *Guzmans*: he holds his house in Seuille, and S. Lucar, and his estate in the country of Seuille.

8 The duke of Escalona, Marques of Moya, earle of Esteuan, hee hath his house in the cite of Toledo, and his estate in the realmes of Murcia, and in la Mancha, he is chiefe of the *Pachecos*, he was married vnto the sister of the duke of Bragance.

9 The duke of Osuna, Marques of Pegnaffel, earle of Vrena, head of the familie of *Girones*: he hath his house in Pegnaffel, and his estate in the realm of Seuille and in Castille.

10 The duke of Bejar, Marques of Gibrleon, earle of Benalcacar, head of the *Zunigas*, and of the familie of *Soto Maior*: he holds his house in Seuille, and his estate in the realme of Seuille and in Castille the old he is of the bloud royall.

11 The duke of Albuquerque, Marques of Biedma & Cuellar, earle of Ledefina, head of the familie of the *Cuenas*: he hath his house in Cuellar, his estate in Estremadura, and in Castille the old.

12 The duke of Alcala de los Gasules, Marques of Tarifa, earle of Hornos and Villamartin, chiefe President of Andalusia, he is of the familie of the *Enriques* and *Riberas*: hee hath his house in the cite of Seuille, and his estate in Andalusia, hee hath married with a daughter of the Marques of Castell Rodrigo, Verrey of Portugall.

13 The duke of Seta and Terranova, Earle of Cabra and Baena, head of the *Cordons* & of *Aguilar*: he holds his house in Cordoua and Granada, and his estate in the kingdome of Naples, & in the realme of Cordoua: he is of the Council of state, and chiefe steward to the Quene.

14 The duke of Najara, earle of Treuigno & Valencia, of D. John, hee is head of the familie of the *Manriques de Lara*: he hath his house at Najara, and his estate in the Prouince of Rioje, and in the realme of Leon.

15 The Duke of Maqueda, Marques of Elche, head of the *Cardenas*: hee hath his house in Toledo, and his estate in the realm of Seuille.

16 The duke of Feria, Marques of Safra, head of the familie of the *Figerosas*: he hath his estate in Estremadura, and his house in Safra.

17 The duke of Arcos, Marques of Lara, earle of Marchena, head of the house of *Pancees*: hee hath his estate in Andalusia, and house in Seuille.

18 The duke of Gandia, marques of Laiba, head of the familie of the *Borjas*: hee hath his estate and house in the Realm of Valencia.

19 The duke of Sogorue and Cordoua, marques of Comares, lord of Lucena, of the bloud royall of Arragon, and of la Cerde: hee hath his house in the cite of Valencia, and the Duchie of Sogorue in the realme of Valencia, and that of Cordoua, in Cattelonia, and his greatest estate in the realme of Cordoua.

20 The duke of Soma, earle of Panamos, admiral of Naples, his of the familie of the *Cardonas*: he hath his house at Belpuche and his estate in the Realm of Naples.

21 The duke of Villahermosa, earle of Ribagorfa, head of the house of *Arragon*: he hath his house at Saragoffe, and his estate in the realme of Arragon.

22 The duke of Veraguas Admirall of the Indies, of the house of *Toledo*: hee keeps his house in the city of Saragoffe, and his estate in the realme of Arragon.

23 The duke of Pastrana, prince of Eboli, of the familie of *Silvas* in Portugall: he hath his house and his estate in Pastrana.

24 The

24 The duke of Franca villa, Prince of Meliro, of the house of the *Mendofas*: hee hath his house in Franca villa, and his estate in the realme of Naples.

*Marqueffes that be Grandes.*

1 The Marques of Astorga, Earle of Castagneda, Lord of the house of Villa Lobos, head of the familie of the *Ossorios*: he hath his house in the cite of Astorga, and his estate in the realm of Leon, and in the prouince of Campos.

2 The Marques of Aguilar, Earle of Castagneda, of the house of the *Manriques* of Lara: he holds his house in Carrion and in Aguilar del Campo, and his estate in the mountains of Leon, and in the prouince of Campos.

3 The Marques of Mondejar, Earle of Tendilla, one of the house of the *Mendofas*: he holds his house in Mondejar, and his estate in Alcaria.

4 The Marques of Taurares, master of Montefa, of the house of *Borjas*: he may giue the habit of Montefa in Arragon and Valencia, and hath his estate and house in the said realmes.

5 The Marques of Pliego, Lord of the house of Aguilar, of the familie of *Eigerbas*: he hath his house in Cordoua, and his estate in the said realme, and in base Andalusia.

6 The Marques of Los Velaz, Adelantado or President of Mureia, of the familie of the *Fairdos*: he hath his estate and house in the realme of Murcia.

7 The Marques of Villa Franca, of the house of the *Toledos*: he keeps his house in Villa, Franca, and his estate in the realme of Leon and Naples.

8 The Marques of Santa Cruz, of the familie of the *Bafanes*: he hath his house in Vifo, and his estate in the realme of Toledo.

9 The Marques of Frichilla, and of Malagon, he is brother to the duke of Bragance: he hath his estate in Castille, and is of the bloud royall of Portugall, and liues in the city of Eborá, in the same realme.

*Marqueffes which be not Grandes.*

1 The Marques of Ayamonte, of the familie of *Sumigas*: he hath his estate & house in Seuille.

2 The Marques of Benefa, of the house of *Anellenada*.

3 The Marques of Viana, of the familie of the *Pimentelles*: he hath his house in Vailledolit, and his estate in Galicia.

4 The Marques of Cameraca, of Saujote, and Earle of Riscla, he was Adelantado of Casorla: he is of the house of *Cobos* and *Mendofa*.

5 The Marques of Cortes, he is of the *Toledos*: he hath his house in Cortes, and his estate in the realme of Nauarre.

6 The Marques of Monte-mior, of the house of *Silvas*.

7 The Marques of Guardia, Earle of Santa Euphemia, he is the chiefe of the familie of the *Mexias*: he hath his house in Salamanca, and his estate in Andalusia, and in the realme of Iden.

8 The Marques of Montes Claros, of the house of the *Mendofas*: he hath his house in Guadalajara, and his estate in Alcaria.

9 The Marques of Las Nauas, he is chiefe of the house of *Anilas*: he hath his house in the city of Auila, and his estate in the mountaines of Auila.

10 The Marques of Pofa, he is of the familie of *Roxas*: he hath his house in Pofa, and his estate in Castille the old.

11 The Marques of Stepa, of the house of the *Centuriones* at Genoua: he hath his estate and house in the realme of Seuille.

12 The Marques of Tabara, he hath his estate in Castille the old, & his house in Vailledolit.

13 The Marques of Villanova delrio, of the familie of the *Enriques*: he holds his estate in Estremadura, and his house in Seuille.

14 The Marques of Villanova de Barca rota, he is chiefe of the familie of *Puerto carreros*: he holds his house in Seuille, and his estate in Estremadura.

15 The Marques of Ladrada, of the familie of *Los Cuenas*: he holds his estate in the realme of Toledo.

16 The Marques of Canete, of the familie of *Mendofa*: he hath his house in the city of Cuenca, and his estate in the said prouince.

17 The Marques of Palces, head of the *Peraltes*: he hath his house in Nauarre, and his estate in the said kingdome.

18 The

- 18 The Marques of Fiomesta, of the familie of the *Benavides* and *Enriques* : he hath his house in Fiomesta, and his estate in the prouince of Campos.
- 19 The Marques of Valle, sonne to *Fernando Cortes*, who conquered Noua Hispania : hee hath his house in Seuille and in Mexico, and his estate in Noua Hispania.
- 20 The Marques of Aunon, he is of the *Hereiras* : he hath his house in Madrid, and his estate in Alcaria.
- 21 The Marques of Ardale, Earle of Teba, of the house of *Guzman* : he keepes his house in Malaga, and his estate in the realme of Seuille.
- 22 The Marques of Beretta, of the familie of the *Cardenas* : he hath his house in Herena, and his estate in Estremadura.
- 23 The Marques of Villa Manrique, of the house of *Saniga* : he hath his estate & house in the realme of Seuille.
- 24 The Marques of Morta, of the house of *Villoa* : hee holds his estate and house in Castille.
- 25 The Marques of Alcanices, of the familie of the *Henriques* : he hath his estate and house in Castille.
- 26 The Marques of Auila Fuente, of the house of the *Sanigas* : he holds his estate and house in Castille.
- 27 The Marques of Molina.
- 28 The Marques of Fuentes.
- 29 The Marques of Villada, Maior domo, maior or chiefe Steward, to the king : he is one of the *Grandes*.
- 30 The Marques of Laguna, chiefe steward to the Queene : he is a *Grande*.
- 31 The Marques of Saraluo.
- 32 The Marques of Caracena, of the familie of the *Carrillos* and *Toledos*.
- 33 The Marques of Cuellar.
- 34 The Marques of Saint Germain, of the house of *Mendosa*, his Marquisate is in Sauoy, and his house and estate in Castille : He is a gentleman of the kings chamber, and Lieutenant generall of his gards and of all the horse in Spaine.

*Earles which be Grandes.*

- 1 The Earle of Miranda, Marques of Baneza : he is head of the *Auellaneda*, and is of the familie of *Sanigas* and *Bajanes* : he holds his house in Penderanda villa fuya, & his estate in Castille the old, and the mountaines thereof : he is of the Councell of State, and President of the chiefe of Castille.
- 2 The Earle of Benauent, the head of the *Pimentels* : he holds his house in Vailledolit, and his estate in the prouince of Campos : he is the greatest Earle in Spaine.
- 3 The Earle of Alua de Liza, of the familie of the *Henriques* : he hath his house in Zamora, and his estate in Castille the old, and Estremadura : he is of the Councell of State, and chiefe huntsman to the king, and of his chamber.
- 4 The Earle of Lemos and Andrada, of Castro and Villalua, Marques of Sarria, and Lord of Villosa, he is head of the house of *Castros*, and gentleman of the kings chamber, he is president of the councell of the Indies : he hath his house in Lemos and Sarria, and his estate in the realm of Galicia.
- 5 The Earle of Oropeza, he is of the house of *Toledo* and *Pachecos* : he hath his house at Talavera, and his estate in the realm of Toledo, he had one daughter and heire, who was married to a brother of the Duke of Bragances.
- 6 The Earle of Santa Gadea, he is head of the familie of the *Padillas*, he is a gentleman of the kings chamber, and Adelantado maior of Castille : he hath his house and state in Castille.

*Earles which be not Grandes.*

The Earle of Salinas and Ribadeo, of the house of *Auellaneda* & *Mendosa* : he hath his house in the city of Burgos and his estate in Biscaie, & the mountaines, who (for that his predecessors did helpe much in the winning of Toledo) haue this priuiledge, to dine on twelfe day with the King, and the apparell, which the King weares that day, is his, with his best horse, and a Cup of gold. This house fell by marriage to *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, Duke of Pastrana, who was second brother

- ther to him that died in Flanders, and Vncle to him that holds the state at this day, he is president of the Councell of Portugall.
- 2 The Earle of Aguilar, head of the *Arrelanos*, and Lord of Los Cameros : he hath his house in the towne of Nilda, which is his, and his estate is in Rioja, and the Mountaines of Soriana.
  - 3 The Earle of Aranda, Lord of Almuernin.
  - 4 The Earle of Alcaudette, of the house of the *Cordouas* : he keepes his house in Alcaudette, and his estate in the realme of Cordoua, he is also of Aluaida, of the house of Milan.
  - 5 The Earle of Altamira, of the house of *Roxas*, and *Moscofo* : he hath his house in Altamira and his estate in Galicia.
  - 6 The Earle of Citona, of the house of *Moncada* and *Heredia*.
  - 7 The Earle of Buendia, Lord of Duenas, of the house of *Acugna* : he hath his house in Acugna, and his estate in the Territorie of Campos.
  - 8 The Earle of Ayllon, of the house of *Leon* and *Cordoua*.
  - 9 The Earle of Belchite, of the house of *Tiar* : he holds his estate in Valencia and Arragon.
  - 10 The Earle of Castellar, he is the chiefe of the *Sayanedras* : he hath his house in Seuille, and his estate in the same realme.
  - 11 The Earle of Castro Xeris, of the house of *Mendosa*, and *Manriques* : he hath his house in Castro Xeris, and his estate in the realms of Leon and Castille.
  - 12 The Earle of Chinchon, head of the house of the *Bobadillas* : he hath his house in Madrid, and his estate in the realme of Toledo.
  - 13 The Earle of Cifuentes, he is the head of the *Silvas* : hee hath his house in Toledo, and his estate in Alcaria.
  - 14 The Earle of Cornina, of the house of *Mendosa* : his house is in Guadalajara, & his estate in Alcaria.
  - 15 The Earle of Fuenfaldia, he is the head of the *Ayala*, his house is in Toledo, and his estate in the same realme.
  - 16 The Earle of Gelues, he is chiefe of the house of the *Portugals*, he hath his house in Seuille, and his estate in the same realme.
  - 17 The Earle of Gomera, which is in the Iland of the great Canarie, hee is of the house of the *Ayala*.
  - 18 The Earle of Gajan.
  - 19 The Earle of Oliuares, he is of the house of *Guzman* : his house is at Seuille, and his estate in Andalusia.
  - 20 The Earle of Ierna, of the familie of the *Cardes*.
  - 21 The Earle of Costania in Valencia.
  - 22 The Earle of Coruipo.
  - 23 The Earle of Fuentes of the house of *Heredia* : hee hath his estate in Arragon, and his house at Fuentes.
  - 24 The Earle of Luna, he is head of the *Quignones* and *Villasanes*, he hath his house and estate in the realme of Leon.
  - 25 Earle of Medellin, of the house of *Puerto Carreira* : hee hath his house in Medellin, and his estate in Estremadura.
  - 26 Earle of Monteagudo, he is of the house of *Mendosa* : he holds his estate in Raca of Arragon, and his house in Almala.
  - 27 Earle of Monterey, of the house of *Azuado* : he hath his house in Salamanca, and his estate in Galicia.
  - 28 Earle of Oforno, he is of the *Manriques*, his house is in Vailledolit, and his estate in Castille the old.
  - 29 Earle of Onante, head of the *Gueuares* : he hath his house in Onante, and his estate in the prouince of Guipuscoa.
  - 30 Earle of Oliua, of the house of *Gentillas*.
  - 31 Earle of Morata, of the house of *Luna*.
  - 32 Earle of Orga, he is of the house of *Ayala* and *Mendosa* : and some say hee is the head of the *Mendosas*.
  - 33 Earle of Puebla, of the house of the *Cardenas* : he hath his house in Llerena, and his estate in Estremadura.

- 34 Earle of Paluia, of the house of *Puerto Carrero*, he holds his house in Eccia, and his estate in the Realme of Cordoua.
- 35 Earle of Pliego, of the house of *Carillo* and *Mendoza*: hee hath his house in Guadalajara, and his estate in the mountaines of Cuenca.
- 36 Earle of Puno in Rostro, he is head of the *Sarrias*: he hath his house in Madrid, and his estate in the Realme of Toledo.
- 37 Earle of Paredes, of the house of *Manriques*: his house is in Paredes, and his estate in the prouince of Campos.
- 38 Earle of Ribadauia, of the house of *Auellaneda*: he hath his house in Vailledolit, and his estate in Galicia.
- 39 Earle of Ciruela, of the house of *Velsco*.
- 40 Earle of Sastago and Pina, of the house of *Arragon*: hee hath his house in Saragosse, and his estate in the realme of Arragon.
- 41 Earle of Saint Esteuan, the head of the *Benanides*: his house is in the citie of Vuida, and his estate in the realme of Arragon.
- 42 Earls of Nauarre, of the family of the *Toledos*, & by his wife, by whom he had the estates, of the bloud of Nauarre, & of the *Beaumonts*: he hath his house and estate in the realm of Nauarre.
- 43 Earle of Bargas, he is head of the house of *Capatas*, his house is in Madrid.
- 44 Earle of Puebla of Montaluan, of the familie of the *Telles*, *Girones* and *Pachecos*: hee holds his estate in Estremadura.
- 45 Earle of Baileu, hee is of the *Pensos* of Leon: his house is in Baileu, and his estate in the realme of Iacn.
- 46 Earle of Nicua, of the house of *Valesco*: he hath his house in Nicua, and his estate in Rioja.
- 47 Earle of Saluatierra, of the house of *Ayala*: he holds his estate in Castille the old.
- 48 Earle of Cosentaina, of the house of *Corella*: his estate & house is in the realm of Valencia.
- 49 Earle of Galuas, of the house of *Los Cerdas*.
- 50 Earle of Delda, of the familie of the *Colomas*: his estate & house are in the realm of Valécia.
- 51 Earle of Ficallo, of the house of *Gandia* and *Borias*: his countie is in Portugall, but his estate and house in the Realme of Valencia.
- 52 Earle of Cuba, he is of the *Henriques* of Almanca: he hath his countie in Portugall, and his estate and house in the realme of Castille.
- 53 Earle of Villamediana, he is of the familie of *Taxis*.
- 54 Earle of Barraja.
- 55 Earle of Mayalde.
- 56 Earle of Mirabel.
- 57 Earle of Galue.
- 58 Earle of Villador.
- 59 Earle of Castarubios.
- 60 Earle of Los Arcos.
- 61 Earle of Salasar.

|                       |                                |   |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Vicont of Peralta.    | Admirall of Arragon.           | Adelantado of Canaria.                      |
| Vicont del Buli.      | Admirall of Valencia.          | Adelantado of Carforla.                     |
| Vicont of Altamira.   | Adelantado Maior of Castille.  | Adelantado of the house of <i>Mendoza</i> . |
| Vicont of Chelba.     | Adelantado Maior of Andalusia. |   |
| Admirall of Castille. | Adelantado of Galicia.         |   |

#### Masterhips of Orders of Knights.

The great Masterhip of Saint Iames.

The Masterhip of Alcantara.

The Masterhip of the Calatrava.

These three are annexed to the Crowne, and the king is perpetuall Gouvernor and Administrator of them.

These be the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Admirals, and Adelantados, which are in the realms of Castille, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, Galicia, Valencia, and Cartelonia, and the other estates of Spaine, except Portugal. Some haue precisely set downe the reuenues of euerie one of these Noblemen in their relations, as if they were immutable; but, being subiect daily to increase and decrease according to the disposition and frugality, of the persons that enioy them, I haue wittingly omitted it: But thus much I dare boldly say, that the nobility of Spain are exceeding rich in their yerely reuenues, and if I be not much deceiued, they are the richest subiects in reuenues of any country of Christendo me.

F I N I S.

50 A Table of the most memorable things contained in this  
*Historie of Spayne: wherein the Reader is to be aduertised*  
 of an error escaped in the bodie of the Booke, in numbring of the pages, from 971, from whence to 972. he shall find them doubled: Which obserued, will set him right on that he seeks for by this Table.

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## F f N f S.

Excuse these grosse misprissions, and for the re? I put my selfe to your favorable construction. fol. 225. lin. 48. for daughter, reade wife. f. 859. l. 21. for, suffered the Portugals to take it, read, suffered it to be taken from the Portugals. In the marg. fol. 273. for detestable, r. detestable. fol. 1144. r. by the Moores. f. 889. l. 123. for her husband, read, her sonne.